CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

SANGEET NATAK AKADEMI
RABINDRA BHAVAN FEROZESHAH ROAD NEW DELHI
TO MY GURUS
WITH PROFOUND GRATITUDE
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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD  Abhinaya Darpana
ASIR  Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASR  Archaeological Survey Reports
AV  Atharva Veda
NŚII  Gaekwad Oriental Series Second Edition Nātyāśāstra
BR  Bālarāmabharatam (Trivandrum Oriental Series)
HLD  Hastalakṣaṇam Diptikā
HM  Hasta Muktāvalī
JISOA  Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
MG  Mirror of Gesture (by Coomaraswami and Duggirala)
NŚS  Nātyāśāstra Saṅgrahā (Madras Oriental Series)
NŚ  Nātyaśāstra
RV  Rg Veda
SBR  Śathpatha Brāhmaṇa
SR  Saṅgītaratnākara
TL  Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam
VD  Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa
YV  Yajur Veda
Fig.  Figure
SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

\begin{align*}
\text{ा} \ (a) & \quad \text{ा} \ (\ddot{a}) & \quad \text{ि} \ (i) & \quad \text{ई} \ (i) & \quad \text{ु} \ (u) \\
\text{ू} \ (u) & \quad \text{र} \ (r) & \quad \text{ू} \ (\dot{r}) & \quad \text{े} \ (e) & \quad \text{े} \ (ai) \\
\text{ौ} \ (o) & \quad \text{ू} \ (au) & \\
\end{align*}

Consonants

\begin{align*}
\text{क} \ (k) & \quad \text{ख} \ (kh) & \quad \text{ग} \ (g) & \quad \text{घ} \ (gh) & \quad \text{ङ} \ (ṅ) \\
\text{च} \ (c) & \quad \text{छ} \ (ch) & \quad \text{ज} \ (j) & \quad \text{ञ} \ (jh) & \quad \text{ञ} \ (ñ) \\
\text{ट} \ (t) & \quad \text{ठ} \ (th) & \quad \text{ड} \ (d) & \quad \text{ढ} \ (dh) & \quad \text{ण} \ (n) \\
\text{त} \ (t) & \quad \text{थ} \ (th) & \quad \text{द} \ (d) & \quad \text{ध} \ (dh) & \quad \text{न} \ (n) \\
\text{प} \ (p) & \quad \text{फ} \ (ph) & \quad \text{ब} \ (b) & \quad \text{भ} \ (bh) & \quad \text{म} \ (m) \\
\text{य} \ (y) & \quad \text{र} \ (r) & \quad \text{ल} \ (l) & \quad \text{व} \ (v) & \\
\text{श} \ (ś) & \quad \text{ष} \ (ṣ) & \quad \text{स} \ (s) & \quad \text{ह} \ (h) & \\
\text{Anusvara} & \quad \text{ं} \ (\text{ṁ}) & \\
\text{Visarga} & \quad \text{़} \ (\text{ḥ}) & \\
\end{align*}
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Archaeological Survey of India, Figures 3, 5, 6, 16, 22, 23, 27 to 39, 41, 42, 45 to 47, 58, 60 to 62, 65, 68, 75, 76, 81, 83, 84., 87 to 89, 91, 92, 94 to 131, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 142 to 145, 150, 151, 154, and 155; Baltimore Museum of Art, Maryland, U.S.A., Figure 70; British Museum, London, U.K. Figures 63, 64 and 66; Brundage Collection, San Francisco, U.S.A., Figure 148; Fergusson’s Tree and Serpent Worship, Figure 67; Indian Museum, Calcutta, Figures 4 and 57; Jodhpur Museum, Figure 90; Lucknow Museum, Figures 14 and 59; Madras Museum, Figure 13; National Museum, New Delhi, Figures 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 44, 72, 73, 139, and 147; Patna Museum, Figure 7; Publications Division, Government of India, Figures 24 to 26; Sarnath Museum, Figures 48 and 74; William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas, U.S.A., Cover photograph, Figures 93, 132 and 146; Shri Vatsyayan, S.H: Figures 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 40, 50, 51 to 55, 77 to 79; 82, 85, 86, 140, 141, 149, 152, 153. Musee Guimet, Paris, Figure 69; Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, Figures 71 and 135; Museum of Fine Art, Boston, U.S.A., Figure 43.

I should also like to acknowledge with gratitude the willing and unhesitating assistance of Smt. Uma Anand and Sri Shungloo for the pains they have taken in going through the proofs and seeing the second edition through the press.
FOREWORD

With India's attainment of independence and of her rightful place in the brotherhood of nations, the world has begun to look at India with new eyes. One consequence of this sudden upsurge of interest has been a glut of books dealing with various aspects of Indian culture—music, dance, costume, jewellery, art-crafts etc.—generally hastily written and often full of errors and even misinformation.

In this climate of confusion Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan's book on CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS comes as a breath of fresh air, clear, incisive and invigorating. The product of years of diligent study of dance texts, careful research and exploration, patient analysis and long practice with the most revered teachers of the art, supported by a single-minded devotion to the cause of an art-form that had suffered a near-total eclipse at the beginning of the century, the book may be said to represent a singularly happy merging of two traditions of learning—even of two cultures as it were: only in this case both humanist. For Dr. Vatsyayan has not only utilised the repositories of tradition or the able guidance of an erudite scholar like the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agarwala (under whose direction she worked for her doctorate in Fine Art at the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University); she has also brought to bear an analytical approach to the ancestry of dance movement—so integral a part of the evolution of modern dance abroad.

No student of Indian cultural history can fail to notice one special feature of the Indian situation: it was usual for the Indian author, poet, artist, musician or dancer to dedicate his or her creation to a divinity or to a rśi (sage), thus concealing the artist's own identity. The author of the Nāṭyaśāstra was no exception. It is impossible to identify or date him precisely; it continues to be a plausible theory that the text was compiled much later by a disciple in the tradition, to be preserved in the form in which we know it today. The treatise conforms to the tradition in another important aspect; like all other texts it quotes earlier authority. As, however, none of the material thus referred to is available, the Nāṭyaśāstra stands unique in its solitary splendour. While this isolation might have been the result of a natural tendency (particularly when tradition was preserved orally and the strain of memory was consequently always great) to consign older treatises to oblivion in favour of a newer and more comprehensive compendium of the tradition, it undoubtedly enhanced the importance and authority of the Nāṭyaśāstra for successive generations.

Though the Nāṭyaśāstra continues to have its importance for all scholars of the dance and the theatre arts generally, it was inevitable that regional styles should
develop and that the commentaries should adapt themselves to accommodate and even provide justification for these variations. Some of these commentaries, such as Abhinavagupta's for example, have in course of time themselves attained the status of a source-book of tradition. Thus, frequently, the dance teacher and the serious dancer—while conscientiously following the tradition or a source-book of authority—have in fact been called upon to exercise a meticulous selective judgment: the greatest have met this challenge with conspicuous success, thus enriching the tradition while following it.

Any attempt at reconstructing a history of the classical dance in India, therefore, would rely not only on dance texts and commentaries, down from Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra but of necessity delve deep into what was preserved in the practising tradition of preceptors as well as dancers. Furthermore, to correlate material from these two parallel sources into a meaningful pattern, the historian would have to study classical literature for its numerous references to dance and dance practice as well as to its vividly expressive and illuminating use of dance metaphor. Finally, continuous cross reference to sculptural material would be called for not only to establish regional patterns but also to indicate chronological sequences. In other words, a historical study of the art of dance in India would call for a complex inquiry involving several disciplines; it would also call for skills not generally considered necessary equipment for scholarship. It is singularly fortunate that Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan combines these skills with the scholar's rigorous training and the artist's sensitivity and insight. The result is this book: a masterly presentation of the aesthetic as well as the historical aspects of classical Indian dance, rendered with rare authority and fine judgment. That the analysis of certain sculptures in terms of dance movement provides new light for the understanding of classical sculpture also (e.g. the sālabhāṇjikās and flying figures) is matter for further commendation: it is obvious that this gain is not merely incidental but one of the aims pursued and ably fulfilled by the scholar.

I commend this well-documented and superbly illustrated work without reservation to all scholars and lovers of Indian dance.

Rai Krishnadasa
Honorary Director
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras
PREFACE

The present study is the result of some fifteen or more years of labour in a field which has, perhaps because of its very nature, received inadequate attention in the past. As a practical student of classical Indian dance forms I had found it necessary to examine and understand the theoretical bases on which the tradition of the dance and the traditional techniques had been built. The gurus and masters, hereditary repositories of what were unquestionably the authentic traditions and techniques of Indian dancing, could only provide inadequate or unsatisfactory answers to many of the theoretical questions that arose in my mind. This impelled me to conduct my own research into the original texts. The relationship of the arts, I thus observed, and the insights I gained encouraged me to pursue the detailed study of the field which forms the subject of the present work. I consider it my good fortune that I should have been led to the subject by what may appear an indirect route, because without this practical background I would have found it far more difficult to reach the bridge from the theoretical tenets to the vast and varied field of their application to dance practice. It is the discovery of such bridges and the clear demarcation of routes across them that has been my chief purpose in the present study. I may be permitted to express the belief, in all humility, that the purpose has been achieved. I trust that the lines of study indicated here will be extended to other fields which are, as I have attempted to demonstrate, inseparably related.

The size and nature of the field was formidable and I had naturally to restrict myself to what could be spanned by a unified study. Geographically its scope extended from Manipur to Gujarat and from Mohen-jo-daro through Khajuraho to Kerala. It was not only the archaeological sites scattered over this vast area or the objects recovered from them that had to be surveyed. The different local traditions of the schools of classical dancing preserved in isolated pockets throughout the country had also to be studied; and patient solutions found to intricate problems through personal contact with ageing gurus who represented the precious oral tradition of classical Indian dancing and who alone could provide the insight which would illuminate a study of so complex a field.

While the rasa theory is common to all Indian arts, a parallel study of the different art forms in relation to this theory has not been undertaken before. Indeed, it may justifiably be said that western scholars and art critics have generally devoted greater attention to the continuous study of the theoretical foundations of artistic practice than has been the case in India. Of course, to a large extent, this has resulted from the very nature of western and Indian artistic theories. In the west, the theoretician as well as the practising artist in every field of art including literature has
been actively concerned with “significant form” and has therefore generally studied several arts together or in relation to one another. In India, however, because of the emphasis placed by the rasa theory on the evocation of a mood or the attainment of a ‘state of being’, both the artist and the theoretician have tended to be concerned primarily with technique. This concern with technique has tended inevitably to isolate one art from another because techniques are specific and exclusive.

While the present study has, I believe, provided the groundwork for a complete historical study of classical Indian dancing and the evaluation of its different forms, the limits within which I have worked must here be clearly stated. I have dealt, in some degree of detail, with literary and sculptural material up to the medieval period. It would be logically consistent to continue this study into the beginning of the modern period, and it is my hope and wish that such a study will be undertaken in the near future. But it is obvious that this would require the collaboration not only of a large number of individual workers but also of regional institutions. Since from the medieval period onwards the unity provided by the Sanskrit texts is no longer sustained, the study would have to be extended to material in a number of regional languages. Apart from the difficulty of access to such language material and the problems of transliteration, translation and interpretation which might well prove too large for the capacities of any single individual, it is even possible that the diversity of the material might only blur the outline of the continuity provided by the Sanskrit tradition.

It has been a part of my good fortune, referred to earlier, that in the course of practical training in the different dance disciplines, I have been able to establish contacts with and receive valuable guidance from a number of gurus of dancing and ustâds or heads of gharânâs of music, and I have naturally profited by the material thus made available. But obviously, a history of the theoretical foundations of Indian dancing cannot rely on such fortuitous circumstances.

Most of my literary and sculptural source material is known. My purpose was not so much to bring new material to light as to organise and correlate the existing material in a pattern of significance for the historical study of the classical Indian dance. In the field of sculpture particularly it was considered desirable to refer primarily to known examples in order to facilitate the main argument. An endeavour has been made to analyse sculptural representations of dance scenes in terms of dance poses and dance movement and thus to establish the close relationship of the two art forms.

The use of literary material has been more or less analogous. Though I have considered a number of unpublished manuscripts relating to dance in Indian libraries and abroad, I have based my argument in the main on published works. I would have liked to include in my examination some recently published manuscripts, specially Jayasenâpati’s Nṛta Rainâvali and the Saṅgitarâja and some other works published in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. It was not possible to do so
because the press copy had already been handed over and the Press was unable to cope with additions during the years that the book awaited publication.

In the field of music greater emphasis has been laid on practice than on literary and other evidence; this was considered necessary to bring out the complete interdependence of music and dancing. A detailed analysis of texts of Music was deliberately left out, on account of the obvious reason, that much valuable work has already been done on both textual and critical interpretation.

It is hoped that this analytical study will give the reader a clear picture of the inter-relationship of the Indian art forms and of their common theoretical basis, and help him to recognise the true character of the Indian dance as the highest artistic integration of the forms and ideals of literary as well as audio-visual arts.

Work of this nature cannot be undertaken without help and guidance from many people and I unhesitatingly acknowledge my indebtedness.

Amongst the gurus from whom came my first insights into the great integrating power of the dance, I remember the late Minakshisundaram Pillai and Bharatam Narayanaswami Bhagavatatar. To late Guru Amobi Singh, the late Mahabir Singh and Achchan Maharaj, my revered teachers of Manipuri and Kathak dance respectively, I owe my awareness of the vast body of tradition embodied in Indian dance styles, and the intricacy of thought to which they give visual form. To Srimati S. V. Lalitha and Sri Debendra Shankar, I am grateful for the experience of Bharatanatyam and Uday Shankar styles. My training in the principles of movement analysis and dance notation with Dr. Juana de Laban, daughter of Dr. Rudolf von Laban, was not only a stimulating experience but a very fruitful one in my subsequent studies.

Scholars in the field of Indian studies have guided me in the search for solutions to many problems that arise in correlating the academic with the oral traditions of the arts of music and the dance. I recall with gratitude some enlightening discussions on the content of the dance for which Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Gopinātha Kavirāja kindly gave me the time. I acknowledge also Dr. V. Raghavan’s willing help and guidance in addition to the benefit derived from his own studies in the field. Above all I am profoundly indebted to the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agarwala, who as my research supervisor for a doctoral thesis I presented on the subject some of the material of which forms the basis of the present work, was not only a meticulous and exacting critic but also an inspiring guide.

To Shri S. H. Vatsyayan I am indebted in many ways and on many planes. The first insights into the relationship of word and movement came through many fruitful discussions. Later, his logical incisive criticism and his unquestioned help and support in all aspects of the work were both a source of encouragement and a challenge.
The Directors of several Museums, and in particular Rai Krishnadasa (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras), and Dr. Moti Chandra (Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) have given me many valuable suggestions. Association with them and their work has also helped me to pursue many lines of thought to definitive ends.

Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of Archaeology (now retired) and officers of his department have been most helpful in providing photographs and other illustrative material. Other sources of photographs have been separately acknowledged.

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and Dr. Vidya Nivas Misra read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions for which I am grateful.

I thank also the officers of the Sangeet Natak Akademi for their patience in seeing the book through the Press. I am particularly sensible of the compliment implicit in the Akademi's acceptance of the present work as the first in their programme of research publications.

New Delhi,
December 1968.  

KAPILA Vatsyayan
PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The need for a second edition of a research publication, which by its very nature was heavy reading requiring patience has been a matter of some gratification and fulfilment.

It would be natural for the readers to expect a second edition, to also be a revised edition with enlargements, and modifications. The author too would have liked to meet these expectations had it not been for the fact that a truly revised edition would tantamount to the writing of three other books. A mere updating of the material would do the subject no justice.

The state of scholarship in the field twenty years ago was rudimentary and materials though known had not attracted the attention of scholars. Over these years, an increasing number of scholars both Indian and foreign have been engaged in serious, systematic research of the traditional performing arts of India. This has resulted in a sizeable body of primary and secondary textual source material coming to light. Also recent archaeological excavations, particularly those conducted in Nagarjunakonda, and Sonkh, Mathura, have laid bare examples of early Indian sculptures which are exceedingly important from the point of view of a study of movement. Besides these, there has been further work on medieval monuments, particularly those of Udayesvara temple in Madhya Pradesh and Konarak in Orissa. A consideration of all this material would have meant a rewriting of the present text, so as to incorporate the findings in the existing framework: it would also demand the extension of the time limitation the original work had set upon itself to a much later period. This would be particularly true of the great wealth of the traditions of mural and miniature paintings which have aroused enthusiastic interest of scholars and art-historians in the two last decades.

The preface to the first edition mentions the Nṛttaratāvali and the Saṅgītarāja and some other works which could not be considered. It would have been logical to include analysis of these texts in the second edition. A perusal of these and many others which have since been published convinced the author that a fuller analysis of the material contained in these texts demanded a separate supplementary volume and not an enlargement of the present one. Important amongst these is the Bhoja's Śrṅgārāprakāśa, Ashokamalla's Nṛityādhyāya, Vācanācārya's Saṅgītopaniṣat Śārodhara, Śubhankara's Hastanuktāvali, Mahāpātra's Abhinaya Chandrīka, the disputed text of Govinda Ilīlā vilās from Manipur, Aṭṭaprakaram and Kramādipikā from Kerala, and many others. Many of these belong to the medieval period and open up a new field of exploration of the desī traditions which constitute a parallel and complimentary stream to the margi or all that has been considered here. After careful consideration of the material the author came to the conclusion that it would be more profitable to follow the present study with a supplementary volume supported by charts and glossary rather than to revise the present text which seeks to present an unified picture of one stream, over a limited period.

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What is true of the textual material, also holds good for the literary works. Here also a larger body of Sanskrit literature is now available and one can no longer restrict consideration of Sanskrit writing to the 13th century. Dramatic writing continued until 17th century and in some cases later. A comprehensive account of all this would also demand an independent volume and not a revision. Also, concurrent was the evolution of Indian languages, and the developments in theatre, music and dance reflected in these works. The author has attempted to survey these literatures in these years and the results of these in relation to the development of dance and dance drama, dependent primarily on the literatures of these languages have been incorporated in a volume on traditional Dance-drama forms under publication by the National Book Trust. The study takes into account this later Sanskrit drama and the growth of Indian literatures: in this respect it should be considered a supplementary volume which attempts to establish the multiple continuities.

As, has been mentioned above, new evidence of dance and movement in Indian sculpture has come to light. Besides, there has been a substantial increase in a detailed analysis of other monuments of the medieval period. Consideration of this material would demand the enlargement of the present chapter on Sculpture and Dancing manifold. Of particular relevance to the present study would be the study of the sculptural reliefs of the Śāraṅgapānī and Nāgeśvara temple in Kumbhakonam and some others which have cleaned up in Śrīraṅgam and Jagannāth, Puri. Apart from the Indian material, a natural extension would be to take into account the prolific depiction of the movement of the dance in monuments of Asia ranging from Afghanistan to Indonesia and Cambodia. All this could not be contained in the present volume, because it would need the addition of at least another four hundred plates. Thus instead of presenting a few scattered examples the author has already begun working on a comprehensive monograph on Karaṇas which it is hoped will be published by the Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu. Repeated visits to the three sites of Bṛhadeśvara, Chidambara and Śāraṅgapānī have convinced the author for the need for a complete reevaluation of the subject, notwithstanding the valuable work of Sri C. Sivaramamurti in his Naṭarāja in Indian Art, Thought and Literature and the unpublished work of the late Sri T. N. Ramachandran.

Separately, papers have been presented in two succeeding International Congresses of Orientalists in Ann Arbor and Paris on the sculpture reliefs relating in Prambanan and Borobudur and those of Cambodia and Burma. These are under publication.

The whole sphere of painting had to be excluded in the first edition on account of the limitation of space and paucity of funds. This time also, it could not be included for these reasons, and another, more significant, what appeared to the author and to her eminent gurus like the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala and
Dr. Moti Chandra to be scanty material, of mural traditions and the stereo-typed repetition of the stylized pose, in miniature painting has indeed turned out, on deeper digging, to be an unparalleled documentation through line and colour of the history of choreographical patterns, movement and costuming. The author has been able to collect data relating to dance and theatre forms from the earliest pre-historic cave paintings, pottery and ceramics to the company school of the British period. Most significant amongst these is a sizeable body of paintings from the mural paintings of the Vijayanagaram and the Nayak Schools and the documentation in the monuments of Kerala both temples and palaces, which have been cleaned up by the Archaeological Survey of India. Knowledge is no longer restricted to the Mattanacherry and Padamanabhan-puram palaces. Alongside has been the unraveling of many valuable sets of Jaina miniature painting. The three volumes of Jaina Art and Architecture, Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalvala’s work on New Documents in Indian Painting and the late Dr. Moti Chandra’s last book on Studies in Early Indian Painting have thrown significant light on these. The evidence relating to dance in these and much else which remains unpublished (but to which the author has had access fortunately) is immense and an analysis of this will no doubt present new facets of the performing arts. Neither the present format of the book, nor the expenses involved would allow the inclusion of this material. Since the field of painting is integral to the basic framework, the Sangeet Natak Akademi plans to bring out a companion volume on the subject.

The chapter on Music and Dancing was considered proportionately brief and inadequate by some critics. While it would be possible to enlarge the scope of the chapter to include earlier and recent publications of musical texts, the author did not consider it necessary to change the basic structure of the book merely to include more textual material much of it adequately dealt with by other scholars. Nevertheless, the author’s exploration of the oral-traditions of music as pertinent to dance styles revealed that there was a vast storehouse of regional musical traditions which lay untouched. A consideration of this material would necessitate a technical examination of the compositions, supported by charts, notation of notes and movement, line drawings and the rest. All this work could not be undertaken by the publishers. The author hopes that younger scholars will pursue this line of inquiry and conduct such technical investigations. Indeed, the author is happy to say that two scholars have begun working in the field.

And finally no account of the dance and the Indian performing arts would be complete without taking into account of the variegated and significant living traditions still extant in tribal and rural India. Their contribution in shaping the traditions of the classical arts cannot be overlooked. This distinct though related field had to be investigated: the author has made an attempt at identifying this contribution and the mutual dependence of the two traditions of the literary and the illiterate, the margi and the deshi in a publication entitled the traditions of Indian
Folk Dance published by the Indian Book Company. Many aspects of the Nāṭya-
śāstra, lost to the classical arts live and vibrate in the tribal and rural dances of India.

The above enumeration will perhaps convince readers that although the
author shared their anxiety for a second revised and enlarged edition, the source
material was far too vast and immense to commend such a course of action. Thus,
instead of rewriting an old book, the author preferred to write supplementary
works which would be a natural filling up of the basic framework followed in the
original work. Also, the author is of the belief that the original work continues
to provide the foundation of an approach to the study of dance and has validity.

This belief has been confirmed and supported by the reception which was
received by the original work from scholars from diverse disciplines, ranging
from Dr. G. C. Pande, Dr. V. Raghavan, Sri A. Ghosh, Dr. N. R. Ray, Dr. Karl
Khandalvala to Reginald Massey, Betty Jones, Renee Renouf and others. Also,
it is gratifying to note that scholars and students have begun to follow a method-
dology of research in the Indian Arts which aims at a total (albeit perhaps not a
holistic) view rather than a fragmentary and unidimensional approach.

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

New Delhi
30th June, 1976
INTRODUCTION

THE present study is an attempt to investigate the nature and extent of the part played by other arts, especially literature, sculpture and music, in the development of Indian dance and to determine the role of dance in these arts. Since all classical Indian arts accept a common theory, which they faithfully follow, the attempt has necessarily involved a review of the fundamental principles of aesthetics which have governed the practice of these arts for fourteen centuries or so. Thus the scope of this presentation is:

(i) to give a general idea of the aesthetic theory common to literature, poetics, dramaturgy, sculpture, painting, music and dancing;

(ii) (a) to analyze the theory and technique of classical Indian dancing, with particular emphasis on the significance of symbols and symbolization;

(b) to trace the history of the theory of dance as formulated in the Sanskrit texts from the Nāṭyaśāstra to the Bāḷarāma-adhāratam; and

(c) to analyze the conscious attempts to represent and illustrate dance movements in sculpture, as in the Cidambaram temple;

(iii) (a) to analyze the references to dancing in the creative (kāvyā) literature of Sanskrit from the early Vedic texts to the late medieval dramatic works (XIII-XIV cc.);

(b) to identify the general and more particular forms of dancing prevalent in different periods; and

(c) to establish the close relationship between dance and drama and to see how the technique of dance affects the dramatic technique of the classical drama;

(iv) (a) to analyze the treatment of the human body as form in Indian sculpture and dancing;

(b) to interpret the concepts of māna, sūtra and bhaṅga as principles of space, mass and weight manipulation;

(c) to review the Yakṣī and Śālabhaṅgikā motifs as figures representing dance movement in Indian sculpture; and

(d) to analyze the dance scenes in sculpture in terms of the technical terminology of dance as enunciated by Bharata; and

(v) to trace the history of dance through pictorial evidence from the earliest murals to medieval miniature painting tradition;

(vi) to consider the general principles of Indian musical theory and musical composition in their bearing on classical dance composition.
INTRODUCTION

The sources utilized for this study are the Sanskrit texts from the *Rg-vedic* period to the fourteenth century and the examples of Indian sculpture from the earliest figurines of the Indus Valley to medieval sculpture in the field as also in collections. No attempt has been made to extend the study to the material available in regional languages.

II

The aesthetic enjoyment of the classical Indian dance is considerably hampered today by the wide gap between the dancer and the spectator. Even the accomplished dancer, in spite of his mastery of technique, may sometimes only be partially initiated in the essential qualities of the dance form and its aesthetic significance. But, in the case of the audience, only the exceptional spectator is acquainted with the language of symbols through which the artist achieves the transformation into the realm of art. The majority are somewhat baffled by a presentation which is obviously contextual and allusive but which derives from traditions to which they have no ready access. Although they are aware that the dance is an invitation, through its musical rhythms, to the world in time and, through its sculpturesque poses, to the world in space, in which the character portrayed is living, they are unable to identify themselves with him. Far less are they able to attain such identity with the dancer in his portrayal of the particular role.

Even this awareness is, however, a partial and imperfect comprehension of the essential inter-relationship of the arts, which is one of the basic assumptions of classical Indian aesthetics. This inter-relation, or rather this integrity, of all the arts is well illustrated by the dialogue between King Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.

King Vajra requests the sage to accept him as his disciple and teach him the art of icon-making, so that he may worship the deities in their proper forms. The sage replies that one cannot understand the principles of image-making without a knowledge of painting. The king wishes for instruction in this art and is told that, unless he is accomplished as a dancer, he cannot grasp even the rudiments of painting. The king requests that he be taught dancing, whereupon the sage replies that, without a keen sense of rhythm or a knowledge of instrumental music, proficiency in dance is impossible. Once again the king requests that he be taught these subjects; to which the sage replies that a mastery of vocal music is necessary before one can be proficient in instrumental music; and so finally the sage takes the king through all these stages before he is taught the art of iconography.

The present study is an attempt to determine the exact part played by these arts in the creation of Indian dance and in turn to ascertain the role of Indian dancing in these arts. Through the history of classical Indian sculpture and lit-
It is possible to put together a fairly continuous social and technical history of dance.

III

The Hindu mind views the creative process as a means of suggesting or recreating a vision, however fleeting, of a divine truth; and regards art as a means of experiencing a state of bliss akin to the absolute state of ānanda or jīvamukti (release in life). The spectator must also thus have an inner preparedness to receive this vision and be a potential artist; he is a rasika, a sahrdaya, one who is capable of responding. The training and initiation of this person is almost as important as the training and discipline of the artist himself. All Indian arts, especially the arts of music and dancing, thus demand a trained and initiated spectator. An awareness of the salient features of the vast background of Indian dancing can help formulate some of the demands traditionally made on the spectator. This study will, therefore, naturally concern itself with the basic aesthetic principles shared by all arts and then proceed to examine those aspects of the different Indian arts which have played an important role in the theory, technique and practice of Indian dancing.

If one may be permitted to anticipate the result of the study in general terms, one may suggest that in the technique of Indian dance the wheel of Indian aesthetics seems to have come full circle. Whereas in other arts the human being is the subject of artistic treatment, Indian dance treats the human form as a vehicle of artistic expression and synthesizes in itself the content and form of other arts into one homogeneous, beautiful whole. It is not an accident that the dancing Śiva, Naṭaraja, represents the apotheosis of the spiritual and artistic faith and the striving of people. This image is the supreme symbol of all aspects of life as much as dance itself represents the synthesis of all aspects of creative activity.
I

INDIAN AESTHETICS

For the traditional Indian artist, regardless of the field in which he worked artistic creation was the supreme means of realizing the Universal Being. Art was a discipline (sādhanā), a yoga, and a sacrifice (yajña).

Any form of sādhanā is a means of achieving a state of complete harmony (sāmarasya) and thus of total release (svātantrya) from the ‘so-much-ness’ (iyattā) of life; it leads to a recognition of one’s truer self. These were also the ends which the Indian artist, as a sādhaka, pursued.

The spiritual, mental and physical discipline required in the search for complete harmony is yoga. Yoga is adeptness or efficiency in any activity undertaken by the individual: this is the karmasu kauśalam of the Bhagavadgītā. Yoga is the power of withdrawal of mental energy from all activity not directed towards the single end in view; it is also perspicacity of vision which enables one to see the underlying unity of everything.

All activity, inasmuch as it is dedicated activity, is a sacrificial offering: yajña is the offering of the best that one has to the best that one seeks. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa elaborates the concept of cosmic sacrifice, the counterpart of the idea of perpetual sacrifice treated of in Upaniṣad literature. The artist was also obligated to the offering of his best to his īstadevatā.

Accepting this major concept of Hindu spiritual and philosophical thought, the Indian artist could not possibly regard the problem of art creation as one of giving universal significance to his own subjective experience. He was involved in a discipline for the attainment of the Infinite, the Universal Being, in his individual self. The problem for him was one of suggesting or revealing or recreating this Infinite, Divine Self through finite symbols of stone, line, language, sound and movement. Through this creation he sought to evoke a state of pure joy (ānanda). The artist was indeed like the worshipper who saw again and again the Godhead and who attempted to re-create the ultimate state of his realization through the specific technique of his art. To a person so conditioned, an art creation was a spiritual discipline, in which he had intuitively to know the truth of what he experienced before he gave it a concrete manifestation in art. Physical perception, the imitation of nature, was irrelevant to this belief, and artistic creation could be a success only if it achieved the supreme artistic purpose of creating a state of bliss, second only to the seeker’s ultimate goal of absolute bliss in the Brahma (Brahmānanda). The aesthetic experience was considered second only to the supreme experience and was thus termed its twin brother (brahmānandasahodara).

If the above concepts were the fundamental principles of an artistic consciousness, the realm of aesthetics or the artistic experience could obviously not be limited to ideas, conflict and thought. ‘Ideas’ and the problems of suffering, pain
and 'conflict' belonged properly to the realms of philosophy; aesthetics, like religion, was the realm of the spirit. The artist's pre-occupation was with the 'symbol' through which states of being could be suggested or re-created. Subjective personal experience played little or no part, and artistic creation began only when the artist had attained, in his own intuitive mind, the state of calm termed as hrdayaviśrānti (equilibrium). Having conquered all personal suffering and pain and attained this state of complete detached emotion, he presented through age-old symbols the spectrum of life only to re-create a similar state of being in the reader or spectator, a state in which the latter could experience, however transitorily, the pure bliss (ānanda) of art.

The aesthetic which emerged as a result of these beliefs was the theory of rasa. Since the human being and his subjective emotion were not themes important enough to be portrayed in art, life was seen as a series of states of being which, though diverse, led to one transcendental experience of bliss.

The theory of rasa, as conceived by the Hindu aesthetician and as practised by the artist, has two aspects. The first is the evoked state (rasāvasthā) in which transcendent bliss is experienced; the second is the sentiments, the moods, the permanent and transitory states, which were the object of presentation. The second provided the content of art; the first was its ultimate objective. The configuration of numerous transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva), involuntary states (sātṛvika bhāva) and dominant moods (sthāyi bhāva) into eight or nine states of being can be understood in the light of these spiritual beliefs. The technique of the arts was directly conditioned by these principles, and the techniques of the Indian arts are the rules through which these rasa states can be evoked. These principles are evident in the rules of proportion in architecture, in the detailed formulations of the principles of tāla (measurement) and bhaṅga (stance) of Indian sculpture, in the relative disposition and proportion of colour and perspective in painting, in the patterns of division and combination of the movements of the major limbs (aṅga) and the minor limbs (upānga) in dancing, and in the use of śruti and svara (notes) in a given mode (rāga) to create a particular mood in Indian music.

It is the aesthetic theory of rasa which provides an underlying unity to the Indian arts. Deriving from this fundamental belief about the nature of the aesthetic experience, they share with one another the principles of technique while maintaining their autonomy. There are numerous points of contact where one art form borrows or even builds upon the achievements and techniques of other forms. Although the theoretical canons of any one art prescribe techniques relating only to that particular art form, the underlying principles are the same and are often taken for granted or referred to only implicitly.

While it is not intended to discuss the theoretical and historical development of the theory of rasa in detail, it is necessary to survey briefly the salient features of this theory which guided the practice of the arts in India through many centuries.
The two aspects of *rasa* mentioned above, the transcendental experience and the objects of presentation, gave rise to two separate discussions in the critical texts on Indian aesthetics. First, there was the inquiry into the nature of this experience itself; secondly, the discussion bore upon the form and techniques of presentation of the transitory and permanent states of mind through the diverse media of language, mass and volume, sound, movement, etc. The inquiry into the nature of the aesthetic experience was pursued within the framework of recognized schools of philosophic thought, while the study of form and technique resulted in several manuals dealing with different art forms.

The best examples of discussion on the nature of the aesthetic experience are to be found in theoretical treatises on literature, specifically poetics and dramaturgy. Although the earliest formulator of the theory, Bharata, did not himself enter into the metaphysical aspects of the aesthetic experience, the commentators approached the question from the point of view of the different systems of Indian philosophy, *nyāya*, *sāṅkhya* and *vedānta*, and the *Śaiva* doctrine of Kashmir. The discussion is so lively that the history of Indian aesthetics during this period may be considered as merely the history of the interpretation of these discussions on the nature of the aesthetic experience in the context of these philosophies. Significantly, the one point on which all the commentators agreed was the intrinsic difference between aesthetic emotion and emotion in real life. Whether the approach was the *nyāya* one of Śrīśaṅkuka, or the *sāṅkhya* or *vedānta* of Bhaṭṭanāyaka, or the *Śaiva* one of Abhinavagupta, it was unanimously accepted that the aesthetic experience at the highest level was essentially different from any experience in the empirical world. The scholars further agreed that the state of being which this art-experience evoked was a state akin to that of spiritual realization.

According to Abhinavagupta, whose approach was that of *Śaiva* monism, the duality of subject and object disappeared through intense introversion, and, ultimately, a state was evoked unlike any empirical experience. This state was a transcendental one (*alaukika*) like the experience of pure bliss (*ānanda*). His notions of taste (*rasikatva*), aesthetic susceptibility (*sahṛdayatva*), power of visualization (*pratibhā*), poetic culture (*kāvyānumānila*), contemplative habit (*bhāvanā*) and a capacity for identification or ‘becoming’ (*tanmayibhavanā-yogyatā*) clearly express his belief in the distinct quality of the aesthetic experience.

The artist in turn began with the premise that his ultimate aim was to attain this perfect state of release and that art was the special instrument through which the artist revealed to the initiated and responsive mind (the *sahṛdaya*, the *rasika*) the reality of the Universal Being experienced by him.

Such being the beliefs and assumptions shared by the theoretician and the artist, the problem that exercised their minds was that of the technique pertinent to each art. It is precisely this aspect of the arts of poetry, drama, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance that is most frequently elaborated upon in
the theoretical treatises, while the spiritual aims and philosophic attitudes are taken for granted. The continuity of tradition in the arts was maintained so long as these principles were accepted as a matter of faith; when the underlying beliefs came to be doubted, the tradition fell into decay or disintegrated altogether.

Rasa as a theory of technique can profitably be applied to all the creative arts in India. The technique of all arts, as enunciated by the theorists and manifested in the creative works, makes it quite clear that it did not permit or condone negation of the established and verified laws of execution.

Once intuitive idea had been grasped by the artist on the spiritual plane, he followed faithfully and rigorously the laws of arrangement of word, line, mass, colour, posture, sound and movement as laid down in the canons. Through all their crowded multiplicity on the plane of execution, he never lost sight of the fact that all these rules were designed to perfect the instrument of expression of the ultimate spiritual fountain-head and the Infinite Spirit: each single detail of technique was significant only in so far as it was a hand-maid to the central intuitive idea and the Absolute State. Had the technique of the Indian arts been merely a collection of technical rules, it would have been difficult for the creative artist to adhere to them so faithfully and so completely over a period of fourteen centuries. Also had the technical laws not allowed freedom of expression, experimentation and innovation, there would have been artistic revolts.

Classical Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, literature (kavya), music and dancing evolved their own rules conditioned by their respective media; but they shared with one another not only the underlying spiritual beliefs of the Indian religio-philosophic mind but also the procedures by which the relationships of the symbol and the spiritual states were worked out in detail. Each art worked out an elaborate system for the presentation of the different elements of a work of art in a deliberate and well-defined pattern. The different constituents of drama, poetry, architecture, etc., were enunciated to instruct the artist in the manner of and material for presenting them: each constituent had a precise function to perform. The more deeply we penetrate the technique of any Indian art, the more clearly we see that what may seem spontaneous, individual, impulsive and natural to the lay spectator is in reality well-considered, long-inherited, minutely studied and imbued with a highly symbolic significance.

Bharata discusses this aspect of aesthetics in the Nātyaśāstra, and to him the problem of aesthetics is actually one mainly of technique. In fact, it would seem that the sole aim of Bharata was to instruct dramatists, stage managers and actors in the ways and means of producing drama, to tell them of the various methods and techniques by which a particular rasa could be evoked.

The analysis of the plot, character and types of enacting (abhinaya), different modes (vṛtti) of delivery, elaborate conventions (dharma) of suggestive or realistic
presentation and of zoning (kakṣāvibhāga), as well as the rules governing the use of costumes, colours, ornaments and even coiffure can fully be appreciated only if we realize that each of these was a vehicle of a greater purpose and had a function to perform beyond itself. Each element was correlated to the basic state (sthāyi bhāva) which was to be portrayed through a series of transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva). Thus the nature of the rasa and the sthāyi bhāva determined the type of plot, character and speech the dramatist was to use; it also determined the nature of the stage presentation and the proportion of the different types of abhinaya—those relating to movement (āṅgika), speech (vācika), internal states (sātvika), costume and make-up (āhārya). Bharata also laid down conventions of stage presentation—realistic (lokadharmi) or suggestive (nātyadharmi)—most appropriate for any particular type of drama: he prescribed the mode or manner (vrutti) of speech delivery for different types of action, theme or locale—the graceful (kaiśiki), the energetic (ārabhari), the verbal (bhārati) and the grand (sāttvati). Thus every movement of the body and each gesture of every limb has been analyzed to correlate it to its particular transitory and basic emotional state; each pattern of rhythm, musical note and speech has been dissected in order to establish the complex and deliberate design in the presentation of drama in its totality. There is no scope here for chance and no place for the personal subjectivity of the artist. The actors of the Hindu drama are thus master manipulators of gesture within the different conventions of dramatic performance, as the puppet-showman is of the limbs of his puppets. The representation of the emotions of the hero is to be entirely independent of the actor’s or dancer’s own feelings. Hence he or she can enjoy the transcendental flavour, the rasa, in the same impersonal way as the audience. The work of art and also the artist and the actor thus become participants in a ritual where the work of art is the yantra—the device through which the sādhaka (artist) sees the vision of the Absolute as much as the audience to whom the work of art is presented.

The same principles guide the various systems of Indian classical music. The classification of sound notes (svara) into micro-intervals (śruti) which combine to form different types of rāga can be understood in terms of the individual emotional content of single entities of sound and their total effect in a composition. The twenty-two micro-intervals (śrutis) which the theoreticians of Indian music speak of are like gestures in dance or words in poetry, imbued with a distinct character and significance. The sentiments or expressions which are indicated by each of the śrutis have been classified, each śruti being given a name depicting its character; and in some systems, as in that of Pārśvadeva, these names, were different for each octave. These expressions were further classified into five main groups (jāti) called moderate (madhyā), keen (dīptā), large (āyatā), compassionate (karuṇā) and tender (mṛdu)\(^1\). From these twenty-two main intervals (śrutis), the seven notes (svara) are derived. The word svara, accurately translated, is not only the pitch of sound, but a pitch of sound which is capable of an expression.\(^2\) As defined by Śāṅgadeva, “sound is first heard as an interval—a śruti, but the resonance that immediately

\(^1\)\(^1\)\(^2\)
follows, conveying of itself (without external aid) an expression to the mind of the hearer, is called svara—a musical note”3. Every svara stands for a certain definite emotion or mood and has been classified according to its relative importance, and it forms a different part of the “person” of the modal scale (mūrchnā).

“The note Sa (sādja, the tonic) is said to be the soul. Ri (ṛṣabha) is called the head, Ga (gāndhāra) is the arms, Ma (madhyama) is the chest, Pa (paṇcama), the throat, Dha (dhaiṣata), the lips, Ni (niṣāda), the feet. Such are the seven limbs of the modal scale”4. These notes are also said to correspond with the seven basic elements of the physical body and issue from the seven centres (cakrā)5 of the subtle body.

The mathematical classification of sounds as intervals and relative pitches is the basis on which their musical classification as expressive notes is made. Various notes, carefully selected from the twenty-two intervals of the śruti scale, group together to form a mode, a rāga. The essential feature of a rāga is its power of evoking a state of being in the hearer. The different definitions of rāga contained in texts of music point to the state which it arouses by using definite musical notes in a special sequence and combination. Thus Mataṅga defines rāga “ as a composition of notcs (svara) having a peculiar musical significance in their values of duration (sthāyi), ascent (ārohaṇa), descent (avarohaṇa) or movement (saṅcāri) and capable of invoking in the human mind particular feelings”, (literally, of colouring the hearts of men)6. The definitions of śruti, svara and rāga given above will indicate the great importance attached to the evocative quality of sound. Each śruti has a definite character; the names mandā, candovatī, dayāvatī, raṇjani, raudrī, krodhā, ugrā or kṣobhini denote their emotional quality which dwells in combination or singly in the notes of the modal scale: thus dayāvatī, raṇjani and ratikā dwell in the gāṇḍhāra and each of the notes (svara) of the scale in its turn has its own kind of expression and distinct psychological or physical effect and can be related to a colour, a mood (rasa or bhāva), a metre, a deity or one of the subtle centres (cakra) of the body7. The correspondences of notes with moods (rasa) and colour are listed in all the important treatises on music. Thus for the śṛṅgāra (amorous or erotic) and the hāsa (laughter) rasa, the madhyama and the paṇcama are used; for the viṇa (heroic), raudra (wrathful) and the adbhuta (wondrous), the sādja and the ṛṣabha; for the bibhatsa (revulsive) and the bhayānaka (fearsome), the dhaiṣata; and for the karuna (compassionate), the niṣāda and the gāṇḍhāra are used8. A similar correspondence with colours is also worked out; then these notes, each with its particular seer (rṣi) and rasa, combine in various sequences to form harmonic structures specific to each rāga. The name of each particular rāga thus connotes a scale bearing a distinct relationship of the successive notes (svara) to the invariable ‘tonic’ or drone, with its harmonic structure determined by the vāḍī (sonant), the samvāḍī (consonant) and the aṁśa svara (the chief note). Each rāga in turn suggests a particular state; thus the different rāgas have been categorized according to the emotional effects they produce and linked to different periods in the day-night cycle.
The technique of Indian music, like the technique of Indian drama, thus analyzes in detail the uses of each single unit and interval of sound to produce a configuration of a basic emotional state or mood (śhāyī bhāva or rasa). We see thus that the concepts and methods used by the Indian musician are exactly the same as those used by the dramatist: the differences are only modifications due to the change of medium. Just as the Indian poet or dramatist, in order to evoke a certain rasa, presents a single theme with one sīthāyī bhāva, so also the Indian musician chooses a particular rāga to evoke a particular rasa. The svara, with its variations of komala (flat), tīrta (sharp), suddha (pure), is analogous to speech with its different types or modes; and the composition of the notes in the different phases of the rāga—the ālāpa, the sīthāyī and the antara (or the pallavi, the anupallavi and the caraamn of Karnatak music)—correspond to the junctures (sandhi) of drama. The different methods of manipulating them parallel the different types of abhinaya with its components of vibhāva, anubhāva, and vyāhācārī bhāva conditioned by the vyrtti and the particular convention of presentation (dharma). The multiplicity of the various aspects of poetry and drama, viz., words (alāmkāra) in poetry and speech, enacting (abhinaya) in drama, give rise to the harmonious oneness of the basic state (śhāyī bhāva). The rāga employs the multiplicity of the svara (note) structures as components which are used in a given sequence with the full realization of the subtle distinctions between the emotional quality of any two notes, and the characteristics of the śruti which dwell in each of these notes—out of sixty-six possible intervals (śruti), twenty-two are chosen on account of the distinctive emotional quality assigned to them—give rise to the main basic mood of the rāga which would in turn evoke the particular rasa. The principles which each art follows are devised in pursuit of identical aims and have analogous concepts of the structure of artistic composition.

The above, however, is a discussion of the technique of music only from the aesthetic point of view. It is necessary to mention that, like literature, music also has a philosophic and spiritual basis for its aesthetic character. According to the Brahmanāda theory, cosmic sound (nāda) is considered the cause of the material universe and is identified with the Brahman of the Upaniṣads. The structure of music is based only on audible or perceptible sound (āhaṭa nāda) and not on absolute sound (anāhaṭa nāda), which belongs to the sphere of yoga. There is, however, a close relationship between the two; and the choice of the twenty-two from amongst the sixty-six arithmetically possible intervals (śruti) is made on this basis. The relationship between śruti and nāda is visualized as the relationship between the actual and the potential: śruti is the immediate expression of nāda, which leads to the perception of the latter. Because nāda is related to the ultimate exactly as rays are to a gem, and just as an approach to the rays of a gem leads to the attainment of the gem itself, so the apprehension of nāda leads to the realization of the ultimate; and music is the process by which the Absolute can be apprehended through the sensuous medium of śruti and svara and of the rāga.
Turning our attention to Hindu architecture, sculpture and painting, we find that these arts also manifest the principle of multiplicity and unity on the spiritual, philosophic and aesthetic planes. Hindu architecture proves most powerfully that all art reposes on some unity and all its details, whether few and sparse as in the Buddhist stūpa or crowded and full as in the Hindu temple, must go back to that unity and further its significance; otherwise it is not art and has not fulfilled its function. Indian architecture constantly represents the greatest oneness of the self, the cosmic and the infinite in the immensity of its world design. All the special features of this architecture, its starting point of unity in conception, its crowded abundance of mass and design of significant sculpture, ornament and detail, and its return to the oneness, are ‘the necessary units of this immense epic poem of the Infinite’. Without going into the technique of architecture which lays down the method by which this infinite multiplicity can fill the ultimate oneness, it is enough for our purpose here to be fully aware of the tremendous unity of purpose and design which Indian architecture symbolizes.

In terms of aesthetics, since architecture (more accurately the temple) represents heaven on earth, it arouses wonder (vismaya) and leads to the aesthetic experience of adbhuta.

Indian sculpture like Indian architecture springs from a deep spiritual realization of the Divine and the Infinite. As Sri Aurobindo very aptly states, “The divine self in us is its theme, the body made a form of the soul is its idea and its secret.” Just as Indian architecture reveals the unity through infinite multiplicity, Indian sculpture embodies the spirit and soul of the cosmic Infinite in the form and body of the particular, the impersonal individual which in turn suggests the cosmic and the Infinite. The religious and hieratic aspect of Indian sculpture is also vitally connected with Indian methods of contemplation, where the image is the diagram (yantra) which the artist and the devotee alike contemplate.

Indeed, it may be said that images are to the Hindu worshipper what diagrams are to the geometrician. The image is not a god or a divinity but merely an aspect or hypostasis (avasthā) of God, who is in the last analysis without likeness (amūrta), not determined by form (arūpa), trans-form (pararūpa). The multiplicity of Indian images and their infinite forms have to be understood in the light of their spiritual and philosophic bias. The human form, the particular attitude (bhaṅga, āsana, mudrā), is but the vehicle of a soul-meaning, a concrete embodiment of a great spiritual power and of inmost psychic significance: everything in the figure—face, hands, limbs, postures of every single unit of the human body—has been analyzed with the object of correlating each physical gesture with an inner meaning which will combine to carry out the rhythm of total suggestion. The parts of the human form become the intervals (druti) of music and the characteristics of these basic units are worked out in great detail in treatises on Indian sculpture. In terms of aesthetics,
thus, Indian sculpture also manifests to the spectator, through the portrayal of a variety of permutations and combinations of single units, an aesthetic configuration of a rasa similar to that aimed at by the poet or the musician. Every inch of the human form, every joint of the human skeleton, is given a significance, for it is not only the geometrical and physical possibility which is being explored, but its correlation to the meaning, to the attitude or the state the whole will evoke. As in music, literature and poetry, so also in sculpture, the Indian artist cannot and does not take the particular, the human or the individual, as his starting point; it is the impersonal emotion, the archetype, divided into its infinitesimal types which he portrays. The aesthetic theory which Indian sculpture thus evolves is a theory of plastic expression based on a correspondence between certain proportions and certain sentiments and qualities, just as the relationships of sound determine the sentiments and moods evoked by a musical melody. Character is thus portrayed through a knowledge of types in which particular qualities predominate, and by a systematic use of the physical postures, movements, turns and thrusts of the body which correspond to the moods. This relationship of the physical gesture to a mental quality, mood or state gives Indian sculpture its distinctive character. The classification of images according to qualities (guna) into sattvika, rajasika and tamasika, the analysis of the human form in terms of measure (tala and angula), the categorization of types of movement into three bhaṅga (deflections) and the enumeration of images according to their postures (āśaṅga), have to be understood and evaluated with full realization of the final function which any piece of sculpture was designed to fulfil.

The technique of Hindu sculpture follows faithfully the elaborate and beautiful system of proportions, which it uses constantly to model different types of images: the sculptor combines the basic units of these proportions according to well-defined laws in the same way as the musician combines the basic notes according to an elaborate system which has both an arithmetical validity and an emotional and spiritual significance. The division of the human form into tala and angula and the relationship of each of these to the different axes (śūtra) is based on precise anatomical rules on the one hand, and laws of measurement on the other. With a set of such rules, the sculptor has at his command a series of devices by which he can depict the character of the image he is modelling. Gods, human beings, dwarfs, etc., can be modelled by employing different types of proportions (what in modern sculpture would be termed 'enlarging' or 'dwarfing' the size and volume of figures); and different aspects and moods of gods can be depicted by employing different types of bhaṅga (deflections from the vertical axis or śūtra). These laws of proportions thus become symbolic and charged with emotional expressiveness; the smallest detail of anatomy down to the form of the nostrils and nails, the breadth of the navel and relative position of the toes, feet, knees, thighs, waist, hands, arms, etc., has been carefully worked out to indicate clearly their significance in the whole figure (an attitude or pose). Comparative measurements have been laid down for the respective
images in their various aspects. The full human figure and the gods in their moods of serenity (śānta) or pleasantness (śṛṅgāra), etc., measure nine or ten units (tāla). But when other moods such as the heroic (vīra) or the terrible (raudra) have to be depicted, these figures assume a height of twelve units; in the fierce and the demonic (bhayaṇaka), or in aspects of the revulsive (vibhatsa), the height extends to fourteen tāla units. The goddesses and female figures in their different moods also assume the height of anything from seven to nine tāla units. Thus all types of characters can be depicted in terms of one of the five different sets of proportions, viz., the daśatāla, the navatāla, the aṣṭhatāla, the sapataṭāla or the pāṇcatāla. The angula (like the śruti in music) is the basis of the tāla, and can further be divided and subdivided into yava, yūka, īkhyā, romāgāra, reṇu and the anu (ray of the sun) as the minutest unit. Different texts work out the exact proportions of the human form in terms of angula and tāla, taking one of the five sets of proportions for the total height of the image. Śukrācārya works out the exact details of a daśatāla pramāṇa image, specifying precise measurements for each part of the body from head to foot in terms of angula. Thus, if the face is 13 angulas, the neck is 5 angulas, and the measurements from neck to chest, chest to navel and navel to the base of genitals are 13 angulas each; the thigh and the calf are 27 angulas each, the knee and the ankle are 4 angulas each, the total height being 119 angulas.

The human form is not only divided into tāla on the basis of actual surface proportions, but also measured along various axes on different planes: the measures along these different sections guided the Indian sculptor in the making of images. Five principal vertical axes (sūtra) are enumerated by the śilpaśāstra texts. The brahmasūtra is the vertical axis or the imaginary line passing through the centre of the image and represents the direction of the pull of gravity. The madhyasūtra is the median line drawn from the centre of the crown of the head, through the centre of the chest, the navel, the knees, down to the inner sides of the feet. The pārśvasūtra is the vertical drawn from the side of the forehead, the cheek, the side of the arm, the centre of the thighs, the centre of the knee, and the centre of the ankle-joint. The kakṣasūtra is drawn from the arm-pit, by the side of the hip and the calf, and terminates on the fifth toe of the foot. The bāhusūtra is the vertical drawn from the shoulder-joint to the ground.

The three horizontal axes which are commonly used are the hikkasūtra (the line passing through the base of the neck), the bhadrasūtra (passing through the navel) and the kafisūtra which passes through the hips and the pelvic girdle. The Mānasāra in Chapter LXVII enumerates as many as eleven sūtras and lays down the relative distances of each part of the human figure from each of these lines for various types of deflected stances (i.e., the bhaṅga, commonly translated as pose). The sculptor is thus provided with rules both for surface dimensions and for measurements along different vertical and horizontal planes and sections for every type of image. The six different sets of measurements are termed māna, pramāṇa,
umāṇa, parimāṇa upamāṇa and lambamāṇa. The māṇa is the measurement of the length of the body; the pramāṇa is that along its breadth; the umāṇa represents the measurement taken at right angles to the plane in which the māṇa and the pramāṇa have been measured, i.e., along the axis of the thickness or depth of the body. The parimāṇa is the measure of the girth or periphery; the upamāṇa refers to the position of different limbs in relation to each other, e.g., the measurement of the inter-space between the two feet. The lambamāṇa is the measurement along the vertical axes.14

With the alphabet of the tāla (literally an unit of time) and the measurement along the different planes, the Indian sculptor models the different poses of the image, employing all the permutations and combinations of movement possible in this given space. Any movement whatsoever can be comprehended into the four deflexions (bhaṅga) i.e., the samabhaṅga, the abhaṅga, the tribhaṅga and the atibhaṅga only within the complex structure of the angula, the tāla and the sūtra measures. A pose can contain within itself endless types of plastic composition, of erect, sitting, reclining postures; movement in sculpture has thus to be understood both as a manipulation of balance and weight and as a symbol of the spiritual idea which is embodied in the image. When the śilpaśāstra discusses the exact points from which the brahmaśūtra has to be drawn in any particular pose and the exact distance of each limb or part of the human figure from this line, it is fully conscious of the corresponding emotion which these deflexions and poses will arouse: thus the samabhaṅga is the pose of perfect poise and balance, the weight and mass of the body being equally divided and the right and left halves of the figure being placed in symmetrical positions. Texts prescribe the distance between the two heels, knees and thighs for this pose.

Since the samabhaṅga is a position of equipoise or perfect balance, it is used to show the calmer, more reposeful moods and attitudes: all the sāttvika mudrās, therefore, whether standing or seated or reclining, are shown in the samabhaṅga pose. The dhyāna images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Buddha are in the samabhaṅga. The abhaṅga indicates the slight shift of the weight to one side and the vertical is drawn from a different point. The distance of the two big toes and of the knees from the median (madhyasūtra) is also different. The emotional quality of the pose does not suggest complete concentration and poise but, instead, a slight deviation from it. The slightly dynamic, the erotic (śṛṅgāra) and the delicately heroic (vīra) figures are depicted in this pose: Gauri or Kodaṇḍa Rāma may be cited as examples. The deflection from the plumb line is relatively slight here; the weight is shifted to show the point of unrest but not of movement. The tribhaṅga and atibhaṅga denote greater deflections from the plumb line and are used to depict the heroic or the demonic moods. These proportions, deflexions, poses and hastamudrās (hand gestures) correspond thus to the character of the deity represented; they complete the exposition of the character otherwise set forth by means of facial expressions,
attributes, costume or gesture. Each aspect, mood or incarnation of the gods in the pantheon has its particular bhaṅga, āsana, sthāna, symbolic attribute, hastamudrā, dress and ornament. The multiplicity of the presentation of the different movements and linear measurements and their fractions, deflexions and deviations of weight and distance, all coalesce into a single powerful symbol of a unified state or mood. The pyramidal structure which we have observed in drama and music is again obvious in sculpture, where the whole reveals itself through a multiplicity of technique and design only to return to the unity and the oneness of the basic state or bhāva.

The fascinating and overpowering quality of the most completely conceived technique is a distinctive feature of all forms of classical Indian art, where the smallest mathematical fractions and complex combinations of measurements all combine to suggest a unified experience on the psychical plane.

A study of the alphabets and basic laws of composition of these arts clearly indicates the parallel techniques followed by them. The various aspects of technique are the first constituents to which each of these arts reduces itself, but it is the direction which is given to these constituents that gives Indian art its distinctive, spiritual and suggestive character. From the multiple base of the constituents a well-organized process leads up to an apex where each of the constituents of form has a corresponding spiritual or emotional value. The lines of technique move to form an artistic whole, corresponding physical and spiritual experiences merging in one overpowering symbol of an inner state of being.

Indian painting, in spirit, in concept of form, and in its vision, is identical with the spirit and approach of Indian sculpture. The technique of Indian painting aims to provide (like the techniques of Indian sculpture, music and literature) the utmost significance (spiritual or symbolic) to the form and appearance it visually presents. Like the Indian sculptor, the Indian painter discovered the rule of proportion, arrangement and perspective which preserved the illusion of Nature and yet suggested an inner vision and communicated a psychic truth which he had experienced. The basic principles of the technique of painting, according to most texts, are the six limbs (ṣaḍaṅga) which are common to all work in line and colour: rūpabhedā represents the distinction of forms; pramāṇa, the proportion, arrangement of line and mass, perspective and design; bhāva, the emotion or aesthetic feeling expressed by the form; lāvanya represents the infusion of grace into artistic representation; sādṛśya is the principle of co-visibility, the simultaneous apprehension of the truth of its form and of its suggestion; and finally the varṇikābhāṅga is the combination and harmony of colours.

Even this brief enumeration of principles will make it clear that the theoretician of Indian painting was correlating at every point the techniques of line and colour to the feeling or emotion they could recreate. The Čītraśāstra states even more
explicitly the rules by which emotional states and different types of character can be represented. Thus the height of a character is described in terms of the mood he can depict, and the shape of the face is determined by the bhāva it must express.

Without going any further into the details of the artistic technique of painting and its corresponding symbolic and spiritual values, we now pass on to an Indian art form which embodies in its spirit and form the essence of all the arts mentioned above, especially nātya (drama), saṅgīta (music) and śilpa (sculpture).

Through a beautiful and complete language of movement, Indian dance provides the most concrete manifestation of the inner state and vision we have spoken of. Indian dance, like Indian poetry, music and sculpture, seeks to communicate universal, impersonal emotion, and, through the very medium of the human form, it transcends the physical plane: in its technique, it employs the technique of all the Indian arts and it is impossible to comprehend the architectonic structure of this form without being aware of the complex techniques of the other arts which it constantly and faithfully employs and synthesizes. The themes which the Indian dancer portrays are not only the raw material of literature, but are also the finished products of literary creation; the music which seems to accompany the dance is actually the life-breath of its structure and, indeed, dance interprets in movement what music interprets in sound; the postures and the stances it attains are the poses which the Indian sculptor models: all these the dancer imbues with a living spirit of movement in a composition of form which is both sensuous and spiritual.

As was pointed out at the very outset of this study, the inter-relationship of the Indian arts is a significant and rewarding study from the point of view of both spirit and form: in the art of the Indian dance different aspects of spirit and technique merge harmoniously to make a beautiful synthesis.

It is significant that treatises on dance seldom, if ever, discuss the technique of this art form in isolation: both literature (or at least an aspect of it) and music (saṅgīta) are invariably discussed. Conversely, the treatises on sculpture, nātya (drama), music and painting invariably devote a portion either to dance itself or discuss certain elements of the technique of these art forms in terms of the technique of dance (nṛtya or nṛtta). Thus, treatises on painting discuss the rasa dṛṣṭi in terms of the glances (dṛṣṭi) of the Nāṭyaśāstra and treatises on sculpture enumerate in great detail the nṛttamūrti (dancing aspects) of the various gods and goddesses and discuss the symbolism of the hastamudrā in terms of the hastābhinaya of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Indian dancing has two distinct aspects: the nṛtta (pure dance) and abhinaya (nṛtya, mime, gesticulation). The nṛtta portion of dance depends for its lifebreath on the music and rhythm which accompany it: the abhinaya portion depends for its expression on the theme of the narrative or lyrical literary composition.
(termed sāhitya by practising dancers) which is sung. This abhinaya portion of dance was indeed conceived originally by Bharata as an integral part of nātya (drama). In the Nātyaśāstra, he discusses it as an aspect of nātya which constitutes dancing also: the human form is analysed from the head to the toe to show, on the one hand, the various possibilities of movement of each part of the human figure, and, on the other, the use of these movements to express certain states (bhāva) and emotions. Throughout the discussion of the anāga and the upānga in the Nātyaśāstra, we find that Bharata first states the movements which are physically possible and then enumerates the use (viniyoga) to which they can be put in āṅgikābhinaya¹⁷ to represent the dominant and transitory states (sthāyi and vyabhicārī bhāva). In Chapter VII he discusses the dominant states and shows the way in which each one of these states can be represented on the stage through speech and movement. In Chapter VIII¹⁸ he analyses the movements of major limbs (āṅga) and minor limbs (upānga) and lays down the methods of using them to express certain sentiments (rasa) and to represent certain dominant states (sthāyi bhāva) and transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva). He first indicates the glances (drṣṭi) corresponding to the sentiments (rasa), then the glances (drṣṭi) according to the dominant states (sthāyi bhāva), and then the glances corresponding to the transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva). The movements of the eyeball (tārā) are analysed in a similar fashion; wherever it is not done by explicit statement, it is done by implication when he prescribes the uses (viniyoga) of these movements. Every movement of each single limb of the human body has a corresponding emotional quality, which is analogous to the emotional expression of śruti and śvara in music. Every gesture and movement of eyes, eyeballs, eyebrows, eyelids, nose, cheeks, lower lips, chin, mouth, neck, chest, breast, sides (pārśva), belly, waist, thigh, shank, knee, feet, and hands thus assumes a significance which it would be impossible to imagine ordinarily. This language of gestures finds its complete articulation in the hastābhinaya, where practically all the permutations and combinations of the fingers, palm and the wrist have been worked out and each hand-pose (hasta) has been employed as words are in a language. Like nātya thus the nrtya and abhinaya portion of dancing employs the entire human form to speak a language of movement through which a sthāyi bhāva (dominant state) can be presented and a sentiment, a mood (rasa), evoked. The dance does away completely with the vācikābhinaya (speech enacting) of the drama proper and employs only music and song for that purpose. The process by which it builds the sthāyi bhāva, however, is exactly that by which the dramatist builds up the sthāyi bhāva through the representation of the determinants (vibhāva), the consequents (anubhāva) and the transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva). The emphasis in dancing is on the vyabhicārī bhāva (the transitory states), termed to this day in all styles of dancing as saṅcārī bhāva; the dominant state (sthāyi bhāva) is represented by portraying through a series of gestures the transitory states (vyabhicārī bhāva) of the particular dominant state (sthāyi bhāva).

Again the characters that the Indian dancer depicts are not only the gods
and goddesses and demons of Indian mythology but also the heroes (nāyaka) and heroines (nāyikā) of Indian drama. We find the frequent portrayal of these heroes and heroines in dance; a nāyikā like the abhisārikā often forms the heroine of the Indian dance. Indian dancing also follows all the principles of presentation of the Indian drama (nātya). The convention of the nātyadharṇi is the backbone of the entire presentation of the Indian dance; it shares with Indian drama its deliberate and purposive renunciation of stage scenery and the imitation of life-like gestures, its emphasis on stylization of presentation through gesture of all situations and emotions and its rules of basic representation (sāmānyābhinaya) and special representation (viśeṣa citrābhinaya). The dance is a limb of the drama proper in so far as mime or gesture (āṅgikābhinaya), costume and make-up (āhāryābhinaya) form a part of drama, and is so far as the kaiśikī vṛtti (the graceful style) belongs as much to dance as to drama, and inasmuch as every aspect of drama has an element of dance which is indistinguishable from the former.

The āṅgikābhinaya of the dance is built on the themes of literature which have been set to music; this music has been conceived to correspond to the dominant state (sthāyi bhāva) and the transitory state (vyabhicārī bhāva) of the literary piece. In order to evoke a particular state, music employs a particular rāga, with its particular notes (svara) in a given order: the dancer in turn creates a whole state where the theme, the song, and the rhythm all contribute to evoke the particular mood or sentiment (rasa). The poses which the dancer utilizes for this purpose are identical with those of Indian sculpture, and very often the one is a visual representation in movement of the static pose of the other. The principles of movement and body manipulation are the same as those used by the silpaśāstra, and practically all the poses of the vṛtta portion of the Indian dance can be analysed in terms of the four bhaṅgas on the one hand and the different types of āsana and sthāna on the other. For example, the pose used for the representation of the shooting of the arrow is āṭīḍha in both the arts. Similarly, many attitudes in Indian sculpture can be analysed in terms of stylized dance movement, even though they may not be poses depicting dancing as such. This identification is not merely the result of the influence of one art upon another, but a reflection of the allegiance of both arts to the same basic rules of movement depiction. Even though the Indian dancer can use space more freely than the Indian sculptor, the emphasis is always on the pose which the dancer attains through a series of movements; and neither in these movements nor in the final pose (karaṇa) does the dancer deviate from the prescribed limitations of the plumb lines (sūtra) and the relative distance of the different parts of the body in a given bhaṅga. So much accurate sculptural representation of the dance was possible only because the two arts were so fundamentally inter-related.

We shall presently explore the valuable part played by Indian dance in the history of Indian sculpture; what must be pointed out here is that the dance
shared the minute analysis of the human figure in Indian sculpture and accepted the principles underlying its rules for the distance between any two parts of body in a given ṭāḷa and bhaṅga. In dance also each part of the human body is analysed in terms of the possibility of its movement, like the cārī and the sthāna, to give rise to the larger unit of the karaṇa the karaṇa in turn combining to give rise to a dance sequence of the anīghāra. If the Indian dance could not attain the measurements of the different types of figures of the daśatāla and the navatāla in the linear measurements, it did employ the principle of the horizontal axes (sūtra) of the hikkā (neck-line), the bhādra (navel) and the kaṭi (hip) when depicting the movements of the different portions of the human form. The head with its divisions of the face, eyes, nose, etc., is considered as a separate unit in Indian dance and is used more extensively than in any other style of dancing. The possibilities of the pivot joint of the neck are explored in full. The torso, the section of the body between the hikkā and the bhādra planes, is the next unit dealt with: detailed analysis of the karaṇa poses will show the importance given to the point of the navel as the base of all movements of the upper body. The kaṭi sūtra (hip-line) is similarly utilized to the full as the centre of the movements of the hips, thighs, knees and feet. Actually, the relationship of the bhaṅga with these horizontal lines and with the central vertical axis can be perfectly seen in the movements and poses of Indian dance. The relationship of the pramaṇa (breadth) to the central vertical axis (brahmaśūtra) is again fully utilized in Indian dance to indicate the comparative violence or calmness of a mood. The distance between the feet is mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra in the description and definition of most movements; this would not have been necessary if the aim was not to maintain the perfect proportion and relationship between the vertical axis (the brahmaśūtra), the height (māna) and the breadth of the horizontal plane (pramaṇa). The Indian dancer never errs on the side of over-extension of legs; the leaps or leg-extensions so characteristic of Western ballet are comparatively rare in Indian dance. The other technical aspect common to Indian sculpture and dancing is hand gestures (hastābhinya). If the texts of Hindu iconography and texts of Indian dancing do not use quite the same words, they use the same language and many hand gestures and their symbolic meanings are common to both the arts.

A comparison of the technique of the Indian arts has thus shown us that certain aspects of the Indian arts are integral parts of the technique of Indian dancing and that it embodies the salient features of each of these arts. Actually, these arts not only share the common goal of all art and the aim of spiritual fulfilment but do so through similar and occasionally overlapping techniques. All Indian arts create an illusion of spontaneity which, when examined carefully, is the result of the perfect and flawless execution of multiple and complex systems of technique. The technique becomes especially significant because it is the vital vehicle of a profound vision which the artist has known and which he is seeking to suggest through his particular medium with the greatest possible concentration of rhythmic
unity. The freedom, the *moksa*, which the artist attains is through the rigorous discipline which the technique demands of him, in which his undisciplined subjective emotions have no part to play. The work of art truly becomes for the artist and the audience alike a *yantra*, a diagrammatic image, a symbolic key to a vision of unity, timeless and eternal. The repetition of themes, content and form is then no longer a cramping and delimiting boredom but a source of strength. Contemplation of this *yantra*, this spiritually as well as aesthetically satisfying symbol, can lead to a state in which bliss (*ānanda*) and complete release in life (*ītivanmukti*) may be experienced, however briefly. The concentrated vitality and discipline of the image of Śiva as Naṭarāja symbolizes all these aspects of the spirit and form of Indian art; the complexity of technique gives rise to but 'a single and unified ascension of the spirit' which is embodied in that symbol.

**Notes**


2. See *Brhaddeśī* (of Mataṅga), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, commentary on I. 63, where the derivation of the word *svara* is 'that which shines of itself'.


5. See Kallinātha's commentary on *Sanāgīṭaratnākara*, I. 3-23.

6. Mataṅga: *Brhaddeśī*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series p. 81. For other definitions of *rāga*, see Somanātha's *Rāga Vibodha*, I.4, and Dāmodara Misra's *Sanāgīṭadarpanā* (Calcutta Edition), 2.1. Also see Tagore, S. M.: *Hindī Music from Various Authors*, p. 27, where many definitions have been collected.

7. See Danielou, Alain: *Northern Indian Music*, Vol. I, pp. 58-60, for the relationship of *svara* and *śruti* and their classification according to emotional characteristics.

8. See *Brhaddeśī*, I. 84. *Sanāgīṭaratnākara*, I. 3.52 ff., where the exact correspondence of each *svara* to colour, deity, metre, dynasty, caste, place of origin, *ṛṣi* and *rasa* is worked out, and Kunhan Rāja's translation of *Sanāgīṭaratnākara*, Ch. I, pp. 54 and 64.


10. For a discussion of these aspects of music see *Sanāgīṭaratnākara*, I. 2.1, 1.2, 140 and I. 3.3.10 and *Sanāgīṭamakaranda* of Nārada.

11. A detailed discussion on architecture is not within the scope of our study. For a full discussion of the principles of architecture, see *Vāstuśāstra* and *Śilpaśāstra*: *Mānasollāsa* of Bhāṭṭa Someśvara, *Mayamata* of Mayamuni, *Samarāṅganaśrutadhāra* (two chapters edited by Dr. V. Raghavan JISOA III, pp. 15-32); *Mānasāra*, edited by P. K. Acharya; Bagchi, P. C. *Pīṅgalamāpā*, Ch. IV—JISOA Vol. XI, pp. 9-37, and Kramrisch, Stella; *The Hindu Temple*, where the symbolism and form of the Hindu temple are discussed.

13. There are differences of opinion with regard to the basic unit of measurement in the different texts of iconography; and āṅgula is thought of as the more ancient basic unit by some authors. Also different texts of iconography give different measures for the images of the same tāla: thus the dāsātāla image can also be divided into different proportions. For our purpose here, it is important to know the underlying principle rather than the details of different specifications. For a detailed discussion on tāla measurements, see the following:

*Bṛhatārthā* (Ch. LVII-LVIII), (translation by Banerjee, J. N., in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, pp. 578-89);
*Pratimāṃsānakṣaṇam*—(translation, ibid., pp. 590 ff.);
*Mānasāra* (special Ch. LXV);
*Samarāṅgana sutrādhāra* (of Bhoja), Vol. I,
*Sukrāntisāra* (of Sukraśārya), IV. 4;
*Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III. 34;
*Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. XLII and CCLVIII-CCLIX;
Rao, Gopinatha: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*;
Banerjee, J. N.: *Development of Hindu Iconography*;


15. See *Mānasāra* (edited by Acharya, P. K., Ch. LXVII V. 96 ff.)

16. See Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, Chapter on *Citrakalā*: *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III. 37, where the *drṣṭi* in painting is described, and III. 35 where painting is discussed. Ch. LXXXII of *Samarāṅganasūtrādhāra* also deals with *rasa-drṣṭi*.

17. A detailed examination of all these aspects will be taken up in the chapter on ‘Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dance’.

18. Chapter numbers relate to the Baroda edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, unless otherwise indicated.

19. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chowkambha Series), Ch. XXII and XXVI.

20. See Chapter II ‘Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dance’ where a detailed comparison has been made (see Table XIII).
II

THEORY AND TECHNIQUE OF CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE

The quest of the classical Indian arts was a pursuit of absolute form, which would suggest through its flawlessness the ultimate state of being and which would transcend the transitory, the chaotic, the subjective and the personal in man. A study of the theory and technique of the Indian arts is, therefore, not only academically rewarding but essential for both the artist and the spectator. In the theoretical treatises on the arts, the principles of form in the respective media have been classified and analyzed to enable the reader to comprehend the absolute form which is charged with spiritual significance.

Novelty of theme or content is here an irrelevant consideration. The content of art has also thus been analyzed as the potential material of abstract form. The dimension of the spirit, which is so often experienced by the sensitive and the aesthetically trained, and which has been called the twin brother of the mystic experience, is one which the ancient artist and the theoretician knew well; the tests only lay down the rules through which the perfect form in art can be suggested and, in turn, through which a state of supreme bliss, however momentary, can be experienced.

Indian dance takes the human figure as its basic instrument of expression and applies the same method of analysis and synthesis in its technique as is seen in other Indian arts. It synthesizes into itself the technique of other arts and becomes the most beautiful and significant symbol of the spiritual and artistic approach of the Hindu mind.

The theory of Indian dancing cannot thus be studied in isolation; it has always to be comprehended as a complex synthesis of the arts of literature, sculpture and music. The writer of the Nātyaśāstra is fully conscious of the all-embracing quality of the art of drama (nātya, which includes dancing) when he states at the very beginning of his treatise that “this art will be enriched by the teaching of all scriptures (śāstra) and will give a review of all arts and crafts”¹, and further that “there is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in drama”², and finally when he asserts: “Hence I have devised the drama in which meet all the departments of knowledge, different arts and various actions”³. There are no limitations of theme or content in this art; it depicts the exploits of gods, asuras, kings and ordinary human beings; its range extends to the seven divisions of the world (sapta dvīpa); thus, when the limitless range of human
nature with its joys and sorrows is depicted by means of representation through
dramatic performance (abhinaya)\(^4\), it is called drama (nāṭya).

The theory and technique of Indian dance is an integral part of this concep-
tion of drama and cannot be understood without the full realization of the impli-
cations of these assertions, which have so aptly been made by Bharata. Without
going into the intricate details of the historical development of dancing and the
controversy whether dance emerged as an art form before drama proper or vice
versa, it is sufficient to point out here that, at a very early stage of development,
both these arts fused into one so that, by the time Bharata wrote his treatise,
dance was very much a part of drama and at many points of contact both the
arts were consciously conceived as one. The Nāṭyaśāstra thus is neither a treatise
on drama alone, as understood by some, nor a treatise on dancing, as believed
by quite a few. The technique of Indian dancing has actually to be culled and its
principles selected with acute discrimination from the technique of dramaturgy
prescribed by Bharata. Once this is done, dance does emerge as an independent
art; it continues nevertheless to be an integral part of drama. Indeed, once the
most important aspect of what we understand by dance today (what the Sanskrit
dramatist understood as āṅgikābhinaya) is either taken out or ignored, the character
of Indian drama is lost.

The principles which govern the technique of Indian dance are the same as
those which govern the technique of classical Indian drama. Most theoreticians
of Indian dramaturgy agree that the conventions of stage presentation are a vital
part of the structure of Indian drama, and that a literary piece can be understood
only as a configuration of various aspects of stage presentation. The rules which
govern this stage presentation are the manifold conventions of the Sanskrit stage.
Thus the principle of the two modes (dharma) of presentation, nāṭya (the stylized)
or loka (the realistic), the different types of vṛtti (style), namely kaiśiki (the graceful),
sāttvati (the grand), ārabhaṭi (the energetic) and bhāraṭi (the verbal); the full play
of the four types of abhinaya (acting), namely, āṅgika (gestures or movement),
vācika (the spoken word), āhārya (costume, make-up, stage props, etc.) and sāttvika
(relating to state of emotion) are the broad principles which govern the structure of
Indian drama and its stage presentation. It is these principles, along with other
related ones such as the concept of bāhyya (external) and ābhyaṅtara (inner) acting,
of pravṛtti (local usage), of sāmānyābhinaya (basic representation) and citrābhinaya
(special representation), which govern also the technique of Indian dancing. In
fact, on the Indian stage today these principles and conventions are observed in the
presentation of compositions of contemporary classical dance styles rather than of
contemporary Indian drama. In the Nāṭyaśāstra these principles have been dis-
cussed as a part of dramaturgy and histrionics and not particularly in the context
of dance or drama alone\(^5\). The later texts, which deal with dance as an independent
art, consider these principles in relation to dance only. It is not until we come
to the work of Nandikeśvara in the Abhinayadarpana that we find a full and independent treatment of dance from the point of view of the principles enumerated above. He is followed by other writers of treatises on dance. Śāṅgadeva and the authors of the Vīṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha all follow the analysis of Nandikeśvara.

The different aspects of dramaturgy as pertinent to dance are shown in the chart on page 26.

The technique of sāmānyābhinaya (basic representation), bāhyya (external or irregular) and ābhyanantara (internal or regular) and citrābhinaya (special representation) is in turn made up by the combination of different elements of the four types of abhinaya. The technique of dance is evolved directly out of the diverse elements of the dharmī, the vṛtti and the four types of abhinaya mentioned above. Judging from the divisions which are made in later texts like the Abhinayadarpana, the Saṅgītaratnākara, etc., the technique of dance, as distinct from the technique of drama proper, utilizes drama (nāṭya) as one of its aspects, as much as drama utilizes nṛta (pure dance) and nṛtya (dance with mime) as an aspect of its technique.

TECHNIQUE

According to the Abhinayadarpana, the Saṅgītaratnākara and other medieval treatises, dance is divided into three distinct categories, viz., nāṭya, nṛtya and nṛtta. Nāṭya here corresponds to drama, nṛtya to mime performed to song and nṛtta to pure dance where the movements of the body do not express mood (bhāva) or meaning. These texts also characterize dancing as masculine (tāṇḍava) or feminine (lāśya). These terms also occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra, but not explicitly in this sense. The Nāṭyaśāstra uses the word tāṇḍava as a generic term which cannot be interpreted as denoting vigorous dancing or as one performed by men alone. Chapter IV of the Nāṭyaśāstra is entitled Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam and the term tāṇḍava is used here for the particular dance which Taṇḍu composed by combining the recaka (circular movement of a limb), the aṅgahāra (sequence of movements) and the pindī (grouping) with song and instrumental music. This dance was to be performed generally for the adoration of the gods, while its gentler aspect (sukumāraprayoga) was to be used in the śṛṅgāra rasa (erotic sentiment). The word lāśya is used in later chapters as a synonym for sukhumāra nṛtya and, in the description of the ten types of drama, lāśya is one of the forms mentioned. The Abhinayadarpana and the Saṅgītaratnākara, however, clearly describe tāṇḍava as derived from Taṇḍu and lāśya as derived from Pārvati who taught it to Ūṣā, the daughter of Vāṇa.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that the art of dancing has clearly
Chart showing different aspects of dramaturgy as pertinent to dance

**Nāṭya (dramaturgy)**

(a) *dharmī* (modes of presentation)

- *lokaḍharmī* used in drama proper
- *nāṭyadharmī* used in drama; in dance and music
  - this is the only mode

(b) *vṛtti* (styles of composition)

- *kaiśiki* (graceful) specially suitable for dance
- *ārabhaṭi* (energetic) in the *tāṇḍava* aspects of dance, only occasionally
- *sāttvati* (grand) used in dance in the depiction of *rasa* but not too often

(c) *abhiniyā* (types of acting)

- *bhārati* (verbal) of little value in dance

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**āṅgika** (gestures, movement of the body)

- *vācika* (speech) recitation and music in dance
- *vākyābhiniyā* in drama

---

**āṅgika** is further divided as follows:

- **mukhaṇa** (of the face)
  - *upānga* (minor limbs)
  - eyebrows, eyelids, eyeballs, nose, lips, chin and mouth

- **śarīra** (of the body)
  - *anga* (major limbs)
  - head, chest, waist, sides, hips, thighs, hands and feet

- **ceṣṭākṛta** (residing in bodily movement)
  - *śākhā* used frequently in dance
  - *anakura* used occasionally in dance
  - *suca* not relevant for dance
been classified into nrtya, nrdda and nātya, on the one hand, and tāṇḍava and lāsya or sukumāra, on the other. The technique of classical Indian dancing can be broken up into these constituents, which are faithfully followed to this day in all the styles of Indian dancing. The terms nrdda and abhinaya, tāṇḍava and lāsya, are also prevalent amongst practising dancers throughout the country: the dancers speak an identical language of basic technique even though there are significant differences in stylization.

On the basis of the classification given above, we can analyze dance technique under two clear heads, nrdda (pure dance) and nrtya (dance with mime). It would be more appropriate to term the second as just abhinaya, which is also the term popularly used by practising dancers for the mime aspect of dance.

Nṛṛtha Technique

The nṛṛtha technique of dance as discussed in the treatises has to be understood as the laws of human movement. It is generally accepted that Indian dancing has a sculpturesque quality which is rare in the dance styles of the West, for its emphasis is on the pose, the stance, and not on a continuous movement in limitless space, as is the impression given by Western classical ballet. In the nṛṛtha technique, we find that a series of poses, sculpturesque in quality and almost static in impression, are connected by movement in a given metrical cycle. Indian dancing seeks to depict the perfect point or the moment of balance along the brahmasūtra (the vertical median), so much so that all movement emerges from the sama (the point of perfect balance, akin to the samabhānga of sculpture) and comes back to this. It is movement of the human form in direct relation to the pull of gravity that Indian dance conceives, which explains its deliberate avoidance, for the most part, of terrific leaps and gliding movements in the air so characteristic of the Western ballet. In the latter, a position in space where the human form is apparently free from gravity, is emphasized. It is the stages of movement which are depicted in the composition of dance: it strives thus to eliminate space by covering as much of it as possible, whether it is floor-space or space in the air. Space is enveloped in figures of movement in leaps and in intricate floor choreography. The Western dancer is reaching out into space in order to arrest a moment of perfect movement: he strives for spacelessness at a point in time. The Indian dancer’s preoccupation is not so much with space as with time, and the dancer is constantly trying to achieve the perfect pose which will convey a sense of timelessness. We find that, except in certain aspects of Kathākali and Mayurabhaṅga, in none of the other classical Indian dance styles are there any large leaps evident, nor have they been discussed in the treatises. Bharata could have easily analyzed and discussed the possibilities of movement in space, where both hands and feet lose contact with the ground, but he does not do so in any one of the 108 karanas or the thirty-two aṅgahāras, which he discusses in great detail. The system of movement composition
has thus to be understood in the light of this difference in approach and within this broad framework. As much as Indian drama deliberately and purposely avoided certain features of life for depiction, so also Indian dance purposely and with deliberate design emphasized only certain types of movement. It explored the fullest possibilities of movement but within the limitations which it consciously imposed on itself as discipline.

The Indian dancer, like the Indian sculptor, does not lay much emphasis on the muscles of the human body but takes the joints and the fundamental bone-structure as its basis. It enables the dancer to suggest an abstract form without drawing attention to individual features of the muscles. In so far as the whole process of dancing was a yoga, this was inevitable, for the muscles could not suggest absolute form or create abstract geometrical patterns. The different parts of the body and their respective movements have been analyzed with this basic point of view. The knee, hip and shoulder joints constitute the key points from which movement originates in the lower and upper limbs: the neck joint is the pivot joint responsible for the movements of the head. The Nāṭyaśāstra gives us two types of classification of movements. There is, first, the analysis of different parts of the human body from the point of view of the possibility of movement; thus, in Chapters VIII and IX, it analyzes in great detail the movements of major and minor limbs. In Chapters XII, XIII and IV, there is a discussion on the combinations of these primary movements such as cārī, maṇḍala, karaṇa, anāghāra, etc. According to this classification, the head, hands, breast, sides (waist), hips and feet constitute the major limbs (aṅga), and eyes, eyebrows, nose, lips, chin, mouth, etc., constitute the minor limbs (upaṅga). Bharata uses the words upaṅga and pratyāṅga practically as synonyms, but does not classify the neck, arms, abdomen, shanks and knees in either category; texts like the Abhinayadarpana and the Saṅgītaratnakara classify these as pratyāṅga. The Nāṭyaśāstra does not also analyze movement of the knee (jāmu), the ankles (gulpha) and the toes of the feet which is done by other texts. It does mention wrist movements but does not devote a separate section to them. An attempt is made below at a comparative study of the movements of these major limbs. The hands (hasta) are the only parts of the body the uses of which for nṛtta and abhinaya are separately treated. In the case of other parts of the body, the movement of the particular part has been described first, and this is followed by its viniyoga (usage), which constitutes a part of the abhinaya technique. This is, however, more true of the movements of the minor limbs, specially of facial (mukhaja) ones like those of the eyebrow, eyeball, eyelid, chin, nose, lips, etc. The thighs, waist, side and chest have been primarily discussed from the point of view of nṛtta.

On the basis of these movements of the separate parts of the human body, Bharata discusses and analyzes the fundamental units of movement. The cārī is the most important single unit of movement in the nṛtta technique as enunciated
by Bharata. A movement of the lower part of the body consequent upon a movement of one foot from the sama position of the feet is termed a pāda cārī. Bharata devotes one chapter to this and says that "whatever has been prescribed as nāṭya (histrionic representation) is included in the cārī and no part of it can take place without the same."13 Since the cārī is also a part of a system of exercise, its various forms are related to one another and cannot be considered in isolation. The cārī results from movement with one foot; movements of both the feet produce a karaṇa: (this karaṇa is, however, different from the karana of Chapter IV, which is described as a complete unit of movement of all the limbs.14) Three karaṇas in combination form a khaṇḍa and three or four khaṇḍas constitute a maṇḍala.15 The maṇḍala is also different from the two types of maṇḍala which arise out of the cārī.16 In Chapter X, thirty-two kinds of cārī are defined; of these sixteen are termed bhaumi (earthly) and the other sixteen are called ākāśikī (aerial). The difference between the two groups is really one of degree and frequency of movement rather than of quality. The first type of cārī has some seven static positions of the shank, and the second type indicates movement and utilizes both the feet, even though the main movement involves only one leg or one foot. In Tables XVII and XVIII an attempt has been made to describe these cārīs and relate them to different parts of the body.

Next in importance to the cārī is the unit of movement called the karaṇa discussed in detail in Chapter IV of the Nāṭyaśāstra, where the 108 types of karaṇa are described. It is necessary to point out, in this context, that it is not possible to understand Chapter IV or the descriptions of the karaṇa without knowing the movements of the separate parts of the body like the feet, thighs, waist, and the varieties of nyṛta hasta, all of which are discussed later, particularly in Chapters VII, IX, X and XI. In our analysis of the karaṇas, the relationship of these units of movement to the different parts of the body has been worked out. According to the Nāṭyaśāstra, two karaṇas constitute a mātrikā; two or three of these in turn constitute an aṅgahāra. Bharata also says that three karaṇas will constitute a kalāpaka, four karaṇas, a śaṅdaka, and five karaṇas, a saṅghātaka.17 These are no more than terms to us, but it is clear that any of them can combine to form an aṅgahāra, which is a sequence rather than a unit of movement. Parallel to this composition of movement is the combination of the cārīs to form maṇḍalas, which are described in Chapter XI, where ten aerial maṇḍalas and eight earthly maṇḍalas18 have been described. The eight earthly maṇḍalas share their names with the cārīs of the same type (i.e., earthly). Of the ten aerial ones four share their names with the cārīs; the other six are derived from cārīs but they share their names with the karaṇas. Most of the karaṇas also derive their names and their movement from the cārīs and this has been pointed out in the detailed discussion of the individual karaṇas. The maṇḍala and the aṅgahāra, being series of movements of varying degrees of complexity, can only be analyzed in actual movement demonstration and no attempt has been made to tabulate them.
Apart from the cārī, karaṇa, maṇḍala and aṅgahāra, the other important types of movement in the nrīta technique are the movements and compositions indicated by the technical terms recaka, bhramari and utplavana, and the group composition indicated by the term piṇḍibandha. The Nāṭyaśāstra only defines the recaka and the piṇḍibandha, though the bhramari (spiral movement) and the utplavana (jump) are mentioned in the context of the karaṇa. The last two, namely the bhramari and the utplavana, have been discussed in the Abhinayadarpana and the Saṅgitaratnākara. Nandikeśvara mentions five types of utplavana, namely the alaga, kartari, aśva, moṣita, kṛpālaga; and seven types of bhramari, viz., utpluta, cakra, garuḍa, ekapāda kuṇīcita, ākāṣa, and aṅga. The Abhinayadarpana also enumerates eight types of cārī which have nothing in common with the cārī of the Nāṭyaśāstra and which belong more to the class of movement termed gati by Bharata.

Both the bhramari of the Abhinayadarpana and the recaka of the Nāṭyaśāstra belong to a class of circular movement and denote turning of one part of the body or the whole body around an axis, which would be termed as spinning or a pirouette (or cakkar as in contemporary Kathak terminology). The Nāṭyaśāstra describes recaka (rotation) of the pāda (feet), kaṭi (waist), hasta (hand) and grīvā (neck). The waist and the neck are capable of complete circular movement and the feet and the hands can achieve only a restricted movement within the limitation of the wrist and the ankle joint, but what Bharata means by pāda and hasta recaka is the complete circular movement of the whole leg or arm, and this is stated clearly in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The frequent reference to the recaka in literature, in the description of the karaṇas and in the description of the individual movements of the different parts of the body tells us of the great popularity of spiral and spinning movements in the dance of the Nāṭyaśāstra tradition. They seem to have enjoyed the same popularity until the time of Rājaśekhara.

The most important term in the sphere of dance composition found in the Nāṭyaśāstra is the piṇḍibandha. Four varieties of piṇḍi are mentioned: piṇḍi, śṛṅkhaliṅka, latābandha, and bhedayaka. The first stands for a collective dance, and the word piṇḍi suggests a gulma (cluster). The entry of the main dancer was, perhaps, followed by that of a group of dancers: the nature of the formation of the group has not been described by the Nāṭyaśāstra, but the name suggests a composition where a closed cluster would be made by the dancers. Another type of composition is the śṛṅkhala, where a chain formation is suggested and the partners hold hands: latābandha suggests a dance composition where the dancers put their arms around each other. In the bhedayaka dancers break away from the group and perform individual movements. All these are employed in the beginning of a play, and are related to āsārita of various kinds. The piṇḍibandha is thus applied in the first āsārita (which is the shortest); the śṛṅkhala is employed at the transition of tempo, the latābandha in the middle āsārita and the bhedayaka.
in the longest. An elaborate system of nṛtta technique is thus laid down and the enumeration above covers most of Bharata's discussion of this technique.

**Nṛtya or Abhinaya**

The miming aspect of nātya termed āṅgikābhinaya in the Nātyaśāstra is also an integral part of dancing; the principles which govern the technique of āṅgikābhinaya in nātya also govern the technique of nṛtya or what is termed as just abhinaya in dancing.

The dancer employs the body and its limbs for expression; the vācikābhinaya of nātya, where the actors themselves use speech, is replaced by the music which accompanies the dance. In the nṛtta portion, the musical accompaniment utilizes melody in a given tāla (metrical cycle) and the improvisations on the basic tāla are interpreted through movement. In the abhinaya portion the musical accompaniment mostly consists of poetry, lyrical or narrative, set to music and rhythm. It is this poetry which is interpreted by the dancer: the interpretation (specially in the solo dancing of all the classical styles) comprises a portrayal of the various saṅcārī bhāvas of the particular sthāyi bhāva. This is achieved through a series of variations of the āṅgikābhinaya, each word of the poetry being interpreted in as many different ways as possible. The principle of nātyadharma is strictly followed during the portrayal: here the one dancer assumes different roles, without change of dress or costume. Bharata, while citing examples of nātyadharma, tells us that, if the same actor assumes a different role (in the same play) then it is nātyadharma. He adds further that in any play, where dance-gestures are employed, there is a predominance of graceful gesticulation, which is the sphere of nātyadharma. The whole sphere of dance belongs, indeed, to the nātyadharma mode of presentation, for the principle of imitation is nowhere followed and it is, instead, the principle of suggestion which the dancer is guided by: no attempt is made to present things as they are, and artistic stylization is implicit in the attempt to show, through gesture, the entire range of human emotion and experience. The stylization is also seen in the depiction of those emotions which would ordinarily be the sphere of sāttvikābhinaya in the drama proper; in the dance abhinaya, even tears, etc., have to be shown through gesticulation in nātyadharma. The three types of gesticulation seen in the abhinaya of drama, are the sūcā, the sākhā, and the aṅkura; of these the sākhā type of āṅgikābhinaya belongs most to the sphere of dancing, for here the theme is represented through the use of the head, face, thighs, feet, hands, etc. The vṛtti most suitable for the dance is the kaiśikī; it is witnessed both in the nṛtta and the nṛtya portions. Bharata tells us that this vṛtti is particularly interesting on account of the dancing and singing which are used for its representation. In so far as every vṛtti has its corresponding rasa, they are all witnessed in dancing, specially in the narrative themes and presentation of the sentiments in a dance style like the Kathākali.

The nṛtya or abhinaya portion utilizes for the most part the gesture of the
hands (*hastābhina)* and movements of the face (*mukhajābhina*), specially the *drśti*, i.e., the movement of the eyes, eyebrows, eyeballs, etc. The movements of the head and *vakra* (chest) are also important, but not to the same degree. Naturally, the movements of the feet cannot be ignored but they are of secondary importance. The hands are of supreme importance in *abhinaya*. Their movements have been grouped under those of the single hand and those of the combined hands (*asamyuta* and *samjyuta*). The fingers and the hands have endless possibilities of movement, and most of them have been explored: the hand gestures form a fairly complete alphabet for a language. The hand movements are indeed the focal point around which everything else revolves. It is with this in view that Nandikesara and the writers after him lay down the famous dictum that “where the hand goes, the eyes follow: where the eye goes, the *bhāva* (mood) follows and where the mind goes, there arises the *rasa* (sentiment)”. The uses of the hands and their movements have not been discussed in the present study. All the primary hand movements, whether of one hand or of both, can be used purely imitatively, or they can be used suggestively; they can be used to represent things, places and human beings, or to convey ideas and emotions; or they can be used as symbols. Through hand gesticulation, thus, the universe can be comprehended; through these hands the seven spheres, the oceans, rivers, planets, human beings, and animals can all be represented. These hand gestures along with the movements of the eyes and eyeballs are employed in the *samānyābhina* (basic representation) and in the *citrābhina* (special representation).

The movements of the different parts of the face and the head, specially eye movements, are almost as important as the *hasta* in the *abhinaya* technique of dance; each glance and each movement of the eyeball and eyebrow is related to a corresponding *vyābhidrśa* *bhāva*, a *sthāyī bhāva* and a *rasa*. In the tables an attempt has been made to show the systematic relationship between these movements and the corresponding *rasa*.

The discussion above will make it clear that the technique of the Indian dance is as complex in nature as the technique of any other art in India and that it grows from the smallest unit of movement into a composite whole by a series of laws applied systematically to evoke a particular state of mind or *rasa*. This is as true of the *nṛtta* as of the *abhinaya* technique. The chart on page 33 will give an idea of the inter-relationship and derivations of the different aspects of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*.

**TEXTS**

Texts or manuals on the theory and technique of dancing are innumerable and it is impossible to deal with all of them. Most of them are available only in
Chart showing inter-relationship and derivations of nṛtta and abhinaya

Nṛtya (dancing)

Nṛtta

(a) static positions or poses

(i) sthāna for men and women

(ii) āsana of three types

(b) movements and compositions in space

(i) mandala

(ii) pindābandha

(iii) angāhāra

ārūpī
cārī
cārī
pīndī srṅkhalīkā latā bhedyākā

earthly (bhaumi)
aerial (ākāsīkī)
karana (a unit of movement)
karana (a sequence of movement)

bhaumi (earthly)
ākāsīkī (aerial)

ekapāda (mainly one leg or one foot, leading to a static position)
dvīpāda (both feet)
(both feet used indicating a movement rather than a position)

karana

pāda kati hasta grīvā pāda trika pāda jānu

cārī
defīca bhramari utpluta nṛtta hasta

mukhaja (glance)

dṛṣṭi eye head neck nose lips mouth chin

hasta bāhu (arm)

asanyutahasta sanyutahasta

angā (lower and upper limbs)
manuscript form, and, except for a few, they have not been edited critically, and hardly has any been analyzed from the point of view of the technique of dancing as distinguished from the theory of nāṭya (drama proper) and saṅgīta. We have to draw our material, therefore, from such portions of these texts as deal with nṛtya or nṛtta, whether in the context of nāṭya (drama), saṅgīta (music), citrakalā (painting) or śilpa (sculpture).

The history of the theoretical literature on Indian dancing begins with the Naṭasūtras referred to by Pāṇini. Śilālin and Kṛśāsva were the authors of these sūtras. Even though we are unable to determine definitely the nature of these works, it is clear that these works contained the first codification of the technique of dance and drama. It can also be fairly definitely established that these sūtras contained sets of rules for performing actors, dancers and pantomimists.

The text of the Nāṭyaśāstra is the earliest extant text on dramaturgy and histriionics in which the techniques of nṛtta (dance) and nṛtya (mime) have been discussed in detail. The compiler of the Nāṭyaśāstra quotes Śiva as his authority, and starts his treatise with a salutation to both Pitāmaha Brahmā and Maheśvara (Śiva); he states that he is going to explain the canons of drāma (nāṭyaśāstra) as uttered by Bharata. The hundred sons of Bharata mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra who studied the nāṭyaveda have been identified by scholars as the predecessors and contemporaries of Bharata. The compiler of the Nāṭyaśāstra seems to have borrowed freely from earlier writers and often mentions their works. The names of Kohala, Dattila (Dhūrtila), Śāndilya, Vātysa, Śālikarna (Śātakarna or Śātakarni), Bādarāyaṇa, Nakhakuṭṭa and Āśmakuṭṭa are mentioned and, even though their works are not extant today, they are known to be writers on the art of histriionics and dramaturgy. Bharata, in Chapter XXXVI, says that all the topics which have not been discussed by him will be discussed by Kohala later. Bharata also mentions the names of rśis other than Śilālin and Kṛśāsva. From the point of view of the nṛtya technique the works of Pravara and Kaśyapa are considered to be the most significant. Unfortunately, most of these works are lost and the main points of their treatises can only be recreated through the works of other authors who quote from them. Kaśyapa is known to have written a significant treatise on the relationship of rāga and rasa. The work of Kohala, mentioned by Bharata, is also lost to us, and the several manuscripts going by that name seem to be much later compilations. The great contribution of Kohala seems to be his discussion of the uparūpakas, the minor dramatic varieties which seem to have developed after Bharata. The uparūpaka was the dance-drama or music-drama which was distinct from the major dramatic form called the rūpaka and the nāṭaka proper.

Dattila (Dhūrtila of the Nāṭyaśāstra) is quoted by Abhinavagupta, and from these quotations it appears that he was a writer on histriionics and music. Dattila
seems to have been a prolific writer, judged from the number of times the Abhinavabhāratī mentions him in the commentary on the chapter on music. Dattula seems to have enjoyed the reputation of an acknowledged authority.

Sāgaranandin's Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakosā quotes from Śatakarni and Asmaktuṭa and Bādārāyana: and Viśvanātha quotes from Nakhakutṭa leading to the conclusion that they were all authors of works on dramaturgy and, perhaps, also histrionics. Other ancient and medieval writers whose works do not seem to have come down to us, but who have been quoted or mentioned by Abhinavagupta, Śāradātinaya, (the writer of the Bhāvaprakāśa) and Sāgaranandin (the writer of the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa) are Nandi, Tumburi, Viśākhila and Cārāṇa, and Sadāśiva, Padmabhū, Drauhini, Vyāsa, Ānjaneya Kātyāyana, Rāhula, Garga and Śākaligarbha, and Ghaṇṭaka and Harṣa, the writer of Vārīkā, Mārgṛ Gupta, Subandhu and many more. (All these writers with the exception of Mārṛ Gupta are but names to us today.) With King Mārṛ Gupta of Kashmir starts a line of commentators on the Nāṭyaśāstra whose works are valuable aids for the study of the Nāṭyaśāstra. A commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra, and a dance treatise, is attributed to King Mārṛ Gupta. King Jayapīḍa of Kashmir is known to have married a dancer, and asked his minister Udhaṭa to write a commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra. Following Udhaṭa many writers wrote commentaries and upākhyānas on the Nāṭyaśāstra. Bhaṭṭa Lollα, Śāraṇkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Bhaṭṭa Tauta may be mentioned in the context of the particular theories of aesthetics, but no one's work is as monumental or significant from the point of view of nṛtya and nṛta as Abhinavagupta's. The commentary of Abhinavagupta, in spite of all its obscurities, has the richest and most valuable aid for an understanding of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Other works on dramaturgy which have any bearing on histrionics and dancing are Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Sāgaranandin's Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakosā, Rāmacandra's Nāṭyadarpaṇa and Śāradātinaya's Bhāvaprakāśa and, of course, the Daśarūpa of Dhanaṇḍa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha, both of whom discuss drama proper, rather than the techniques of histrionics and dancing.

The most important works from the point of view of dancing are the Bharatāṅga of Nāñdeva, King of Mithilā, and the Abhinayadarpaṇa of Nandikeśvara with all the different recensions and versions. The latter text is by far the most complete text on dance exclusively, which constitutes a discussion of the dance proper (nṛtta) and acting (nṛtya and abhinaya). Bharatāṅga, the other work attributed to Nandikeśvara, also deals with abhinaya and nṛtya. The next authoritative discussion on dance is contained in the seventh chapter of the Saṅgitaratnakara of Śaṅgadeva.

Textual literature on dance is found practically in every province of India...
and contemporary styles of classical dancing follow particular texts of the region. It is worthwhile to remember that there exists a substantial gap between the writing of the Nātyaśāstra and other important texts on dance. Even if the upper limit of the Abhinayadarpaṇa is taken to be the sixth or seventh century, we still have a gap of nearly 400 years between the first and the next authoritative texts on dance. After the appearance of the Abhinayadarpaṇa, and the Saṅgītaratnākara, we have a rich and sizable collection of texts and manuals on dance from all parts of India. All this material, however, belongs to a historical period which is strictly not within the purview of this study. Any historical re-construction of dance styles prevalent during the medieval period, that is from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, would necessarily call for correlation between these texts on the one hand and material available in historical chronicles and regional literatures on the other. However, even a superficial glance at these texts convinces us of an extensive tradition of dance, drama and music in different parts of India.

Following the monumental work of Śāṅgadeva in the Saṅgītaratnākara and his comprehensive treatment of dance in the nrtiḥdhyāya, we find Jayasena’s (1253 A.D.) important work entitled Nṛttaratnāvali. Vācānacārya Sudhākalaśa’s work the Saṅgītopaniṣat Sāroddhāra (1350 A.D.) is a significant contribution of the Jaina tradition to the literature of music and dance. He devotes two chapters to dance and we obtain some very interesting insights into dance technique and its development. There are significant points of departure from the Nātyaśāstra in both the Saṅgītaratnākara and in Sudhākalaśa’s work specially in the treatment of the karaṇas. From Orissa we have the Abhinayacandrikā (XII-XIII ce.) by Maheśvara Mahāpātra: later we have the Saṅgītadhāmodara by Raghunātha (XVII c.) and Saṅgītanārayaṇa by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of Khemundi from the same region. From Assam we have the Hastamuktāvali by Śubhaṅkara (1650 A.D.) which has come down in Assamese, Newari and Bengali recensions. Assam and Bengal follow the treatise closely: indeed the Ojāpalli dance drama of Assam bases its hand gesture system on the Hastamuktāvali. From the same region we have two other important texts on dance, namely Saṅgītadhāmodara attributed also to Śubhaṅkar and another on rhythm entitled Vādyapradipa. All these texts can be dated about the sixteenth or seventeenth century. From Rajasthan we have the important work Nṛtyaratnakosa by Kumbhakarṇa (1443-1468) dealing with the dance, as also the Saṅgītarāja by the same author: from Uttar Pradesh we have the Nṛtyādhīya in Saṅgītamallikā of Mohammad Shah (XVI-XVII cc.) which throws interesting light on the development of Kathak. Commentaries on the Saṅgītaratnākara continued to be written in all parts of India and Śimhabhūpāla’s and Kallināṭha’s commentaries are as important for an understanding of the Saṅgītaratnākara as Abhinavagupta’s commentary is for the understanding of the Nātyaśāstra.

South Indian texts which have found publication are the Bālarāmabharata.
of Mahārajā Bāla Rāma Varmā of Kerala (18th c.) and Nṛtyādhyāya of the Saṅgītārāmaṇī of the Tanjore Marhatta Tulaja. The Nṛtyādhyāya of the Saṅgīta-makaranda by Veda of the court of Sāhāji Rājā (1640 A.D.) has been published serially in the Journal of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library, edited by Vāsudeva Śāstri; the first volume of the Nātyaśāstra Saṅgrahā, a compilation in Marathi script of various texts on the nātya made by one Utake Govindācārya has been published in the Madras Government Oriental Series. A text of Bharatārṇava by Nandikesvara has also been published in the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series. Alain Dairelou has published another text entitled Le Gitālaṅkāra which, he asserts, is earlier than the Nātyaśāstra: however, there is still a great controversy about its date.

A great deal of literature on dance exists only in manuscript form and the critically edited editions of Bharatasenāpatiya, Kumāragiri's Vasantarājiva, Vima-bhupāla's Saṅgītacintāmani and Laksminārāyaṇa's Saṅgītasūryodaya and the commentaries on the Silappadikāram would greatly enrich the theoretical literature on dance. Dr. V. Raghavan has done a valuable task of going through most of these texts and bringing them to the modern reading public, but there is still a great deal which remains to be done. A close relationship exists between the techniques of dancing discussed here and the technique of movement discussed in the Śīlapaśāstras and the treatises on painting: the Agni Purāṇa and the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa discuss this relationship and borrow liberally from the Nāṭyaśāstra in their discussion.

For a comparative study of the technique of dancing, as laid down in these manuals, only a few of the published texts have been taken into consideration.

The tables that follow are based on the two principles of nṛtta and abhinaya; first, an attempt has been made to compare the primary movements of the aṅgas and the upāngas in each of these treatises; secondly, the primary movements have been correlated to their uses (viniyoga) in abhinaya. Where ever it has been possible to correlate the viniyoga to the saṅcāri and the sthāyi bhāvas (the transitory and the dominant states) and the rasa (sentiment), it has also been done. The main sources of comparison in the nṛtta technique have been the Nāṭyaśāstra, the two versions of the Abhinayadarpana, the seventh chapter of the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Nṛtyādhyāya of Veda's Saṅgīta-makaranda (as edited by Vāsudeva Śāstri), the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgrahā and the Balārāmabharata in the treatment of the hastas, the Hastalakṣanadipikā, the Hastamuktāvalī and the iconographical texts have also been considered.

For abhinaya and the uses (viniyoga) of the primary movements, all these texts have been taken into account, but the most profitable sources of analysis are the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Abhinayadarpana; thus a detailed analysis of only these two texts has been made.
Dṛṣṭi (glances)

The Nāṭyaśāstra describes thirty-six different types of glances (dṛṣṭi) excluding the eight additional looks (darśana) described in the context of the muscular movements of the eyeballs. Of these thirty-six, eight refer to the rasa (sentiments), another eight to the sthāyī bhāva (the dominant states): the names of the first sixteen can practically be identified with the names of the rasa, and the sthāyī bhāva; the names of the vyabhicārī dṛṣṭis correspond closely to the names of the vyabhicārī bhāva and are sometimes identical.

The first sixteen glances (dṛṣṭi) are described in great detail in terms of the muscular movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and the eyebrows and, occasionally, the colour of the eyes. Wherever the movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and the eyebrows have not been mentioned in technical terms, the descriptions indicate the precise movement. The twenty glances of the vyabhicārī bhāvas (transitory states) are more difficult to analyze in terms of the movements of the eyebrows, eyelids and eyeballs. An attempt has been made, therefore, to analyze only the first sixteen and their relationship to each other and to the different parts of the eye and not the last twenty. All the thirty-six glances have to be understood, nevertheless, in the context of the discussion on the representation of vibhāva and anubhāva contained in Chapter VII of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

The Saṅgitaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, the Bālarāmabharata, Veda’s Saṅgitamakaranda all follow closely the classification of the dṛṣṭis of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The text used by Coomaraswamy in the Mirror of Gesture enumerates forty-four glances, of which some like the sāci dṛṣṭi are described by Bharata; the others are more or less in accordance with the vyabhicārī dṛṣṭis of the Nāṭyaśāstra with a few omissions and a few additions, such as the iṅgita, dūra, etc. The twenty glances belonging to the vyabhicārī bhāva can be grouped according to their respective sthāyī bhāva, but since they are used to represent subtle shades of emotion and sentiment, it is best not to regroup them in terms of the sthāyī bhāva. Very often in the description of the dṛṣṭis of the rasa and the sthāyī bhāva the names of the vyabhicārī dṛṣṭis are frequently used by Bharata; thus ākekarā and trastā vibhrāntā are frequently used to represent sthāyī bhāva.

The dṛṣṭis inclusive of the movement of the eyeballs, the iris and the pupil of the eye, the eyelids, and the eyebrows form an important part of the abhinaya technique of Indian dance and drama, and in fact the āṅgikābhīnaya in dancing (where speech is not used) uses for its expression most effectively the muscles of the eye and different parts of the face. The mukhajābhīnaya has been given a very significant role in the histrionic technique of Indian dance and drama. Kathākali preserves to a very large extent the principles laid down by Bharata, and the accuracy of expression achieved by the use of face muscles, and movements of the different parts of the eye is impressive.
Table I and Table II show the different types of glances (drśṭi) and movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and eyebrows, as also the movements of the different parts of the face in relation to a certain rasa or sthāyī bhāva. An accurate use of these movements would necessarily result in an expression of the face which would represent the particular sthāyī bhāva or rasa. The movements of the major limbs (aṅga) can also be related to the rasa but the correspondence cannot be as accurate as in the case of the face and eye movements, and Bharata does not explicitly relate them to the rasa or the sthāyī bhāva either. (Tables on pages 40-43).

Tāra & Darśana (eyeball)

The movements of the eyeballs have been treated in the texts from two points of view: there are first the eyeball movements without reference to the object of perception which suggest the positions of the eyeball in different parts of the eye, and then there is the classification of the eyeball movements according to the object of perception. Both these are closely connected, and the latter necessarily uses the former except in movements like the calana, samudvṛtta and the bhramana where the eyeball movements are used to express states and sentiments. The Nāṭyaśāstra enumerates nine movements of the first type and eight of the second: the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgīraha and the Bālarāmabharata follow this listing. The Abhinayadarpana and the Mirror of Gesture do not mention the eyeball movements, but only mention the second variety under drśṭi: seven out of the eight mentioned have a great deal in common with the darśana of the Saṅgītaratnākara and the additional drśṭis of the Nāṭyaśāstra, but the last movement is completely different in the Abhinayadarpana and the Mirror of Gesture. The Mirror of Gesture mentions forty-four other glances on the basis of another text58, but when this list is carefully examined, one finds that it is really a mixture of the rasa drśṭis of the Nāṭyaśāstra and the eyeball movements discussed above and some eyelid movements. Of the forty-four, the following are common to those mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra: sama, pravilokita, ālokita, sācī, vilokita, avalokita, anuvṛtta and militā.

Śṛṅgārā, abhuta, karuṇa, bhayānaka, viṣa, raudra relate to rasa drśṭis and most of the others relate to the vyabhicāri bhāva drśṭis.

The eyeball movements and the darśana can also be regrouped according to the direction of the movement of the eyeball. The sācī, the pralokita, the vivarta (or kaṭākṣa) belong to one category where the pupil moves either to one side, or moves from side to side.

The movements of the eyeballs in the up-down direction form another group; samudvṛtta, sampraveśana, ullokita belong to this category where the pupil is taken either to the top or bottom of the eye.

The circular movements of the eyeball, such as the bhramana form the third
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Rasa</th>
<th>(2) Rasa Drṣṭi</th>
<th>(3) Sthāyi Bhāva Drṣṭi (pupil)</th>
<th>(4) Tārā (eyelid)</th>
<th>(5) Puṭa (eyelid)</th>
<th>(6) Bhrū (eyebrow)</th>
<th>(7) Darsana (look)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Śṛṅgāra (Rati)</td>
<td>Kantā</td>
<td>Snigdhā</td>
<td>Vivartana Prākṛta</td>
<td>Sama</td>
<td>Utkṣepa and Sahaja</td>
<td>Kaṭākṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bhayānaka</td>
<td>Bhayānaka</td>
<td>Bhayānaka</td>
<td>Samudvṛttata</td>
<td>Vivartīta</td>
<td>Sphūrita</td>
<td>Niṣkrānta-madhya drṣṭi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kampita—also Niṣkrāma and Calana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a terrified still glance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hāṣya</td>
<td>Hāsyā</td>
<td>Hṛṣṭā</td>
<td>Praveśana</td>
<td>Prasṛta</td>
<td>Kuṅcita</td>
<td>Kuṅcita</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Karuṇa (Śoka)</td>
<td>Karuṇā</td>
<td>Dīnā</td>
<td>Pāta</td>
<td>Pihita</td>
<td>Nimeśa</td>
<td>Gaze at the tip of the nose, and very slow movement of the pupil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Adbhuta</td>
<td>Adbhutā</td>
<td>Samudvṛttata</td>
<td>Kuṅcita</td>
<td>Sahaja</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vilokita or Vismita</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Vismaya)</td>
<td>Vismitā</td>
<td>or Niṣkrāma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prasṛta</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. <strong>Raudra</strong> (Krodha)</td>
<td><strong>Raudrä</strong></td>
<td><strong>Krudhā</strong></td>
<td><strong>Prākṛta or Bhramaṇa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Samudvrṭṭa Bhramaṇa</strong> and Valana movements may also be used in certain contexts.</td>
<td><strong>Unmeṣa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bhrukuḍī</strong></td>
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<td>7. <strong>Vira</strong> (Utsāha)</td>
<td><strong>Virā</strong></td>
<td><strong>Drptā</strong></td>
<td><strong>Samudvrṭṭa or Prākṛta</strong></td>
<td><strong>Utkṣepa</strong> Glowing and bright look</td>
<td><strong>Prasṛṭa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sahaja</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sama tārā</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. <strong>Bibhatsa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bibhatsā</strong></td>
<td><strong>Praveśana</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kaṭcitā</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pāta</strong> Militā ṅṛṣṭi closing and turning away from the object</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Jugupsā</em></td>
<td><strong>Jugupsitā</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. <strong>Śaṅata</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ākekarā (saṅcārī bhāva ṅṛṣṭi)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Nimeṣa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sahaja</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Rasa</td>
<td>(2) Nāśā (nose)</td>
<td>(3) Gaṇḍa (cheeks)</td>
<td>(4) Adhara (lips)</td>
<td>(5) Cibuka (chin)</td>
<td>(6) Mukha (mouth)</td>
<td>(7) Mukha Rāga (colour of face)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Śṛṅgāra</td>
<td>Socchvāsā</td>
<td>Phulla or Sama</td>
<td>Visarga or Samudga</td>
<td>Sama or Khaṇḍana</td>
<td>Udvāhi or Bhugna or Vivṛta</td>
<td>Prasanna or Svābhāvika</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Bhayānaka</td>
<td>Vikṛṣṭā or Mandā</td>
<td>Kampita or Kuṇḍita</td>
<td>Kampana</td>
<td>Kuṭṭana or Chinna</td>
<td>Vivṛta</td>
<td>Śyāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hāsyā</td>
<td>Vikūṇitā</td>
<td>Pūrṇa or Phulla</td>
<td>Visarga or Vivartana</td>
<td>Lehana or Cukkita</td>
<td>Vivṛta or Viniyṛta</td>
<td>Prasanna</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Karuṇā</td>
<td>Natā or Mandā</td>
<td>Kṣāma</td>
<td>Samudga</td>
<td>Sama or Chinna</td>
<td>Bhugna or Nirbhugna</td>
<td>Rakta</td>
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<td>5. Adbhuta</td>
<td>Svābhāvīkā</td>
<td>Sama</td>
<td>Visarga or Sama</td>
<td>Udvāhi</td>
<td>Prasanna</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Raudra</td>
<td>Vikṛṣṭā</td>
<td>Pūrna or Kampita</td>
<td>Kampana or Sandastra or Vinigūhāna</td>
<td>Daśṭa</td>
<td>Vinivṛtta</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Vīra</td>
<td>Vikṛṣṭā or Svābhāvikā</td>
<td>Pūrna</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Sama</td>
<td>Vidhuta or Udvāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bībhatsa</td>
<td>Vikūṇitā</td>
<td>Kuṇcita</td>
<td>Vivartana</td>
<td>Chinna or Kuṭṭana</td>
<td>Vinivṛtta or Nirbhugna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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category and the diagonal or oblique movements of the eyeballs such as the *valana*, *vilokita* belong to the fourth; the normal or relaxed portions of the eyeball such as the *prākṛta*, *sama*, *pāta* belong to yet a fifth category.

*Bhrū* (eyebrows) and *Puṭa* (eyelids)

The eyelid and eyebrow movements enumerated by the texts show that the theoretician of the dance had explored the full possibilities of movement of these parts of the face and from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the *Bālarāmabharata* there is an extensive listing of the eyebrow and eyelid movements.

The seven movements of the eyebrow and the nine movements of the eyelid take into consideration all movements possible physically: they can be reclassified according to the directions of movement and the positions of the eyeball, eyelid and eyebrow. Bharata is fully aware of this when he discusses any one of these movements, and this pattern which seems so abstract can be understood in its entirety only by an awareness of the inter-relationships of the movement of different parts of the eye. The movements of the eyelid and eyebrow along the vertical plane are *unmesa*, *vivartitā* (*puṭa*), *utkṣepa* (*bhrū*), *samudvṛttā* (*tārā*), *ullokita* (*darśana*) with an emphasis on an upward movement; *nimesa* (eyelid), *pāta* (eyebrow) and *sampravesana* (eyeball), *avalokita* (*darśana*) have a downward accent. The movements along the horizontal plane (i.e. side to side) are *prasṛta* (eyelid), *catura* (eyebrow), *vivartana* (eyeball movement), *sācī* and *pralokita* (*darśana*). The movements along the thickness have also been visualized as in the *niśkramaṇa* movement of the eyeball, which suggests a going out or a bulge of the eyeball. The circular movements can apply only to the eyebrow and the eyeball and the *recita bhrū* and the *bhramaṇa* (*tārā*) movements belong to this category.

Contraction, expansion, and throbbing, corresponding to the tense and relaxed positions of the other limbs have also been classified. Thus, the *kuṇcita* eyelid and the *kuṇcita* eyebrow and the *bhrūkuśi* eyebrow denote contraction, and *prasṛta* eyelid, the *sahaja* eyebrow, the *ālokita dṛṣṭi* or *darśana* and *pāta* eyeball denote relaxation. The normal positions of these parts have been termed as *sama* (eyelid), *sahaja* (eyebrow), *prākṛta* (eyeball) and *sama* (*dṛṣṭi*), respectively. In the case of the eyelid the throbbing movement (*sphurita*) has also been taken into account.

The nine movements of the eyebrow which the *Bālarāmabharata* enumerates are in fact only combinations of the movements described by Bharata and Śāṅgadeva, and can be reclassified easily under the six basic movements. It will be observed from the tables that the *Abhinayadarpana* does not mention either the eyelid or the eyebrow movements: the *Mirror of Gesture* mentions only the eyebrow movements and does not mention the eyelid movements.
Tables III, IV and V show the movements of the different parts of the eye. Table III shows the relationship of the tārā (eyeball) movements and the additional drṣṭis laid down by the Nāṭyaśāstra; these drṣṭis are termed darśana by the later texts. Table IV shows the different eyebrow movements according to the Nāṭyaśāstra, Mirror of Gesture, Sāṅgitaratnākara and Bālarāmabharata. Table V shows the movements of the puṭa (eyelid), eyebrows and eyeballs. (Tables on pp 46-51)

Mukhajābhīnaya (movements of the face)

Movements of the mouth (mukha), nose (nāsā), cheeks (gaṇḍa), chin (cibuka) and lips (adhara) are classified in the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Saṅgitaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and the Bālarāmabharata according to the muscular possibilities of movement of these parts of the face. The Nāṭyaśāstra classification is followed to a large extent by the other texts. The Saṅgitaratnākara adds a few more movements in the case of the lips such as udvyāta, āyata and recita and two more movements, grahaṇa and niśkarṣaṇa, in the case of the chin (classified as teeth movements). Most of these movements are important more from the point of view of abhinaya than that of nrīta. The usage gives them significance in the former aspect of dancing. The tongue (jīva) movements are enumerated only by the later texts (i.e., Saṅgitaratnākara, Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and Bālarāmabharata) and have not been mentioned by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra. There is scant evidence in the literary works of Sanskrit literature of the popular usage of these movements of the nose, cheeks, chin, etc.; the drṣṭis, the movements of the eyeball (tārā) and the eyebrow (bhrū) are, however, frequently mentioned by the creative writers. Kathākali alone among dance styles utilizes these classifications of facial muscles etc., for the rest they are known as part of a discipline and training of the dancer, but are not consciously employed in Indian dancing. The Bālarāmabharata mentions many more movements of these parts of the face which seem to derive their validity from the oral rather than the academic tradition; nevertheless, most of them can be analyzed in terms of their corresponding vyabhīcāri bhāva etc. and thus form an integral part of āṅgikābhīnaya of classical dancing. Table VI indicates the correlation of each of these movements of the nose, cheeks, lips, chin, and the mouth to one another. (Table VI on pp 52-53)

Śirobheda (movements of the head)

The Nāṭyaśāstra mentions thirteen basic movements of the head and discusses the viniyoga (usage) both in terms of abhinaya and nrīta. The Abhinayadarpana mentions nine movements of which five are similar to the ones mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra: of the other four, three have common names but not the same descriptions as in the Nāṭyaśāstra; the ninth, viz., sama is completely differently defined.

The Saṅgitaratnākara follows the Nāṭyaśāstra closely and repeats the thirteen movements mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra, but adds the sama of the Abhinayadarpana and another five new movements not mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tārā (eyeball movements)</th>
<th>Darśanas or Drṣṭis (glances)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NS, SR &amp; NSS</strong>&lt;sup&gt;60&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>BB</strong>&lt;sup&gt;60&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>calls them drṣṭis</em></td>
<td><strong>AD &amp; MG</strong>&lt;sup&gt;62&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SR &amp; NSS</strong>&lt;sup&gt;83&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><strong>BB</strong>&lt;sup&gt;44&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>calls them Drṣṭis which observe objects</em></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Bhramaṇa (a circular movement of the eyeball)</th>
<th>As in NS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Valana (the oblique or diagonal movement of the eyeball) | As in NS, but the movements are called darśana; they clearly denote the variations in the position of the pupils in different kinds of observation and are thus called the objective or viṣayābhimukha tārā etc. | Vīlokana |

Vīlokita (looking at an object behind, turning)
3. **Pāta** (a relaxed normal position of the eyeball)  
As in *NS*, two types are listed: *ṣighra* and *manthar pāta*  
**Anuvṛtta** (looking at an object carefully)  
**Anuvṛtta** (but the description is different: here it is a movement of the pupils up and down)  

4. **Calana** (the tremor of the eyeballs)  
As in *NS*, two types of movements are listed: *svasthāna calana* and the *sarvatracalana*  

5. **Sampraveśana** (when the eyeballs are drawn inside so that the pupil is practically invisible)  
As in *NS*  
**Avalokita** (looking at an object below but the pupils are hidden in the eyelids)  
**Avalokita** (slight difference in definition)  

6. **Vivartana** (the side ways movement with open eyelid is called *kaṭāksa* also)  
As in *NS*  
**Sāci** (the sidelong glance the pupil is taken to the corner of the eye)  
As in *NS*  
**Pralokita** (looking at an object from the side)  
**Pralokita** but slight difference in definition  

7. **Samudvṛtta** (raising of the eyeballs)  
**Udvṛtta** (same as *samudvṛtta*)  
**Ullokita** (taking the pupil up—looking at a high object)  
As in *NS*  

(Continued)
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<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Niśkramana (the bulging of the eye-balls)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>Ālokita (the sudden opening of the eyes)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>Ālokana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Prākṛta (natural glance)</td>
<td>Prasṛta (cf. prākṛta of the NS)</td>
<td>Sama (eye-ball in middle of eye) (^{40})</td>
<td>As in NS nimi-litā (half closed eyes)</td>
<td>Sama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{40}\) For a detailed explanation, refer to the cited source.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS^65</th>
<th>MG^66</th>
<th>SR &amp; NSS^67</th>
<th>BB^68</th>
<th>BB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Utkṣepa (raising the eyebrow)</td>
<td>Utkṣipta (raising the eyebrow as in NS)</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td>As in SR &amp; NSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pātana (lowering the eyebrow)</td>
<td>Patita (difference in definition—usage same)</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhrūkuṭi (knitting the eyebrow)</td>
<td>Bhrūkuṭi—as in NS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Catura (when the eyebrow is pleasantly extended)</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kuṅcita (contracted)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita</td>
<td>Nikuṅcita—(slight variation in definition)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Recita (moving gracefully)</td>
<td>Recita</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sahaja (natural)</td>
<td>Sahaja</td>
<td>As in MG</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional movements of Bhrūkuṭi given by BB

1. Valitā
2. Calitā
3. Stabdha
4. Ayatā
5. Ayakunṃhitā
6. Vivartitā
7. Natā
8. Vakritā
9. Lalitā
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Puṭa (eyelid)</th>
<th>Bhrū (eyebrow)</th>
<th>Tārā (eyeball)</th>
<th>Darśana (look)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>SR &amp; NS</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Unmeṣa (opening the eyelids)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in SR (slight difference in definition)</td>
<td>Utkṣepa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nimeṣa (closing of the eyelids)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in SR</td>
<td>Pātana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prasṛta (when the eyelids are well-extended)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in SR</td>
<td>Catura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kuṇcita (contracted eyelid)</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in SR</td>
<td>Recita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sama (normal)</td>
<td>Sama</td>
<td>As in SR</td>
<td>Sahaja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. *Vivartita* (eyelids moved up)  
   - *As in NŚ*  
   - *Nivartita*  
   - *Utkṣepa*  
   - *Vivartana* (but eye-balls are moved to one side and not up)

   *Udvartita-BB* names two movements, both upward movement of the eyelids

7. *Sphūrita* (throbbing)  
   - *As in NŚ*  
   - *As in SR*  

8. *Pihita* (when fully contracted)  
   - *As in NŚ*  
   - *As in NŚ* but says eyes are to close  
   - *Vihata—as in SR*

9. *Vitādita* (when the upper eyelid suddenly strikes the lower)  
   - *Vicālita* but description similar  
   - *Bhrākuṭi*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS, SR, NSS &amp; BB²²</th>
<th>NS, SR, NSS &amp; BB²³</th>
<th>NS, SR, NSS &amp; BB²⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nāsā (nose)</td>
<td>Gaṇḍa (checks)</td>
<td>Adhara (lips)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cibuka (chin)</td>
<td>Mukha (mouth)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Natā (lobes clinging)</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kṣāma (depressed)</td>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Chinna (narrowing)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>(closing the jaws)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Mandā (depressed)</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sandastaka (biting by teeth)</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kuṭṭana</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Daṣṭa (lips between the teeth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vikṛṣṭā (lobes are blown)</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Phulla (blown)</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Visarga (spread out)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(spread out)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Socchvāsā (deep breathing etc.)</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pūrṇa (fully expanded)</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Cukṣita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32
<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vikūṇitā</td>
<td>4. Kuṇcita</td>
<td>4. Sanudgaka</td>
<td>(contracting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(contracting)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kampita</td>
<td>5. Kampana</td>
<td>5. Khaṇḍana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(natural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Vinigūhana</td>
<td>7. Lehita</td>
<td>6. Vidhuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Mirror of Gesture mentions twenty-four movements of the head of which the definition of lolita alone differs from the nineteen mentioned in the Saṅgītaratnākara, the other five are new. The Nāṭyaśāstra Sāṅgraha repeats the movements listed by the Saṅgītaratnākara. The Bālarāmabhārata lists eleven movements of the head to begin with, which correspond to a few movements of the Nāṭyaśāstra and a few others of the Mirror of Gesture's supplementary list. The Bālarāmabhārata also gives us another list of thirteen movements of the head many of which can be identified with movements enumerated in the Nāṭyaśāstra; for example dirghakampita corresponds to the ākampita of the Nāṭyaśāstra; the śighrakampita corresponds to the kampita of the Nāṭyaśāstra; the dhuta and vidhuta are the same movements as in the Nāṭyaśāstra and udveṣṭita corresponds to the utkṣipta of Nāṭyaśāstra: three movements, namely, calita, kandharāṁsa and upaveṣṭita are not mentioned by the earlier texts. Further it makes sixteen groups of eleven to fourteen movements each, which are derived by combining each of the above-mentioned movements with the other. Thus innumerable varieties of head gestures emerge: however, these remain only theoretical permutations and combinations, for each one of these movements could be reduced to the basic movements mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra. It appears that the author is exploring the academic possibilities of the head movement; the head movements enumerated by him are thus interesting only from the point of view of an hypothetical classification and are not important as movement.

A perusal of Table VII will show similarities and dissimilarities in the different texts and will also make it clear that the Mirror of Gesture's supplementary list is utilized freely and profitably by most of the other authors. Tables VII, VIII, IX pp 55-60)

The various directions of movement have been analyzed in the śirodbheda of the Nāṭyaśāstra. If they are regrouped, then the sama movement forms a class by itself, and the others can be regrouped thus: ākampita and kampita form one category; dhuta, vidhuta, parāvyrtta and parivāhita, a second; adhogata, (adhomukha of Abhinayadarpāṇa) and avadhūta, a third; udvāhita and utkṣipta, a fourth; aṅcita and nihaṅcita, a fifth; and parilolita, lolita and āloluta, a sixth. All other movements are derived from these basic movements. Of the basic thirteen gestures, six indicate positions and the others movements. The same principle is followed in movements of the aṅgas and upāṅgas in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Vakṣa, Uras (chest)

Of the five movements described in the Nāṭyaśāstra of the uras or vakṣa (chest) we find that four are static postures indicating positions of the chest (torso) in relation to the brahma sūtra (vertical median) and the fifth is a movement indicating trembling shaking, (prakampita). Ābhugna (slightly bent) is the position where the torso (i.e., the portion of the body between the hikkā sūtra (shoulder line) and the bhadra sūtra (navel line)) is slightly bent forward: the position is however
### Table VII

**Śīrodbheda (movements of the head)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$NŚ^{17}$ 13 movements</th>
<th>$AD$ 9 movements</th>
<th>$MG^{18}$ 9+24 movements</th>
<th>$SR$ 19 movements</th>
<th>$NSS$ 19 movements listed</th>
<th>$BB$ 11 primary movements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. $Ākampita$ (up and down movement)</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. $Kampita$ (a quick movement of the head in a fast tempo)</td>
<td>$Kampita$</td>
<td>As in $AD$</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td>$Kampita$ as in $NŚ$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. $Dhuta$ (side bend of the head)</td>
<td>$Dhuta$ (slight difference in definition)</td>
<td>As in $AD$</td>
<td>$Dhuta$ as in $NŚ$</td>
<td>$Dhuta$ as in $NŚ$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. $Vidhuta$ (side bend of the head)</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td>As in $NŚ$</td>
<td>$Vidhuta$ as in $NŚ$</td>
<td>$Ādhuta$ as in $MG$</td>
<td>As in $MG$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Parivāhita (the sideways movement of head)</td>
<td>Parivāhita a side movement to side movement actually a neck movement</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NS, but defines it as a circular movement</td>
<td>As in NS, (difference in definition more like the paralolita of NS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Udvāhita (when it is lifted up)</td>
<td>Udvāhita</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Avadhuta (when it is turned down)</td>
<td>Avadhuta</td>
<td>as in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Añcita (when the neck is bent on one side)</td>
<td></td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nihañcita (the añcita movement with raised shoulders)</td>
<td></td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Parāvṛtta (when the face is turned around backward movement)</td>
<td>Parāvṛtta</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Utkṣipta (when the face is turned up with an udvāhita head)</td>
<td>Utkṣipta (difference in definition. Side and up both in AD)</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>Ākṣipta (slight difference in definition)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. *Adhogata* (when face is turned down: cf. with *avadhuta*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>As in <em>AD</em></th>
<th><em>Adhomukha</em> as in <em>AD</em></th>
<th>As in <em>AD</em></th>
<th>As in <em>AD</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

13. *Parilolita* (when the head is turned on all sides)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Repeated</th>
<th>As in <em>NS</em>, but called <em>lolita</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>As in <em>MG</em></th>
<th>As in <em>MG</em></th>
<th>As in <em>MG</em></th>
<th>As in <em>MG</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Lolita</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tiryonnatānnata</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated as in <em>AD</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>AD</em></td>
<td>As in <em>AD</em></td>
<td>As in <em>AD</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Skandhānata</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ārātrika</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Pārśvabhimukha</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
<td>As in <em>MG</em></td>
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<td><em>Saumya</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Tiraścīna</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Prakampita</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Saundarya</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$NŚ^{80}$ 9 movements</td>
<td>$AD^{81}$ 4 movements</td>
<td>$MG^{82}$ as in $AD$</td>
<td>$SR^{83}$ 9 movements</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. *Sama

2. *Natā* (neck bent down cf. *adhogata* head movement)

3. *Unnatā* (cf. *udvāhita* head movement: the neck is thrown up).

*Tiraścina* a gliding movement to the side

4. *Tryastrā* (neck bent with face turned sideways) *pārśvābhimukha*; cf. also *NŚ parivāhita* movement of the head

*Sundari* (neck moved horizontally without turning of the face)
5. Reciđa (has something in common with the parilolita head movement)  
   As in NŚ  
   As in NŚ  
   As in NŚ

6. Kūncitā (cf. avadhuta head movement neck is slightly bent)  
   As in NŚ  
   As in NŚ

7. Añcitā (cf. utkṣipta head movement, head thrown back but the neck movement indicates an extreme position)  
   As in NŚ  
   Name as in NŚ but the movement is more akin to the sun-dari of AD  
   As in NŚ

8. Valitā (cf. parivāhīta head movement also NŚ dhuta)  
   Parivartīta (but here the movement is a circular half moon movement)  
   As in AD
   Valitā  
   Nivṛtta—there is a difference in movement here as the neck is turned backwards  
   Nivṛtta as in SR

   Prakampita a forward and backward movement of the neck  
   Prakampita as in AD

9. Viśvṛtā (the circular movement of the neck in relaxed position)  
   Nivṛtta cf. with viśvṛtta of NŚ but this is a taut position and not a relaxed one  
   Valitā—turned to look sideways  
   Galitā as in SR
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS³⁸ Mukha (face)</th>
<th>SR &amp; NS³⁷ Mukha (face)</th>
<th>NS Šira (head)</th>
<th>NS Griva (neck)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vidhuta (mouth opened face turned from side to side)</td>
<td>Vidhuta</td>
<td>Vidhuta (a head movement) a violent movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vinivṛtta (in turning the face away)</td>
<td>Vinivṛtta</td>
<td>Parāvṛtta</td>
<td>Nivṛtta and vivṛtta are variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nirbhugna (lowering face long drawn)</td>
<td>Vyābhugna definition akin to that of NS nirbhugna</td>
<td>Adhogata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bhugna, vyābhugna</td>
<td>Bhugna vyābhugna (when Avadhuta slightly lowered)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vivṛta (when the lips are kept apart)</td>
<td>Vivṛta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Udvāhi (when turned up)</td>
<td>Udvāhi</td>
<td>Udvāhita</td>
<td>Unnata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
one of relaxation, looseness (śithila) and not of tenseness; and thus it can express viśada (despair), lajjā (shyness), etc: there is only a slight curvature of the spine here and no change of weight takes place. Nirbhugna is the opposite position where the character of the torso completely changes by the erectness and tautness of the back; here tension rather than relaxation is emphasized: the difference between the softer Mathura figures and the later Cola bronzes is this; the depression of the back so characteristic of the South Indian bronzes is a result of the nirbhugna position of the uras. Sama is the natural position where perfect balance is maintained and no effort at either relaxation or tension is made.

Udvāhita movement has to be considered as a position which results from the control of breath, rather than through a movement of the muscles: the deep breathing (dirgha niśvāsa) which it can express is really the cause of this position for the chest is not bent down, and instead it is thrown forward, with a deep breath.

Prakampita is the combination of the udvāhita movement and its opposite executed in quick succession.

The Abhinayadarpāṇa does not list the movements of the chest: the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Viśuddharmottara Purāṇa, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and the Bālarāmabharaṇa, all repeat the nomenclature and descriptions of the Nāṭyaśāstra, with very slight variations in their description of the usage (viṇīyoga). The Bālarāmabharaṇa lists two other movements, namely, the calita and the bhramaṇa. Calita is a slight movement of the chest which can be used for excitement (romāṇca) etc. The bhramaṇa is the right-to-left movement of the chest and seems to indicate a grotesque movement. In actual practice the bhramaṇa movement of the chest and the movement of the side (pārsva) overlap; the description of these movement in the Nāṭyaśāstra is more precise.

Pārsva (side) & Kaṭi (hip)

The Nāṭyaśāstra enumerates five movements each of the kaṭi and the pārsva. The other texts repeat these movements of the pārsva and the kaṭi: the Viśuddharmottara Purāṇa, the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and the Bālarāmabharaṇa—all have identical lists. The Bālarāmabharaṇa, however, lists nine movements of the kaṭi as against the five of the others: these movements, are, sama, apavāhita, calita and vivartita. These do not indicate new movements however and are all variations of the first five movements. Table X (p. 63) indicates the relative positions of the uras (chest) the pārsva (side) and the kaṭi (hips) according to these texts.

Ūṛū (thigh)

The movements of the thighs, as enumerated by the Nāṭyaśāstra, indicate the
movements of the leg between the hip joint and the knee joint. These movements are very closely related to the *kati* (hip) movements and the shank or calf movement and can be fully understood only in relation to the movements of these parts of the human body. The five movements of the thighs listed by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*\(^{98}\) are repeated faithfully by the *Sāṅgitaratnākara*\(^{100}\), the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*\(^{101}\) and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*\(^{102}\): the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Mirror of Gesture* do not list any movements of the thighs and knees: the *Bālarāma-bharata*\(^{103}\) describes nine movements of the *ūrū* (thigh) of which only two seem to be in common with the earlier texts. Table XI (p. 64) attempts a classification of these movements.

*Jānu* and *Jaṅghā* (knees and shanks)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*\(^{104}\) lists five positions of the *jaṅghā* (shanks), which arise out of the extension and flexion of the leg, the manipulation of the knee and the ankle joint and the placing of the feet. We have thus:

Āvartita (turned): here the toes of the feet face each other inwards: naturally such a position of the feet results in the knees also facing each other. This is used for the jester's walking, as this kind of a movement invariably produces a comic effect.

Nata (bent): in this position, the knees are bent in front; this shank and knee position is seen very often in *Manipurī*. *Nata* is used in several ways, in sitting, walking and in the various sthānakas.

Kṣipta (throwing out): here the legs are bent and the knees are turned outwards. Bharata says quite clearly that it is used in the *tāṅḍava* dance. This is the position of the knees which we find in the basic stance of *Bharatanātyam* today. The shanks form an acute angle with the thighs. It is akin to the demi-plie of the classical western ballet.

Udvāhita (raised): The knee is raised to hip level, the leg being bent at a right angle.

Parivartita (turned back): The position is attained when the thigh is stretched backwards and the leg is bent at a right angle. The *Saṅgitaratnākara* defines this as the movement of one who moves along a curved path\(^{105}\). In listing these movements of the knee Bharata has taken into consideration most of the movements which the knee as a 'hinge joint' is capable of.

The *Saṅgitaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* list these but also mention five additional movements.\(^{106}\) The five additional movements are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$Vakśa$ (chest)</th>
<th>$Pārśva$ (side)</th>
<th>$Kaṭi$ (hip)</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ābhugna (front bend indicates a spine curvature)</td>
<td>$Nata$ (side bending in the right left direction)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The possibility of movement of the torso, and the parts of the body from the shoulder line ($ḥikkā sūtra$) to the $kati sūtra$ have been analyzed here. The $triKA$ (sacrum) is a focal point from which all movements in the round emerge: the tension and relaxation of the vertical line of the back result in the different types of bends; the torso taken as a unit along the horizontal plane results in the $nata$ and $unnata$ positions of the $pārśva$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirbhugna (erect, back depression; indicates a spinal stretch)</td>
<td>$Utnata$—the opposite position in sideways movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Udvāhita$ (raised, upright torso)</td>
<td>$Prasārita$ (sides taken to the extreme point in space right left direction)</td>
<td>$Udvāhitā$ (when the hip is slightly raised and brought down)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Prakampita$ (trembling)</td>
<td></td>
<td>$Prakampitā$ or $Kampitā$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Sama$ (natural)</td>
<td>$Vivartita$ (the $triKA$, sacrum, turned around) $Prasṛta$ or $apaśṛta$</td>
<td>$Recitā$—a circular movement $chinnā$—turning from the point of $bhādra sūtra$ $nivṛṭta$ or $vivṛṭa$ (turning to the back)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NŚ SR VD NŚS</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Kampana or kampita (trembling), an up and down movement as a result of a repetitive toe-heel movement of the feet</td>
<td>Vyasta—distance between two feet, a sideways movement</td>
<td>These belong to one group—where a sideways movement is implied</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Valana or valita this is really a crossing of the thighs even though it is not clearly stated in the NŚ: in the description of the karana the movement is described and this position is implied</td>
<td>Purahpaścāsthitā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Stambhana, stabdha a still motionless position</td>
<td>Sama. samasta</td>
<td>There is a slight difference between the two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Udvartana or udvartita a raising and lifting of the thighs implying extension without the foot leaving ground</td>
<td>Samastavyastakampita uparikṣipta</td>
<td>This is a combined movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vivartana or vivartta in turning round, a circular movement</td>
<td>Vistrta—(expansion) Vivṛta very similar to the NŚ movement Vyatyasta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Nihṣṛta**: the leg is extended forward high.

**Parāvyṛtta** (variation of the *parivartita*): one leg is stretched backwards while the knee touches the ground. In any one of these positions one leg is bent forward at the hip level and the other is stretched back; the knee of the stretched leg may touch the ground or both the knee and the lower leg may be in contact with the ground.

**Tiraścīna**: it is one of the positions which the *kṣipta* movement of the shank can attain; here the knee with an outward sideways bend touches the ground. Such an out-stretched sitting position is frequently seen in Bharatanātyam. Two other movements are mentioned, namely, the *bāhirgata* and the *kampīta*; the latter is accurately described as that by which the sound of the bells is produced by a controlled movement of the knee and the ankle. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* does not stop at this and lists seven different movements of the knee joint separately, namely, *samhatā*, *kuṇcitā*, *ardha kuṇcitā*, *nata*, *unnata*, *vivṛtā*, and *sama*.

**Samhatā**: it is the position of perfect equilibrium which corresponds to the *samanḍa* position of the feet; the *kuṇcitā* indicates the cross-legged sitting posture; *ardha kuṇcitā* position is a similar one. *Nata* is not the *nata* of the *jaṅghā*, for this *nata* indicates the contact of the knee joint with the ground and it corresponds more closely to the position possible by the *tiraścīna* movement of the *jaṅghā* mentioned by the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

**Vivṛtā**: this position is possible by the *bāhirgata* movement or the *kṣipta* movement, i.e., sideways, outward movement of the shanks. The present *vivṛtā*, however, is nearest to what one finds in the basic stance of the Kathākali posture, where both the knees are turned outwards and the feet are well apart. This position would be best attained by placing the side of the foot in the *pañcavarga* position. The *unnata* knee is the highest position which the *udvāhita* position of the *jaṅghā* (shank) can attain by raising the knee to the chest-level.

Knees are most important in the *nṛttā* technique of Indian dancing; the careful and detailed study of the feet and their contact with the ground, the meticulous perfection of the basic and secondary positions attained by the knees as a consequence give each classical Indian dance style its particular character. The dance which Vikrama does in the fourth act in *Vikramorvaśī* is one in which knees are most frequently used. The contemporary styles of classical dancing lay particular stress on one or the other of the positions mentioned above; thus we find that, in Kathak, the *samhaṭa jānu* of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is frequently used, and a *sama* position of the knees is the only relaxation allowed to the knees in the *nṛttā* technique of this dance style. The *kṣipta* and the *bāhirgata* movements of the *jaṅghā* indicating the outward sideways position of the knees is the basic stance of Bharata-
nātyam and is seen in practically all the sculptured dance poses after the eighth century. The vivṛta movement of the knees (of the Saṅgītaratnākara) indicates the basic stance of Kathākali: the nata of the shank, i.e., the relaxed position, where the legs are completely relaxed but bent in front, is used most frequently in Manipuri.

Bālarāmabharata treats the knee and shank movements from different angles: it divides knee movements into six classes by virtue of the formation they result in, and their use in different types of sitting and standing and reclining postures. According to their uses (viniyoga), the jānu movements have been classified as those for the (i) sthānas; (ii) kaṇaṇas; (iii) āsanas; (iv) gati; (v) maṇḍalas; and (vi) saññāna. In terms of the movements of the shank possible from the knee joint, two broad categories are made: the first relates to the flexed position of the knee, when it is bent in various directions and at different levels, i.e., front, low, up, and sideways; the second relates to the stretched and extended positions of the lower leg: here the thigh and the shank are considered to be one unit.

In the first category termed as the sthānāngajānu bheda, we have the following positions: samadīrgha samanata, ekajānūnnata, kuṇcita, kuṇcitocca, kuṇcitoccatara and kuṇcitoccatama. The second and third movements denote a front bend of the leg: the fourth is the slight raising of the knee, which is used to denote climbing stairs etc. The last three are the sideways movement of the knee joint, which result in the flexed position of the shank; these indicate the relative positions of raising the shank from the ground and are comparable to the kṣipta and udvāhita positions of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and the bāhirgata position of the Saṅgītaratnākara. These positions are akin to the seven movements of the knee joint described in the Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha but are not identical. In the second category, the extended positions of the shank and the thigh are enumerated by Bālarāma; thus the front extension and elevation, the sideways extension, the back extension and the sideways extended elevation from the ground are all classified, such as the dandaḍā, kṣipta, purahpaścāt, pārśvataḥ, dirghaprasārana and sama, etc. Each extension is further sub-divided but it is not necessary to go into the details of these classifications here. At the time Bālarāma wrote the Bālarāmabharata, the dancing traditions of different provinces had evolved their individual stylizations and the writer seems to have codified all the varieties prevalent in his region.

The movements of the shanks (jaṅghā) and the movements and positions of the knee joint (jānu) enumerated in the Saṅgītaratnākara109 and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha110 have to be studied together, as one supplements the other. The ten movements of the jaṅghā (shanks) and the seven movements of the knee joint (jānu) can be reclassified. Nata jaṅghā and the nata positions of the knee (jānu) are variations of a movement in the same direction. The nata jānu is the final position.
when the knee touches the ground; the nata jaṅghā is the initial position when the leg bend begins. The kṣipta and the bāhirgata of the jaṅghā and the kuñcita position of the jānu are in one class, where the sideways movements of the leg and the knee are indicated. With the legs being bent and with the knees pointing outwards the first position is the kṣipta, the next is bāhirgata when the distance between the knees is the greatest. Kuñcita indicates the final position in which the knee touches the ground as in the sitting āsana positions. The tīraścīna shank movement is the intermediate position where the knee is in contact with the ground but the thigh is lifted up.

The knees and the shanks play a most significant and vital role in the nṛtta technique of Indian dancing; the varying emphasis on either the nata type of movement of the kṣipta or bāhirgata or the samhaṭa or the vivṛta gives each of these dance styles, be it Bharatanāṭyam or Kathākali, Maṇipuri or Kathak a distinctive character. The kṣipta or bāhirgata movement denotes the tāṇḍava dance, and most sculptural representations of dancing utilize the kṣipta or bāhirgata positions of the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Saṅgītaratnākara. The other positions of the shanks such as the back extensions and flexions implied in the parāvṛtti movement are seen in the sitting, kneeling, and specially the flying figures of Indian sculpture.

Pāda (feet)

The feet positions described by the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Saṅgītaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and the Bālarāmabharata indicate both the contact of a particular part of the foot with the ground and the placing of the entire foot in a particular direction.

The five positions of the feet mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra are the basic positions, and eight others mentioned by the Saṅgītaratnākara and repeated by the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha are combinations of movement arising out of these.

When the whole foot is placed on the ground, with the leg in the normal position, it is called sama; the position where the toe and the ball of the foot touch the ground is known as the kuñcita: when only the heels touch the ground and the rest of the foot is lifted up, it is termed as the aṅcita; and, when only the big toe touches the ground and the rest of the foot is lifted up as in the Western classical ballet, it is called the agratalasaṅcara. When the kuñcita foot is followed by the sama or the aṅcita, i.e., when the toes touch the ground first and then the entire foot touches the ground with the heel striking the ground, it is called the udghaṭita movement: the Tamil name used in Bharatanāṭyam for this is the kudittamīṭṭa. Bharata also mentions the sūci pāṛṣṇiga and the tṛyaśra feet, in addition to the five types of feet movement, mentioned above. Of these three, the first
two are mentioned by the Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha under descriptions of the caraṇa bheda; the third occurs in the Nāṭyaśāstra and other texts to denote the oblique placing of the foot. The Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha mention six other movements which are combinations of the basic positions mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra. Thus, the clearly distinguishable aṅcīta foot followed by the kuṅcīta (i.e., heel-toe movement) is called the ghaṭṭītotsedha, which is the opposite of the udghaṭṭīta movement. The tāḍīta is a variation of the same when the floor is hit hard by the forepart of the toe after the heel has been in contact with the ground. The variation of the agratalasaṅcara foot is the agraga movement, where walking on tip-toe is indicated.

The opposite movement of the agratalasaṅcara feet is the ghaṭṭīta, when, instead of the tip of the toe touching the ground, the edge of the heel touches the ground, making it a variation of the aṅcīta foot. Walking backwards on the heels is the pāṛṣṇiga movement. In the mardita and pāṛśvaga movement, the foot is placed sideways. The mardita position of the Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha is very much akin to the tryśra mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra. The placing of the weight of the body on the side of the foot (as in the initial positions of Kathākali) can be identified as the pāṛśvaga movement, corresponding to the parārvita movement of the shanks. We can thus reclassify these movements as follows: the kuṅcīta, the sūci, the agratalasaṅcara and the agraga, belong to one category where the forepart of the toes of the feet touch the ground. The aṅcīta, the ghaṭṭīta and the pāṛṣṇiga belong to the next where the heel touches the ground. The udghaṭṭīta, the ghaṭṭītotsedha and the tāḍīta belong to the third where toe-heel, heel-toe, and hard hitting is indicated.

The sama mardita and pāṛśvaga belong to the fourth category where the foot is placed on the ground. When the toes point to the front, it is sama; when they point sideways, it is mardita; and when the side of the foot touches the ground, it is pāṛśvaga. The Abhinayadarpaṇa does not discuss movements of the feet, but, in its discussion of the jumps (utplavana), spiral movements or turns (bhramari) and the different types of walking (cārī and pāḍacārī), it utilizes all these positions, and indicates fairly clearly whether the toe or the heel or both are to touch the ground in any movement.

The other positions of the feet are discussed in the Nāṭyaśāstra in the context of the sthāna (postures) such as āyata, avahitthā, etc., for women, and vaṁśavā ālīḍha and pratyālīḍha for men. These sthānas indicate the distance of the feet from each other, and the exact direction in which the feet are placed. Since these postures are static positions, they are often accurately depicted in sculpture. Postures such as the ālīḍha and the pratyālīḍha and also āyata are frequently seen in sculpture. These will be discussed separately, for they belong to the sphere of poses and posture.

68
Hasta (hands)

Most texts on dancing divide hasta into asamīyuta and samīyuta; the Nātyaśāstra, the Mirror of Gesture, the Saṅgitaratnākara and the Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha also enumerate nṛtta hasta. The first two varieties belong mostly to the sphere of finger manipulation and indicate static positions, with a few exceptions where they indicate movement; the nṛtta hastas indicate movement of the fingers for the most part and invariably suggest an arm movement, too. The Abhinayadarpāṇa and the Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha enumerate other hastas, which should really be classified amongst the vinīyogas or uses of all these primary hand gestures of single (asamīyuta) and both hands (samīyuta). Thus the Abhinayadarpāṇa lists eleven hands to be used in denoting relationships, such as dāmpati (couple), mātr (mother), etc.¹¹⁵ Fifteen hands denote the different gods and goddesses such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc.¹¹⁶, ten hand gestures indicate the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu,¹¹⁷ nine hand gestures symbolize the nine planets,¹¹⁸ and four hands denote the four castes.¹¹⁹ The Mirror of Gesture version of the Abhinayadarpāṇa mentions hands for representing famous emperors such as Hariśacandra, Nala, Rāvaṇa, Dharmarāja, etc.: hands for seven oceans, Lavaṇa, Śūra, etc., for rivers like Yamunā, Gaṅgā, etc., for the seven upper worlds and the seven lower worlds, and hands for indicating different trees, like asvattha, kadali, etc., and hands for denoting different animals, birds and aquatic beings. The Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha further lists hands for the twenty-seven nakṣatras: this listing has been done in accordance with the Bharatārṇava’s enumeration of these hastas,¹²⁰ but other authorities also seem to have been utilized. The Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha lists hands to denote different rāsīs¹²¹, and also to represent notes (svara) in music¹²². Hastas for the seven principal notes have been listed: on the authority of an author called Brhaṇpati, the Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha enumerates the hand gestures to represent different rāgas. All the rāga hastas have to be finished with an outward and upward movement of the hands (udveśīta). Hand gestures for about forty-eight rāgas have been listed; each rāga can be represented by a asamīyuta or a samīyuta hasta, or a nṛtta or a nakṣatra hasta. The author adds that for other rāgas the abhinaya should be improvised in accordance with the name, the characteristics and other particulars of the rāga. For provinces, countries, cities, kings, and in fact for all beings, moving and unmoving, the hastābhinaya has to be conceived in accordance with the nāma, nakṣatra and other symbols and characteristics of the object. This, the writer of the Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha says, is in accordance with the views of Ṣanhumāṇa¹²³. The Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha also describes the hand gestures to be employed for the representation of the four classes of women, viv., padmī, cetrīṇī, sankhīni and hastīni.

In movements of the hands, whether for abhinaya or for nṛtta, the position and direction of movement of the palm is considered important by all authorities. The movement of the wrist also determines the nature of the hasta and often a different meaning is suggested if the wrist movement and the palm-facing is changed: the sūcī hasta acquires a completely different character if the forefinger is held
upright (tarjani hasta of iconography) and if the forefinger is used as a pointer on the horizontal plane.

The Nāṭyaśāstra lays down different types of classifications of the hastas (single, double and dance hands) in terms of the plane, direction and area of movement of the palm, fingers, wrists and arms. This classification is a scientific analysis of the different ways in which each hand may be used with a full awareness of the different areas of movement of which the arms and hands are capable in relation to the body. Bharata also speaks of three positions of the palm, viz., uttāna (palms facing up), adhastala (facing down) and facing side ways obliquely (tryaśra). When the fingers point up in the vertical plane and move forward away from the body, it is a agraja; and, when they point downwards and move downwards, it is adhomukha. Abhinavagupta explains this lucidly in his commentary. Therefore, the uttāna and the agraha, the adhomukha and the adhastala, and the tryja and pārśvagata, make three distinct classes, indicating the upward outward, downward, oblique and sideways direction of the palm and the fingers.

Four other categories are determined by the wrist joint and Bharata terms them as hasta karaṇa. All movements of the hands can be classified under these four karaṇas which indicate the ways in which the fingers can be manipulated with the palm facing up (uttāna) and the palm facing down (adhomukha). Thus, if the fingers beginning with the forefinger point inwards gradually, the palm naturally faces downwards; this is called the āveśṭita (karaṇa) movement. If the palm faces upwards and the fingers beginning with forefinger move (open) outwards (away from the body), then it is the udveśṭita karaṇa movement of the hand. The opposite movements beginning with the little finger are termed vyāvaritita and parivartita: in the former the palm faces upwards (uttāna) and the hand closes beginning with the little finger pointing towards the body; in the latter the hand gradually opens beginning with the little finger pointing outwards (away from the body) and palm gradually faces either downwards (adhomukha) or sideways (tryaśra).124

Śāṅgadeva in the Saṅgītaratnākara lists fifteen positions of the hands in terms of planes, dimensions and direction of the palms and fingers: he also repeats the four different circular movements of the wrists listed by Bharata in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

On the vertical plane, the palm can either face the body or be turned away from it: the fingers can point either up or down; on the horizontal plane the palm can either face up or down, and the fingers can point either out (away from the body) or in (towards the body). This then gives us four basic positions of the palms and four directions of the fingers. On the horizontal plane, thus, when the palm faces upwards, it is termed as the uttāna124 (lifted up); when it faces down (towards the ground), it is called the adhomukha. On the vertical plane, when
the palm faces outwards (away from the body) and the fingers point upward, then it is called the *parānīmukha* (away from oneself) and, when the palm faces the body, then it is the *svasammmukhatāla* (palm facing oneself). When the fingers point downwards on the vertical plane then it is *adhovadana*; when the fingers point upwards, whether the palm is *parānīmukha* or *svasammmukha*, then the hand is called *ūrdhvaṃmukha*. Thus the up-down, high and low positions of the palm and the fingers are indicated: the back-front and right-left side positions in space are also indicated in the various oblique positions of the palms and fingers: the *pārśvagata*, *pārśvamukha* and *agratastala* indicate these positions. The *tryaśra* (oblique) position of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *pārśvagata* position of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* are almost identical when the palm faces either to the right or to the left: when the fingers point to the front and there is a forward movement, then it is the *agraga* position. To these ten positions are added the five directional movements, and the next five terms relate to these, viz., *ūrdhvaga* (going upwards), *adhogata* (going downwards), *pārśvagata* (going sideways at any high, low or middle level), *agraga* (going forward at a high, low or middle level) *sammukhāgata* (coming towards oneself, i.e., right-back, or left-back, or high-back, or down-back). The last five movements have to be understood in terms of not only the palms and the fingers but also the arm movements and the relative stretched and flexed position of the upper and the forearm. In this manner, all the eight main directions in space can be covered by these fifteen movements. We can classify the fifteen into five distinct types: *uttāna*, *ūrdhvaṃmukha* and *ūrdhvaga* belong to one type: *adhomukha*, *adhovadana* and *adhogata* belong to the second; *pārśvagata*, *pārśvamukha* and again *pārśvatomukha* to the third; *agratastala*, *parānīmukha* and *agraga* to the fourth; and *svasammmukhatāla*, *sammukha* and *sammukhāgata* to the fifth, by virtue of the varying emphasis on the upward, downward, sideways, forward and backward direction of movement.125

Closely connected with the movements of the *hastas* are the movement of the arms. Bharata lists twelve movements of the arms, each indicating the level and range of the movement, and the relative position of the upper and the forearm. Abhinavagupta128 explains some of the positions, but mostly we have to reconstruct these movements from the terminology of Bharata. Tiryak is the middle level and the range is from side to side; *ūrdhvagata* indicates the upward movement at the level of the head; *adhomukha* is the lowering of the arms to the range of the lower limbs and to the ground; *āviddhā*, *apāviddhā* and *māṇḍala* indicate the different circular patterns of movement in space; *svastika* indicates the crossing of arms at any level of the body; *āvicita* and *kuvicita* relate to the position of the extended and flexed forearm when the hands extend out at the level of the chest and return to the area of the chest. The *prāśrita prśṭhaga* indicates the movement of the arms in relation to the thickness of the body, where the arms are stretched out in front and are then taken to the back—either over the shoulders or otherwise. The slightly arched positions of the arms are suggested by the *namra*, *sarala* and
**utsārita** movements mentioned by the *Sāṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The swinging of the arms is indicated by the āndolita and cālaka movements. The ten movements of the arm of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the additional six of the *Sāṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* give us a comprehensive treatment of the arm in relation to space.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not mention the movements of the wrist separately, even though they are implied in Bharata’s treatment of the different types of movements of the palms and the fingers discussed above. The *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the Bhālarāmabharata classify the wrist movement under maṇibandha, and the *Sāṅgītaratnākara* enumerates five types of wrist movements, which are repeated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*. The nikuṇcita movement suggests an outward bend at the wrist; the ākuṇcita is the opposite movement when the wrist is bent inwards; the combination of the outward and inward movement is called cāla; and the rotative movement is termed as bhrāmīta, and the normal position is known as sama. The only other part of the upper limbs which has not been dealt with by Bharata is the shoulder. The *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the Bhālarāmabharata describe movements of the shoulder also. The *Sāṅgītaratnākara* lists five movements of the shoulders (skandha): these can also be classified into the front-back, up-down, and rotating movements. When the shoulder is pushed in front, it is termed karnalagna; when it is pushed back with tension, it is called ekocca; when it is lifted up, it is ucchṛta; and, when it is hung down, it is called srasta; and when rotated in a circular movement, it is lollita.

The entire arm from the shoulder to the tip of the fingers has been analyzed fully. Indeed the hastābhīnaya, which forms a comprehensive gesture language, can be fully understood in the light of these related movements of the wrists, arms, and the shoulders, and the manipulation of the fingers and the palms. The classification of the movements of the shoulder (skandā), arms (bāhī), wrists (maṇī), hands (hasta) and their karaṇas forms an important aspect of the technique of Indian dancing. (See Tables XII-XIV Pp 74-88)

**Sthāna** (postures)

After an analysis of the movements of the individual limbs, Bharata discusses postures and movements of the entire body. The important subject of sthāna is discussed under the category of postures. The cārī provides the link between the static positions indicated by the term sthāna and cadences of movement denoted by the term karaṇa.

Bharata lays an emphasis on the position of the lower limbs in his description of the sthānas. He divides them into two categories, i.e., for men and for women. When analyzed, one finds that these sthānas indicate static poses for the most
part, i.e. postures which can suggest a particular mood or deity. In keeping with the laws of human anatomy, these associations are worked out on the basis of the distribution of weight and the distance of the feet from each other. Thus Brahmā is the presiding deity of the *samapāda sthāna* where weight is equally divided and all limbs are in the natural position. The extreme opposite in the *sthānas* is the *pratyālīdha* where a full leg extension is indicated: appropriately the *sthāna* is recommended for suggesting the release of weapons etc. It is also a *sthāna* which is frequently seen in sculpture. The *sthānas* for women, according to Bharata, are only three and they indicate standing positions. An analysis of these *sthānas* has been attempted in Tables XV and XVI. (pp 90–91)

Apart from the postures (*sthāna*) seen in Tables XV and XVI, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* mentions four others for women not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, namely, *gatāgata, valita, moṭita* and *vinivartita*. These are derived from the *cāris* and some *sthānas* for women. The *gatāgata* is a movement rather than a position: this is used by a dancer in proceeding forward: the second, in expressing desire, and the third, in denoting a state of love. *Vinivartita* is the same as the *moṭita* but with the feet position reversed.

The *Abhinayadarpana* does not classify the *cāris*, *maṇḍalas* and *sthānas*, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. It follows a different system of classification. The static positions are termed *maṇḍala* in the *Abhinayadarpana* and some of the names correspond with the names of *sthāna* listed by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The postures which it lists under the *sthānas* are not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and have something in common with some of the *bhāumi* (earthly) *cāris* enumerated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Āyata, ālidha, pratyālīdha* are mentioned as *maṇḍalas*; the description of the last two appear to be the same postures as those mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The first, however, has nothing in common with the *āyata* position mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the *Abhinayadarpana*, there is a distance of two and a half *tālas* between the two feet and the posture is *caturśra* (wide open) and the knees are bent: in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there is no distance between the two feet and one foot is placed in *tryaśra*. The following postures of the *Abhinayadarpana* are not found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: (a) *sthānaka, prerita, svastika, moṭita, samasūci* and *pārśvasūci maṇḍala*: of these *svastika* and *samasūci* can be identified with the *sthitāvarta cāri* and the *sūci cāpi* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but with a slight difference in definition. *Moṭita* and *pārśvasūci* along with the other two of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are listed in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* under the *desīsthānakas*; (b) *samapāda, ekapāda, nāgabandha, aindra, garuḍa* and *brahma sthānakas* of the *Abhinayadarpana* are not mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* either. Except for *aindra*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* lists all of them under its *desīsthānakas*. *Aindra sthānaka* has little in common with the description of the *maṇḍala sthāna* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* even though both these are used to depict the king or Indra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Nāṭyaśāstra</th>
<th>Abhinayadarpana</th>
<th>Mirror of Gesture</th>
<th>Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NŚ</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td>MG</td>
<td>NŚS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Patākā</td>
<td>Patākā</td>
<td>Patākā</td>
<td>Patākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Tripatākā</td>
<td>Tripatākā</td>
<td>Tripatākā</td>
<td>Tripatākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ardhapatākā</td>
<td>Ardhapatākā</td>
<td>Ardhapatākā</td>
<td>Ardhapatākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(the little finger of the tripatākā is bent)</td>
<td>(but quoted separately; not in the main group)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kartarimukha</td>
<td>Kartarimukha</td>
<td>Kartarimukha</td>
<td>Kartarimukha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>but derived from the ardhapatākā</td>
<td>but derived from the ardhapatākā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ardhaśastra (all fingers bent to make a bow)</td>
<td>Ardhaśastra derived from the patākā by stretching the thumb</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>Ardhaśastra as in AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Arāla</td>
<td>Arāla</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Šukatunda derived from the arāla</td>
<td>Šukatunda derived from the arāla of AD</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Muṣṭi</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Śikhara</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XII
(single hands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hastalakṣṇa</th>
<th>Hastamuktāvali</th>
<th>Sāṅgītaratnākara</th>
<th>Bālarāmabharata</th>
<th>in Iconography</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dīpikā</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tripatākā**
- Patākā
- Patākā
- Patākā
- As abhaya and vara-da mudrā

**Kapittha**
(except for the thumb position)
- Tripatākā
- Tripatākā
- Tripatākā
- Used in sculpture specially later South Indian bronzes

**Ardhapatākā**
- Frequently used specially where implements are held

**Śikhara — but the thumb position is different**
- Kartarīmukha
  - two varieties are described: one is derived from the *tripatākā*
- Kartarīmukha
- Kartarīmukha
- Kartarīhasta occurs often in South Indian bronzes and is mentioned in South Indian texts

**Harīṇapākṣa**
as in *AD*
- Ardhacandra
  - as in *NŚ*
  - a variation also given which is the *ardhacandra* of the *HLD*
- As in *NŚ*
- As in *AD*
- Both types seen; *AD* type seen in the abhaya and vara-da mudrās; also, the other in the holding of agni etc.

**Bhramara**
- As in *AD*
- As in *NŚ*
- As in *AD*
- The *NŚ* arāla is fairly common

- As in *AD*
- As in *NŚ*
- As in *AD*
- Used but not frequently

**Same and its variant kaṭakā-mukha where thumb position is different**
- As in *AD*
- As in *AD*
- Used often though the fingers are not so closely fisted

**Does not occur**
- As in *NŚ*
- As in *NŚ*
- As in *NŚ*
- Hand used for holding weapons

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>AD</th>
<th>MG</th>
<th>NSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Kapitha</td>
<td>As in NS but position of forefinger different</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kāṭakāmukha</td>
<td>As in NS but Bharatanātyam practice different and finger position varies</td>
<td>Kaṭakāmukha but made by the forefinger and the middle finger touching the thumb</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Śucimukha</td>
<td>As in NS but with variation</td>
<td>Derived from its own kaṭakāmukha by raising the forefinger</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Padmakośa</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Sarpaśiras</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS derived from the patākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mrgaśirṣa</td>
<td>As in NS Śīrṣhamukh</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS derived from sarpaśiras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Kāṅgula</td>
<td>Derived from the padmakośa by bending third finger</td>
<td>Tāṅgula as in AD a variation similar to kāṅgula of NS also described</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Alapadma (alapallava)</td>
<td>Alapadma</td>
<td>Solapadma, alapadma and alapallava all three names used</td>
<td>Alapallava for the outward movement and alapadma for the inward movement of the fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLD</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>BB</td>
<td>in Iconography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned in the HLD but occasionally used in Kathākali</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ variation derived from the trilīṅga hasta</td>
<td>Occurs but as a variant of the muṣṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaṭaka: the position of the thumb and the forefinger varies: the ring finger and the little finger same</td>
<td>Same as in MG</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ derived from the kapittha, slight difference in fingers</td>
<td>Kaṭaka or sinha-karaṇa hasta but more like the kaṭaka and kapittha of NŚ with several variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūcīmukha but position of the ring finger and the little finger different</td>
<td>Same with variation of the position of the ring and little fingers which are spread out here</td>
<td>Similar to the NŚ hasta description slightly different</td>
<td>Derived from the sikhara and used in Bharatnātyam etc.</td>
<td>Common and used with the same name; also known as tarjoni hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Similar with slight difference</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>Occurs occasionally</td>
<td>As in NŚ but derived from the īrṇābha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not listed Mṛgaśīrṣa also nukura a variation by changing the thumb position</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>but not derived from the sarpaśīrṣas</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>As in NŚ Simhāśya but this is related to the catura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>No: the kāṅgula of HM is the hamsāsya of NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As gaṅgula which is derived from the hamsāsya</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not occur in HLD but fairly common in Kathākali</td>
<td>Alapadma</td>
<td>Alapallava</td>
<td>Alapallava occurs often and is derived from the padmakośa; slight difference in finger position</td>
<td>Seen often</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>AD</th>
<th>MG</th>
<th>NŚS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>Two variations, one is the catura of the NŚ, the other is derived from the sarpaśiras hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bhramara</td>
<td>Bhramara</td>
<td>Bhramara</td>
<td>As in NŚ but with the slight variations of the position of the thumb and middle fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Harīṇāśya</td>
<td>Found in a variation of the AD kaṭakā-mukha the hamsāśya of AD is the sandarśa of NŚ</td>
<td>Two variations—one is the mudrākhyā of HLD, the other is same as in NŚ, with slight variation of the positions of the second and third fingers which are extended here</td>
<td>Harīṇāśya as in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Harīṇapakṣa</td>
<td>Harīṇapakṣa</td>
<td>As in NŚ but derived from the sarpaśiras</td>
<td>As in NŚ but with slight variation of the finger positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sandarśa</td>
<td>Sandarśa as in MG hamsāśya; also with variation of the forefinger position</td>
<td>Sandarśa—but quite different from the NŚ; the fingers of the padmakośa opened and closed; also see harīṇāśya of AD</td>
<td>All the three NŚ positions listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ürṇanābha</td>
<td>Does not occur</td>
<td>Ürṇanābha</td>
<td>Ürṇanābha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tāmracūḍa</td>
<td>Tāmracūḍa</td>
<td>Tāmracūḍa derived from the Mukula—with no definite thumb position given; occurs also as bāṇa, with slight variation</td>
<td>Two varieties mentioned, second akin to the MG bāṇa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HLD</th>
<th>HM</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>BB</th>
<th>in Iconography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pallava which is a variation of catura</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>Catura</td>
<td>Catura but derived from the mrgaśiṣya</td>
<td>Occurs often in the dhyāna mudrā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Calanmadhukara</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>Bhramara but the position of the third and little finger varies—it is derived from the padamkoṣa</td>
<td>Occurs often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and the bhramara of HM:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>has the forefinger extended</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haṁsāṣya</td>
<td>Kāṅgula</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS but derived from the simhāṣya</td>
<td>Occurs often where hands hold attributes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kartarimukha</td>
<td>As in NS with slight variations</td>
<td>As in NS, slight variation and derived from the patākā</td>
<td>As in MG derived from the sar-paśīras</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudrākhyya, slight difference in position of fingers as arāla and vardhamāna</td>
<td>SANDAMSA as in NS; only one variation</td>
<td>As in NS; all three variations are derived from arāla</td>
<td>As in NS but derived from hamsāṣya</td>
<td>Occurs often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td>Mukula</td>
<td></td>
<td>Occurs often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urṇanābha</td>
<td>Urṇanāśha</td>
<td>Urṇanābha</td>
<td>Urṇanābha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Occurs when round objects like the ball etc. are held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śukatunḍa</td>
<td>Tāmracūḍa derived from the mūṣṭi; the finger positions differ; also occurs as ankuṣa</td>
<td>As in NS with varieties listed, the little finger position in the second variation differs from NS</td>
<td>Tāmracūḍa but derived from the kāṅgula of the BB like the first variety of NS</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX TO TABLE XII

Asaniyuta hastas in the Abhinayadarpana, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, the Bālarāma-bharata, etc., but not mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abhinayadarpana and Mirror of Gesture</th>
<th>Hastālakṣaṇa</th>
<th>Hastamuktāvali</th>
<th>Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and Bālarāma-bharata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayūra</td>
<td>Not in HLD but occurs in Kathākali</td>
<td>Mayūra</td>
<td>Candra kalā as in AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candrakalā</td>
<td>Ardhacandra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triśūla</td>
<td>No: but occurs in Kathākali</td>
<td>In NSS same as in AD; in BB as puron-nata hasta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vyāghra Ardhāsūci</td>
<td>Sinīhāsyā ghrṇika variation of padmakośa tantrimukha</td>
<td>Tantrimukha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bālarāma-bharata mentions the following asaniyuta hastas which are not mentioned by another authority:

1. Kuṭilahasta derived from the kapittha
2. Bālacandrahasta derived from the sūcī
3. Nirikṣaṇa hasta derived from the bāṇa (see AD bāṇa)
4. Pralamba hasta derived from the bālacandra, and becomes a variation of the mayūra of the AD
5. Caturunnata hasta derived from the patākā
6. Pūrṇacandra hasta variation of the caturunnata also derived from the patākā
7. Śilimukha hasta similar to the AD sandarbhāsa but with difference in finger position
8. Udeśṭita derived from the alapallava
9. Apaveṣṭita variation of the candrakalā of AD but 8, 9 of BB refer to directions really
10. Bhadrahasta derived from the sinhamukha hasta
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nātyaśāstra</th>
<th>Abhinayadarpana</th>
<th>Mirror of Gesture</th>
<th>Nātyaśāstra</th>
<th>Hastamuktāvali</th>
<th>Saṅgraha</th>
<th>Saṅgitaratnākara</th>
<th>Bālarāma-bharata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NŚ</td>
<td>AD</td>
<td>MG</td>
<td>NŚ</td>
<td>HM</td>
<td>NŚ</td>
<td>SR</td>
<td>BB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Aṇjali</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kapota</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Karkaṭa</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Svastika (two arāla hands crossing)</td>
<td>Svastika but crossing of patākā hastas</td>
<td>As in AD but mentions the AD version; also gives the svastika of tri-patākā and ardhatatākā</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in AD with variation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kaṭakāvartdhā mānaka</td>
<td>Same name but made from AD kaṭaka</td>
<td>As in AD but with slight variation</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>Hands as in NŚ but calls it kaṭakāvarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Utsaṅga (from arāla hastas)</td>
<td>Utsaṅga but from mṛgaśīrṣa hastas placed on opposite shoulders</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>As in NŚ but also gives the sarpashīrṣa variety of SR</td>
<td>As in NŚ but with difference in placing of hands</td>
<td>As in NŚ; also made from sarpashīrṣa hasta</td>
<td>As in NŚ; but also describes saṃyuta hasta similar to the NŚ niṣadha</td>
<td>As in SR: from sarpashīrṣa hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Niṣadha</td>
<td>Niṣadha but it is like the vardhamāna of the NŚ</td>
<td>Niṣadha but like the vardhamāna of NŚ and not the niṣadha of NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>Tādanapatākā comes nearest to the NŚ niṣadha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
Table XIII (Contd.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
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<th>(4)</th>
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<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Dola (movement and position both)</td>
<td>As in NS but hands positions different</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NSS</td>
<td>As in NS but hand position different</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Puṣpapuṣṭa from sarpaśiṛṣa hasta</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>Puṣpapuṣṭa made from sarpaśiṛṣa hasta but the little fingers clasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Makara with patākā hasta</td>
<td>Called matsya</td>
<td>As in AD also gives makara with ardhacandra hastas</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gajadanta—from sarpaśiṛṣa</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>As in NS enumerated separately</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS but hand position different</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Avahittha from śukatavṛda hastas</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>As in NS also mentions another variety with alapaḍma hastas</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
<td>As in NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Vardhamāna i) mukula hand clasped by kapittha and ii) hamsapakṣa hastas</td>
<td>Not listed</td>
<td>Vardhamāna with haṁsapakṣa hastas; the niśedha of MG like (i) of NS</td>
<td>Nisadha of NSS is vardhamāna of NS; vardhamāna of NSS as in NS (ii), but with svastika position of haṁsapakṣa hasta</td>
<td>Vardhamāna but made from and from svaṃgaśiṛṣa hastas</td>
<td>As in NS (ii) and SR positions</td>
<td>As in NS (ii) and SR positions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 13 often occur in Iconography.
### Sanhuta hastas not mentioned in NŚ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AD and MG</th>
<th>NŚS</th>
<th>BB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Śivalinga</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kartarīsvastika</td>
<td>Mentions it in a supplementary list</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śakaṭa</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Śaṅkha</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cakra</td>
<td>As in AD tilaka hasta (tripatākā on forehead and chest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sampūṭa</td>
<td>As in AD kalaśa when ardhacandra hastas are brought together</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pāśa</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kīlaka</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td>Śubhaśobha but derived from the muśṭi; the position of the little finger same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Matsya</td>
<td>As in AD: also called makara</td>
<td>BB mentions the following extra sanhuta hastas: upacāra hasta, abhayavarada hasta, bhārati hasta, kalaha hasta, padmamukula hasta, mallayuddha hasta, gajādanta and sanhuta pallava hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kūrma</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Varāha</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Garuḍa</td>
<td>AD garuḍa hasta and also vaiṣṇava hasta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Nāgabandha</td>
<td>As in AD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Khaṭva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Bherunḍa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX TO TABLE XIII

Samyuta hasta

The samyuta hastas as listed in the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Abhinayadarpaṇa, the Mirror of Gesture, the Hastāmuktāvali, the Sangītaratnākara, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha and the Bālarāmabharata have a great deal in common with each other; the Hastalakṣaṇa Dipikā has a different basis of analyzing the samyuta hastas; this has not been discussed here. In the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Abhinayadarpaṇa, the Saṅgītaratnākara, etc. each asaṃyuta hasta has its samyuta hasta and its usage (vinyoga) is discussed. There is also some overlapping between the samyuta hastas and the nṛttta hastas. Some of the hastas appearing as samyuta hastas in some texts are listed as nṛttta hastas in the Nāṭyaśāstra. Tables XIII and XIV give an idea of the samyuta and nṛttta hastas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Nātyaśāstra</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mirror of Gesture</strong></th>
<th><strong>Nātyaśāstra Saṅgraha</strong></th>
<th><strong>Saṅgīta-ratnākara</strong></th>
<th><em><strong>Bālarāma-bharata</strong></em></th>
<th>**** in Iconography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Caturaśra</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Found in dance poses of sculpture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Udvṛtta</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> slight variation</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> variation in position</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Talamukha</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Svastika</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> but made from <em>tripātāka</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> from <em>haṃsapakṣa hastas</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> from <em>haṃsapakṣa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seen occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viprakīrṇa</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td><em>Viprakīrṇa</em></td>
<td><em>Viprakīrṇa</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Arālakaṭakā-mukha</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Āviddhavakra</td>
<td>Āviddhavakra</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sücīmukha (in some versions the <em>hasta</em> is from <em>sarpaśīrṣa</em>)</td>
<td>Sücyāśya as in <em>NS</em> but from sücī-hastas</td>
<td>Called sücīmukha but derived from <em>sarpaśīrṣa</em></td>
<td>Sücyāśya as in <em>NS</em> derived from <em>sarpaśīrṣa hastas</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sücīmukha with its varieties seen often: see asamyuta hastas also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Recita</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ardharecita</td>
<td>Slight variations</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Uttānvañcita</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First position of movement sometimes occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Pallava</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Pallava as in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Nitamba</td>
<td>Nitamba</td>
<td>Nitamba as in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Keśabandha</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Latā</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>Latā as in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Karihasta</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ with tri-</td>
<td></td>
<td>See dola hasta occurs often as lola hasta and as kaṭyava-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>patākā and kaṭak-</td>
<td></td>
<td>alambita hasta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>āmukha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Pakṣavañcita</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Represented very often in dance sculpture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pakṣapradýotaka</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Daṇḍapakṣa</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td>As in NŚ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Occurs as daṇḍa-hasta but the patākā and not the haṁsa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>garuḍamāndala (also an asaṁyuta hasta of the MG)</td>
<td>As in MG garuḍa-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pakṣa but derived from tripatākā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pakṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. <strong>Urdhvamanḍali</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. <strong>Pārśvamanḍali</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. <strong>Uromanḍali</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. <strong>Urahpārśvamaṇḍali</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> but termed urahpārśvārđhamaṇḍali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. <strong>Muṣṭikasvastika</strong> (from kaṭakā and.muṣṭi)</td>
<td>Seen in <em>NS</em> but can be made from muṣṭi can be made from arāla or alapallava: also with kaṭakāmukha, muṣṭi and kapittha</td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em> from muṣṭi and kaṭakāmukha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. <strong>Nalinipadma-kosa</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. <strong>Alapallava</strong></td>
<td>Udvestitāpada slight variation in position</td>
<td>Alapadma as in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>Alapallava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ulbana</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. <strong>Lalita</strong></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td>As in <em>NS</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27. Valita</td>
<td>As in नः ज्ञान-हस्त</td>
<td>As in नः</td>
<td>As in नः निकृष्टिका अभया and वारदा and वारदा of iconography also mentioned</td>
<td>Nिकृष्टिका अभया and वारदा of iconography also mentioned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*BB divides the earlier असाम्युता and साम्युता हस्तास into Pullिinga (masouline), Strिलिङ्गa (femˈnine) and Napunsakaliङ्गa (neuter) but does not enumerate the nṛṭṭa hastas and lays down like the AD that the two types of hastas can be used for nṛṭṭa hastas also.

**The iconographical विश्वायाहस्त, the nिद्रिता हस्त, the kaṭि हस्तa and the dhanudhारि हस्तa not mentioned in the नः.*
The Saṅgītaratnākara follows the Nātyaśāstra closely in the names and description of cāris and sthānas, but indicates one other type of classification of the latter which is not found in the Nātyaśāstra, even though most of the movements and postures described can be found in the descriptions of different types of gaits described in the Nātyaśāstra in Chapter XII. Śāṅgadeva makes three categories, viz., the deśīsthānaka, upviṣṭasthānaka and suptaṭhānaka. He lists twenty-three postures in the first category, nine in the second and six in the third.

Of the twenty-three of the first category, about eight are in common with either the manḍala or the sthānakas of the Abhinayahadarpāṇa; these have been mentioned above; the other fifteen with the exception of the caturaśra are not found either in the Nātyaśāstra or the Abhinayahadarpāṇa: the caturaśra sthānaka of the Saṅgītaratnākara is the same as described by Bharata, when he speaks of the sauṣṭhava and caturaśra of the body.132 The other fourteen are133 v ardhamāna, nandyāvarta, samhāta, prśhottānata, pārśnipīḍa, pārśnipārśvagata, ekapārśvagata, ekajānutāta, parāvṛtta, viṣamasūci, khaṇḍasūci, śaiva, kūrmāsana and vṛṣabhāsana.

The nine sitting postures correspond closely to the sitting postures (āsana) described by the Nātyaśāstra,134 but the latter does not give them any specific names. The nine types of sitting postures relate both to the moods they must represent and to the position of the limbs. Thus, svastha, jānugata, muktajānu and vimukta denote the limb position, and madālasā, krānta, viśkambhitā, utkāta and srastālasa relate to the mood, and are used for representing sorrow, intoxication, offering libation, dhyāna yoga, state of fainting, etc., respectively. In the last five, the position of all the limbs, such as the chest, waist, eyes, is described: in the first, only the position and movement of the lower limbs is described.

The sleeping or reclining postures described in the Saṅgītaratnākara under the suptaṭhānā are faithful repetitions from the Nātyaśāstra, where also six reclining postures are described.135 They are ākuṇcita, sama, prasāritu, vivartita, udvāhita and nāta.
## TABLE XV

*Sthāna* (postures for men)\(^{138}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sthāna</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Other limbs</th>
<th>Associated deity and <em>karaṇa</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vaiṣṇava</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> (i) <em>samapāda</em> (ii) in <em>tryaśra</em> position. Two <em>tālas</em> apart</td>
<td>Shank bent in <em>nata</em>, the term used is <em>aṅcita</em>. Other limbs in <em>saūṣṭhava</em></td>
<td>Two types: is used for <em>śṛṅgāra</em> and <em>vīra rasa</em>. Viṣṇu presiding deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Samapāda</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> (i) <em>samapāda</em> (ii). One <em>tāla</em> apart</td>
<td>Natural position; <em>saūṣṭhava</em> of limbs</td>
<td>Presiding deity Brahmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vaiśākha</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> (i) <em>samapāda</em> (ii) but both feet in <em>tryaśra</em> with toes pointing sideways, and two <em>tālas</em> and a half apart</td>
<td>The thighs motionless in <em>stambhana</em>. The verse also suggests an open leap off the ground</td>
<td><em>Skanda</em> presiding deity. Vaiśākha <em>recita, karaṇa</em> and <em>aṅgahāra</em> derived from this position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Maṇḍala</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> feet or placed in <em>tryaśra</em> (pointing sideways) but four <em>tālas</em> apart</td>
<td><em>Kaṭi</em> and <em>jānu</em> in natural position</td>
<td>Indra presiding deity. Maṇḍala <em>svastika karaṇa</em> derived from this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Āṭāṅgha</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> feet in <em>tryaśra</em>, but one foot drawn five <em>tālas</em> apart, i.e., complete extension of one leg</td>
<td>The left knee slightly bent towards the side</td>
<td>Rudra presiding deity. To be used in <em>vīra</em> and <em>bhayānakā rasa</em>: Āṭāṅgha <em>aṅgahāra</em> derived from this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pratyāṭāṅgha</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> feet in <em>tryaśra</em> placing, but sometimes one foot is in <em>kuṇcita</em></td>
<td>One knee in <em>kṣipta</em> position</td>
<td>Used in throwing weapons etc. commonly represented in sculpture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table XVI

*Sthāna* (postures for women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sthāna</th>
<th>Feet and position etc.</th>
<th>Other limbs</th>
<th>Associated <em>karaṇa</em> or deity etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Āyata</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> (i) and (ii), but second foot placed in <em>tryaśra</em>; no distance between the feet. Right foot <em>samapāda</em>, left <em>tryaśra</em></td>
<td><em>Kaṭi</em> raised in <em>unnata</em>. The movement is really of the left side (<em>pārśva</em>). Hands in <em>latā</em> according to <em>SR</em></td>
<td>Used in dance often: frequently referred to in literature and seen in sculpture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Avahittha</td>
<td>Left foot <em>samapāda</em> and right foot in <em>tryaśra</em> position; the reverse of positions in the <em>āyata</em></td>
<td>As in <em>āyata</em> left side raised in <em>unnata</em></td>
<td>Presiding deity is Durga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aśvakrānta</td>
<td><em>Samapāda</em> (i) <em>sūci</em> (ii) also <em>agratalasaṅcara</em>: the second foot is lifted up, thus the knee is bent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Used for catching hold of a branch of a tree, plucking a cluster of flowers, etc., seen often in sculpture. Bhārati is presiding deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaumi (earthy)</td>
<td>Pāda (foot)</td>
<td>Position and distance of the lower limbs</td>
<td>Knees or Thighs (ūrū) shanks (jānu) and jaṅghā etc.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Samapāda</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Close together, toes facing front (posture)</td>
<td>Jānu also cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,</td>
<td>Samapāda (ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sthitāvarū</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Svastika (crossing) with no distance (posture)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agratala-</td>
<td>Agratalasāṅcara (ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṅcara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Śakatāsyā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>The agratalasāṅcara foot put forward at a distance of about 2 tālas (posture)</td>
<td>Udvāhita (chest movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agratala-</td>
<td>Agratala-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṅcara</td>
<td>saṅcara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Adhyardhikā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Tāla and a half apart: sideways direction: a movement ending in a posture is indicated nata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṅcita (ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cāṣgati</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>A slight jump; first right foot moved front and back and then left foot back and front (one tāla distance) (movement)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>,</td>
<td>Samapāda (ii)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. **Vicyavā**
   Samapāda (i) The description indicates a movement: a jump from the samapāda feet is suggested, the feet touch the ground in the final position as kuñcita
   Samapāda (ii)

7. **Elakākrīditā**
   Agratalasaṅcarā (i) Utaplava—jumping on toes (movement)
   Agratalasaṅcarā (ii)

8. **Baddhā**
   Samapāda (i) Svastika position of the shanks and thighs
   Samapāda (ii) Svastika of the knees
   Elakākrīditā karaṇa
   and maṇḍala
   Used in several karaṇas

9. **Ūrūdvṛttā**
   Samapāda (i) Aṅcita or Agratalasaṅcarā foot pointing sideways at a little distance from the other foot
   Samapāda (ii) Udvarṭana (rising up, tense position but no lack of contact with ground)
   Aṅcita
   or nāta
   Úrūdvṛttā karaṇa

10. **Aḍḍitā**
    Samapāda (i) Aṅcita or Agratalasaṅcarā foot rubs against the side of the samapāda foot
    Samapāda (ii)
    Eladdita maṇḍala

11. **Utsyandītā**
    Samapāda (i) Moving sideways: in a criss-cross manner recaka (movement)
    Samapāda (ii)

12. **Janitā**
    Agratalasaṅcarā (i) Feet two tālas apart
    Agratalasaṅcarā (ii)
    Janita karaṇa

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Syanditā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td>Five tālas apart both feet used for various sthānas like āliḍha, pratyāliḍha (posture)</td>
<td>Tense position</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Apasyanditā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td>Reverse of the spandita (posture)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Äskandita maṇḍala</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Samotsarita-mattali</td>
<td><strong>Agratala-saṅcara</strong> (i)</td>
<td>Circular movement of the lifted leg and a movement indicating going back</td>
<td>Nata</td>
<td>Samotsarita maṇḍala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Mattali</td>
<td><strong>Agratala-saṅcara</strong> (i)</td>
<td>Svastika and going back in a circular movement without lifting of the lower leg</td>
<td>Half crossing of the legs and then proceeding backwards</td>
<td>Hands udveṣṭita</td>
<td>Mattali (karaṇa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akāśiki cārīs</td>
<td>Pāda (foot)</td>
<td>Position, movement and distance</td>
<td>Knees and thighs</td>
<td>Other limbs</td>
<td>Associated karaṇas</td>
</tr>
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<td>(4)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Atikrāntā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i) Kuñcita (ii)</td>
<td>Kuñcita foot taken up to the knee level approximately and then placed forward four tālas. (movement)</td>
<td>Nata jānu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Atikrānta karaṇa and maṇḍala; used in several karaṇas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Apakrānta</td>
<td>Samapāda (i) Kuñcita (ii)</td>
<td>From the valana of the thighs kuñcita foot taken sideways. Derived from the baddhācārī (movement)</td>
<td>Valana of thighs (ūrū)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Apakrānta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pārśvakrānta</td>
<td>Samapāda (i) Kuñcita (ii)</td>
<td>The kuñcita foot is lifted with the knees pointing sideways: the foot is brought to the thigh level and then dropped to the ground, with the heel touching the floor</td>
<td>Kṣipta position of the knee which is lifted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pārśvajānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Īrdhvajānu</td>
<td>Samapāda (i) Kuñcita (ii)</td>
<td>The kuñcita foot is lifted as in pārśvakrāntā but higher, and the movement is repeated by both feet</td>
<td>Kṣipta both knees</td>
<td></td>
<td>Īrdhvajānu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Sūcī</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita (ii)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita foot lifted in front and brought to knee level, the leg there is stretched at that level and then the foot is lowered and the toes again touch the floor</td>
<td>Udvāhita jaṅghā</td>
<td>Sūcī, ardhasūcī and sūcīviddham karaṇa and sūcīviddha maṇḍala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Nūpurapadikā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Aṅcita (ii)</td>
<td>An aṅcita foot is lifted and then taken to the back of the opposite thigh and finally the toes touch the ground</td>
<td>Udvāhita or parivartita</td>
<td>Nūpura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Dolapādā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita (ii)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita foot lifted to its own side, moved and then touching the ground as an aṅcita foot: two tālas difference approximately.</td>
<td>Udvāhita or kṣipta</td>
<td>Dolapādā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aksiptā</td>
<td>Kuṅcita (i)</td>
<td>Aṅcita (ii)</td>
<td>A kuṅcita foot is lifted and then crosses the other leg and in the final position an aṅcita foot is placed three tālas apart</td>
<td>Kṣipta Svastika (knees) of thighs</td>
<td>Aksipta and āksipta recita karaṇas and also an anghārā by the same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Aviddhā</td>
<td>Samapāda (i)</td>
<td>Kuṅcita (ii)</td>
<td>Initial position svastika: the kuṅcita foot lifted from this position, stretched and touches the ground as aṅcita in final position on its own side</td>
<td>Udvāhita or parivṛttas</td>
<td>Aviddhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Udṛttā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Kuñcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Derived from the āviddha cārī, its kuñcita foot is stretched and then touches the ground. A slight jump and turning round is suggested</td>
<td>Udvarīta ċūrū and udvāhita jaṅghā</td>
<td>Udvṛttā karāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Vidyutbhrāntā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Kuñcita or samapāda</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>The lifted foot taken back on flexed position where it touches the hips and then the head etc. Thus the movement is in all directions</td>
<td>Sama of ċūrū etc.</td>
<td>Vidyutbhrānta karāṇa; also an āngahāra by the same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Alātā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Aṅcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Stretching of a leg with the aṅcita foot, backwards: the foot is lowered on its own side and the heels touch the floor first</td>
<td>Parivartita jaṅghā</td>
<td>Alātaka karāṇa and mandala, also āngahāra by the same name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bhujāṅgātrasitā</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Kuñcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Lifted but sideways turning of the waist also: the kuñcita foot is lifted and the knee of this leg touches the other knee</td>
<td>Vivartita</td>
<td>Bhujāṅgaṅcita, bhujāṅgatrāsita, bhujāṅga trāsta-recita karāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hariṇapūta</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Aṅcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Initial position of the ati-kāntā cārī, jump and sideways movement</td>
<td>Kṣipta of the knees</td>
<td>Harinapūta karāṇa; SR names it mṛgapūta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Daṇḍapāda</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Aṅcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Initial position of the nūpurupādikā cārī, the leg is then stretched and the foot is brought down</td>
<td>Kṣipta and udvāhita</td>
<td>Daṇḍapāda, daṇḍapa-kṣa, daṇḍaka recita karāṇa and daṇḍapāda mandala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Bhramari</td>
<td><strong>Samapāda</strong> (i)</td>
<td><strong>Kuñcita</strong> (ii)</td>
<td>Initial position of the atikrāntā cārī, foot lifted and the entire body turned around (<em>bhramari</em>)</td>
<td>Udvāhita jaṅghā</td>
<td>Bhramara karāṇa and mandala, bhramara āngahāra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Karaṇa

The *karaṇa* as a unit of movement is perhaps the most important subject discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the *nṛtta* technique of dance. Indeed many contemporary scholars have restricted their discussion of the *nṛtta* technique to a discussion of the 108 *karaṇas*. Since these *karaṇas* have also been represented sculpturally in the Cidambaram and the Brhadeśvara temple in Tanjore, and since inscriptions of Bharata’s verses are found in the Cidambaram temple, it has often been taken for granted or implied that the descriptions of *karaṇas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are descriptions of static poses. It has rarely been stated that what Bharata describes as a *karaṇa* is a unit of movement, indeed, a cadence of movement culminating in a pose. It has not been clearly understood that, when a unit of movement is broken up into the successive positions that constitute it, several poses can result at different points in time. This being so, any sculptural representation or a description of movement in language can be a sculptural representation of an arrested moment in a movement sequence.

The effort of most scholars has been to identify the sculptured *karaṇas* of the Cidambaram temple with the verses of Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and to see whether the correct inscription has been indicated with the sculptured *karaṇa*. The history of analysis of the sculptured *karaṇas* has been a history of the correct numbering of the *karaṇas* and the inscriptions. More recently, this has also been done with the sculptural representation of the *karaṇas* in the Brhadeśvara temple in Tanjore. The main attempts made to identify the sculptured *karaṇas* of the Cidambaram temple with the correct verse of Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have been by Sri B.N.V. Naidu in the *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and by the respective editors of the first and second editions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda. All these authorities have used the woodcuts of the Epigraphical Department of the Government of Madras, first published in the Epigraphical Report of 1914. Sri Ramaswami Sastri in the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad Oriental Series has, however, selected a few figures from the temple walls, which he thinks correspond to the definitions in the text and the inscriptions. The first edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as also the Epigraphical Report, published only 93 woodcuts: the editors of the *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and the editor of the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series) have incorporated the remaining fifteen. So far as the first fifty-three figures are concerned, there is unanimity amongst these authors. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion regarding the remaining 55 *karaṇas*. According to Sri Ramaswami Sastri, “these dancing poses have been set up strictly in accordance with the descriptions found in the verses of the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the correct corresponding verse has been inscribed below each pose so that it may be known to the public that the pose is the illustration of the particular *karaṇa* defined in the verse”. He has also stated the reasons for the confusion by previous authors, and has given us a very valuable chart of the *karaṇas* 54-108 as found in the different compartments

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of the four towers of the Cidambaram temple and has compared the names and numbers of his order with the previous publications\textsuperscript{143}. He has also indicated in this table the karaṇas which according to him have been displayed in each of the gopurams of the Cidambaram temple. This comparative study has been a valuable guide in resolving some of the problems which faced scholars regarding the correct order of the karaṇas and their placement in the gopurams of the Cidambaram temple. However, he, too, like other scholars, has assumed that the definitions of karaṇas in the Nāṭyaśāstra are descriptions of static poses, and that the sculptors of the Cidambaram temple could and did depict an entire sequence of movement through sculptural representation.

If the order stated by Sri Sastri is accepted as correct, the problem of indicating whether or not the sculptural representation depicts the initial, intermediary or final position of the movement described by the text remains.

Our attempt, therefore, is to interpret these karaṇas as units of movement and not as static poses. Since this unit of movement is built up by successive positions of the different limbs, such as the hands, feet, legs and primary movements of the cārīs, the sthānas, etc., it is important to take into consideration the movements of the different limbs. Indeed, the fourth chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra cannot be understood without reference to the subsequent chapters of the Nāṭyaśāstra, specially Chapters VII, IX, X and XII, where the individual movements of the major and minor limbs (añga and upañga) have been described. In analyzing the karaṇa as a unit of movement, the cadence has to be broken up into its constituents of movement of the major limbs (añga) and minor limbs (upañga). This breaking up of the karaṇa into the primary movements that each karaṇa employs leads to a reclassification of the karaṇas from the point of view of the most distinctive feature of the karaṇa. Most of the names of the karaṇas are also derived from particular movements of the major and minor limbs. Thus some karaṇas take their names from the nṛtta hastas, some from movements of the hip or waist or side; others take their names from the feet position. Many derive their names from the nature of the leg extension, like the vrścika and others from the cārī or the sthāna they employ. The names of a few suggest the type of movement, crossing or whirling or pirouetting like the svastika or recita or bhramari. The karaṇas can be reclassified thus in terms of their most distinctive or principal movement into nine categories. Once this is done, the problem of identification of the sculptured karaṇa also becomes the problem of indicating whether or not the sculptural representation captures this distinctive feature.

An attempt has been made here to reclassify the karaṇas in terms of the distinctive feature on the one hand, and to indicate whether or not the sculptural representation illustrates the initial, intermediary or final position of the karaṇa as described by Bharata, on the other. An attempt has also been made to indicate the exact
chapter and verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, where movements of the individual limbs as relevant to the particular *karaṇa* have been described. In the tables which follow, the first column states the most important and distinctive feature of the *karaṇa*, the second column indicates the movements of the related limbs, and the third column gives the textual references to these movements in different chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

This is followed by a comparison of the *karaṇa* as sculpturally illustrated in the gopurams of the Cidambaram temple with the description of the *karaṇa* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The discrepancies and a few inaccuracies of identification between the editors of the *Tāṇḍāvalakśanam* and the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gae kwad Oriental Series) have also been pointed out.

On the basis of what has been stated above, the *karaṇas* can be reclassified into the following categories:

(a) *Sama karaṇas*: those which indicate stable positions, nos. 5, 6.

(b) *Hasta karaṇas*: those which take their names after or have the *ṛṣṭa* hasta movement as the most important feature, nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 31, 32, 33, 39, 54, 68, 69, 75, 87.

(c) *Svastika karaṇas*: those that take their names from the *svastiku*—crossed position of either the hands, or the feet or the thighs, nos. 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 22, 49, 106.

(d) *Recita karaṇas*: those which take their names from the *recita* or *recika* of either the hands or feet or *kaṭi* or neck etc. nos. 12, 14, 20, 29, 37, 101.

(e) *Vṛścika karaṇas*: those which make an arch of the leg like a scorpion's, and utilize a back-flexed position of the leg, nos. 26, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50, 80, 90.

(f) *Sthāna karaṇas*: those which derive their names from the *sthānas* or utilize the *Nāṭyaśāstra* *sthānas*, nos. 48, 96, 105.

(g) *Cāri karaṇas*: those which are derived from the *cāris*: often the name suggests it, but where it does not the definition describes it; nos. 4, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 51, 53, 55, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104, 107, 108.

(h) *Kaṭi karaṇas*: those which derive their names from the positions of the *kaṭi*, nos. 11, 19, 43, 45.
(i) *Pāda karanas* : those which take their name from the position and movements of the feet, nos. 21, 23, 30, 56, 57, 58, 59, 70, 71, 74, 81, 88, 102, 103.

(j) �潍u, pārśva, etc. : those which derive their movements from important movements of other parts of the body, nos. 3, 52, 61, 62, 64, 67, 72.

**Karana (sama)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana (sama positions)</th>
<th>Hasta</th>
<th>NS Verse No. and sculptural representation in Cidambaram</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 5.  | Samanakha¹; the natural position | Feet are *samapāda* and the hands hang naturally in *lata*²; the body is in *svābhāvika* position | ¹. IV—65  
². IX—198  
Sculptural representation accurate |
| 6.  | Līna³; feet are in *samapāda*; there is no bend of the knees | The hands are moved and brought together in *aṇjali*¹ *saṁyuta hastas*. The head is slightly bent in *nihañcita*⁵ | ³. IV—66a-67a  
⁴. IX—128  
⁵. VII—32  
The sculpture represents the final position |

**Karana (hasta)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana and hasta</th>
<th>Pāda (feet) and jānu (knees) etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.  | *Talapuṣpapuṭa*¹  
*Puṣpapuṭahasta*² | Feet in *agratalasaṅcara*³, *pārśva* (side) in *sannatu*⁴ limbs in *sausthava*⁵ | ¹. IV—61  
². IX—150  
³. IX—273  
⁴. IX—235  
⁵. X—89 |
| 2.  | *Vartita*⁶ : *āvartita* and *parivartita*² of the hands. The initial position is of *svastika* hands | One foot in *agratalasaṅcara*⁶: a *svastika* of the wrists also mentioned | ⁶. IV—62  
⁷. IX—218  
⁸. IX—273 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana and hasta</th>
<th>Padā (feet) and jānu (knees) etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Nikūṭṭaka⁹: the karana could also be classified under the pāda karanaḥ</td>
<td>Arms in nikūṭṭaka bent with hands near the shoulders. Feet in udghaṭṭita according to commentary</td>
<td>⁹. IV—69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10. | Ardhanikūṭṭaka¹⁰: hands alapallava¹¹ | Similar to karana no. 9 but legs do not bend as much | ¹⁰. IV—70  
     |                                | ¹¹. IX—91 |
| 31. | Valita¹² | Sūcīmukha hasta¹³: sūcī cāri in initial position and bhrama-cāri in final position | ¹². IV—92  
     |                                | ¹³. IX—191 |
| 32. | Ghūrṇita¹⁴: valita of one hand and dola¹⁵ of the other | Feet in svastiṣṭa position, and then the legs are extended | ¹⁴. IV—92b-93a  
     |                                | ¹⁵. IX—148 |
| 33. | Lalita¹⁶: from the kari-hasta¹⁷ position, one hand and arm moved from side to side in utsārīta | Feet in kutṭita or nikūṭṭa (i.e., bent knees and tādita¹⁸ movement of feet) | ¹⁶. IV—93b-94a  
     |                                | ¹⁷. IX—199  
     |                                | ¹⁸. This movement is not mentioned by NS but is mentioned by SR etc. NS only speaks of kutṭita as a bent position |
| 39. | Catura¹⁹: left hand in alapallava²⁰ and right in catura²¹ | Feet movement is udghaṭṭita²²; the right shank is bent in nikūṭṭita or kuñcita | ¹⁹. IV—99b-100a  
     |                                | ²⁰. IX—91  
     |                                | ²¹. IX—93  
     |                                | ²². IX—266, movement mentioned only in commentary |
| 54. | Ūromaṇḍala²³: derived from Ūromaṇḍala²⁴ hastas | Svastiṣṭa position to begin with; later arms open out; resembles the movement of the baddha cāri²⁵. The commentary also mentions the sthitāvaritā cāri²⁶ initial position | ²³. IV—114b-115a  
     |                                | ²⁴. IX—204  
     |                                | ²⁵. X—21  
     |                                | ²⁶. X—15 |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karança and hasta</th>
<th>Pada (feet) and jânu (knees) etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 68. | Gajakridita\(^\text{a}\): name derived from gajadanta hasta\(^\text{a}\) but the movement of the hands here has nothing in common with the hasta; instead, it resembles the karihasta\(^\text{a}\) except for the crossing of the extended arm. Left hand is near the ear and right arm is extended to its own side. | The leg position is of the dolapadā cāri\(^\text{a}\). The text describes the right hand in latā\(^\text{a}\), and the other is held near the ear. | 27. IV—128b-129a  
28. IX—154  
29. IX—199  
30. X—36  
31. IX—198 |
| 69. | Talasaṃsphoṭita\(^\text{a}\): talamukha\(^\text{a}\) hands clasped and clapped | Feet and legs as in atikrānta\(^\text{a}\) cāri. Knees are spread out in kṣipta\(^\text{a}\). Compare with karança 93 discussed under the cāri karanças | 32. IV—129b-130a  
33. IX—186  
34. X—30  
35. IX—262b-263a |
| 75. | Sannata\(^\text{a}\): with dola\(^\text{a}\) hasta | Feet in svastika in initial position; with a slight jump (as in the kariṇaplutā cāri)\(^\text{a}\), the final position is attained; thighs and knees are spread out in kṣipta\(^\text{a}\) | 36. IV—135b-136a  
37. IX—148  
38. X—43  
39. IX—262b-263a |
| 87. | Karihasta\(^\text{a}\): from karihastas\(^\text{a}\) | Feet are in aṅcita\(^\text{a}\) position | 40. IV—147b-148a  
41. IX—199  
42. IX—273-274 |

Sculptural representation in Cidambaram of karanças derived from hastas

1. Talapuspapuṭa: The sculptural representation shows the final position of the hands, but the agratalasaṅcara feet described by the text are not seen. Also the kṣipta position of the knees is not mentioned in the text. TL and NS II agree\(^\text{a}\).

2. Vartita: The sculptural representation of the vartita karança cannot be said to be accurate, for the two distinctive features of the karança, namely the agratalasaṅcara foot and the svastika of the wrists (maṇi), are not seen: however, the karança could represent the final position of the arm movement. The text sug-
gests that in the final position the arms hang down with the palms of the \textit{patākā hasta} facing out.

9. \textit{Nikūṭṭaka} : The sculptural representation as identified by \textit{NŚ II} illustrates an intermediary arm position. However, there is no indication in the figure of the \textit{udghaṭṭita} toe-heel movement of the feet or the \textit{maṇḍala sthāna} mentioned by the text. The \textit{alapadma hastas} are not seen in the figure either.

10. \textit{Ardhanikūṭṭaka} : In the sculpture identified by \textit{NŚ II} as this \textit{karana}, one hand is near the ear and the other arm is held across the chest. From the sculpture it is not clear whether the hand is \textit{alapallava} or not. \textit{Allapallava hastas} are mentioned only by Abhinavagupta in the commentary and not by Bharata. The movement described by \textit{NŚ II} is a continuous movement and not a static position.

31. \textit{Valita} : The text mentions the \textit{sūcīmukha hasta} the \textit{sūcīpāda cārī} in the initial position and the turning of the \textit{trīka} to perform the \textit{bhramari cārī} in the final. The Cidanabaram relief depicts one foot in \textit{kūṅcita} and the other in \textit{samapāda}. One hand is held in \textit{patākā}, and the other rests on the thigh. The initial position of \textit{sūcī cārī} is seen in the sculpture: the \textit{apavidha} of the arms mentioned by \textit{NŚ} could be interpreted as in the relief.

32. \textit{Ghūrṇita} : The \textit{karana} as seen in Cidanabaram represent the \textit{dola hasta} clearly, but the feet are not in \textit{svastika} as indicated by the text; one foot is in \textit{kūṅcita}, suggesting a \textit{sūcī} position rather than a \textit{svastika}. The \textit{valita} of the hands or the \textit{svastika} position of the feet is not captured by the sculpture.

33. \textit{Lalita} : The hand position of the \textit{karihasta} in the \textit{karana} is accurately represented in the sculpture. The feet are difficult to analyze in terms of the text, but the pose of the sculpture seems to be a faithful representation, judging from the fact that this \textit{karana} has been similarly depicted at other places.

39. \textit{Catura} : The sculpture shows the \textit{dola arm}, crossing the body; and one hand seems to be in \textit{alapallava} but it may be in \textit{patākā}: the text does not mention the placing of the arms; thus, there was freedom for the sculptor to depict them as he wished. The \textit{catura} hand is also not seen in the sculpture. The feet cannot be said to be in \textit{udghaṭṭita}: one of them is in \textit{kūṅcita}. \textit{Kuṭṭita} or \textit{udghaṭṭita} are movements of the feet and thus difficult to represent in sculpture.

54. \textit{Ūromaṇḍala} : \textit{TL} and the second edition of \textit{NŚ} do not agree about this \textit{karana}. Ramaswami Sastri gives a drawing of the \textit{viśkambha karana} of \textit{TL} and calls it \textit{ūromaṇḍala}. The \textit{svastika} position of the legs mentioned in the text and reiterated in the commentary is, however, not seen in the figures identified by \textit{NŚ II} or \textit{TL} : the
ūromāṇḍala of the arms is a movement and can, therefore, take either the position seen in the NS II karāṇa 54 or the NS1 karāṇa 54. The uromāṇḍala hastas could not have the hands and arms of the figure identified as this karāṇa by TL. The feet position of all the three figures do not accord with the textual description. The figure identified by NS II represents at best the initial position of the arm movement.

68. Gajakrīḍita: The karāṇa identified by Ramaswami Sastri in NS II represents the position described by the text accurately. The legs are in dolapāda and one hand is in latā and the other is held near the ear. The TL figure is incorrect. The dola pāda and latā hasta are both seen in the figure identified by NS II.

69. Talasamśpoṭita: The sculptural representation of the karāṇa as identified by NS II clearly indicates the hand position described in the text. TL identifies a different figure which does not correspond with the definition. However, the feet position described in the text are not seen in the NS II figure either. Also, neither the atikrāntā cārī nor the daṇḍapāda feet are seen in the sculpture. The NS II figure could at best be the final position of the movement where both the hands meet and the feet are struck.

75. Samnata: The figures identified as the samnata karāṇa are different in NS II and TL: the figure identified by Sastri represents the final position of the samnata karāṇa where the feet are in svastika position after a jump in harinapūtā cārī: the hands, however, are held near the chest and this does not accord with the text. The figure identified as the samnata karāṇa by TL and NS I represents the dola hastas but not the svastika of the feet. It could, however, represent the jumping in the harinapūtā cārī but the action indicated seems more violent than the description of the karāṇa. We can only conclude that the karāṇa is inaccurately represented in both the figures identified, even though some features are common: no other figure in Cidambaram seems to fit the description totally.

87. Karihasta: It is fairly accurately represented in the sculptured figure: we see clearly the karihasta and the aṅcita position of the feet: both NS II and TL agree. The extension of the side alone does not accord with the definition, but the arm extension and the foot position without doubt make this figure a representation of the karihasta karāṇa of NS II.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karāṇa</th>
<th>Other limbs, pāda (feet) and hastas (hands)</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 7.  | Svastika recita¹: recita² of the hands with arms in āviddha³ (turning inwards), the commentary adds many other movements of the hands | Svastika of the feet. The first position of the hands is in caturaśra and in the final position they are in hamsapakṣa | 1. IV—76b-68a  
2. IX—193  
3. IX—190 and 220 |
| 8.  | Māndala svastika⁴ | Svastika positions of feet and hands are derived from the māndala sthāna⁵ | 4. IV—68b-69a  
5. X—65 |
| 13. | Vakṣahsvastika recita⁶: hands in svastika; the chest is bent in nikuñcita. The commentary identifies this as the abhugna⁷ chest movement | Feet are in svastika and are alternately opened and crossed | 6. IV—73b-74a  
7. IX—224 |
| 15. | Svastika⁸, hands and feet both in svastika | Static position | 8. IV—75b-76a |
| 16. | Prṣṭhasvastika⁹: arms and hands in svastika, but completely turned, so that back faces audience | Feet and legs as in apakrāntā cāri¹⁰ and ardhasiṣci cāri¹¹ | 9. IV—76b-77a  
10. X—3  
X—34 |
| 17. | Diksvāstika¹²: hands and feet in svastika | One continuous movement front and sideways of crossed feet and hands | 12. IV—77b-78a |
| 22. | Ardhasvāstika¹³: right hand in karihasta¹⁴; the left hand relaxed on chest | Svastika of the feet | 13. IV—82b-83  
14. IX—199 |
| 49. | Pārśvanikuṭṭaka¹⁶ | Hands are in svastika; feet and legs in nikuṭṭita | 15. IV—109b-110a |
| 106. | Nāgāpasarpita¹⁴: hands in recita and head in parivāhita¹⁷ | Release of one leg from svastika position of feet | 16. IV—166b-167a  
17. VIII—27 |
Sculptural representation in Cidambaram of svastika karaṇa

7. Svastika recita: Both TL and NŚ II identify the same figure as the svastika recita karaṇa. The sculpture depicts, if anything, the final position described by the NŚ, for neither the recita movement of the hamsapakṣa hastas nor the svastika position of the feet is seen in the sculpture. The commentary adds that the hands finally rest on the kāṭi and this is clearly observed in the sculptural representation of the karaṇa.

8. Maṇḍala svastika: TL and NŚ II agree but the sculpture represents the svastika of the hands only: it does not also depict the distinctive feature of a four-tāla distance between the two feet described in NŚ.

13. Vakṣaḥsvastika recita: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture represents fairly accurately the svastika of the hands and the feet: the abhugna chest (slightly bent) as described by the text is not seen in the sculptural representation.

15. Svastika: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture represents the final position of the NŚ karaṇa: the svastika of the hands and feet is seen clearly in the relief.

16. Prṣṭhasvastika: TL and NŚ II agree: the reverse position of karaṇa 15 is seen in the sculpture and it corresponds to the description in the text. However, the movements of the apakṝntā cūrī is not depicted in the sculpture; only the final posterior position is depicted.

17. Diksvastika: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture depicts a posture similar to karaṇa 16, which seems to be a result of the limitations of modelling in relief. The svastika position of the feet and the hands is clearly observed, and differs from the textual description only in so far as the diksvastika karaṇa is a continuous movement of the crossed feet and hands in front and sideways.

22. Ardhasvastika: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture depicts the svastika of the feet but the movement described by the text, specially of the karihasta, is not seen: the hand is held on the chest in the sculpture.

49. Pārśvanikutṭaka: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture also corresponds to the description of the text: the hands are in svastika and the knees are bent. The sideways movement suggested in the text is, however, not seen in the sculptural representation.

106. Nāgāpasarpita: NŚ II and TL differ in their identification of the karaṇa. The figure in the NŚ II identified as the nāgāpasarpita shows practically a sitting posture; one hand is held clearly in patākā, and the other is near the ear: this is
not in accordance with the definition of NŚ. The extension of the legs from the initial svastika position described by the text is also not noticed. The TL and NŚ I figure of karaṇa 106 is equally doubtful, for one leg is here turned back, almost as a vrśčika leg, and arms are extended out in front: the general definition of recita could also include this movement. One may conclude that there is no accurate sculptural representation of this karaṇa.

### Kāraṇa (recita)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Kāraṇa</th>
<th>Hasta (hands) and other limbs</th>
<th>NŚ Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 12. | Ardha recita¹ | Śucimukha² hastas make recita. The side (pārśva) is in nata³ position. The legs are in nikūṭṭita | 1. IV—72b-73a  
2. IX—191  
3. IX—239-240 |
| 14. | Unmatta⁴ | The hands are in recita⁵ and the feet in aṇīcita⁶: there is a turn of the entire body. The commentary also mentions the āviddha cārī⁷ | 4. IV—74b-75a  
5. IX—193  
6. IX—274-275  
7. X—38 |
| 20. | Ākṣipta recita⁸ | The arm movement is apa-viddha⁹ (circular), the hands are in recita. The knees are in kṣipta¹⁰ (spread out) position | 8. IV—80b-81a  
9. IX—220  
10. X—262-263 |
| 29. | Recita nikūṭṭita¹¹ | Feet in udghaṭṭita¹²; the knees and thighs are bent to form nikūṭṭita | 11. IV—89b-90a  
12. IX—265 |
| 37. | Vaiśākha recita¹³: hands and feet both in recita | Derived from the sthāna¹⁴ of that name | 13. IV—97b-98a  
14. X—61-62 |
| 101. | Sambhrānta¹⁵: the name of the karaṇa is derived from the circular movement it implies. Unlike karaṇas 5 and 6, this is a movement. The cārī used is āviddha¹⁷ | The movement of the hands is in parivartita¹⁶ and vyāvartita; they rest on the thighs in the final position | 15. IV—161b-162a  
16. IX—217-218  
17. X—38 |
Sculptural representation of the recita karaṇas

12. Ardha recita: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculptural representation accords more or less with an intermediary position described in the text; the sūcinukha hastas cannot be seen clearly in the figure, nor are the kaṭakāmukha hastas mentioned by the commentary clear. The bent position of the legs in the sculpture is nikuṭṭita.

14. Unmatta: TL and NŚ II agree: the figure represents accurately the recita movement of the hands and arms and also suggests the frenzied quality of the karaṇa: the aṅcita feet are, however, not visible.

20. Ākṣipta recita: TL and NŚ II agree: the clearly defined kṣipta position of the knees is seen in the figure. The arm and hand positions are more difficult to identify in terms of the text. In the sculpture one hand is in patākā near the chest and the other rests on the thigh. The sculpture illustrates the final position of the karaṇa.

29. Recita nikuṭṭita: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculptural representation is fairly faithful and depicts the recita and the dola hasta clearly: the foot does not show the udghaṭṭita movement but the toe of the kuṅcita foot is so placed that it can easily lead to the udghaṭṭita movement.

37. Vaiśākha recita: TL and NŚ II agree: the figure in the sculpture, however, does not show the distance of three and a half tālas between the two feet as mentioned by the text. The feet and hands can be said to be in recita but the sculpture does not conform accurately to the description. There is no suggestion of the uplifted foot in the text. The most distinctive feature of the karaṇa is the vaiśākha sthūna in the initial position and this is not seen in the sculptural representation. The feet in the sculpture indicate the intermediary position of the karaṇa, viz., the nūpara pāda.

101. Sambhrānta: Neither the figure identified by NŚ II nor the one identified by TL accord with the textual description. There is no indication in the sculpture of either the āviddhā cārī or the vyāvarṣita or purivarṣita movements of the hands. The karaṇa is a continuous movement and not a static position, and does not lend itself to a faithful sculptural representation.
### Karanās with legs in vṛścika position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana</th>
<th>Hasta (hands) and other limbs</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Nikuṇcita: one leg in vṛścika</td>
<td>One hand across the chest, the other touches tip of the nose. One hand is in arāla</td>
<td>1. IV—86b-87a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Vṛścika kūṭṭila: one leg in vṛścika taken back</td>
<td>The arms bent in nikuṇcita: alapallava hands are held in the shoulder region</td>
<td>2. IV—102b-103a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Latā vṛścika: one leg in vṛścika</td>
<td>Hands in latā</td>
<td>3. IV—104b-105a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Vṛścika recita</td>
<td>Viprakīrṇa nṛtta hastas in recita are suggested</td>
<td>4. IV—106b-107a and IX-187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Vṛścika: one leg bent in front; the other turned back and elevated</td>
<td>Two hands in kuṇcita held over the shoulders</td>
<td>5. IV—107b-108a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Lalāṭatilaka: also belongs to the vṛścika variety: the vṛścika leg is taken to its extreme position when the toe touches the forehead</td>
<td>The hand of the uplifted leg is in patākā, the other holds the uplifted toe in the forehead region</td>
<td>6. IV—110b-111a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>Mayūralalita: vṛścika of legs, but with crossed thighs</td>
<td>Hands in recita and moved freely. Trika is in vivartita</td>
<td>IV—140b-141a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>Siṁhākārṣita (vṛścika of one leg)</td>
<td>Arms bent in nikuṇcita, hands padmakośa or ैर्ननाब्हा</td>
<td>8. IV—150b-151a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sculptural representation of the vṛścika karanās**

26. Nikuṇcita: TL and NS II agree: the sculptural relief accurately accords with the description in the text: one foot is in samapāda with a nata (bent) knee, the other is taken back and lifted up to form an arch: the arm positions also conform to the description in the text, the arāla hand however, cannot be seen in the sculpture; the karihasta is not specifically mentioned by NS.
42. \textit{Vṛścika kujjila}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II agree: the sculpture has the same feet and knee position as \textit{karaṇa} 26: the hands and arms differ. According to the text, they should be in \textit{alapadma} and in \textit{recita}: this is not depicted by the sculpture. The hands are, however, seen in the shoulder region in the sculpture and this conforms to the description in the commentary.

44. \textit{Lalā vṛścika}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II agree: the feet and leg positions of this \textit{karaṇa} are similar to those of \textit{karaṇas} 26 and 42: the \textit{lalā hasta} is depicted in the sculpture by an extended arm: the other hand is in \textit{patākā} held near the chest.

46. \textit{Vṛścika recita}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II agree: the sculptural representation has the \textit{vṛścika} leg lifted high with the toe touching the back of the head. The \textit{recita} of the hands and arms is shown by the complete extension of both the arms. The chest is slightly bent forward in the sculptural representation, which is not prescribed by the \textit{NS}. The final position of the \textit{karaṇa} is depicted by the sculpture.

47. \textit{Vṛścika}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II agree: the sculptural representation is accurate, so far as the legs are concerned, but the \textit{karihasta} prescribed by the commentary is not seen in the sculpture.

50. \textit{Lalātātiluka}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II agree: the \textit{vṛścika} leg is depicted in its extreme position where the calf and the thighs are in a straight line again and there is no bending of the knee. The hand clasping the toe above the head is clearly seen in the figure. The other hand is in \textit{patākā}. The sculpture is a faithful definition of the final position.

80. \textit{Mayūralalita}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II identify different figures: the \textit{TL} figure of \textit{karaṇa} 99 is figure 80 of \textit{NS} II\textsuperscript{143}: the latter figure is nearer the description of \textit{NS}. The sacrum is turned round and the hands and arms are openly stretched out: one leg is in \textit{vṛścika} but not in such an extreme position as in \textit{karaṇa} 46 or \textit{karaṇa} 60: this is more akin to the leg position of \textit{karaṇas} 26 and 42: however, the turning of the \textit{trika} and the crossing of the thighs produce a different impression. The \textit{karaṇa} identified by \textit{NS} II is closer to the textual description.

90. \textit{Siṃhākarṣita}: \textit{TL} and \textit{NS} II identify different figures. The figure identified as \textit{karaṇa} 90 by \textit{NS} II is \textit{karaṇa} 106 of \textit{TL}. The \textit{NS} II figure is closer to the description in the text: yet it is not an accurate depiction. The \textit{vṛścika} of one leg is seen, but the \textit{ūrṇanābha} and \textit{padmakośa hastas} mentioned in the commentary are not seen in the relief; the arms and hands suggest the \textit{daṇḍapakṣa hastas} instead.
### Karāṇas from sthānas

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karāṇa</th>
<th>Hastos (hands) and other limbs</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 48. | Vyanīsita¹ | Derived from ālīḍha sthāṇa²: arms in recita and hands in viprakīrṇa nrīṭa³ hasta, in an udveṣṭita movement⁴ | 1. IV—108b-109a  
2. X—67  
3. IX—187  
4. IX—216 |
| 96. | Niveśā⁵ | From maṇḍala sthāṇa⁶: hands on chest, the chest is in nir-bhūgna⁷ and the sides are in unnata⁸. | 5. IV—156b-157a  
6. X—65-66  
7. IX—226  
8. IX—236-238 |
| 105. | Lolita⁹ | From vaśīṇava sthāṇa¹⁰: the arms are in recita and the hands in aṅcita; the head is lolita¹¹ | 9. IV—165b-166a  
10. X—52-53  
11. VIII—37 |

Sculptural representation of karāṇas derived from sthānas

48. Vyanīsita: TL and NS II agree: the figure depicts the ālīḍha sthāṇa, no doubt, but it is rather a clumsy representation and, considering that the ālīḍha sthāṇa has been beautifully sculptured as early as in the Rānigumpha caves, this is indeed a poor depiction. The feet are not quite five tālas apart and the stretched leg is not sufficiently extended out. The hands are accurately depicted as being on the chest where they may easily form a svastika.

96. Niveśa: TL and NS II identify different figure as the niveśa karāṇa, but neither of the figures corresponds to the description of the text. The TL figure identified as karāṇa 96 has nothing in common with the NS description; but the figure identified in NS II as karāṇa 96 also does not depict the maṇḍala sthāṇa: in fact none of the karāṇas derived from the sthānas have been accurately represented in the Cidambaram temple. In the NS II figure the hands are on the chest and this accords with the description; but the feet are not shown four tālas apart. There is nothing in the chest and side (pāraṇa) position either to show a slight bending and stiffening of the torso. Nor is there any other figure which conforms to the definition in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

105. Lolita: TL and NS II do not agree regarding the figure, nor do the figures identified by either accord with the description in NS. Neither the TL nor the NS II figure depicts the vaśīṇava sthāṇa which is the most distinctive figure of the karāṇa. The feet of the figure identified by NS II are in svastika and the hands are near the chest. It would have been difficult to represent the head movement, or the recita of the arms, mentioned by NS, sculpturally.
### Karānas from cārīs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Hastas (hands) and other limbs</th>
<th>NŚ Verse No.</th>
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</table>
| 4.  | Apavidha\(^1\): derived from the baddhā cārī; a movement of the arms is also termed apavidha (IX-220) | The hands mentioned are śukatunḍa and kaṭakā-mukha\(^2\): a crossing of the thighs as in the baddhā cārī is mentioned in the text | 1. IV—64b-65a  
2. IX—60-62 |
| 18. | Alātā\(^3\): initial position of alātā cārī\(^4\) final position of ārdhva-jānu cārī\(^5\): a turn and the uplifted sideways movement of the knees are important points of the cadence | Initial position of the hands is at the level of the shoulders; in the final position they extend down | IV—78b  
X—41  
X—33 |
| 24. | Bhujāṅgatāsita\(^6\): derived from the cārī\(^7\) of that name: one kuṁcita\(^8\) foot lifted up, the thighs in vivartana\(^9\) (also compare karānas 35 and 40 which are similar) | There is an oblique turning of the entire body specially knees, thighs and waist: the hand positions are not indicated; one arm is in karihasta\(^10\) | 6. IV—84-85a  
7. X—42  
8. IX—275  
9. IX—255-256  
10. IX—199 |
| 25. | Ārdhva-jānu\(^11\): the leg positions are exactly the same as in the cārī\(^12\) of that name | Hand and arm movement not specified | 11. IV—85b-86a  
12. X—33 |
| 27. | Mattalī\(^13\): leg movement as in the cārī\(^14\): here the circular movement is emphasized | Arms in apavidha, and the hands perform an udveṣṭita\(^15\) movement | 13. IV—87b-88a  
14. X—28  
15. IX—216 |
| 28. | Ardhamattalī\(^16\): derived from the mattalī\(^17\) cārī but the closing and extending of the feet is emphasized | Recita nṛta hasta extended and the left hand is placed on hip | 16. IV—88b-89a  
17. X—28 |
| 34. | Daṇḍapakṣa\(^18\): the karāṇa is derived from the ārdhva-jānu cārī\(^19\): compare karāṇa 25 above, also compare karāṇa 82 | The hand position is that of the daṇḍapakṣa nṛta hastas\(^20\); the feet and hands together give the impression of a staff: the arms are latā hastas\(^21\) here | 18. IV—95b-96a  
19. X—33  
20. IX—202  
21. IX—198 |
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Bhujāṅgatāsīta recita(^{22}): derived from the cārī of that name and karāṇa 24. The karāṇa can also fall into the category of the recita karāṇas for the circular movement is emphasized here. Also compare karāṇa 40</td>
<td>Hand positions are clearly indicated as recita in initial position: in the final one they rest on one side as in karāṇa 24</td>
<td>22. IV—95b-96a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Nūpara(^{23}): initial position bhramari cārī(^{24}) final position of nūpurapādikā cārī(^{25})</td>
<td>The hastas in latā recita but both arms are above shoulder level; a turn is suggested after the first position</td>
<td>23. IV—96b-97a</td>
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<td>24. X—45</td>
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<td>25. X—35</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Bhramara(^{26}): from the bhramari cārī(^{27}); this is a movement where the knees and the feet continue to be in the initial ākṣipta(^{28}) and svastika positions</td>
<td>The hands are in udves-tīta(^{29}) when the fingers beginning with the forefinger open outwards. Only the trika is turned and thighs are in the valana position</td>
<td>26. IV—98b-99a</td>
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<td>27. X—45</td>
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<td>28. X—37</td>
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<td>29. IX—216</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Bhujāṅgāncita(^{30}): from karana 24 above and the cārī of that name: the kuṅcita foot crosses at the thigh level</td>
<td>Right hand is in recita and left hand latā. No crossing of arm to the other side as in karāṇas 24 and 35</td>
<td>30. IV—100b-101a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Daṇḍakarecita(^{31}): derived from the second or final position of the daṇḍapādā cārī(^{32}). One knee is in kṣipta and the other leg is stretched out like a staff</td>
<td>The arms and hands are in daṇḍapākṣa and are moved in recita</td>
<td>31. IV—101b-102a</td>
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<td>32. X—</td>
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<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Krāntaka(^{33}): derived from the atikrāntā cārī(^{24}) where one kuṅcita foot is lifted up, put forward and extended. Also compare karāṇa 82, where a similar leg position is indicated</td>
<td>The hands are described as ākṣipta in the text, but commentary adds that, in the initial position, the hands move in the vyāva-rīta(^{35}) movement; in the intermediary position they are in parivarīta(^{36}); they are finally held in kaṭakāṃukha(^{37}) in the chest region</td>
<td>33. IV—111b-112a</td>
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<td>34. X—30</td>
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<td>35. IX—217</td>
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<td>36. IX—218</td>
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<td>37. IX—60-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Karanā</td>
<td>Hastas (hands) and other limbs</td>
<td>NS Verse No.</td>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 53. | Cakramandala\(^{38}\): from the adhitā cārī\(^{38}\), but the definition seems incomplete | The hands are in uromanḍala\(^{40}\): the name cakramandala really gives a clue to the karanā, for this is an acrobatic position in which the arms pass between the thighs to touch the ground. It is rarely seen in dancing, except in a style like odissi | 38. IV—113b-114a  
39. X—23  
40. IX—204 |
| 55. | Ākṣipta\(^{41}\): derived from the cārī\(^{42}\) of the name but the final position of svastika feet in the cārī is not indicated in the karanā | Hands and arms also extended but no precise position indicated. The commentary adds that the hands are in kafakā-mukha placed slightly on the side | 41. IV—115b-116a  
42. X—37 |
| 60. | Dolāpāda\(^{43}\): from the cārī\(^{44}\) of that name; one kuṇcita foot swung from side to side ending in an aṅcita foot: weight of the body is on the samapāda foot | Hands accord with the feet, and are also in dola\(^{45}\) | 43. IV—120b-121a  
44. X—36  
45. IX—148 |
| 62. | Viniyṛṭta\(^{46}\): derived from the sūcī cārī\(^{47}\): feet are placed in sūcī cārī in the initial position and are moved to a svastika position in the final position | The trika is turned round, i.e., the side (pārśva) is in the vivartana\(^{48}\) movement. The two haṁsapakṣa\(^{49}\) hastas move in a fast tempo in recita | 46. IV—122b-123a  
47. X—34  
48. IX—236-238  
49. IX—193 |
| 63. | Pārśvākrānta\(^{50}\): feet as in the parśvākrānta cārī\(^{51}\) | Hands to accord with the feet which are moved in front | 50. IV—123b-124a  
51. X—32 |
| 65. | Vidvudbhṛnta\(^{52}\): feet as in the cārī\(^{53}\): one leg is taken back and extended high so that the foot touches the forehead: the other foot is in samapāda: weight of the body is on the samapāda foot | The arm movement is given as maṉḍalāviddhā, i.e., maṉḍala (circular) movement and āviddha\(^{54}\) movement when the hands are turned inward towards the body from an outer point in space | IV—125b-126a  
X—40  
IX—220-221 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karāṇa</th>
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<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 66. | *Atikrānta* 
from the cārī of that name: <i>kūṅcita</i> foot is lifted forward | No specific hands are described | IV—126b-127a  
IV—127a  
X—30 |
| 73. | *Pārśvajānu* 
feet as in the <i>parśvakrāntā cārī</i>; but this is an extreme position of the infolded leg | One hand rests on the thigh and the other is held in <i>muṣṭi</i> on chest. The commentary adds that the resting hand is in <i>ardhacandra</i> | IV—133b-134a  
X—32 |
| 76. | *Śucī*; feet as in the cārī; the <i>kūṅcita</i> foot is lifted and placed forward: in the initial position it touches the knee of the stationary leg, in the final the toe touches the <i>saṃapāda</i> foot | No specific hands prescribed | IV—136b-137a  
X—34 |
| 77. | *Ardhāsucī*; only the final position of the <i>śucī cārī</i> is used when the right foot is in <i>kūṅcita</i> and is placed on the side of the stationary foot | <i>Alapadma</i> hands are held near the head | IV—137b-138a |
| 78. | *Śucividdha*; this is the extreme position of the last movement of the <i>śucī cārī</i>; the <i>kūṅcita</i> foot pierces into the heel of the other foot. (Compare karāṇa 96 and 77 above; three variations of the same movement have been described) | Hands are on the hips and the chest: the commentary adds that the hand on the hip is <i>ardhacandra</i> and the one on the chest is <i>kaṭakāmukha</i> | IV—138b-139a |
| 79. | *Apakrānta*; derived from the thigh position of the cārī, i.e., <i>valana</i> of thighs and then a <i>kūṅcita</i> foot is raised | No specific hands prescribed | IV—139b-140a  
X—31  
IX—255-256 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Karana</th>
<th>HASTAS (HANDS) AND OTHER LIMBS</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 82. | Daṇḍapāda⁶⁶: initial position of the nūpura cārī⁷⁷ (i.e., crossed position of feet): in the final position, one leg is extended to its own side so as to make a staff. Compare karana 100 and karana 34—which are derived from the urdhva-jānu cārī—and have daṇḍapakṣa hastas. This karana ends in the daṇḍapāda cārī⁷⁸ | The arm movement is in āviddha⁶⁸ where the hand is moved inwards from an outer position | ⁶⁶. IV—142b-143a  
⁶⁷. X—35  
⁶⁸. X—44  
⁶⁹. IX—220 |
| 83. | Harinapluta⁷⁰: like the cārī⁷¹ of the name: it is derived from the initial position of the atikrāntā cārī⁷²: there is a jump and then an aṅcita foot is placed at the side | The knees are spread out in kṣipta in the final position. No hands are specified | ⁷⁰. IV—143b-144a  
⁷¹. X—43  
⁷². X—30 |
| 84. | Preṅkholita⁷³: derived from the dolapāda cārī⁷⁴. Initial position of the dolapāda is continued into the bhramari cārī⁷⁶ with a jump. Compare karana 60 | The trika is turned round, i.e., the sides are in a vivartita⁷⁶ movement | ⁷³. IV—144b-145a  
⁷⁴. X—36  
⁷⁵. X—45  
⁷⁶. IX—236-238 |
| 85. | Nitamba⁷⁷: derived from the baddha cārī⁷⁸: svastika position of the feet | The arms are lifted high in the initial position and then the fingers and palms move in vyāvarita karaṇa⁷⁹ of the hands: palms face the chest gradually and are finally in patakā; this is the complete movement of the nitamba⁸⁰ hands | ⁷⁷. IV—145b-146a  
⁷⁸. X—21  
⁷⁹. IX—217  
⁸⁰. IX—196 |
| 86. | Skhalita karana⁸¹: derived from the dolapāda cārī⁸². Compare karana 60 and 84 above | The hands follow the feet recita and ghūṛnī hands are used: in the initial position the hamsapakṣa recita⁸³ hands are used | ⁸¹. IV—146b-147a  
⁸². X—36  
⁸³. IX—193 |
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>Simhavikridita: derived from the alata cari. Movement similar to the alata karana, but is performed in a quick tempo; compare karana 18</td>
<td>No hands specified</td>
<td>IV—149b-150a, X—41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td>Ud yrita: the movement of the karana is identical with the movement described in the cari of that name: the violent movement important, the final aksipta leg position emphasized</td>
<td>The entire body is spread out and raised. The hands are not specified, but they are perhaps in udyrta</td>
<td>IV—151b-152a, X—39, IX—185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td>Upasrta: from the aksipta cari. Compare karana 55 above</td>
<td>The commentary adds that the movement of the left hand is in vyavartita and the right hand is held in arala</td>
<td>IV—152b-153a, X—37, IX—217, IX—46</td>
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<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>Talasaṅghatita: is derived from the dolapāda cari: the distance between the two feet in the final position is two tālas: compare karana 84 and 86 above</td>
<td>The hands come together and clap and are released in recita movement</td>
<td>IV—153b-154a, X—36</td>
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<td>94.</td>
<td>Janita: derived from janitā carī, where one foot is in agratalasaṅcara</td>
<td>One hand is held in muṣṭi near the chest and the other is hung in latā hasta</td>
<td>IV—154b-155a, X—25, IX—274-275</td>
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<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td>Avahithhaka: from the janitā carī</td>
<td>The hands are gradually lowered from a high position above the head towards the chest. The hands are also in avahiththa</td>
<td>IV—155b-156a, X—25, IX—156</td>
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<td>97.</td>
<td>Elakākridita: from the carī of that name: jumping with talasaṅcara feet</td>
<td>The torso is slightly bent and twisted</td>
<td>IV—157b-158a, X—20</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Karanā</td>
<td>Hastas (hands) and other limbs</td>
<td>NŚ Verse No.</td>
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| 98. | Ürūḍṛṭta<sup>103</sup> derived from the cārī<sup>104</sup> of that name: the knees are bent in nata and the thighs are udvarta<sup>105</sup> | Hands move in vyāvartita and then rest on hips in the final position | 103. IV—158b-159a  
104. X—22  
105. IX—256b-257a |
| 99. | Madaskhalita<sup>108</sup> derived from the aviddhā cārī<sup>107</sup>: initial position of feet in svastika | The head moves in the parivāhit<sup>108</sup>, and the arms hang down | 106. IV—159b-160a  
107. X—38  
108. VIII—27 |
| 100. | Viṣṇukrānta<sup>109</sup>: the leg is extended out high on its own side without a knee bend: this is an extreme position of the daṇḍapādā cārī<sup>110</sup>, where the foot is lifted from the ground to the level of the waist | The two hands are in recita | 109. IV—160b-161a  
110. X—44 |
| 104. | Vṛṣabhokridita<sup>111</sup>: from the alātā cārī<sup>111</sup> like karaṇa 18 and 89 | The arms move in recita with a vyāvartita movement of the hands | 111. IV—164b-156a  
112. X—41 |
| 107. | Śakaṭāśya<sup>113</sup>; derived from the cārī<sup>114</sup> of this name: it also uses the agratala-saṅcāra<sup>115</sup> foot and the udvāhita<sup>116</sup> chest. The karaṇa, however, seems to be an acrobatic one like the cakramaṇḍala, judging from the sculpture in Cidambaram | The kāṭakāmukha hands are in front at the chest level | 113. IV—167b-168a  
114. X—16  
115. IX—275 ff.  
IX—231 |
| 108. | Gaṅgāvataraṇa<sup>117</sup>: is also an acrobatic karaṇa rarely seen in dancing | Hands are in tripatākā, the feet and the heels are lifted up and weight of the body rests on the hands | 117. IV—168b-169a |

Sculptural representation of karaṇas derived from cāris

4. Apaviddha: TL and NŚII agree: the arm positions are accurately depicted in the karaṇa but the crossing of the thighs is not seen in the sculpture. However,
neither the śukatūṇḍa hands nor the kaṭakāmukha hastas are clearly discernible in the sculpture.

18. Alāta: TL and NŚII agree: the final position of the legs, i.e., of the ārdhva-jānu cāri is seen in the sculpture: the hands are also accurately depicted hanging down.

24. Bhujāṅgatrāśita: TL and NŚII agree: the leg positions in the sculpture conform to the description closely, and one can see the crossed hips and the uplifted right leg and the karihasta clearly. The karihasta, however, is not mentioned by the text: instead, a dola hasta and a kaṭakāmukha hasta are prescribed. This karaṇa should be compared also with karaṇa 35, viz., bhujāṅgatrāśastarecita and karaṇa 40, viz., bhujāṅgāṅcitā.

25. Ārdhvajānu: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture conforms closely to the description in the verse. No hands are specified in the text: in the figure one arm is held in latā, the other is in patākā near the chest.

27. Mattalli: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture shows a movement which is not easy to identify as the mattalli, for the text indicates a crossing of the ankles and a turning: the latter cannot be depicted in sculpture: the apaviddha movement of the arms and the udveśita movement of the hands also cannot be depicted: the sculpture shows a kuṅcita foot, one hand near the chest and the other resting on the hip. The sculpture depicts at best an intermediary position and not the initial or final position.

28. Ardhamattalli: TL and NŚII agree: there is hardly any difference between the figures of karaṇa 27 and 28: the left foot is in kuṅcita instead of the right and the left hand is extended in latā instead of an infolded arm with the hand near the chest seen in karaṇa 27. The relief thus depicts the hands accurately but the closing and the extending of the feet mentioned in the text cannot be seen in the sculpture. The recita of the hands seems to be depicted often as the dola hasta in these sculptures.

34. Daṇḍapakṣa: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture accurately depicts the ārdhva-jānu cāri initial position of the knees and the leg but the foot is not uplifted from the ground as in karaṇa 25 above. The hand and arm position is more accurate where both the arms are beautifully extended out like a staff.

35. Bhujāṅgatrasta recita: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture, however, depicts the final position after the recita, for there is no twist of the body and the feet seem to be in samapāda though slightly apart from each other. One of the arms suggests the karihasta, the other is extended in latā hasta on its own side.
36. Nāpura: TL and NSII agree: the initial position where the aṅcita right foot is taken to the back of the left foot in the cārī is seen in the sculpture. The arms are clearly seen extended in laṭā.

38. Bhramara: TL and NSII agree: the sculpture shows the initial position where the kṣipta svastika knees position is attained by a crossing of both the knees and the feet. The hands are in the chest region: the gestures in the sculpture clearly indicate the turning round the trika of the bhramarī and aṅśiptā cārī.

40. Bhujangāṅcita: TL and NSII agree: the figure has a great deal in common with the figure of karaṇa 24, but the waist does not turn to such an extent. The hands are also different: the extended arms of the figure suggest the recita movement mentioned in the text.

41. Daṇḍakarecita: TL and NSII agree: one leg and both arms are extended like a staff. The final position of the karaṇa is depicted in the sculpture.

51. Krānta: TL and NSII agree: the final position of the atikrāntā cārī is seen in the figure, but the extended leg has an aṅcita foot instead of a kuṅcita foot mentioned in NS. The hands do not show the katākāmukha hands as described by the text: they are instead in patākā with one palm facing out and fingers pointing up, the other facing in.

53. Cakramaṇḍala: TL and NSII agree: the sculpture shows an acrobatic movement and it is only from the sculpture that we can say that the NS description may have meant a movement similar to the one sculptured: for otherwise there is little else besides the name to denote exactly such a movement, even though anatomically it is possible to attain this posture from the uromandaḥ hands. The clue to the movement can be obtained only from the text’s mentioning that the body is held between the two arms.

55. Aṅśipta: TL and NSII differ: TL identifies a figure as karaṇa 55 which does not come anywhere near the description of the text. The figure which NSII identifies also does not fulfil the description of NS. The crossing at the shank level and the lifting of the kuṅcita foot is not seen in any of the figures: the svastika karaṇas like 22 etc. would approximate to the description more closely. The NSII pose is one which may be attained as a result of an extreme kṣipta flexion of the jānu, but the contact with the floor of the shank and the knee of one leg is not mentioned in the text or the commentary. In the figure identified by NSII, only the placing of the hands in the caturāśra accords with the textual description.

60. Dolāpāda: TL and NSII agree: the sculpture also illustrates the description of the text as far as the leg movement is concerned, but the swung leg does not
have an aṅcita foot; it has both the feet in samapāda, instead: both the hands are also not shown in dola: one is in dola, the other in patākā near the chest. The final position of the movement seems to have been attempted. In the figure identified by NSII as karaṇa 68, of gajakriḍita, a clearer dolāpāda is observed.

62. Vinivṛtta: TL and NSII differ: the figure identified as karaṇa 62 by TL belongs more to the vrśeika variety and does not depict the lifting of the kūncita foot to the knee level prescribed by the text: the final position of the kūncita foot placed on the side of the samapāda foot is seen in the NSII figure. The recita of the hands is, however, indicated only in the TL figure, and the latā hasta taken across the body, as in the NSII figure, seems to be an inaccurate representation. NSI does not illustrate this karaṇa. None of the figures identified accord with the description in NS.

63. Pārśvakṛanta: TL and NSII agree: the final position of the pārśvakṛantā cārī seems to be depicted in the figure, where the kūncita foot is brought to the side of the samapāda foot. The hands are not specified in NS; the sculpture shows one hand near the chest and the other hung in dola hasta towards the knee. The sculptural representation is not very accurate.

65. Vidyudhrānta: TL and NSII differ: the TL figure seems to be incorrect and the NSII figure is closer to the description of the karaṇa of that name. The leg is taken right back and uplifted; the foot touches the head, one arm is extended in latā to its own side and the other hangs in dola in front 148.

66. Atikṛanta: TL and NSII differ: neither of the figures represent the description in the text. The figure identified as karaṇa 66 in TL is the karaṇa identified by NSII as the argala (karaṇa 57): the NSII figure also does not show the movement and can at best be the final position of the atikṛanta cārī. The figure shows two samapāda feet, one hand in latā and the other in dola. The figure identified by TL belongs to the technique of the vyāyāma described in NS rather than the nrīta.

73. Pārśvājanu: TL and NSII differ: the NSII figure shows the uplifted leg of the cārī. The hands are, however, neither muśti nor ardhaśandra, and rest neither on the thigh nor on the chest as prescribed by the text. The right hand is in patākā and the left arm is extended in latā in the sculpture. The TL figure indicates a sliding movement. There is no indication of the leg being lifted to the chest level. The NSII figure is nearer to the textual descriptions but it is also not an accurate illustration.

76. Suci: TL and NSII differ: the suci feet can be seen in the figure identified by NSII as karaṇa 76. TL seems to be wrong, and the karaṇa identified as suci in TL is really the vidyudhrānta karaṇa 65. The NSII figure also does not show the
uplifted foot, but has both the feet in extreme kuṇcīta position which may be interpreted as sūcī feet in the final position. Both the hands seem to be held in muṣṭi in the chest region in the figure.

77. Ardhāṣūci: TL and NŚ II differ: the NŚ II figure identified as karaṇa 76 is identified as karaṇa 86, viz., skhalita by TL: the NŚ II figure of ardhāṣūci shows one samapāda foot and one kuṇcīta foot. The hands accord with the description in the text, and one of them is possibly held in alapadma in the region of the shoulders and the head; the other is placed near the chest in the figure. The figure identified by TL as ardhāṣūci is identified by NŚ II as karaṇa 99, viz., madaskhalita. 

78. Śucīvīddha: TL and NŚ II differ: the NŚ II figure is nearer the textual description but, even so, the piercing movement of the kuṇcīta foot into the heel of the other is not observed here. The hands are as described in NŚ: one is held near the chest and the other rests on the hip as indicated by the text. The TL figure of śucīvīddha is a sitting position and is identified by NŚ II as karaṇa 55, viz., ākṣipta. The kaṭakāmukha hastas mentioned by the commentary are not seen in either figure identified as the śucīvīddha karaṇa.

79. Apakrānta: TL and NŚ II differ: the figures identified as this karaṇa do not meet the description of the text, for the valana of the thighs is not seen in either. The NŚ II figure shows one kuṇcīta foot but this is not uplifted as it should be for the apakrānta cārī. We can only surmise that the position depicted in the sculpture is either the first initial position or the absolute final position, but it is not a depiction of the movements described by the text. The arm in the NŚ II figure is in dola and the other hand is in patākā near the chest. The figure identified by NŚ II as apakrānta is identified by TL as karaṇa 65, viz., vidyudbhṛnta. 

82. Daṇḍapāda: TL and NŚ II differ: the figure identified by NŚ II resembles the karaṇa 50, lalāṭatilaka and would belong to the vrśīka variety in our classification and it is most unlikely that the text was left vague to suggest a similar pose. The nūpurapāda cārī position of the feet or the extended leg of the daṇḍapāda cārī is not seen in the figures identified either by TL or NŚ II. The āviddha movement of the arms is also not seen in either figure. An intermediary position of the movement of this karaṇa is seen in the figure identified by NŚ II as karaṇa 64, nistambhita. The figure identified as krānta karaṇa 51 by TL and NŚ II seems to come nearest to depicting the final leg extension. The figure identified by TL as this karaṇa is identified by NŚ II as karaṇa 69, namely, talasamsphoṭita. There is no other figure which approximates the description of the text of this karaṇa except the illustration of the dolāpāda karaṇa discussed earlier.

83. Hariṇapluta: TL and NŚ II do not agree: the figure depicts the uplifted foot of the atikrānta cārī or the aṅcita foot of the hariṇapluta cārī: the knee and shank
position of the figure identified in the NSII does have the final kṣipta position with a kuṇicita foot. The hands of the figure are in karihasta and latā, and these have not been specified in the text. The TL figure belongs to the vyṛcika type and has a raised leg to the back which does not approximate to the definition in the text at all. The NSII figure identified as this karṇa is identified by TL as karṇa 89, viz., simhavikriḍita. The NSII figure identified as this karṇa depicts at best the initial position of the atikrāntā cārī and no more.

84. Preṅkholīta: TL and NSII differ: neither of the figures identified as this karṇa show the dolāpāda cārī position so obvious in the description of karṇa dolāpāda. The NSII figure has both the feet in kuṇicita, but does not indicate that a turn will be taken or that either leg will be extended or swung as in the bhramari cārī. The movement of the trika and the side (pārśva) is also not observed in either figure: there is instead a straight frontal facing in these figures. We can only conclude that the figure identified by NSII perhaps depicts the initial position of the dolāpāda cārī, judging from the kuṇicita feet. The sculptural representation is, however, inaccurate. The figure identified by NSII as this karṇa is identified by TL as karṇa 57, viz., argala. The figure identified by TL as preṅkholīta is identified by NSII as karṇa 73, viz., pārśvajānu, since the NS karṇa describes a complete movement. It would be difficult to represent this karṇa sculpturally.

85. Nitamba: TL and NSII do not agree: the NSII figure identified as this karṇa does depict the svastika position of the foot. The figures identified by both TL and NSII do illustrate the hand movements: one illustrates the initial position and the other the final position described by the text. The TL figure has the hands in the chest region, not in the shoulder region as mentioned by NS in the description of the nitamba hands: the NSII figure has the hands loosely hanging on the sides in dola hastas, which would be the final position of the hastas prescribed for this karṇa by NS. The figure identified by NSII could represent the final position of the movement at best.

86. Skhalīta: TL and NSII differ: neither of the figures approximate to the text: the dolāpāda cārī position is not seen in either of the figures, though both the figures show one kuṇicita foot. The recita of the hands is also not seen in either figure; TL shows one hand near the shoulder and the other spread and curved near the head region: the NSII figure shows one dola hasta and the other in kaṭakāmukha or muṣṭī near the chest. Either of them could have been modelled to show an intermediary position of the movement of this karṇa.

89. Simhavikriḍita: TL and NSII differ: the figure identified by NSII as this karṇa is very similar to the alāta karṇa 18: the feet position of the TL figure are also very similar to the feet position of karṇa 18. The representation of this karṇa in Cidambaram seems to be imprecise, and none of the figures identified meet the
description. The backwards lifting of the foot is the most distinctive feature of the movement and this is not captured by the sculpture.

91. Udvytta: TL and NŚII identify different figures as this karaṇa: the TL figure does not approximate to the textual description: the figure identified by NŚII also seems to be imprecise if not an incorrect illustration of the text. The initial position of the āvidhā cārī seems to be depicted here, but the vaḷaṇa of the thighs obvious in the figure is not mentioned in the text. The figure identified as karaṇa 91 by NŚII belongs to the class of mayūralalita and the elakākṛiḍita karaṇa where a crossing of the thighs is specifically mentioned. The hands are, however, in udvytta in the figure, identified by NŚII. The movement described by the text indicates a jump, but the figure identified by NŚII suggests a twist rather than a jump.

92. Upasṛta: TL and NŚII differ: the NŚII figure seems to depict the last position of the ākṣiptā cārī, where a svastika of the shanks is formed. The arāla hasta mentioned in the commentary is not seen in either figure, and the dola hastas of the NŚII figure do not correspond to the vyāvarita movement of the hands described in the text. The figure identified by NŚII may indicate the first position of the movement of the karaṇa.

93. Talasaṅghaṭṭita: TL and NŚII figures differ slightly, but the dolā pāda position of the cārī is not seen in either figure: the hand position, in which clapping is indicated, is seen in the figure identified by NŚII as the karaṇa.

94. Janita: TL and NŚII differ completely: the NŚII figure does not show the talasaṅcara foot mentioned by the text: the TL figure does depict this but the crossing at the thigh level of the legs is not mentioned by the text. The muṣṭi hasta is also not seen in either figure, even though the NŚII figure does have one hand on the chest and the other extended in laṭā. The agratalasaṅcara foot, the most important feature of the janitā cārī, is not seen in the figures identified either by TL or NŚII.

95. Avahitthaka: The figures identified as karaṇa 95 by both TL and NŚII are inaccurate; the agratalasaṅcara foot is not seen in either TL or NŚII figure. The śukatuyā hasta of the avahittha samyuta hasta or the arāla and alapadma hasta mentioned by the commentary are not seen in the sculpture. The only feature which accords with the textual description is the placing of the hands in the final position in the region of the chest.

97. Elakākṛiḍita: The figure identified as the janita karaṇa by TL is identified as karaṇa 97 by NŚII: the latter seems to be a correct identification and the figure identified by NŚII illustrates the textual description fairly accurately, although both
the feet are not in *talaśaṅcara*. Besides, the crossing at the thigh level is emphasized rather than jumping as mentioned in the text. The distance between the feet indicated by the text is accurately depicted by the figure.

98. *Ūrūḍṛtta*: *TL* and *NSII* identify different figures: *TL* figure does not meet the description of the text: the figure identified as *karaṇa* 98 in *NSII* is a fairly accurate representation of the textual description. The *nata* bend of the knees, and the placing of a *talaśaṅcara* feet so as to have the heels point inwards, naturally lead to the bending of the shank and the corresponding *udvartana* movement of the thighs. One hand rests on the hip, and the head is turned round.

99. *Madashkhalita*: *TL* and *NSII* differ: the *TL* figure identified as this *karaṇa* belongs to the *vṛścika* variety and is very much like *karaṇa* 46, namely, *vṛścika recita*. The *NSII* figure is similar to the *karaṇas* which are derived from the āviddhā *cārī* such as *karaṇa* 14 *unmatta* and *karaṇa* 101 *sambhrānta*: the figure shows the *svastika* position of the āviddhā *cārī*: there is also a distinct incline of the head to the side but it cannot be easily identified as the *parivāhita* gesture of the head. The arms do not hang down in the sculpture as indicated by the text. They are instead placed in *caturaśra* position near the chest. The *svastika* feet position mentioned by the text is accurately depicted in the figure identified by *NSII*.

100. *Viṣṇukṛānta*: *TL* and *NSII* differ, and this time the *TL* figure meets the description of the text more closely: the extension of the *kūṭācita* foot pointing towards the sky is not seen in the *NSII* figure of this name but it is seen in the figure identified as *viṣṇukṛānta* in *TL*. The hands and arms also conform more or less to the textual description. The *vikṣipta karaṇa* (no. 58) also has a stage in the movement which can be identified with the final position of the *viṣṇukṛānta karaṇa*. The *NSII* figure is perhaps the first position of the movement described by *NS*.

104. *Vṛṣabhakṛśita*: *TL* and *NSII* differ: the figure identified as the *vṛṣa-
hakṛśita* in either *TL* and *NSII* does not meet the description of the text. According to the text, the *alātā cārī* and *recita* hands are distinctive features of the *karaṇa*: the figure identified by *NSII* does not depict these and is instead a static figure with *samapāda* feet.

107. *Śakatāśya*: *TL* and *NSII* agree: the description in *NS* does not state explicitly that the movement is an acrobatic one: it also does not speak of the toes touching the head after being turned backwards and upwards, which would naturally presuppose the belly resting on the ground. The sculptural representation of the *karaṇa* does not seem to have the *talaśaṅcara* feet or the *kaṭakāmukha hasas* mentioned by *NS*. This illustration has never been questioned and the movement described by *NS* could perhaps be interpreted to include the movement shown by the sculpture: the sculpture seems to follow an oral tradition more than the academic

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text. A clue is given by the commentary when it says that the movement is to be employed in showing children’s play, and that this suggests a cart-wheel being thrown forward.

108. Gaṅgāvataraṇā: It is another acrobatic karāṇa but this time the description of NŚ suggests such a pose when it speaks of both the feet being lifted up and the tripatākā hands as facing the ground; physically, this could be performed only if the hands were in contact with the ground, and this is accurately presented by the sculpture.

### Karams (kaṭi)

<table>
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<th>Hastas, feet etc.</th>
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<td>Kaṭicchinna(^1): the kaṭi is in chinna(^2) position</td>
<td>Hands are palla(^a). No feet etc. prescribed. The commentary also mentions the bhramari cāri(^4) and the maṇḍala sthāna(^5)</td>
<td>1. IV—71b-72a</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Kaṭi sama(^6): the kaṭi is in sama position. The commentary mentions the ākṣiptā cāri(^7) and also the vaisṇava sthāna(^8)</td>
<td>Feet are to be separated from the svastika position without moving the hip: the chest attains udvāhita(^9) from the pārśva nata position. Hands are held on the navel in kaṭakā- mukha(^10)</td>
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<td>3. IX—196</td>
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<td>4. X—45</td>
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<td>5. X—65</td>
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<td>43.</td>
<td>Kaṭibhrānta(^11): there is a recita(^12) movement of the kaṭi</td>
<td>The feet are in sūci cāri(^13); the arms have a circular movement in apaṇidha(^14)</td>
<td>6. IV—80b-81a</td>
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<td>45.</td>
<td>Chinna(^15): the kaṭi is bent in chinna(^16)</td>
<td>The alapadma(^17) hastas are held on the hip: the feet are in vaisākha sthāna(^18)</td>
<td>11. IV—103b-104a</td>
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<td>16. IX—245</td>
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<td>17. IX—91</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>18. X—61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sculptural representation of kaṭi karaṇas

11. Kaṭicchinnā: TL and NŚII agree: the sculptural representation, however, does not depict clearly the chinna position of the kaṭi or the leg position of the bhramari cārī: the pallava nyṛta hastas are also not clear but there is a space between the feet, and the hands are spread out extended above the shoulder level and the general impression corresponds to the description of the text, even though in minute details there is some inaccuracy.

19. Kaṭisama: TL and NŚII agree: even though the karaṇa takes its name from the position of the kaṭi, there is little in the description of NŚ which refers to the movement of the kaṭi. The sculpture portrays the final position described in NŚ, for the hands rest on the hips—perhaps in ardhaacandra hastas; the udvāhita of the chest is quite pronounced. There is nothing in the sculpture to indicate the movements of the ākṣiptā cārī, although the kṣipta position of the knees is quite clear.

43. Kaṭibhrānta: TL and NŚII agree: but the sculpture does not depict the sūci cārī position indicated in NŚ: instead, the position of the legs in the sculpture corresponds more closely to the interpretation of Abhinavagupta in the commentary where he speaks of the sideway movement of the feet. It would be impossible to depict the recita movement of the waist and the hip, and thus all that the sculpture succeeds in depicting is one point in a continuous movement. The position of the hands also does not correspond to the description in NŚ.

45. Chinna: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture is also fairly accurate in portraying the chinna position of the kaṭi; the hands rest on the hip and they may be in alapadma, although this is not clear in the sculpture.
### Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dance

#### Karana (pāda)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana—Pāda</th>
<th>Hastas etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Vikṣiptāksipta&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;: the hands and the feet are both thrown out</td>
<td>One hand in a vyāvarūta movement and the other in catura hasta. The movement is reversed in the final position. Ablu-nāvagupta adds that it should be used for going and coming</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IV—82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Aṅcita&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;; the feet are in aṅcita&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; and then a svastika is performed</td>
<td>Hands move in vyāvarūta and parivarūta movement; in the final pose one hand is near the nose</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IV 83b-84a</td>
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<td>5&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IX—276-278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Pādāpaviddha&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;: feet are first in sācīviddhā cārī&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt; and are then moved to the apa-krāntā cārī&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt; position</td>
<td>Hands are in kaṭakā-mukha&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt; near the navel</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IV 90b-91a.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IX—276-278</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; X 34 and X 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Talavilāsita&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;: one leg is extended; the feet position resembles the aṅcita feet, for the toes are turned up and the soles of the feet are visible</td>
<td>Hands are in pataka which separate and meet as they move from a high position to a low one, palms face down</td>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IV—116b-117a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Argala&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;: one leg is extended backwards; feet are placed two and a half tālas apart</td>
<td>The body is bent in a back convex curve, and both the hands are extended up and back to touch the ground</td>
<td>IV—117b-118a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Vikṣipta&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;: the knees are in kṣipta&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;; feet and both hands are in vikṣipta away from the body</td>
<td>The extended outward movement of the hands is emphasized. The commentary mentions the vidyudbhrāntā cārī also</td>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IV—118b-119a</td>
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<td>10&lt;sup&gt;•&lt;/sup&gt; IX—257-258</td>
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<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Āvarta&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;: this is really derived from the cāsagati cārī&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt; (X. 18) even though NS mentions that the feet are in āvarta</td>
<td>The commentary adds that the hands move in āveṣṭita and udveṣṭita&lt;sup&gt;13&lt;/sup&gt; movement</td>
<td>IV—119b-120a</td>
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<td>X—18</td>
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<td>IX—216</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Karana Pada</th>
<th>Hasta etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Garuda-pluta</td>
<td>The side is in unnata: the hands and arms move in latá recita</td>
<td>14. IV—130b-131a IX—236-237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one leg is stretched back and the foot is in aṅcita. This karana really belongs to the vrścika variety with a difference: the uplifted leg has an infolded knee and not an arched one as in the other vrścika karanas</td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Gaṇḍasūci</td>
<td>The side (pārśva) is bent in nata: hands are in aṅcita, and sücimukha nṛta hastas during the movement but in the final position one rests on the chest and the other as a sücī asamūyuta hasta on the cheek</td>
<td>16. IV—131b-132a 17. IX—239 18. IX—191 19. IX—67-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one foot is in sücipāda: the other is in samapāda position</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Grdhṛavālina-kā</td>
<td>The hands and arms are stretched in latā: the side is stretched and extended in prasārita</td>
<td>20. IV—134b-135a 21. IX—235-256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the feet are in slight aṅcita, and the knee is bent in the initial position: during the movement the leg moves front and back</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Sarpita</td>
<td>The head follows the feet in parivāhita movement: the hands and arms move in recita</td>
<td>22. IV—141b-142a IX—275 VIII—27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the feet are in aṅcita and moved apart in semi-circular movement of a snake</td>
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<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Prasarpita</td>
<td>Hands are in lutā and recita and the head is as in karana 81</td>
<td>23. IV—148b-149a IX—198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the movement is circular but the feet are in agratala-saṁcara here</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Viśkambha</td>
<td>According to the commentary, hands are in sücimukha nṛta hastas. One of them is held on the chest</td>
<td>24. IV—162b-163a 25. X—34 26. IX—191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knees are bent in nikuṭṭita: feet are in kuṅcita: in the final position, one foot is in the sücipāda cāri</td>
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<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Udghaṭṭita</td>
<td>The hands are in talaśaṅghaṭṭa derived from the talamukha nṛta hastas: they are brought together and released</td>
<td>27. IV—163b-164a 28. IX—266 29. IX—186</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sculptural representation of karaṇas derived from foot (pāda) positions

21. Vīkṣiptakṣipta: The movement described by NŚ is an alternate throwing out of one leg and one arm. The outward and inward movement of the limbs is suggested by the commentary. The movement is difficult to represent sculpturally and the relief of the karaṇa shows the left hand in muṣṭi (may be in catura) and the other extended down in latā. The knees are in kṣipta and the feet are samapāda. This can at best be the initial position implied by the text. Other karaṇas such as ākṣipta recita suggesting throwing out of the limbs which would result in leg extensions etc. have also been sculptured in Cidambaram by merely showing the kṣipta samapāda position of the lower limbs.

23. Aṅcita: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture in Cidambaram depicts the movement described by NŚ. The text mentions the svastika position of the feet, and the commentary adds that the arms are to be in karihasta position or latā—both of which are seen in the sculpture; the vyāvartita and parivartita are movements of the fingers, and it is likely that this definition gave enough freedom to the sculptor to interpret the finger positions as he wished. The svastika position of the feet depicted is identical with the svastika position of the other karaṇas like ardhasvastika and svastika etc., and the hand and arm positions resemble the arm and hand position of the karaṇa 24, bhujaṅgatāsita, and the karaṇa 87, karihasta: NŚ specifies that one hand should be near the nose; thus, however, is not followed and, instead, one patākā hand is seen near the shoulder level while the other is in latā across the body.

30. Pādāpaviddha: TL and NŚ II agree: the sculpture shows a sūci foot resting against the heel of the samapāda foot; yet this is not an accurate presentation of either the sūcīviddha cāri or the apakrāntā cāri mentioned in the text. The hands are described in the text as being near the navel and in kaṭakāmukha: in the sculpture the hands are at the chest level, and not clearly in kaṭakāmukha. One hand certainly seems in the muṣṭi.

56. Talavilāsita: TL and NŚ II identify different figures: the leg extension and the visibility of the soles of the feet are the two distinctive features mentioned by NŚ, and neither of the figures accords with this description. The figure identified by NŚ II belongs to the vrśicita type of karaṇa and shows an upturned leg, not an extended one: the arms are upturned with the hands near the face: the only karaṇas which show the aṅcita foot are the karihasta karaṇa and the vyāṁśita karaṇa and krāntaka in the Cidambaram sculptures. While many karaṇas in NŚ mention this foot position. The figure identified by NŚ II can at best represent the final position, where one leg is extended backward and then lifted. The uplifting is mentioned only by the commentary.

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57. *Argala*: TL and *NS II* do not agree: the sculptural representation (according to *NS II*) makes this *karaṇa* also of the acrobatic variety like *cekramanda*, *sakaṭaśya* and the *gangavataraṇa* rather than one belonging to the sphere of dancing: TL mentions this as *aitikraṇa* which is obviously incorrect. The description in *NS* can lead to the final position of the body as portrayed in the sculpture, but other movements can be contained within the definition of *NS* and, therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that the sculptural figure as identified by either TL or *NS II* is correct.

58. *Vikṣipta*: TL and *NS II* differ: the figure which *NS II* identifies as *karaṇa* is identified by TL as *vīṣṇukraṇa karaṇa*: TL *vikṣipta* is incorrect and cannot be considered as a correct depiction of *NS vikṣipta karaṇa*. The extension of the leg and the hands is seen in the figure of *NS II* and the *vikṣipta* position of the knees and the hands mentioned by the text are also noticed here. The *NS II* figure depicts an important phase of movement of the *vikṣipta karaṇa* and the sculptural representation is obviously of this intermediary position of the movement and not of either the initial or final position.

59. *Āvarta*: TL and *NS II* agree: the posture seen in the sculpture is the common *kṣipta* position of the knees with one *kuṇcita* foot; the front-back movement of the *cāsagati cāri* mentioned in the commentary is, however, not suggested. The movement of the *āvarta karaṇa* does not lend itself to sculptural representation, thus only a common position of the legs has been depicted. The *udveśṭita* of the hands cannot also be depicted in sculpture, and the Cidambaram figure shows us two *muṣṭi hastas* at the chest level. The sculpture represents the initial position described by the text and gives no indication of the subsequent movement.

60. *Garuḍapluta*: TL and *NS II* agree: the sculpture is an accurate depiction of the movement described by the text; there is hardly any discrepancy between the description and the illustration. *NS* (1st edition) does not illustrate this figure.

61. *Gaṇḍasūci*: TL and *NS II* differ: the *sūci pūḍa* mentioned by the *NS* is not seen in the *NS II* figure: instead, one foot is at the back of another *samanpūḍa* foot and may be in *kuṇcita*. The feet position of the *NS II* figure could accord with the description in the commentary where it is mentioned that one foot is to be placed at the back of the other foot. The hands are in the final position mentioned by *NS*; one hand is on the chest and the other is placed under the chin, although not on the cheek as prescribed by Bharata.

64. *Grdhrāvalinaka*: TL and *NS II* identify different figures as *karaṇa* 74. The TL figure is incorrect when compared with the definition of the *karaṇa* in *NS*: the figure identified by *NS II* accurately portrays the hand position in *lauṭa*, but the foot position does not correctly illustrate the movement described in the
text, for the _triṇa_ is turned in the figure—a fact not mentioned by the text. Nevertheless, judging from the kite-like movement implied by the name of the _karaṇa_, it is quite likely that the _NŚ_ _grdhravālinaka karaṇa_ was performed as shown in the _NŚII_ figure: one knee is definitely bent in the figure as laid down in the text and the other leg is also thrown backwards, even though not 'extended backwards' as stated in _NŚ_. The sculpture represents a near final position of the movement described by the text.

81. _Sarpita_: _TL_ and _NŚII_ figures differ, but neither of them seems to follow the description of _NŚ_: the _NŚII_ figure is accurate only in so far as the _parivāhita_ head movement and the _recita hastas_ go; the _āñcita_ foot mentioned in the text is not seen in either figure; instead, the _TL_ figure has both the feet in _kuñcita_ and the _NŚII_ figure has one foot in _kuñcita_. The knees are _kṣipta_ in both. There is no other _karaṇa_ amongst the Cidambaram _gopura_ sculptures which approximates to this description. The Cidambaram sculptures seldom illustrate the _āñcita_ foot accurately, and it is often depicted as the _kuñcita_ foot.

88. _Prasarpita_: The _TL_ figure seems incorrectly identified; the _NŚII_ figure depicts the movements of the _karaṇa_ as far as the _lata hasta_ goes, but the coming together of the soles which suggests the _tulśacāra_ position of the feet is not seen in the sculpture.

102. _Viṣkambha_: The _TL_ figure is incorrectly identified, and the _NŚII_ figure identified as _karaṇa_ 82 is correct with regard to the hand positions as described in _NŚ_; one of them is held on the chest and the other might easily be in the _apavidha śūci_, though its gesture is not clear and it is held at the chest. The legs and knees are in _mukuttița_ and one foot in the _NŚII_ figure is in _śūci pāda_. The figure thus depicts the initial position of the hands and the final position of the feet.

103. _Udghatṭita karaṇa_: it is difficult to present in sculpture, for its chief feature is the toe-heel movement of the feet. Nevertheless, the _NŚII_ figure shows two _kuñcita_ feet which might easily be the initial position of the _udghatṭita_ feet movement. However, the hands are incorrectly represented in the sculpture, as their position does not indicate that they are ready to beat time, a fact mentioned by the commentary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karanā, ūru, jānu and pārśva</th>
<th>Hastaś etc.</th>
<th>NS Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Valitoru(^1): from the valita entwining of thighs</td>
<td>Both the hands are in śūkatūṇḍa and they make a vyāvarita and pari-vartita movement</td>
<td>1. IV—63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Kuḍcita(^2): a half-kneeling position: the leg bent at the back has the knee in contact with the ground and the calf raised; the other leg is bent in front with a samapāda foot on the ground</td>
<td>The right hand in a slightly raised position is in alapallava on the left side</td>
<td>2. IV—112b-113a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Vivṛttā(^3): this is the extreme position of the kṣipta(^4) knees, where one fore-leg rests on the ground. The side (pārśva) is turned-round in vivartita(^5) movement</td>
<td>The arms are extended and move in recita. The commentary also mentions the bhramarī cāri(^6)</td>
<td>3. IV—121b-122a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Vinivṛttā: the name is derived from a movement of the sacrum; the feet positions are as in sūci cāri. Also mentioned in the cāri karaṇas above(^7)</td>
<td>For hand see karaṇa 62 under the cāri karaṇas</td>
<td>4. IX—257-258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Niśumbhita(^8) : derived from the nirbhugna(^9) position of the chest and the unnatta(^10) of the side (pārśva)</td>
<td>A movement of the kuṇcita feet is indicated; the backward extended leg can also form a vṛścika. Hands are in kaṭakāmu-kha, one of them touching the forehead</td>
<td>5. IX—239-240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Vivartita(^11): name derived from the circular movement of the side and the sacrum (trīka) termed</td>
<td>The hands are as in karaṇa 62; two hamsapakṣa hastas are moved in recita in a fast tempo</td>
<td>6. X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 124b-125a | IX—216 |
| 10 | IX—239-240 |
vivartita\textsuperscript{12}. The *karaṇa* is similar to *karaṇa* 61 mentioned above; here also the knee and the calf of one leg are in contact with the ground in an outstretched position of the thigh


72. *Pariyṛṭṭa*\textsuperscript{13}: derives its name from the *pariyṛṭta* movement of the *triṅka*. The *pariyṛṭta*\textsuperscript{14}, however, is a movement of the shanks: here a turning round is implied and a *vivartiṇa*\textsuperscript{15} movement of the side is indicated. One foot is in *sūci* and the movement of the *baddhā cārī* is performed

The movement of the hands is described as *ūrdhvāpavesṭita*, which is the *ūrdhivamāndala nṛttāhasta*\textsuperscript{16}. The commentary describes the *karaṇa* as being formed by a mixture of the *sūci baddhā* and the *bhramari cārīs*\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13} IV—132b-133a  
\textsuperscript{11} IX—262b-263a  
\textsuperscript{15} IX—236-238  
\textsuperscript{16} IX—203  
\textsuperscript{17} X—34, 21 & 45

Sculptural representation of *karaṇas* derived from *ūru, jānu*, etc.

3. *Valitoru*: The text clearly states that the thighs are so entwined that the knees point inwards; the *sūkatumḍa hastas* are also mentioned. The sculptural relief, however, does not show any of these features. Neither is there an entwining of the thighs nor are the *sūkatumḍa* hands seen. Many reliefs in Cidambaram show the common *kṣipta* position of the knees with some hand movements without illustrating the verse accurately. In this particular *karaṇa* the movement lent itself to a sculptural representation easily and it is surprising that none of the characteristic features have been captured in the relief.

52. *Kuṇīcita*: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture also depicts the *karaṇa* accurately with one *nata* knee and a *samaṃppāda* foot in front; the other leg is flexed at the back touching the ground, with the calf lifted. The hands are also in front and may be in *alapallava*, but this is not clear in the sculptural representation.

61. *Vivṛṭṭa*: TL and NŚII agree: the sculpture depicts the final position. The arms are seen extended in *recita* and the extreme *kṣipta* position of one shank is also seen. It is practically a sitting posture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Karana, āru, jānu and pārśva</th>
<th>HASTAS etc.</th>
<th>NŚ Verse No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td><em>Pariyṛṭṭa</em> derives its name from the <em>pariyṛṭta</em> movement of the <em>triṅka</em>. The <em>pariyṛṭta</em>, however, is a movement of the shanks: here a turning round is implied and a <em>vivartiṇa</em> movement of the side is indicated. One foot is in <em>sūci</em> and the movement of the <em>baddhā cārī</em> is performed.</td>
<td>The movement of the hands is described as <em>ūrdhvāpavesṭita</em>, which is the <em>ūrdhivamāndala nṛttāhasta</em>. The commentary describes the <em>karaṇa</em> as being formed by a mixture of the <em>sūci baddhā</em> and the <em>bhramari cārīs</em>.</td>
<td>13, IV—132b-133a 11, IX—262b-263a 15, IX—236-238 16, IX—203 17, X—34, 21 &amp; 45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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62. *Viniyutta*: has been discussed before, and we have noticed the discrepancies between the description in the text and the sculptural representation of the pose. The *svastika* position mentioned by the text is not seen in the relief.

64. *Niśumbhita or nistambhita*: The TL and the *NŚII* figures differ, but neither is an accurate depiction of the *karaṇa* described in *NŚ*. The foot is taken to the back and is bent in *kuñcita* according to *NŚ*: in the *NŚII* figure the leg position is like the *ūrdhva-jānu cārī*, and in the TL figure it is like the *vidyudhhrānta karaṇa* or the *lalāṭatilaka karaṇa*: the *NŚ* description would have resulted in a position akin to that seen in the figure identified as the *simhākarsita karaṇa* by *NŚII*. The hands do touch the forehead in the figure although the *kajakāmukha* hand is not clear. The sculptural representation suggests only the initial position of the movement.

67. *Vivartita*: TL and *NŚII* identify different figures, and neither of them is an accurate representation of the *NŚ* description of the *karaṇa*. The extreme *kśipta* position of the knees and shanks is depicted in the figure identified by *NŚII* but the hands and arms position of the figure is something like the *karihasta* rather than the *recīta* laid down by Bharata. The *vivartita* movement of the *trīka* would not be possible if the hands were to be in the position of the *NŚII* figure. The twisting around of the waist could not be represented by the sculpture.

72. *Parivṛṭta*: The *NŚII* figure depicts the *ūrdhva-maṇḍala hasīas* described by *NŚ*: in TL the same figure is identified as the *karaṇa gajakṛidita* which seems to be completely inaccurate. The turning round of the shanks in the *parivṛṭta* movement is, however, not noticed even in the *NŚII* figure. The initial position in which one foot is in *sūci* is seen in the sculpture, but there is no indication of the *baddhā cārī* or the twisting of the thighs.

The analysis of the *karaṇas* as cadences of movement patterns could be profitably extended to an analysis of the *aṅgahāras, mandalas*, etc. However, this analysis would be meaningful only if the tradition of Bharata was still prevalent in the practice of these arts. This not being the case, such an analysis is not being undertaken here.
THEORY AND TECHNIQUE OF CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE

Notes
1. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch I, 14-16. The word used is saṅkalpa. Also see Ch VI, 5-7, where it is said that it is impossible to discuss all the arts and crafts connected with drama, for they are manifold in number.
2. ibid., Ch I, 116.
3. ibid., Ch I, 117-118.
4. ibid., Ch I, 119—abhinava includes all the four types of abhinava viz., váčka, āhāraya, vàttvaka and āngika.
5. ibid., Ch I, 14-15, 106-108, 116-118, etc. for definitions of nātya (drama). Ch IV, 263-264 and 304, where the use of nṛta (dance) is discussed. Ch V, 150-152, where ‘dance’ is discussed in the preliminaries of the play Ch VI, 10-22, where the subjects of Nāṭyaśāstra are listed, and 23-26, where the two dharmīs, the four vṛttis, the four types of abhinaya and the four types of local usage (pravṛttis) are listed.
In Ch VIII, IX, X and XII the various aspects of āngikābhīnaya are discussed. The pravṛttis are discussed in detail in Ch XII, 27 ff. The dharmīs and the styles (vṛttis) are discussed in Ch XX.
Aḥārīyābhīnaya and Sāmānyābhīnaya are discussed in Ch XXI and XXII, respectively; the graces and histrionic representation etc. are also discussed here.
Citrābhīnaya is discussed in Ch XXV.
6. ibid., Ch IV, 261 and 268, where the nature of nṛta is discussed.
Abhinavadarpana, 11-12 and 15-16.
Sangitaratnakara, Ch VII, 4, 16-17 and 26-27.
Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, pp. 29-31 practically repeat the verse of the Sangitaratnakara.
8. ibid., Ch IV, 268-269.
9. Ibid., Ch XVII, 182 (Kāvyaśāstra Series) and ibid., Ch XIX, 119-129 etc. (G.O.S.)
There have been different interpretations of these verses.
10. Abhinavadarpana, 3-5.
Sangitaratnakara, Ch VII, 37-41
Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, pp. 40-42
13. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch X, 5
14. Ibid., Ch IV, 30-34
15. Ibid., Ch X, 3-4
16. Ibid., Ch XI, 2-5
17. Ibid., Ch IV, 30-34
18. Ibid., Ch XI, 6-9
19. Abhinavadarpana, 282-298
20. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch IV, 248-250, here also the word used for lāśva is sukumāra nṛta.
21. ibid., Ch IV, 250-259 and 287-290
22. ibid., Ch IV, 290 ff. also see Abhinavagupta’s interesting commentary on this and Śāradātana- naya’s Bhaṭavānakāsa, p 246
23. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch XIII, 78-80; also see Raghavan, V’s article entitled Nāṭyaadhanī and Lokadharīmī.
24. ibid., Ch XXIV, 45 (Chowkambha Series)
25. ibid., Ch XXI, 47 (Chowkambha Series)
27. The subdivisions of each of these movements with their usage have not been shown in the chart: the asana and the spīṇas are utilized in both the nṛta and the abhinava techniques.
29. Nāṭyaśāstra was compiled from the four Vedas and the Upavedas and is known to be the fifth Veda.
Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch I, 17-18 also see Abhinavagupta’s commentary at p. 15 (G.O.S II) Gandhāraveda was an Upaveda of the Sāmaveda.
30. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch I, 26-39 for names of the sons of Bharata.
Ch XXXVI (Chowkambha edition), 63-65 ff.
32. Here he discusses the Uttaratantram of Kohala.
Bhoja’s Siṣṇu Prakāśa, pp. 545-546.
33. Referred to by both Abhinavagupta and Śāradātana- naya and can perhaps be identified with Nandikesvara the author of the Abhinavadarpana.

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35. Referred to by Sāgaranandin in Nāṭakalaksana, 363-3.
37. ibid., p. 47, 41; ibid., p. 239, 42; ibid. p. 251.
40. ibid., Vol. II, p. 452. Also see Ramakrishna Kavi’s interpretation: he thinks this is the same as Udbhāta.
42. ibid., Vol. I, p. 172.
43. See the Mirror of Gesture edited by Coomaraswamy and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, and the Abhinayadarpana translated and edited by Ghosh, M. M.
44. Journal of the Music Academy: Vol. XXIV, 1953, Parts I-IV, where an edited text by Maheswar Neog has been published.
47. The following works are mentioned in the commentaries of the Śilappadikaram:
   (i) Ishainudakkum.
   (ii) Yamendrava.
   (iii) Panca Marabu by Ari Varanava and many more.
49. Published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
50. This is an important text which is followed consistently by the Kathakali dancer.
51. Sangitaratnakara, Ch. VII, 377-429: the Nāṭyaśāstra speaks only of 33 drṣṭis but they are in fact 36.
52. Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, p. 482-524.
53. Bālarāmabharata p. 118-120 and 131-135; it also lists some more varieties and a few combinations, but they are essentially the same as those described in the Nāṭyaśāstra.
55. ibid., p. 41.
56. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 41 ff. and 63.
   ibid., Ch. VIII, 55.
57. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 129 ff., specially 136-138, 144-146, 150-153, 156-159 and 162-164. These movements etc. are not described by Bharata with reference to the different rāsas and the terms used correspond more to the vyabhicāri bhāvas or general expression of moods like anger (krodha), envy (dveṣa), etc., but, ultimately, each sthāvībhāva or rasa has its corresponding movement of the face. These are of course not cut and dried formulae.
   They have to be used with imagination in particular contexts and are, therefore, sometimes inter-changeable. The charts have been made on the basis of Ch VIII, as also Ch VII: 8 ff., where the representation of the dominant states (sthāyī bhāva) has been discussed.
58. Mirror of Gesture, pp. 41-42.
   Sangitaratnakara, Ch. VII, 441 ff
   Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, p. 542 ff.
   The last two follow the Nāṭyaśāstra faithfully
60. Bālarāmabharata, p. 140 ff.
61. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 105-110.
   Abhinayadarpana, 77-68.
62. Mirror of Gesture, p. 40. It also lists 44 other glances from another source.
63. Sangitaratnakara, Ch. VII, 456-460.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, p. 458-554.
   Also see Visnudharmottara Purana, III, 25-50.
64. Bālarāmabharata, pp. 137-139.
65. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 118-123.
66. Mirror of Gesture, p. 43.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, pp. 525-532.
68. Bālarāmabharata, p. 154 ff.
69. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 110-114.
70. Sangitaratnakara, Ch. VII, 440-445.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Sangraha, pp. 534-540.
71. Bālarāmabharata, pp. 142-143.
72. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 130-132.
   Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 467-470.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 561-565.
   Bālarāmabharata, p. 160 ff.
The Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyasāstra Saṅgraha follow the Nāṭyaśāstra closely; the
Bālarāmabharata differs slightly
73. For movement of cheeks, lips, etc., see Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 136-161.
   Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 488 ff.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 565 ff.
   Bālarāmabharata, 165 ff.
74. Saṅgītaratnākara mentions one more movement of the check
75. Bālarāmabharata, pp. 34 ff.
76. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 18-37.
   Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 43-72
   Abhinayadārpana, 49-62.
77. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 18-37.
   Abhinayadārpana, 49-50.
   Mirror of Gesture, pp. 36-38.
   Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 49 ff
   Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 45-60.
   Bālarāmabharata, pp. 32-38.
78. All the nine movements of the Abhinayadārpana are mentioned and then 24 other movements
   are also enumerated. Those common to the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Abhinayadārpana have been
   listed in col. III as repetition. See also Saṅgītaratnākara, 74-78.
79. The last six movements are enumerated separately, on the authority of another writer, in
   both the Saṅgītaratnākara and the Nāṭyasāstra Saṅgraha
80. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VII, 171-175.
82. Mirror of Gesture, p. 44.
83. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 329-334.
84. Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 420-427.
86. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. VIII, 153-160.
87. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 513-516
   Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 611-616.
87a. For a detailed analysis of the movements of the quīvā (neck), see Appendix
88. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 223 ff.
89. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 296 ff.
90. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 24, 24 ff
91. Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 386 ff
92. Bālarāmabharata, p. 91 ff.
93. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 233-250
94. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 24-30 ff
95. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 303 ff.
96. Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 392 ff
97. Bālarāmabharata, p. 94 ff.
98. ibid., p. 96, 5-21.
99. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 250b-256b
100. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 357-360.
101. Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 24 and 43-44
104. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 257-258a and 262b-263a
105. Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 365.
106. ibid., Ch. VII, 362-368.
   Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 24-51 ff
Also Nāṭyaśāstrī Saṅgraha, pp. 458-461.
   Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 3, 24-56 ff.
   Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 471 ff and v. 27.
111. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 265-278.
CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Śāṅgītaratnākara, VII, 316-325.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, p. 402 ff

112. See Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IX, 265b-266a
113. See Abhinavagupta, p. 249-250 ff
114. See Nāṭyaśāstra (G.O.S.), Ch. X, 159-160 ff
115. See Abhinavagupta, p. 30 ff, 231-243

Mirror of Gesture, p. 64 ff.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, p. 278, 339-350

116 Abhinavadarpana, p. 26, 204-215 ff
Mirror of Gesture, p. 65.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 252-264 the īṣāna hasta mentioned only by the Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha.

117 Abhinavadarpana, pp. 28, 216-225
Mirror of Gesture, p. 66
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 264-273.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha hands for Naśāvatāra and Kalkī differ from those prescribed by the Abhinavadarpana.

118 Abhinavadarpana, p. 33, 250-258
Mirror of Gesture, p. 65.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 320-329: but names of the planets in the Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha differ in some cases from those in the Abhinavadarpana and the Mirror of Gesture

Mirror of Gesture, p. 66.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 274-276.

120. Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 288-311.
121 ibid., pp. 312-321. twelve rāṣṭi hastas have been enumerated
122. ibid., pp. 331-335.
123. ibid., pp. 337-367.
124. See Nāṭyaśāstra (G.O.S.) Vol. II, p. 70, 182-183 and commentary where Abhinavagupta quotes Bhaṭṭa Udbhata and also gives examples of the different areas of movement of the different hand gestures.

125 See Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IV, 215: the inward and the outward (abhyaṁṭra and bāhinnākha) movements of the fingers have been emphasized here; we have tried to relate them to the movements of the palm, fingers and wrist.
124 ibid., IX, 215

125 Sangītaratnākara, p. 182 ff., Ch VII, 532-536 Also see the commentary of Sudhākara and Kallinātha on each of these movements of the hands and palms. Also see Sangītaratnākara, 543-545, where other actions of the hands are listed

126 Nāṭyaśāstra (G.O.S.), Vol II, Ch IX, 220-222, and Abhinavagupta's commentary on p. 81

127. Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 335-347
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 430-442
Bālarāmabhārata has made a different classification of the arm movements in terms of directions, which has little in common with the one in the earliest text. See pp. 202-220 and 229-231.

128. Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 369-372
129 ibid., Ch VII, 369-371.
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, pp. 466-470
Bālarāmabhārata gives a different classification in terms of sthīna and asthīna wrist movements, which total up to 25: all these movements are of course combinations of the five basic movements of the Sangītaratnākara

130 Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 326-329
Nāṭyaśāstra Śāṅgṛaha, p. 416

131 Abhinavadarpana, 259-289
132 Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. X, 89-95.

133. Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 1073-1094
134. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. XII, 228-235
Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 1106-1110
135 Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. XII, 228-235.
Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 1106-1110
Sangītaratnākara, Ch. VII 1019 ff. and 1034-1054

137. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. XII, 159-178.
Sangītaratnākara, Ch VII, 1056-1068 (Advar edition)
Sangītaratnākara, Ch VI, 917-941.

140
   Also see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XI, 3-5 etc., for *māṇḍala* and Ch. IV* for karana *Sanātanaamākara,*
   Ch. VII, 942-965.
141. ibid., p. 38
142. ibid., pp. 40-49.
143. TL stands for *Tāṇḍavaśrāsanam* and NS II for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series,
   second edition): figures of karana 51 are identical in both. Thus their agreement has not been
   specifically mentioned in some cases, the numbers relate to the numbers of the karana.
144. Karanas 9 and 10 are not illustrated in the first edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad
   Oriental Series.
145. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.I) also identifies karana 80 as karana 99 called madavkhali.
146. Karanas 8 and 37 mentioned earlier, i.e., *māṇḍala svastika* and *varśāka recita* are also derived
   from sthānāv.
147. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.II), p. 42, where it is pointed out that the temple places this figure in
   the 89th compartment.
III

LITERATURE AND DANCING

It is significant that Bharata should have visualized Indian drama as emerging from the four Vedas. According to him, drama originated from Brahmā, the Creator, at the request of Indra and other deities who wanted from Him (Brahmā) a fifth Veda in addition to the four Vedas already existent; the Creator then went into a deep yogic trance and meditated on the essence of the four Vedas—the result of this was the fifth Veda, which took words from the Rgveda, gestures from the Yajus, music and chanting from the Sāma and sentiments and emotions from the Atharvaveda. Unlike the other Vedas, this Veda was not taboo to the Śūdras and its main purpose was to provide pleasure and delight both to the ear and the eye irrespective of caste. Bharata in attributing to dance and drama this divine origin was stating in formalized language a conception which must have already taken hold of the people’s mind.

We may not regard this theory of the origin of dancing as a historical fact, but we cannot deny that it could have been conceived only in a society where dance must have enjoyed prestige and honour. Through this theory Bharata attributes to dancing a divine origin, a literary and religious heritage both in thought and technique, and an aesthetic secular purpose. The story of the handing over of this art by Śiva to Taṇḍu and then to Bharata asserts the religious, literary, and secular aspect of this art.

We have only to look at the contemporary forms of classical Indian dancing to be convinced of the implications of this theory of the origin of dance and drama. Nowhere are we made so aware of the rich religious background, the vast literary heritage and yet the entirely aesthetic purpose of an art form, as we are in a classical dance performance, whether it is Bharatanātyam or Kathākali or Manipuri, Odissi or Kathak. The artist of this dance never seeks to express personal human emotions or subjective states of mind; he or she is constantly representing themes relating to gods and goddesses—Śiva and Pārvatī, Krṣṇa and Rādhā, and the apsarās—and the pangs and yearnings of these supernatural beings who pine more than the human beings. If the human or the subjective is represented at all, it is only the devotees’ love for the One, the Almighty, not the separation of the mortal lover from the beloved. The themes of dance in whichever style invariably relate to the lives of divine beings, their battles and epic conflicts; never are they the sociological problems of the day. And yet all through this performance, so imbued with religious spirit and epic grandeur, there is no didactic purpose; instead, there is an aesthetic delight in art creation.
LITERATURE AND DANCING

It is this apparent paradox of the artistic creation, this merging of the religious, the spiritual and the symbolic with the aesthetic and the secular, that gives Indian dancing its singular place among the Indian arts. It is also a feature which is common to other Indian arts. It manifests an integrated attitude to life which the philosophic works of our country state and preach and which the literary works at their best embody within themselves. It is the full-throated ease of living that is manifest here. This continues to be true today, even though the essential spirit of the traditional in Indian aesthetics has declined in most art forms.

SĀHITYA OF DANCING

But the integration is not achieved in isolation or through denial; it is instead the direct outcome of the same inspiration as moved the classical writers. Indeed, the classical Indian dance would be but a dead technique, with meaningless flourishes and elaborations, without the rich sāhitya that forms the basis of this dance. The sāhitya lends it gravity and dignity of purpose and, when it is presented by a truly inspired and dedicated dancer, it is imbued with a new and profound significance. As the dancer performs, a distinct religious, literary tradition comes alive: he or she portrays through movement what the writer has sought to express through words and poetry. The epic narrative method of a Kathākali performance, the lyrical manner of a Bharatanātyam recital, the soft renderings of Vidyāpati’s Padāvali, the aṣṭapadis of Jayadeva’s Gita Govinda in Manipuri and Odissi, and the gata-bhāvas of a Kathak demonstration are results of this contribution of literature to classical Indian dancing. A good performance in any of these styles will convince us of this fact. The superficial quality of the classical dancer of modern India is due mostly to the lack of literary and cultural background: the difference between a good and a bad performance is that the spark of literature shines in one and the lack of it makes the other dead.

Just as the part played by literature (sāhitya) in dancing cannot be overestimated, so also the part played by Indian dancing in Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature cannot be over-emphasized. Dance has not only provided these writers with a subject for pleasure, for beauty, and for poetic ornamentation in a nebulous way but has also influenced them in a way that they are sensitive to the minutest technical details and exhibit a knowledge of the art incomparable to any reference to it found in other literatures of the world. More important than this has been the impact of dance on the spiritual and religious thinkers of our country: through dance they have communicated abstract theories, and not a small part of our mythology, religion and spiritual thought is closely related to or symbolized in this art form.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANCE AND LITERATURE

When we trace the history of Indian literature, we find references to dancing from the very earliest times. From the vague inspiration that the dancer provides to
the imaginative poet to the symbolism that dance provides to the mythology writer, there is an abundance of material on dancing in our religious, theological, sociological and literary works. Through them we can re-create a history of this art, when no written history exists, and in them we find descriptions of dancing as it must have been at varying periods of history. Beginning with non-specialized references in the earlier texts, we go on to discover specific references to technique; and from the common performer of a simple community, we go on to observe the classical artist, who exercised a profound influence on various levels of thought in a complex society.

Through these channels of literature, aesthetic or religious, we can trace the development of this art along three different directions. In pre-historic times dancing must have existed as an elemental spontaneous force in the life of man. However, from pre-historic times to the first evidence of an organized society, a great change occurred in the attitude of man to this art: as society grew, this art form became a vocation (śilpa). Thus if man danced for pleasure, he also danced for a living and made it a vocation as good as any other. This development in society gave dance a different impetus, and very early the secular dance both for professional and social purposes became an established fact. Actually, the earliest references to dancing found in the written Indian texts are the ones which indicate the secular position of this art. Here it is an amusement, an entertainment at its best, and an instrument of indiscipline, temptation and vice at its worst. This sociological aspect of dance acquaint us not only with the manners and styles of dance but also with the social prestige and honour enjoyed by dancers at various stages of history. The chronicles and literary historical works provide us with revealing evidence of this aspect of the art of dancing.

There is then the second direction of development, a direction which is at a higher level of culture and civilization than the desire of man to express his sense of fun through dancing. Here dancing is the most important feature in the ritualistic practices of our faith. The germs of this aspect, too we find in our literature. Not only has man known that the mortal form can express joy and sorrow through movement, but he has also realized that this movement must have discrimination and selection and, just as he must organize society to transcend the selfishness of the personal man on the horizontal plane, he must formalize movement to transcend himself along the vertical plane and devote himself to a being higher than himself, a power which he evokes and to whom he dedicates himself body and soul. And what could be a more beautiful manner of dedication than dance? This direction of growth is most important for our purpose as it is this instinct for sublimation, for transcendence, that gives true fibre and character to classical dance. As early as the Rgveda and more visibly by the time of the Yajurveda, man is over-wrought by the significance of physical gestures and, as the literature of our country develops, greater and more significant references to this art of ges-
tures are found. It need hardly be added here that these are more than speculations, for they are occurrences in the life of a people, and the literary and religious works of our country are records of these occurrences in history from the earliest times. That there were temple dancers and that dancing was and is an essential feature of the Hindu temple is not a casual happening. It results directly from a continuous process of thought and living: this ritualistic dancing, both in its religious and classical richness, ascends and descends, grows and declines, with the other sociological processes of history.

There is then the highly sophisticated and abstract aspect of dancing which manifests itself in these works. From the devotee who dances before the god, the Indian mind goes on to the concept of the gods themselves dancing. From Indra, who has been called the leader of dancers in the Rgveda, the thinkers go on to explain natural phenomena in terms of dancing, problems of the world through the symbolism of dancing and the particular pose, answer questions of Ātman and the Jīvātman in terms of dancing, as in the Śrīmad Bhāgavata. The roots of these concepts are contemporaneous with the earlier two aspects and it is not to be believed that the concept of the dancing aspect of gods was a later development. All the same, the full maturity of this aspect finds its culmination in the concept of the trinity where both Śiva and Viṣṇu assume various dancing forms. The idea of dance as a symbol so captured the Indian mind that, in its most exquisite statement of the truth of the world, it saw Lord Naṭarāja dancing the cosmic dance. This is an all-powerful symbol and more the thought one gives to it, the greater is the stature it assumes; this is no mean achievement of the Hindu mind. It is an incomparable tribute to the art of dancing. This motif of the cosmic dance representing the five activities of the Lord has given the Indian mind a vision, an image, a symbol, which has evoked response from every heart and devotion from every soul.

We can trace through our literary and religious texts the development of these trends in Indian dancing. For purposes of analysis, we may divide these references into categories even though each one of these categories merges into the other and cannot easily be distinguished. It is not our main purpose here to trace the sociological aspect of dance as found in these texts, nor is it to go into the symbolic significance of the conceptions of the dances of the gods. These tasks, valuable in themselves, are strictly the realm of the social historian and the philosopher. We are concerned here with the technical growth of this art form as a fully stylized technique and the references to this technique in the literary works of ancient and medieval Sanskrit literatures. To us, therefore, the purely literary works are of greater importance than the vast number of religious and sociological texts. The 'creative literature' gives dance its themes and, conversely, dance finds an important place in the imagination of the poet and the dramatist. Wherever technical references to dancing occur in 'non-literary and non-creative' works, i.e., other than
kāvyā and drama, we shall attempt to treat a few, but the major works of our analysis will be literary works of art. The sources of this analysis will thus be (a) the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the Rgveda, a few Upanisads and the Šūtras, (b) Epic poetry and the Purāṇas, (c) kāvyā, lyrical and narrative poetry, and (d) the nāṭya or the drama proper.

From these sources the different types of relationship between literature and dancing can be established. The categories made for this purpose are:

(i) Divine and human beings in the literary texts from the earliest times are found dancing at some stage or the other. There are characters in Hindu mythology who have been given the attributes of a dancer; there are others who are conceived mainly as dancers. These characters include the personifications we find in literature, personifications which assume the character of terrestrial or celestial gods. There are then human beings who are the heroes and heroines of these works, who dance and who are seen as professional dancers in society.

(ii) Closely related to this faculty of mind which sees the phenomenal world personified in terms of human beings is the other habit of mind which seeks to compare things in nature and the world in terms of the ‘dancing image’. Here we find that the poet is fascinated by the form of the dancer, her technical accomplishments, her bells, her rhythm, the poses she attains; and compares non-human movement in terms of the movement of the dance. Sanskrit literature utilizes dance in its rich fund of metaphor and simile. These two principles, of personification on the one hand and of comparison in single or sustained similes and metaphors on the other, are complementary in nature.

(iii) There are then specific dance recitals and performances described in these works. In the kāvyā and dramatic literature of Sanskrit, this is a frequent theme; either a full dance performance is described or a portion of this recital is referred to. These references give us some idea of the essential features of the types of dancing, both social and classical, that must have been prevalent. Through these references we can determine the place of dancing in the society at large and can have an idea of the aesthetic principles underlying these dances. Our major sources for this type of reference are the later kāvyas and the literary drama.

(iv) But the most important relationship between literature and dancing is an aspect of Sanskrit dramatic literature, which is the direct result of dancing and which can completely be identified with it. The beginnings of this we find in the first references to gesticulations in the Vedic texts, but it assumes a shape so large in the literary drama of the classical period that
the true beauty of this drama cannot be comprehended until we take into consideration the fact that the nāṭya of Sanskrit literature was not only the dialogue on stage but an integrated representation of the four types of abhinaya, namely, āṅgika, vācika, sāttvika and āhārika. This particular aspect of the literary drama of Sanskrit distinguishes it from the drama of other countries as the stage directions here are not only helpful hints to acting but also constitute an important and indispensable part of the drama. This evidence of āṅgikādbhinaya in literary drama is witnessed in the abhinaya portions of contemporary classical dance in India: indeed, it is the only survival of ancient Indian drama. Here the two arts become one and inseparable and, if drama becomes more pantomimic in character, dance becomes more literary.

From the different types of relationship that exist between the two arts of literature and drama, the directions of growth and development of these arts are self-evident. In the direction of thought-development, the earliest dancing gods and goddesses of our mythology grow to assume the religious significance embodied in the symbolic concept of the dances of Śiva or Viṣṇu, the full-fledged gods of our trinity: in the direction of secular and social development, the spontaneous dancing becomes the social and folk dancing of our country where every festival and important event of life is expressed through collective community dancing and where the dancer is an important limb of a good and happy society: and in the direction of technique development, the religious ritual assumes symbolic, codified and imitative significance to become an elaborate technique of gesticulation and abhinaya. The earlier dialogues also develop to assume the form of the literary drama proper. Thus the wheel has come full circle here, and the growth of Indian literature and dancing is a simultaneous development of content, thought and technique, and of subject-matter and form. Matter and style, the idea and the manifestation of it in form, go on merging into one another and the one cannot be separated from the other. We shall see the undertones and overtones of the development of this thought and technique in the course of our detailed analysis of these works; suffice it to say here that the art of dancing emerges from all these references and evidences as an all-powerful influence in the cultural history of our country, and at the very moment of its being a source of amusement and pleasure, used either for healthy purposes or exploited for base instincts in man, it is a source of spiritual uplift, moral elevation and intellectual sādhanā of the highest type. When it deteriorates, it is the art of the sorcerer, the sole instrument of temptation; when it ascends and develops, it is the voice and movement of God. These tendencies take time to be formulated but, by the time Bharata writes his treatise on dramaturgy, these concepts take a definite shape. It is this process of the growth of matter, manner and purpose of dancing that he has in mind when he attributes to dancing a divine origin, a religious and literary background, and an aesthetic and secular purpose.
In the pre-Bharata period, these trends are visible but they have not found an individuality and distinctive personality. The categories of our analysis are thus applicable to the pre-Bharata literature, as his terminology is applicable to the sculpture depicting dancing, but it is really the post-Bharata literature that gives us a picture of these easily discernible qualities. We shall thus treat these categories together in the pre-Bharata period and shall trace them separately in the post-Bharata period.

Ṛgveda

We find the beginnings of all these aspects in the earliest record of our literature. Ṛgveda stands supreme before our eyes as a work of religion, philosophy, mythology and poetry. In this work, we discover an insight into natural phenomena, into the life around man which has scarcely been surpassed. The delight and ease with which poetry blooms forth from these hymns is indicative of the incomparable perception of the beautiful of these poets: the mental life of the poet manifests itself through a child-like simplicity full of freshness and delicacy of feeling on the one hand, and a highly complex and intricate process of thought reflected in metaphor and mythology on the other.

The gods that arise before our eyes in these pages are personifications no doubt of natural phenomena on the celestial and terrestrial planes; but they are lovable beings, too, heroic and supernatural in character, who can inspire the mortal but who have not yet acquired divine shapes and forms distant enough to be prayed to and feared. The gods and goddesses of this pantheon are numerous: they are fighters, singers, life-givers, and are vigorous and impetuous. They ride on cars across the skies and are glorified human beings, inspired with human motives and passions, born like men but immortal. These representatives of the phenomena and agencies of nature are seen dancing and singing like their earthly counterparts who dance and sing both at weddings and funerary ceremonies in the hymns of the Ṛgveda.

Indra is the greatest of them all: he has been conceived primarily as a thunder-god and a god of battle who assumes most beautiful forms at will (X. 112. iii), is armed with bows and arrows (VIII. 45. iv), is borne on a car which is golden (VI. 29. ii), and is swifter than thought (X. 112. ii). To this Indra are applied the epithets of the car-fighter (ratheṣṭā), the soma-drinker (somapāvan) (VIII. 2. iv), and the leader of dancers—the dancer Indra—and one who makes others dance. More than a dozen hymns utilize these epithets of dancing for him. In I. 130, the entire hymn refers to him as a dancer in battle who has destroyed ninety cities: here the vocative of nṛtu is used and thus we have the word nṛto. He is the dancer who has destroyed ninety cities and has destroyed them with his thunder-bolt (vajra) (I. 130. vii). In another hymn, he is evoked as he who makes others dance and delight (II. 22. iv), whose first act is for the good of man and who is victor of

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the rain⁵. In VIII. 24. ix and xii, these epithets are used for him again⁶. Here he is addressed as he who causes to dance. In VIII. 92. iii, the word nṛtuh (equal to nartayitā) is used. A similar epithet for Indra as the dancer is used in II. 22. iv: he is dancer, the giver of plenteous food and is prayed to for bringing riches.

The close associates of Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins, are also dancers. Marut is often called by the name dancer (nṛtu). In a most beautiful hymn translated by Max Mueller the Maruts dance around the well, desirous of water: “In the measured steps and wildly shouting, the gleemen have danced towards the well. They who appeared one by one like thieves were helpers to me to see the light”. They are really the gay dancers, the kirino nṛtuh (V. 52. 12)⁴, who are the invokers and the leaders of the dance. The verse is the first specific description of dancing in literature where more than an epithet has been used. In another hymn, too, the Maruts are invoked as dancers and the form nṛtavah is employed for them: in this they are called out for care and friendship, “Oh ye dancers with golden ornaments on your chest, even a mortal comes to ask for your brotherhood: take care of us ye Maruts, for your friendship lasts for ever” (VIII. 20. xxii).⁵ The Maruts are here addressed in the plural as a troupe or a company of dancers.

The Aśvins are the twin gods to whom singing and dancing are attributed. They, too, are called out as dancers (nṛtuh): they are addressed in the plural—who dance in association with the daughter of the Sun, Surya⁶. They are addressed as the twin Aśvins and the hosts of Maruts.

Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins are given these epithets after they have been visualized in their human form, and dancing is one of their accomplishments. In these epithets, we have the first germs of the concept which was to develop later into Nāṭarāja, the dancing Śiva.

In the Rgveda, closely related to the concept of the dancing Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins, is the concept of the apsarās. They are the consorts of the gandharvas and smile at their lovers in the highest heavens (X. 123. v). Vaśistha is born of the apsarās (VII. 33. xii) and lives close to them (VII. 33. ix). The apsarās of the sea are described as flowing to soma (IX. 78. iii): the long-haired ascetic with semi-divine powers is spoken of as being able to move on the path of the apsarās and the gandharvas (X. 136. vi) and, finally, there is a reference to the story of Urvāśi and Pururavā in a beautiful hymn (X. 95. viii. ff.). Besides these, there are very few references to the apsarās and we learn little else about their character from the Rgveda. Nonetheless, we are introduced to a concept which later became a popular feature of our mythology. The apsarās do not belong to the category of gods and are listed amongst the lower deities; when Indra assumes the character of a king with a court, they become his favourite dancers and musicians. In the Atharvaveda these forms play a prominent part and become the divine
courtesans of the celestial gods: the arts of music and dancing become their indispensible accomplishments and soon they come to stand for both the joy and the pleasure of heaven, as also for the supernatural instruments of fate. They entice, tempt and test the human sage from time to time: their sphere of action enlarges, and they move freely from earth to heaven. They alone, of the deified beings, are in love with the mortals and are punished occasionally by their lord King Indra.

Behind the concept of the apsarā must have existed the reality of the beautiful courtesan of the Rg-Vedic and Atharva-Vedic periods. The general references to the dancing apsarās and the particular one to Urvaśī in the Rgveda are a clear indication of the existence of the professional dancer during the period.

From the characters and themes related to dancing in the earliest text, we move on to another important reference to dancing in the Rgveda. Now it is not the dramatic character who dances; instead, it is the poet who sees natural phenomenon in terms of a dancer. The well-known reference to Ūṣas as a dancer is not merely an adjective for the rising dawn; it is one of the first examples in poetry where dancing is used by the poet in a beautiful sustained image. Through all the twenty hymns celebrating Ūṣas, the goddess is but slightly personified. She is ever ancient, and ever young, the elder sister of night. She is the cīra purāṇī (purāṇi and yuvatī), the maiden who awakes in the world again and again (I. 123, ii), who also awakens creatures that have feet, and who makes the birds fly up (I. 48. v). She awakes everything into motion (I. 92. ix). She is the life and breath of everything (I. 49. iii). This dawn was the most beautiful of all phenomena to the early gazer of the skies: in this first dawn he asked his first questions, and in her he saw an image of the world anew, and while everything else changed, she remained constant, never stooping, never withering, but emerging fresh and glorious every morning. Through this riddle of all riddles man composed his most exquisite poetry.

It is this goddess of dawn Ūṣas that the Rg-Vedic poet loads with adjectives and epithets, one more beautiful than the other—and it is this Ūṣas whom he compares to a dancer. She is like a dancer (nṛtrīva) who "adorns herself with rich ornament like a maiden whom her mother has decked out, the valiant one with a gracious smile who displays her charms to the adorer and brings forth treasures breaking forth the gates of darkness." (I. 92. iv). The poetry in the hymn is exquisite and we are silent in admiration and wonder at the conception: through it, too, we find the poet's knowledge of the dancer and her charms. Dancing as an accomplished art must have existed for the poet to paint such a picture. The profession of dancing as a recognized vocation of girls, too, must have existed before the poet could speak of Ūṣas as displaying her charms by unveiling herself. The professional dancer, with all her boldness and forthright frankness, is seen here: the descriptions of her dress throw light on the modes of costuming. No further
conclusion with regard to the art of dancing can be drawn from this image in the \textit{Rgveda}, but the sensitivity of the poet to dance is evident enough.

We find other examples of similies in these hymns. There is one in which the birth of Aditi is related; here the joy of the gods is described. "Thence as of dancers from your feet, a thickening cloud of dust arose."\(^8\) (X. 72. vii). From this reference it may be concluded that dancing took place in the open and was perhaps performed collectively in circles.

From these images we may also conclude that both the solo and the collective forms of dancing were in vogue.

We come next to the direct description of dancing in the life of the ordinary people. Secular poetry in the \textit{Rgveda} gives us a fairly clear picture of the part played by dancing in society. Occasion for it was provided by marriages, funerals, harvest festivals, sacrifices and communal gatherings, when the inner music of the soul of the crowd following any happy occurrence demanded expression in the happy rhythmic movements of the limbs; men and women of the community participated in this carnival of mirth. Funeral Hymn X. 18 asks the survivors and relatives of the deceased, after he had been laid to rest, to go forth to sing, dance and laugh and prolong their own span of existence:

\begin{quote}
"The living from the dead are separated  
The sacred rite today has prepared for us  
And we are here prepared for mirth and dancing  
Prolonging still the span of our existence."
\end{quote}

(X. 18. iii)

Laughter (\textit{hasāya}) and dance (\textit{nṛtaye})\(^9\) are associated with each other at a moment of sorrow, and such is the continuity of Hindu culture that we find even today, when an aged man dies without leaving a widow or the old lady predeceases her husband, the funeral march is accompanied by music and dancing. Among the Aiyyars of the South, only the women take part in it and the dancers circle around a lamp blazing its many tongues of light. Dances have formed an important feature of the funeral rites of the Hindus since \textit{Rg}-Vedic times.

In X. 94. iv, we have a bold description of yet another type of community dance, where it is said, "with the sisters they have danced embraced by them making the earth re-echo with the sounding tread". Griffiths translates it as, "They cry aloud with strong exhilarating drink, calling on Indra now, for they have found the \textit{madhu}. Bold with their sisters they have danced embraced by them" (X. 94. iv).

\footnote{\textit{P}i\textbf{3}}

The hymn brings before us a vivid picture of a dance in all its vigour and

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vivacity: the atmosphere resounds with the cries of the dancers. The humming sound of this dance and song is called nyūṅkha: this sound was perhaps like the onkāras cadence of the Nāgā dancing. According to Kātyāyana (I. 8. 18), it consisted of sixteen such onkāras.

The description is significant for more reasons than one: the three or four verses read together bring to us a description of a type of couple dancing, which we do not often come across in Sanskrit literature: they hold their sisters, and each couple dances in this vast group of hundreds and thousands. The couple formations of this collective social dance also call for embracing each other, and the movement of their dance is so fast that the earth resounds with humming sound.

The next verse indicates a gliding movement (X. 94. 1) of the dance, and the swiftness of the dance is suggested by either interpretation of the verse11.

The direct descendants of group dancing, where couple formations predominate, are the rāsa dances of India, which extend from Vṛndāvana in the North to Tamilnād in the South; from Mānipur in the East to the coasts of Gujarāt and Mālābār in the South-West.

Here is a picture of a happy society where once work is finished people sit together over a drink. Their wives and maidens attired in gay robes set forth to the joyful fetes: boys and girls hasten to the meadow, when forest and field are clothed in fresh verdure, to take part in dancing. Cymbals sound, and, seizing each other by the arm, men and women whirl around until the ground vibrates and clouds of dust envelope the gaily moving throng. The meeting place for all this collective festivity is the samana. This word is used in many senses, including that of an assembly for festivity: women go to it to enjoy themselves (X. 55. 1); young women also go there to seek their husbands, and courtesans go to make profit by the occasion18. Whatever the nature of these dances, and however popular and folk in character these assemblies might have been, it is evident, through references to meeting places such as these, that the dancer and the courtesan were an essential part of this festivity.

In the Rg-Vedic hymns, the beginnings of dramatic literature are also seen. The existence of the professional dancer (nr̥tu) in the Vedic society is established by the foregoing references: he is the precursor of the classical actor, dancer and singer. The dialogues between Indra and Marut (I. 7 or I. 165), between Yama and Yamī (X. 10) and between Purūravā and Urvaśī (X. 95) in the Rgveda are the predecessors of the drama proper.

As one surveys the Rg-Vedic hymns, one finds that there is indeed material here for different types of development. On the secular plane we find social dancing
and rejoicing; on the religious and symbolic plane we find that dancing has been attributed to the gods. The beginnings of the professional dancer are seen here, the professional dancer who was to give India a rich theatrical tradition. We also see here the nucleus of the written literary drama. The only aspect we have not spoken of is the ritualistic or the art of gesticulation found in the *Rgveda*. There is little reference to stylized gesticulation in this text, but in this sphere there is ample proof of the poet's consciousness of human movement. Raising of hands, moving of feet and descriptions of physical movement are frequent throughout the *Rgveda*; but nowhere are these descriptions of physical movement indicative of mental states, nor are they used in any codified sense, either symbolic or dramatic. Thus their significance is slight but even in these we find the germs of the later full-fledged and stylized, āṅgikāḥhināya, which the written drama of Sanskrit was to employ so perfectly and so powerfully.

The other three *Vedas* and their *Samhitās* also constantly refer to this art. Dance continues to be mentioned in the following contexts: (1) mythical and legendary gods who continue to feature in these works; occasionally the art of dance is attributed to them; (2) images concerning dancing are frequent; (3) there is then an evidence of the place of a dancer in society; the actor and the dancer are mentioned here in important sacrifices; and (4) finally, there is in these *Vedas* the most significant of all evidence, namely that of the ritualistic practices: in these practices we find the beginnings of the gesture language of the Indian dancing. Without doubt the symbolic physical gestures must have fascinated the sensitive artist, who must have absorbed them as a part of his technique.

*Sāmaveda*

In the *Sāmaveda*, references to dancing, other than those already mentioned in the *Rgveda*, are few, but this *Veda* contributes greatly to this art by stating the concept of the *Mārgi* and *Deśi* types of music and dancing. This is the first conscious distinction between what was to be termed classical and popular in years to come.

*Yajurveda*

The *Yajurveda* stands as an important treatise in the history of Indian thought. The basic conceptions of the *Rgveda* continue to manifest themselves here, but the deities of this age can more easily be distinguished and have thus found a more definite place in the Hindu pantheon than in the *Rgveda*. The ritual practices of this *Veda* are a living testimony to man's desire to annihilate himself in offering to the higher powers. Man here offers himself body and soul to the god: through the body he offers his soul, and through the consecration of the human form he is able to attain the Universal Self. Were it not for the reverence and sanctity of the human body, the gestures and the symbols would be but hollow elaborate acting without
meaning and significance. It is not, therefore, surprising that the artist absorbed into his being all these forms and practices for purely artistic purposes.

Of the deities we find that Indra, Rudra, Urvaśi and the other apsarās are repeatedly mentioned in the Yajurveda, but hardly anywhere is dancing attributed to them. In the White Yajurveda (Vājasaneyī Samhitā), Indra is the Yita-slayer, the king of gods, the deliverer (sūtramāṇa) (X. 31) and the all-powerful; he is no longer one who causes to dance or the leader of the dancers or a dancer himself. His companions, the Āsvins the twin light gods, the heralders of dawn, do dance and represent the sustaining and vivifying power of the dawn: they are full of the pleasantness of dance in the Āsvina Graha; they are here honey-lovers, their whip is like distilling honey; and the whip is compared to an expert female dancer, sūntāvatī (VII. 11); and it is to them that the cup of libation is offered (Āsvina Graha). These Āsvins are the healers of Indra (XIX. 12), helpers in killing the son of the asura Namuci (X. 33). The storm gods, the Maruts, continue to be the singers of hymns (gāyata maruta) (XX. 30), and several offerings are made to them but seldom do they dance.

Among the lower deities, the apsarās are more frequently found in the White Yajurveda than in the Rgveda, but they do not dance and are not associated with dance as such. They are for the most part water nymphs. Urvaśi and Menakā are mentioned here (XV. 15-19), also Sahajanya, who represent portions of the sky, heaven or earth. They are the consorts of the gandharvas and are swift moving (XVIII. 39): they are also mentioned in the Puruṣamedha Yajña (XXX. 8)—but they do not dance. Dance seems to have been attributed to them much later.

Examined socially or on the secular plane, we can conclude that actors and dancers must have been accepted as members of society. In the Puruṣamedha Yajña we find two references to this: śailūṣa is included as one of the victims here (XXX. 6). Among the victims, the harlots, the amorous women, as also the apsarās and the gandharvas, are mentioned: “For dance a stable Master (sūtami) and for song an actor, performer (nāta)”. Who this performer (nāta) is and what his exact activities are we are not told, but it is evident that he plays an important part in all these sacrifices. A similar reference to dance and to the one who gives rhythm (tāla) is found in the verses relating to the Puruṣamedha Yajña. We have “A tāla man, a lutist these for the Dance” (XXX. 20). From this it is evident that the dancer must have been accompanied by the lutist on the one side and the drummer on the other: the basic accompaniment of dance, as observed in the sculptures of the earliest times, also consists of two accompanists. We see here that a distinction between a dancer and a public actor is made—for the two words nṛtā and śailūṣa are easily distinguishable.

We come next to the important feature in the Vājasaneyī Samhitā mentioned
earlier, namely, the gesticulation with the hands and the body, which forms an integral part of the ritual. The awareness of the different parts of the body is impressive throughout these descriptions. There are many images in which the āṅgas of the human body are employed for purposes of similies and metaphors.

Ritual is invariably accompanied by gestures, and in it we find the seeds of abhinaya as it was to develop later. The ritual practices of the Yajurveda must have provided the actor and the dancer with unique material which was as profound as it was symbolic, as beautiful as it was stylized and technical. The mantras of these rituals were sung to special rhythm and tone and the geatures of the body denoted the meaning and significance of the verses. What closer relationship could we wish between the abhinaya in dance and drama than this? In all these sacrifices the punctiliousness with which hands and feet are placed in different directions, or fingers are used, are indicative of a sense of perfection and conciousness of an artist and a mathematician combined. In one of the earlier sacrifices, where Agni is the hotar (Book II), the sacrificer offers to the gods butter and says “Let me not with my foot offend thee, Viṣṇu” (II. 8) and, saying this, he must step to the southern side of the altar with the left foot in advance of the right, and return with the right foot before the left." This carefull stepping could hardly have been un-beautiful if it was intended to be significant and awe-inspiring. In such verses we have the supreme examples of man’s consciousness to utilize movement and gesture as a language and to use it symbolically for ritual. Similarly, the strides of Viṣṇu are represented symbolically by taking three Viṣṇu-strides: These strides and their symbolism is enriched further when the verse continues with the words “By the metre in the sky strode Viṣṇu . . . . By triṣṭup metre in the air strode Viṣṇu” (II. 25).

The mention of these metres here and elsewhere in the same strain is significant both for its absolute symbolic value and for the hint it must have given to the performer of these rites about the rhythm of movement.

Again, the performer lifts his entire body to offer obeisance to the elements: the Brāhmaṇa sounds one of the seventeen drums before beginning the sacrifice (IX. 11). Subsequently, other drums are also sounded simultaneously and the Vājapeya, in course of performance, speaks the words and raises his arms to complete the invoking.

“In us be your great might and many vigour . . . .
Obeisance to our Mother Earth! Obeisance to our Mother Earth!

This is my sovereignty: Thou art the ruler thou art controller, thou art firm and steadfast.

Thee for land culture, thee for peace and quiet, . . . .”

(IX. 22)
And as he says these words, “He looks towards the four quarters of the sky and their intermediate points and addresses the text to them. In obeisance (*namo mātre prthivyai*), he looks to the ground. Then he points to a seat of *udumbara* wood on which he spreads a goat-skin . . . .”17 As the ceremony was repeated time and again, a set of gestures must have evolved to signify the sky, the earth and the spheres: conversely, when these gestures were used, the words and concepts for which they stood must have been clear, and a finished language of gestures was thus born out of these rituals.

In the ceremony related to the *Ašvamedha Yajña* we come to a ritualistic practice very near to actual dancing itself. Here, when the horse has been brought back, the queen and the other consorts perform several ceremonies like entwining its mane, and, after a series of recitations, the three queens walk nine times around the horse, reciting verses: the chief queen then begins another ceremony for the birth of a son.18 (XXIII. 8 and XXII. 18). In this ceremony there is a development of ritual, for the queens perform symbolic rites individually as well as in unison. In the visual beauty of a well-performed ceremony in India even today we are aware of this gesticulation. A Vedic marriage ceremony even today tells us of the nature of the symbolic ritual.

In the *Śautrāṇa*, there is an exquisite example of this type of ritual: the whole performance is voluble with meaning and is significant even today: the physical plays an important part again. Indeed, it is this reverence for the physical form as an instrument of sacrifice, of worship, that gives Indian dancing its sanctified character, where the performer identifies herself or himself with universal truths through the medium of dance and desires total annihilation. The sacrificer touches the various parts of his body one after another and recites the following benedictory formula:

“My head be grace, my mouth be  
My hair be brilliant sheen.  
My breath be King and deathlessness, mine eye sole Lord, mine ear the Prince  
My tongue be bliss, my voice be might, my mind be wrath, my rage self Lord!  
Joys be my fingers and delight my members, conquering strength my friend!”19  
(XX. 5-8)

And with these wishes and prayers he offers himself in obeisance. The underlying principles of this ritual are so true that age after age they have found new meaning and deep significance. If it has been said in the English language that ‘Face is the index of Man’, in the Vedic language one might say that ‘The human Body is the Man itself, for the soul and the body are not twain’; the body is not a snare to be shunned but one through which the eternal can be found.

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**Atharvaveda**

By the time of the *Atharvaveda* we find that the attitudes have changed and much of the spontaneity and simplicity of the *Rgveda* has been lost. Fear and superstition have entered man’s mind: instead of offering sacrifices as in the *Yajurveda*, he is concerned more with casting spells. Indra himself has become a king (III. 3); the Maruts and the Aśvins are gods meant only to be worshipped and are no longer playful and joyous.

The concept of the *apsarās*, however, has developed: they live in the waters (*samudra*) whence they come and whither they go, appear on earth and are lost again (II. 2. iii). The goddesses accompany the *gandharvas* and are present in the clouds, lightning and stars (II. 2. iv); they are the wives of *gandharvas* (*gandharva pānī*). They dwell with rivers (IV. 37. iii), with plants and trees in the waters (IV. 37. iv), with peacocks and the *arjuna* trees (IV. 37. v) and where the great drums resound (IV. 37. v); here these *apsarās* dance with the *gandharvas* (IV. 37. vii); the form *āntīyataḥ* is used here; locks of hair are indicated by the adjective *sikhundin*. Several references to *gandharvas* and *apsarās* throw interesting light on the modes of dress and coiffure attributed to them in different ages. For the first time we meet these celestial nymphs in their modified character in that they have started dancing. It is not till the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, that we find them actively engaged in dance, music, play and acting as instruments of seduction (II. 6. i).

Men and women also sing and dance even amidst the disease and pestilence they fear. They gather in assembly halls (VII. 12.ii), and the *sabhā* is the recognized place of meeting where social entertainments including music and dance abound. The long cosmogonic hymn (*Prthvisūkta*) addressed to the earth, the finest in this *Veda*, is indicative of a joyous life on various planes, where mortals sing and dance:

> “The earth, on whom, with clamour loud
> Men that are mortal sing and dance
> On whom they fight in battle fierce
> This earth shall drive away from us our foemen.”

(XII. 1. 41).

There is another beautitul metaphor in the *Atharvaveda* where the heart of the worshipper is the sea, where Vaśā imbibing the *Sāmaveda* dances with delight. (X. 10. 104).

*Atharvaveda* abounds in references to *gandharvas* and *apsarās* dancing, and from all these references in the Vedic literature, we can easily re-create a picture of the society where dancing and music is an integral part of man’s day-to-day living, whether in joy or in sorrow, as a profession or as an important communal activity.
Brāhmaṇas

As time passed, the Vedas ceased to be clear; their language became incomprehensible and the tradition and the cult propounded by them was in danger of being lost. Accordingly, the expert in ritual created the Brāhmaṇas to explain to the officiator the relationship between the formulae he murmured or the hymns he sang and the various ritual acts and consecrated gestures he performed. These are mystifying texts full of an age of sacrificial liturgy. The vinīyoga or liturgical applications of the hymns with the utmost correctness is of supreme importance, and the form of the sacrifice becomes important for its own sake. The mysteries of these ritual mantras can perhaps be solved if the terms of gestures are clearly comprehended, but our object here is merely to indicate that the gesture language was in a process of change and growth, becoming more stylized and symbolic, however confined and monopolized it might have been at the hands of priests of the time.

On the general thematic plane, there is enough evidence in the Brāhmaṇas (in their narrative legendarvī gāthā section) to show that there was a flourishing tradition of music and dancing in those times.

Both the Aitareya and the Kauṣitaki of the Rgveda contain references to dancing: the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas are important for their samans and the various kinds of celestial and terrestrial beings referred to. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, sailūṣa naṭa (actor) is again mentioned (III. 4. 21); other words like sabhāpati in the sense of the lord of the assembly occur in the Taittirīya Śamhitā (IV. 53. 2). This may be contrasted with the word sabhāvin in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III. 4. 16. 1), which, according to commentator Sāyana, means ‘the keeper of the gambling hall’: these halls still do not have dancing in them, but the social assemblies of the saman on the one hand and the general sabhā on the other were to give rise to the proper nāṭyaśūlās of the Mahābhārata.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the legend of Purūravā and Urvaśi, and like the echo of a melancholy song, it is the continuation of the tenderly told dialogue between Urvaśi and Purūravā in the Rgveda (X. 95). The story in the Brāhmaṇa differs from the Rgveda but has the same undertone of pathos in it. (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II. 5. 1). Several other Brāhmaṇas mention general aesthetic principles which are also pertinent to a study of the development of music and dancing.31

Upaniṣads

Upaniṣads also mention the two words nṛtta and naṭa: these works often utilize dance or music to elucidate discussions on abstract philosophic concepts. Sometimes, music and dance are instruments of temptation, and once or twice these arts are listed amongst the subjects of study.
In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* we find Naciketā being tempted by Yama to accept "fair ones of heaven sitting in ornamental chariots, playing harps". The players on the *tirya*, and the like, are not to be gained by men.\(^{22}\) In the *Kena Upaniṣad*, the relationship of the body and the soul, and the interdependence of each, is explained in terms of the five sense organs.\(^{23}\) Dancing as an art, however, is not directly referred to in these texts. All the same there is a significant reference to *gandharvaloka* as a stage in the development of the mind (*Brhadāranyaka*, III. 7. 1).

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, we find that, among the arts listed, there is one called *devajñana vidyā* which includes the arts of music, dancing, mythology, and perfume-making (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 1. 2)\(^{24}\) and this list is repeated several times.\(^{25}\) The inclusion of these arts as branches of learning indicates the classical nature of these arts: the social and the purely secular type of folk arts have not been included in the list.

The study of *Upaniṣads* is important for our purpose, not so much for the concrete references to the technique and practice of the arts of music and dancing as for the aesthetic implications of the philosophic principles stated in these works. In the texts of the Indian arts, there is very little discussion on the philosophy of art or aesthetics; they confine themselves mostly to discussions on technique. The *Upaniṣads* provide the essential background and the basic principles on which these theories are built and propounded.

From this point of view, the *Kaṭha*, the *Chāndogya* and the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣads* are important texts. It cannot perhaps be said that any aesthetic theory is explicitly set forth in these *Upaniṣads*, but the ideas and terminology of the aesthetic theory are easily recognizable here. In the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, for example in I. 4. 7, the word is said to be differentiated or known in plurality only by means of name and aspect, idea and image (*nāmarūpa*). Elsewhere, "voice (*vāka*) is apprehender (*graha*); it is seized by idea (*nāma*) as over-apprehender as indeed by voice (*vāk*) one utters thoughts (*nāmāni*); and, similarly, "sight (*cakṣu*) is an apprehender; it is seized by aspect (*rūpa*) as an over-apprehender as indeed by the eye (*cakṣu*) one sees things (*rūpāni*)" (III. 2. 3 and 5). Actual objects (*rūpāni*) seen in space are really seen not as such but as only coloured areas, the concept of space being altogether mental and conventional.\(^{26}\)

The ideas of *sādṛśaya* (visual correspondence), which do not imply naturalism in Indian art but which come nearer to the philosophic concept of *pramāṇa* (criterion of truth), are all ideas contained in the *Upaniṣads* and have direct bearing on the theories of aesthetics. Terms of aesthetics like *sahṛdaya* (having heart) equivalent to *rasika*, *pramātra*, etc., are very near the notion of the "space in the heart" and "the lotus of the heart in which Heaven and Earth are contained" mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*.\(^{27}\)
The significant elements of this theory (which conceives of the aesthetic experience as an ecstasy, in itself inscrutable, a delight of the reason; which believes that the work of art, which serves as the stimulus to the release of the spirit from all inhibitions of vision, can come into being only as a thing ordered to specific ends; which affirms that Heaven and Earth are united in the analogy of art; and which, finally, asserts that art tends towards an ultimate perfection in which the seer perceives all things imaged in himself) are found in the *Upaniṣads*. The fundamentals of this philosophic background give profundity to the elaborate technique of the Indian arts. As one surveys references to the technique and practice of these arts in the works of religion, law and literature, one must always bear in mind that the technique is significant only on account of its spiritual and metaphysical background and not on account of its minute and over-ornate classification.

**Gṛhya Śūtras**

In the *Gṛhya Śūtras* the arts of music and dancing are diligently cultivated, and, at every stage of domestic life, they play an important part. That dance and music formed an important part of a marriage ceremony is clear from the Āśvalāyana *Gṛhya Śūtra* where, after the prospective bride is bathed and the high priest offers a sacrifice, a dance of four or eight women (not widows) takes place as part of *Indrāṇi Karma*; instrumental music is mentioned in *Śimāntonnayayana* ceremony (parting of the woman’s hair in the middle during the fourth or seventh month of pregnancy), where the wife is asked to sing a song. The very interdiction that the *snātaka* is not to practise or enjoy a programme of dance or instrumental music goes to show the wide prevalence of these arts and their popularity. Life in this age is so thoroughly ritualized that in all these highly elaborate sacraments the gestures and their significance must have easily been understood and practised. From birth to death at every stage dance is associated with the important ceremonies.\(^{28}\)

But these *Śūtras* important in themselves are, strictly speaking, not in the realm of creative literature and thus beyond the scope of our study. However, the evidence we gather from these *Śūtras* is valuable in re-creating a social history of customs and manners of this period, many of which are preserved to this day; but little can be discerned here about the technique of classical dancing.

In *Pāṇini’s* grammar there is a whole *sūtra* devoted to the rules for an actor; and the *najāsūtra* (IV. 3. 110-111) is attributed to Śiśālin.

Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra* of a later date also falls in the category of works describing the social arts. Its sections on dance are indicative of the part played by this art in society.

**Epics and Purāṇas**

The actual history of classical Indian dancing begins with the epics and the
Purāṇas of the Sanskrit literature. By the time we come to these works, we find that dancing as an art has two definite aspects, the classical and the popular. It is also an art which is considered an essential accomplishment of a prince, a young girl and a true courtesan (gānikā). The authors of the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata are fully conversant with the technical details of this art. The Purāṇas contain valuable material on the art both in myth and reality the trinity is an accepted concept and the dances of Śiva and Viṣṇu are gradually but clearly formulated. Theories about dancing and technical terms in relation to it are found in abundance in the Purāṇas, some of them being post-Bharata.

Rāmāyana

We find dancing mentioned in the Rāmāyana on several planes.

(a) There are mythological characters who dance; the apsarās are specially attributed the art at various places: they take the role of dancers before sages in order to tempt them: they are bestowers of gifts, too.

(b) Dancing is one of the arts taught to princes; both Rāma and Rāvana are spoken of as being proficient in it. Actors and professional dancers are popular and the gānikā is an important member of society where she is honoured and her presence is considered auspicious. The people of the town dance in joy and in sorrow.

(c) Images relating to dance, where objects of nature are compared to dancing and dancers, are frequent.

(d) Specific types of dancing are mentioned in the Sundarakāṇḍa where the qualities of Rāvana are described. This is one of the first references to the art concerning its actual technique. Also, the epic exhibits the author's great sensitivity to physical movements and gestures.

The apsarās feature throughout the Rāmāyana. Indra sends Rambhā to entice Viṣvāmitra (I. 6. 4. 10) through music (gītā), but, of course, the rṣi suspects treachery and curses her; thus conquering all interruptions, he attains the status of the great rṣi. The apsarās are, however, not mere enticers; they rejoice over mortal conquests and shower benediction, sing and dance before Rāma's rājyāhīṣeka. Rāma himself is adept in the various branches of knowledge including the gandharva vidyā, suggesting here the arts of music and dancing. (AK, 2. 35). That these arts are attributed to Rāma is a significant fact. He is often addressed as the gandharvarāja. (AK, 3. 27). When he returns to Ayodhyā after his long exile, the populace that gathered in balconies to welcome him home is itself like a throng of the gandharvas. Rāvana, his opponent, is also described as dancer of no mean calibre.
The people of these two kingdoms are keenly dance-minded. The art occupies an important place in the social life of the time and the epic is replete with references to and descriptions of this noble art. Our very first picture of Ayodhya as a city full of prosperity, peace and satisfaction is a picture where the entertainments are a sign of the general prosperity of the rule. For, here amongst other beauties of roads, trees, bowers and gardens, there is no dearth of musicians and dancers, and we see that the nātakasālā for the brides is also provided (BK, 5. 12 ff.). In such a city so complete with the variety of life, which has sages, kings, learned men and siddha puruṣas, there are actors, too. The nāta, the nartaka and the ganikā are important members of this society and nothing ceremonial can take place without them. In the story of Rṣyaśṛṅga, the ganikās, through their dance and music and decorated forms, call the rṣi to a town which has been threatened by drought and famine: here they are almost supernatural instruments of goodness who can coax through these arts the most austere of sages (I. 10.). King Daśaratha sends specially for these heralders of joy before the yajña takes place. Men of all vocations—craftsmen, carpenters, masons—are sent for, and the list also includes the nāta, the nartaka and the ganikā; the followers of these three professions are mentioned separately (I. 13. 7-8). The distinction of these categories indicates the separate existence of the art of theatre and the art of dancing besides the profession of the courtesan (ganikā). After Rāma’s marriage, the same congregation watches amidst excitement and eagerness the entry of the wedded couple (BK, I. 77).

In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, the nāta, the nartaka, the ganikā and the gāyikā add an extra touch of gaiety and form, as if they were the centre of popular jubilation preceding the proclamation of Rāma as the yuvrāja. (AK, II. 1. 13-14). And it is this Ayodhya, so expectant with hope, which is suddenly deprived of its dance and music, when Bharata enters it after his father’s death and brother’s exile. He can neither hear music nor the rhythm of drums in this town. These symbols of auspiciousness have disappeared from this city of woe where neither the sound of song nor that of instruments is to be heard; nor is to be found the scent of sandal wood (candana) or incense (aguru) (AK, 114. 19-20). And now this city is the symbol of pestilence, of anarchy—a city without a king. Vaśishṭha says in another context, “In such a city neither the actor (nāta) nor the dancer (nartaka) is happy and satisfied.” (AK, 67. 15). And it is this city to which, amidst preparations of jubilation, festivity, music and dance, Rāma returns after the long years of exile. Bharata goes to meet him in a procession which consists not only of the queens and the queen mothers, the citizens, the chief priests and the brāhmaṇas but also the courtesans: they consecrate the beloved king with flowers, incense, and their aṇjali hastas seem to be full-blown lotuses. And then the blessings that are bestowed on the king are equally significant. “May he awaken and sleep with the sound of high drums and tinkling bells (nūpura) and so blessed may he rule this world, till the earth would be, and till the sun continues to shine in the heavens” (UK, I and II). And so touching and exciting is the beautiful ceremony of the consecration and
coronation of this king that the *apsarās* themselves start dancing (*UK*, II. 11 ff.). The word *lāsya* is used here for dancing.

Dancing in this society is a simple entertainment and a happy pastime. It is in this context that we find dancing associated with Bharata. He has had a dream and is superstitious: his uncle does all that he can to amuse him. Many friends come from the assembly to divert his attention from the mood of dejection; instruments are played; dances are performed; dramas of different types are created. Humorous plays are enacted and stories told but Bharata is not amused or entertained. (*AK*, 69. 4-5). From these instances we learn of the various types of dramatic performance in vogue at that time. From another description, we also gather that a courtesan danced the *lāsya* for him.

The elaborate feast of dance and music that *Ṛṣi Bharadvāja* entertains Bharata with is incomparable to any festivity of the same grandeur in literature. *Nārada* sings for Bharata; the *apsarās*—Miśrakeshi, Pundrikā and Vāmanā—dance for him, the very trees of *pīpala* move in the rhythm of dance and other trees take the shapes of dwarfs and hunch-backs to present plays for Bharata's entertainment. So elaborate is the preparation and so successful is the performance that the soldiers of Bharata, completely infected with this spirit of festivity, also start dancing (*AK*, 91. 25-62). The words *nrīta* and *laya* are used in this context. Dancing forms an integral part not only of the festivities and rejoicings of the people of Ayodhyā but also plays an important part in their funerary and mourning rites. One such description of gesticulation we find after the death of King Daśaratha, when the queens assemble to mourn the death of their lord and master. The *pāṇivādaka* comes here to narrate the deeds of the dead king; this *pāṇivādaka* must have been equivalent to the *pāṇighna* of the Vājasaneyi *Samhitā* and was perhaps a professional musician who gave rhythm with his hands. The *pāṇi-tāla* is also referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as a measure of music. At these functions, all classes of society are thus represented and women of noble birth and eunuchs come to sing the praises of the demised king (*AK*, 65. 2-4 ff.).

These arts are as honoured and respected in this kingdom of the *sūryavansīs* as they are in the *vānara* and *rākṣasa* kingdoms. Sometimes, they are also used for debasement and decadence of mind and are associated with wine and drunkenness along with their purely artistic counterparts.

In the *Kīśkindhākāṇḍa*, we find that the kingdom of the *Vānaras* resounds with the sounds of music and dance: the very leaves, plants and trees of the forest dance: the birds and animals keep time to this harmony and the entire natural scenic description is full of images drawn from dance. As the brothers go up the hill after the coronation of Sugrīva, they hear the sound of the *mṛdaṅga* and the music of the *Kīśkindhā*: they can also hear the thunders of the *vānaras* (*KK*, 27.27).
The city itself, as also the path to it, is beautiful, where the apsarās themselves dwell,—and the sound of ornaments, music and the mrdanga is heard far and wide (KK, 13.22). Later, Laksmana proceeds to the palace of Sugriva and hears the sounds of viṇā: the verses recited by women are full of rhythm, (somṭāla yukta). The king himself is engrossed deeply in the sweet, languorous sound of music and the intoxication of women who have sung and danced around him; from this bower, Laksmana appears to shake off the king’s lethargy and stirs him to action. The vānara king is naturally ashamed and embarrassed at Laksmana’s appearance at such a moment (KK, 30. 24-27).

In the golden city of Laṅkā, pleasure and sensation are connected with this art in every line of the first few cantos of the Sundarakānda. This city made by the heavenly architect Viśvakarmā is full of beautiful beings: if there are guards outside the palace, then far within concealed from view are the female retinue, whose tinkling armlets make a sound like the music of the sea. Inside the palace, music rises and falls, and the sounds of drum (mṛdaṅga) and conch (śaṅkha) can be heard. Vānara Hanumāṇa, for whom the gandharvas and the vidyādharas have prayed, arrives here and he is so stunned by the beauty of the city that he mistakes it for gandharvanagara, for Indrapuri (SK, 4. 6-11). He hears the sound of music and the rhythmic sound (niṇāda) of anklets (nūpura): the music emerges from the head, the heart and the throat (SK, 4. 7). As he moves from the city gates to the palace and from the palace to the ladies’ bower (rāṇi-vāsa) in the interior, we have a vivid picture of the sights he sees and the sounds he hears. The sound of anklets is familiar and the sound of the mrdanga resounds in every room of the palace: there is dancing to the mrdanga with perfect rhythm (tālā) (SK, 5). The women of the palace have sung and danced till they are weary and asleep in graceful attitudes (SK, 10. 29-53). Then follows a vivid description of a court of musicians and dancers who have sung and danced till the early hours of dawn and who, with the instruments on their laps, against their breasts, in their arms, have just slumbered off—and amidst them sleeps Rāvana. The instruments themselves dance. A type of viṇā known as the vipaṇi has been played, and we notice that the word nṛtyaśālini has been used here for a viṇā (SK, 10. 41). All the queens of the king are proficient in the arts of music and dancing, nṛtyavaditrākūsālā (SK, 10. 31). Tired of dancing, they slumber wherever they can, but even in sleep their attitudes are those which might represent the bhāvas of dancing (SK, 10. 36): the word aṅgahāra is used in this context. The poses they attain are a testimony to the awareness of poses in dancing. In these verses we have a very precise description of the various musical instruments common in those days; we have as many as five different percussion instruments mentioned here, as also flutes and lutes of all variety29. It is with this music and dance that Rāvana tempts Sītā: wooing her, he offers her all his riches, and all the festive joys of his court, the music, the dance and the song (gīta, nṛtya and vādyā, V. 20, 10). Actually, according to a later Indian tradition, Rāvana was not only a great composer, an accomplished musician, an adept at playing the
drum and the Indian lute but was also one of the cleverest dancers. It is said that
his music and dance pleased Śiva so much that the three-eyed god presented him
with a sword called Candrahāsa, (i.e., laughter of the moon) and adopted him as
one of his foremost devotees. Sanskrit devotional literature preserves till today
the text of the dance music which he is said to have composed and interpreted in
gesture language and to which he danced before Śiva. He is said to have performed
some of the most intricate and difficult of the god’s own tāṇḍava steps.

The grotesque and the ritual kālī dances also find their beginnings here in the
dance of the rākṣasīs who promise to dance before Nikumbhilā, the image of
Bhadra Kālī, after having threatened and tortured Sītā to an intolerable degree.
(SK, 24. 44). That this terrific dance was to form a significant ritual in an aspect of
our religion is clear as early as these epics. This is, perhaps, the beginning of the
virile ārahhaṭi style which later becomes an integral part of dancing.

From the foregoing instances, we can gather that dancing in this culture is
associated with both heroism and feminine grace. It is an essential accomplish-
ment but is liable to misuse in a degenerated society ritual and death dances are
also not unknown.

Besides these direct references to dancing, the most beautiful descriptions in
the Rāmāyaṇa are seen in the poetic imagery born of dancing. Very fine pictures
of dancing can be drawn through these images where the objects of nature constitute
full orchestra. When Bharata goes to seek Rāma in Citrakuṭa, the feast at the
Rṣī Bharadvāja’s gives us a fine evidence of the orchestration of the time. The
rhythm that the trees use is sampā30, and they perform it in proper tempo (laya);
the percussion instrument used is the mrdanga, the lute is the musical instrument
(AK, 91. 21 ff.). The simile is elaborately and delicately worked out: to this accom-
paniment of music there is not only the solo dance of the pipala tree but also a
detailed description of the dances of other trees; a few others take the parts of
dwarfs; the creepers take the feminine roles. All of them dance to entertain Bharata.

Beautiful images are found in the Kīśkindhākāṇḍa. In Canto I of this Kāṇḍa,
Rāma’s poignant description of the pampa tāla is as touching as it is moving. The
quiet tone of pathos and of the pangs of separation, which runs through this
canto, has made it one of the finest pieces of lyrical beauty in Sanskrit poetry. As
we read this canto we are aware of the great sensitivity of this hero, in each image,
dancing stands as a symbol of re-union and rejoicing. He sees the trees, the breezes
and the bees dancing and is aware of his own separation; the peacocks who dance
and play in union with each other seem to mock at him. In a beautiful metaphor,
he talks of breezes (vāyu) as the evoker of dance in the trees. The breeze plays with
every floweret on the spray whether floating in the air or on the ground. The breeze
shakes the gay boughs of flowery trees, bears the humming throng of bees and
produces the śatpadi song: the humming of these bees is the song that vāyu hears: again vāyu springs from the mountain caves and teaches the trees to dance; the kokilās too are mad with the delight of song (KK, 1. 13-16). This breeze is, as it were, the teacher of dance. The scents of this atmosphere soothe the fatigued Rāma: but the calls of birds, the music of bees, and the dance of trees only make the separated Rāma long for Sītā all the more. This dance of the trees is closely akin to the dance of the peacock, which is mentioned again and again in this canto. The dance of the peacock is the dance of those who are happy and joyous in love and thus this dance of the pair only intensifies the hero’s longing (verses 36, 40, etc.). We find that dance is a symbol of love and re-union; in later literature the peacock’s dance becomes a stock image of such a reunion. When the rains come to indicate the re-union of the heaven and the earth, then peacocks dance, and it is this re-union during monsoon that the hero longs for in these stanzas.

In Canto 28, we come across another beautiful description. Rāma describes the rains. The fleecy clouds heave sighs like Rāma himself; the odorous shrubs in rain drops weep; the great sky like a mighty steed groans at each call to speed; the humming of bees is like the sound of the vīnā; the frogs provide the rhythm (tāla) with their throats, and the clouds thunder as if they were playing on the mrdaṅga, and to this orchestration the peacock dances. The king of the forest is joyous, with smell, scent, sound and movement, and the peacock stands as the supreme symbol of beauty and joy of the monsoon (KK, 28. 35-37). This image of the clouds playing the mrdaṅga or being the mrdaṅga and the bees as the vīnā becomes one of the most stylized images in Sankrit poetry. Whenever the beauty of the monsoon is spoken of, the music of these forms of nature constitute the orchestration.

There are other minor and less significant images of this kind used throughout the Rāmāyaṇa: through these and other references to social and court dancing discussed earlier, we can easily form an idea of the classical dance as it must have been practised during the period. Although it is not yet stylized, it is an art which has come to have its categories, varieties and differentiations in technique. The technique of dancing which can be gathered from this evidence may be summed up as follows:

Nṛta was distinguished from nāṭaka: the nāṭa and the nartaka formed two different classes of actors. The nāṭas were perhaps general actors of drama and the nartakas, the specialized people in the field. Lāśya was identified with nṛtya and was a special sphere of the gaṇikā as is clear from references in the Ayodhyākānda (69. 4.). Different types of theatrical performances were known including those constituting the funny and humorous characters like the dwarfs, the eunuchs, and the like (AK, 91). In the dance proper, tāla (rhythm) was an integral part of dance: every time a dance was performed, rhythm was an essential feature of it (KK, 28. 35-36, etc.). There was also a consciousness of laya (tempo) as a desired
quality of dance (KK, 91. 27). The basic accompaniments of dance were the vīṇā and the mṛdaṅga: these instruments were essential and basic and others constituted the rest of orchestration. Several percussion instruments were known to the queens of Rāvana (SK, 10).

Besides these examples, there are words which assume technical meanings in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra: the aṅjali is a gesture of honour and respect but the derivative use of it is rarely seen here: the saṁyutahasta aṅjali of the Nāṭyaśāstra must have evolved from usage such as this. The aṅgahāra, a highly technical phrase in the Nāṭyaśāstra, is used here generally to indicate the posture of the sleeping queens of Rāvana. The words aṅga and upāṅga (BK, 55. V. 10) are used here only in the context of the art of the bow and arrow; in the Nāṭyaśāstra they are used in a highly technical sense.

The nāṭa, the nartaka and the gaṇikā are professional actors and dancers who occupy an important place in society in many ways. They are specially engaged on auspicious occasions to share the activities of society. The word śailūṣa occurs for one of the five gandharva gṛhapatis in the Kuśkindhākāṇḍa, but one is not sure whether it has any connexion with the Vedic śailūṣa of the Puruṣamedha Yajña (KK, 41. 43). We find here a reference also to the kauśika land, from which Bharata later derives the kaiśikī vṛtti in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

In education dancing is considered essential for the prince; and people of royal descent are familiar with this art.

The ritual of household ceremonies continues to provide material to the dancer; a full-fledged technique of gesticulation is subsequently evolved from it.

The mythological legends continue to have dancers as characters. In the Rāmāyana, the apsarās are the most important mythological characters who dance and perform both in heaven and on earth.

The following words connected with music and dance frequently occur in the Rāmāyana:

Śailūṣa . . . For a class of people; also for the dancing master of the maidens of the royal courts (AK, 83. 15 and AK, 30. 8)

Nāṭa . . . For the professional actor (UK, 64. 3 and AK, 67. 15)

Nartaka . . . For the professional dancer (UK, 64. 3. and AK, 67. 15)

Gaṇikā . . . For the professional courtesan, whose main vocation was singing and music (AK, 15. 8 and AK, 3. 16, etc.)

Pāṇivādaka . . . The rhythm players or the drum-players, thereby showing us the very important role played by rhythm.
Gāyikā .. Songstress (AK, 6. 14)
Tālāpacara .. Akin to the pānivādakas—musicians who kept time
Gandharva-ṭtatva .. Used for the principles of music and dancing (BK, 4. 10 and UK, 23. 51)
Nṛtya and Gīta .. Frequently mentioned together,—whether in the court of Rāma or in the court of Rāvaṇa or Sugrīva (BK, 32. 12; UK, 2. 11; UK, 42. 20 ff; SK, 10. 32, ff; also KK, 27. 26 and KK, 33. 20)
Nṛtta .. For dancing (AK, 91. 25 and KK, 20. 10)
Lāsya .. For dancing and nṛtta, (AK, 69. 4)
Aṭigahāra .. For pose as a generic term (SK, 10. 36)
Nāṭaka .. For drama proper (AK, 69. 4)
Nūpura and kiṅkini .. For the tinkling bells of the dancer, as also for ornaments of the feet (KK, 33. 25)
Tāla .. For rhythm, both in general and technical sense
Laya .. For tempo, used several times in a technical sense in the context of music and dance. Three types of tempo are known to them (BK, 4. 8; AK, 91. 27 and also KK, 28. 35 ff.)
Mārgī .. Used in the context of singing: this is the same as the mārgī and desī styles mentioned by the Sāmaveda (BK, 4. 29)
Rasa .. Six rāsas are listed (BK, 4. 8 ff.)

The following instruments are mentioned as essential accompaniments to dance: there is always a lute, a vīgāḍa, and a percussion instrument, besides the vocal gīta. The percussion instruments mentioned specially in this context are:

Maḍḍuka .. (SK, 10. 38)
Mrdaṅga .. (YK, 50. 16)
Muraṇa .. (AK, 39. 41 and UK, 11. 5)
Paṇava .. (YK, 59. 8)
Pāṭakā .. (YK, 96. 35)

The instruments mentioned in connexion with war are:

Bheri .. (YK, 50. 60)
Dundubhi .. (YK, 51. 28 and YK, 32. 45)
The earthen musical instrument *kaaśi* (*SK*, 10. 46) and the metallic *ghanṭā* (*YK*, 124, 120 ff) are also mentioned.

Various types of *tūrya*, wind-instruments, are frequently referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in connexion with dance recitals. *Viṇā* is by far the most favourite lute. The *vipaṇcī viṇā* (*YK*, 24. 42, ff.) and the *tantrī viṇā* (*BK*, 4. 8) find a mention in the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have thus the real beginnings of both the classical and the folk forms of dancing. We come to know from this work how dancing was both worship and entertainment, meant both for the professional dancer and the layman. The social, ritualistic and classical tendencies which we noticed in the Vedic literature have their first flowerings in this great epic of creative literature.

The *gaṇīkās* of the *kāvyas*, the *apsaras* of Kālidāsa, and the *naṭas* and *nartakas* of Sanskrit drama, take their cues from their predecessors in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. By the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the character of the classical dance is almost set, and we are left with no doubt about the nature and character of the Indian dance in the religious or social milieu.

*Mahābhārata*

There are numerous allusions to and descriptions of dancing in the *Mahābhārata*. The celestial characters who dance in this epic and the legends in which dancing plays a significant part really deserve a separate study. As in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, so also in the *Mahābhārata*, we see a society where music and dancing were major arts to be enjoyed and practised. We have examples of both solo and group dancing; there are also many instances of stage performances with high technical skill.

The retinue of Indra's *apsaras* increases considerably by the time of the *Mahābhārata*: they descend upon earth to allure, to tempt and to be friendly with man. Urvāśī and Menakā descended upon earth for Pururavā and Viśvāmitra. Tīlotamā is created not to allure in the same way as Urvāśī and Menakā but comes to destroy through her charms Sund and Upsund: she is described as being adept in the art of music and dancing.

Arjuna's association with each of these nymphs and celestial dancers is seen throughout the *Mahābhārata*. He is drawn down to the depths of the waters by Udūpi and is carried to the heavens by the *apsaras* of Indra's court. In life on earth, he is fascinated by the dancers of Kāmarūpa, is charmed by the dancing of Subhadrā and her friends in the Yādava land, Dvārakā: but above all, he is carried into Indra's court in the *Vana parva*, and it is here that he learns music and dancing: and we know in what good stead these arts stand him when he has to teach dancing, disguised as Bṛhannalā, in the *Virāṭa parva*.

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We do not find any references to the techniques of dancing in the section dealing with lessons given to Arjuna by the *apsarās* of Indra's court. The *gandharvas* and the *apsarās* entertain him with both music and dancing: the *gandharvas* headed by Tamburu are skilled in music, dancing and chanting. The *apsarās*—Gṛṣṭacī, Menakā, Rambhā, Svatyamprabhā, Urvaśī and Miśrakeśī—danced for him. The description that follows gives us no indication of the type of dance they danced, for the glances they cast, the hips they move, and the movements of their bosoms are descriptions which might be of any dance: (*mahākāti katākṣa kampamānaiḥ payodharaiḥ*)\textsuperscript{31}. It is after this that Indra suggests that Arjuna learn music and dancing from Citrasenā. He asks Arjuna to learn instrumental music etc. (*vādītra*), which is not known to the mortals. And then Citrasenā instructs him in *gīta*, *vādya* and *nṛtya* (song, instrumental music, and dance): when his friendship ripens he learns the dance and music of the *gandharvas* and becomes an expert in different types of dance and diverse genres of music, both vocal and instrumental. From this description, it is clear that music, dancing, and instrumental music are always considered together and seldom in isolation; the mutual dependence of these arts and their inter-relationship is also recognized. It is also clear that by the time of the *Mahābhārata* the arts of music and dance were considered essential for the education of princes. They must have also developed sufficient content, form and style to be taught in a systematic manner. The training also seems to be elaborate with well-defined rules and regulations.

In the next section of the same *parva* we have the exquisite description of Urvaśī going to the abode of Arjuna.\textsuperscript{32} The sculptor, the poet, and the painter have all been inspired by this *apsarā*, and to the dancer she symbolizes even today the ideal form, but Arjuna, the self-disciplined man, is not tempted by her, and his replies to her advances are full of gravity and sanctity. It is then that Urvaśī curses him, and the curse becomes a reality when Arjuna has to play the part of the eunuch Bṛhannalā. From allusions in the *Virāṭa parva*, it is clear that dancing was an essential art, a part of educational and cultural training of a young girl: there was for this purpose a special hall (*nartanaśālā*), where training was imparted. Apparently, the courtiers of King Virāṭa's court are connoisseurs; the interview of Arjuna for the post is interesting from this point of view. Arjuna presents his full credentials, mentions his past employment with the Pāṇḍavas, and it is after the king is convinced of his capabilities, and the queen of his character, and the court advisers approve of him as Bṛhannalā that Arjuna is appointed as a dance teacher\textsuperscript{33}. He stresses at his interview that he is an expert in all the three aspects of this art, namely, *gīta*, *vādya* and *nṛtya*.

The *nṛtyaśālā* or *nartanaśālā* is the venue of Kicaka’s *vadha* later in the same *parva*. From the references here it seems that the *nartanaśālā* was a place for practice and training, and not one for performance. No one appears to be in this hall at night and Kicaka can conveniently be invited to this *nāṭya* or *nartanaśālā*.
Other allusions to dance, music, and drama in the Mahābhārata confirm our views regarding the vital role of music and dancing in society. Celestial dancers, professional dancers, and amateur dancers are all known to this society; and dancing is associated with heroes, heroines, celestial beings and rākṣasas alike. There are other important references to the nature of the stage and the auditorium in the Rājasūya Yajña parva, but, since they relate to the construction and nature of the prekṣāgrha and not to the technique of dancing, a detailed analysis of these is not being undertaken.

It is material from the Mahābhārata that the Purāṇas adopt for their purpose; and in them we find the full flowering of certain aspects of music and dancing which are seen only in their nascent state in the Mahābhārata.

Purāṇas

Harivaniśa

The Harivaniśa, the supplement to the Mahābhārata, has often been studied and analyzed as a rich source of dance and drama. We are not concerned here with the evidence which the Harivaniśa provides to support theories of the religious origin of drama; our chief concern is with the evidence relating to dance. The work is significant, for in it we find the earliest elaborate reference to the rāsa dance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

In the Harivaniśa, the sport of Kṛṣṇa with the gopīs in Vṛndāvana is graphically described (II. 20) without being named. In the colophon to the chapter, however, the word hallīsaka occurs. In another place the words hallīsaka, rāsa and chālikya occur (II. 89). From an analysis of this verse, we can draw some important conclusions about dance. In this sport of Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Balarāma, the celestial courtesans, all take part: “the courtesans begin the rāsa (equated to song by Nikañtha, the commentator) by using the language, dress and movement befitting the occasion.” Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa join the dance in the company of Revati and Satyabhāmā.

Arjuna and Nārada, the sage, are present as guests. Arjuna, in the company of Subhadrā, and Nārada, with dishevelled hair, dances among the Yādavas. Nārada is so frenzied that he becomes the leader of the rāsa.

A feast follows. After being fully refreshed, the Yādavas in the company of women begin to sing in concert. It is nightfall. Kṛṣṇa desires that the chālikya opera be set in tune. Then Nārada takes up the viṇā, Kṛṣṇa leads the hallīsaka, and Arjuna and the courtesans play upon the mṛdanga. Rambā, Urvāṣī, Menakā and other heavenly courtesans sing and act to the full satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa.
According to the text, the chālikya opera was brought down from "heaven by Kṛṣṇa for the delight of men and put to application by Pradyumna, the son of Rukmiṇī. Only five artists could practise it—Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Śāmba. This chālikya was the gift of Kṛṣṇa to the Yādavas for the benefit of men."\(^{33}\)

From the foregoing account, it appears that the rāsa and the hallisaka were mixed entertainments: of both these singing and dancing were the main features, and the chālikya was a special kind of an operatic performance, which consisted of song, instrumental music and dance.

In the light of this reference, we can analyze the earlier reference (II. 20) where the rāsa dance is described but not named: it is called hallisaka-kriḍā nṛtya, gīta kriḍā (ibid, verse 27).

The dance is held on a full-moon night of the autumn season. The gopīs, as if under a spell, come out to dance with the lord. They form a circle and move with hands interlocked. The nymphs of the cowherds form pairs in a chain and sing the praises of Kṛṣṇa (Harivāṁśa, II. 20). Nilakaṇṭha in his commentary uses the terms hallisaka and rāsa and describes them thus: "the sporting of one man with several women is called rāsa sport" (ekasya puruṣo bahubhiḥ stribhiḥ vydanam saha rāsakṛḍā): and "the circular dance formation of the gopīs is called hallisaka" (gopinām maṇḍalī-nṛtīm bandhane hallisakam vidūḥ). Commenting on the pāṅkti, Nilakaṇṭha says, "Pāṅkti here stands for maṇḍala or ring: the couples imply that Kṛṣṇa was between every two gopīs." He quotes some other Vaiṣṇava work which says, "Between each two damsels was Mādhava and between each two Mādhavas was a nymph: and the son of Devaki played the venu (flute).\(^{34}\) In fact, Kṛṣṇa does not only dance with each gopi but is also by himself in the centre." The commentator cites a passage from the Rgveda (III. LV. 14)\(^{35}\) to support this view of the 'One' participating and yet standing apart.

Nilakaṇṭha, elucidating further on the histrionic features of the sport, quotes a verse from some unnamed source: "Driving a stout round and smooth spike of the measure of a vitasti into the earth, and then moving towards one another with the feet and rotating of the hands—this is rāsa."

It is said that the gopīs recite laudatory verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. They form a circle around Kṛṣṇa, and this dance with the circle formation is called rāsa (according to Nilkaṇṭha). Here, Kṛṣṇa introduces a novel feature by being present between each two damsels: the circle formation is thus not only a simple single file circle formation with interlocked hands (ṣrṅkhalā)\(^{36}\) but a more complicated one where each couple is by itself and yet is in the circle formation. This suggests a choreography of concentric circles in pairs. The driving of a spike into the ground
and dancing around it introduces a new feature hitherto unnoticed and reduces the rāsa dance to the rank of a fertility dance.

Of the nature of the rāsa dance we learn little more than circle formations: the nature of the circle formation was either simple where the women only joined hands with each other or somewhat more complicated where couples stood together to form two circles. Clapping (tāla with the hands) also seems an essential feature of this dance.

Without going into the philosophic interpretation of the rāsa dance, we may here only point out that, from Nīlkanṭha's characterization of the rāsa dance around a stout circular spike, it would not be too far-fetched to conclude that the original rāsa dance was performed by men and women in couples round a spike, which perhaps represented the phallus. It was performed both by women alone, and by men and women together.

Circular dance formation is by far the most common dance formation of all nations, and the present rāsa dance in terms of 'dance-choreography' does not come to us as anything new; the circle however acquires a special symbolic significance in the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Kṛṣṇa is the supreme dancer throughout the Purāṇas. the Yadavas are often described as artists. Nātas are called to entertain the rṣis: Subhadrā, a famous actor, is called for this purpose once. The race celebrates each occasion with music, dance and a revelry unique to the Hindu Purānic literature. They play on instruments of the sky and the waters: their women sing to the music of the jaladardura: the chālíka is their favourite composition of music and opera, and Nārada joins with his vīṇā of six svaras (notes), on which he plays different rāgas: the apsarās join in with nṛtya and abhinaya, and the mrdaṅga forms the constant accompaniment of these operas, songs and dances (II. 90-60 ff.).

The Yadavas use these arts to conquer demons: that is why Kṛṣṇa organizes a party of dancers and actors to enter into the enemy Vajrabha's city. Pradyumna leads this party and a special nāṭa bhadra is created for this purpose. The Yadavas take several roles in the dramas presented by this group. Pradyumna is the hero (nāyaka), Śamba is the clown (vidūṣyaka) and Śurvīr Gadā is the nāṭa who accompanies the sūtradhāra.

The group is complete, with orchestration, musicians, major character actors and minor chorus dancers: they have a large repertoire of dance dramas: one is based on the Rāmāyaṇa; another is called Rambhisara; and a third is based on Kuberā (II. 93, 59 ff.). The Rāmāyaṇa brings Daśaratha, Rāma, Laksmana all on the stage: in the Rambhisara, Śura plays the part of Rāvana and Manovati enacts
the role of Rambā: Pradyumna becomes Nalakubera and Sāmba his vidūṣaka. The performance follows a very definite sequence. The play begins with the sound of musical instruments, tuned perfectly with the tantri (vīnā). The saṣuṣira, the muraṇa and the ankā are followed by vocal music in the devagandhāra: the composition is again chālikya. Pradyumna does rhythmic movements to this music before the actual play begins; these movements were obviously not meant for the entire audience. Soon after the nāndi, another musical instrument, sounds. It is only when the nāndi has (II. 93, 27 ff.) sounded that the actual play starts and the characters come on to the stage to perform.

From the description of the actual performance, we gather that nṛtya and abhinaya are clearly distinguished; laya and tāla play an important part; vocal and instrumental music with percussion instruments is an integral part of the visual performance (II. 93). The plays the Yādavas stage are termed as nāṭakas but the performance itself is always referred to as dancing: (nṛtya or nṛta are the words used).

The above example is significant for the minute details, with which the sequence of the performance is described and for what it tells us of the various components of the drama. It is also worth noting that the dramatized version of the Rāmāyana was by this time an accepted number of the theatrical repertoire.

There is hardly a Purāṇa which does not treat of the rāsa dance. We may look into the dances described in only three Purāṇas, namely, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Śrīmad Bhāgavata and the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa. They describe many types of rāsa dances: some of the descriptions are elaborations or descriptions in the Harivāṁśa.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa describes an elaborate rāsa dance. In the words of Wilson, "Krṣṇa observing the clear sky bright with autumnal moon and the air perfumed with fragrance of the wild water lily, felt inclined to join the gopīs in sport. Accordingly, he and Rāma started singing sweet and low strains in various measures. Thus surrounded by the gopīs, Krṣṇa thought the lovely moonlight of autumn propitious for the rāsa dance. Many gopīs imitated different actions of Krṣṇa and in his absence wandered through Vṛndāvana."

"I am Krṣṇa, see the elegance of my movements". "I am Krṣṇa, listen to my song." Thus the various actions of Krṣṇa the gopīs imitated. Then Mādhava, coming amongst them, conciliated some with soft speeches, some with gentle looks (bhru-bhaṅga vikṣita) and some he took by the hand: the illustrious deity sported with them in the joy of the dance. Since each of the gopīs attempted to keep in one place so as to be close to Krṣṇa, the circle of the dance could not be constructed, and
he therefore took each by the hand and when their eyelids were shut by the effect of his touch the circle was formed." This is rather an inexplicit statement, and Wilson rightly points out that the commentary makes it clear. "Krṣṇa, it is said, in order to form the circle, takes each damsel by the hand and leads her to her place. There he quits her: but the effect of the contact is such that it deprives her of the power of perception and she contentedly takes the hand of her female neighbour thinking it to be Krṣṇa’s."42

From this account, Nilkanṭha’s explanation of the rāsa dance is confirmed, namely, that the rāsa was a circular formation of women around one man: but the important thing to note here, too, is that the interlocking of the hands was an essential feature and the sṛṅkhalā (chain) was absolutely imperative. It is, however, not clear whether the dance was really of women alone, or of men and women in couples, as suggested by Nilkanṭha in another portion of his commentary on the Harivamśa. This dance of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa continues “to the music of the clashing bracelets and songs that celebrated them in suitable strain the charms of the autumnal season. Krṣṇa sang the praises of the moon and the gopīs the praises of Krṣṇa. At times, one of them, wearied of the revolving dance, threw her arms round Krṣṇa. Krṣṇa sang the strain that was appropriate to the dance. The gopīs repeatedly exclaimed ‘dhanyā Krṣṇa’ to his song. He led and they followed; and whether he went forwards or backwards they ever attended to his footsteps.”

Although these descriptions do not provide us with any technical data about the dance, they tell us, nevertheless, a great deal about the beginning of rāsa dances. Rāsa dance took varying shapes and forms in the different provinces of India; they are prevalent today as dances of men only, of women only and of women dancing around one man or couples dancing in a circle. The circle as the basic choreographical motif is common to them all. Perhaps the most direct descendants of the rāsa dances described in the Purāṇas are the rāsa dances of Vṛndāvan and far off in Manipur.

Srīmad Bhāgavata

The Śrīmad Bhāgavata describes another well-known and elaborate rāsa dance43: the word rāsaṅkrdā is mentioned here. In this dance Krṣṇa multiplied himself and actually stood between two women: the ring (maṇḍala) was thus formed with one man and one woman (i.e., one gopī and one Krṣṇa).

In this rāsamaṇḍala each gopī was dancing with her beloved (Krṣṇa): the type of rāsa suggested here is most definitely of couples, and is not a circle of women around one man.

The graphic description of the couples dancing in a circle tells us that the circle (maṇḍala) formation is the first requisite: it is a vigorous dance demanding
of the gopīs practice and stamina: their feet sometimes move fast, sometimes slow, their eyebrows are raised (bhruvilasa) to attract. To an appropriate song, the gopīs gesticulate with their hands and arms to express various sentiments (Śrīmad Bhāgavata, X, 8). This is the only suggestion of abhinaya in the description of the rāsa dances. The various forms of Kṛṣṇa are compared to the circle of clouds and the gopīs to lightning. The Bhāgavata uses the words, krīḍā, nṛtya and nṛta frequently in this context. There is another masterly description of the mahārāsa; and the contemporary mahārāsa in Manipur till today is danced to these verses of the Bhāgavata.

A very much later Purāṇa, the Brahma Vaivarta, also devotes a section to the rāsa dance, (Kṛṣṇa Janana Khaṇḍa, XXVII). In the rāsaṅgadala of the Brahma Vaivarta, Rādhā is accompanied by thirty-six of her special friends amongst the gopīs: but each of them is attended by thousands of inferior personages: and each is accompanied by a male multiple of Kṛṣṇa.

In the meditation upon Kṛṣṇa, which is enjoined in the Brahma Vaivarta, he is to be contemplated with his favourite Rādhā. According to Wilson,11 the man-ḍala described in that work is "not a ring of dancers, but a circle of definite space, at Vṛṇḍāvana within which Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and gopīs divert themselves, not very decorously."

CODES, COMMENTARIES, LEXICONS, ETC.

Pāṇini

The Aṣṭādhyāyī provides us with a fund of information on the music and dance known to Pāṇini. We have music and dance terms listed here, and we also learn from these sūtras of many theoretical texts of these arts.

The Naṭa-sūtra, attributed to Śilālīn by Pāṇini, clearly shows that a dance text on the subject was prevalent. Pāṇini was familiar with the works of both Śilālin and Kṣāśva, the two authors of the Naṭa-sūtras (IV. iii. 110-11, 129 respectively). (Perhaps these names stood for two schools of dramaturgy). It has often been asserted that the Śilālin of Pāṇini was a close relation of the Śailuṣa of the Yajurveda, and the former’s students formed the school of dancing known as Śailālinah Naṭāḥ (IV. 3. 110). Bharata in the Naṭyaśāstra refers to the nāṭas as sailālakas: this is a corresponding term for Pāṇini’s sailālinah nāṭah. It seems that Bharata’s Naṭyaśāstra was the product of the dramatic school of Śilālin which originated in the Rg-Vedic carana founded by a teacher who was also the author of a Brāhmaṇa work called Śailāli Brāhmaṇa, cited in the Āpastamba Šrauta Sūtra (VI. 4. 7).

The students of dramaturgy, sailālinah, are nevertheless to be distinguished
from the śailālāh mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 5. 3. 3) the term is used for a ritual teacher. The Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (I. 2. 3. II. 4. 6) and the Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra also use the term śailānōh.45 It is, however, clear that both these schools of thought are derived from the Rg- Veda: the śailālakas were originally a Rg- Vedic carana with their own Brāhmaṇa cited as the Śailālaka Brāhmaṇa in the Āpastamba Brāhmaṇa mentioned above. Kātyāyana also knows of this Vedic school of śailālāh (VI. 4. 144), and this school was undoubtedly concerned with Vedic and ritualistic study; the school of Śailālin of the Naṭa sūtras was closely connected with it and it must have been started under the auspices of the Vedic school; it was perhaps a different branch of study although founded by the same teacher; it was distinct also from the strictly orthodox school of Vedic studies.

Patañjali mentions the word sobhanika (actors) and does not make any distinction between naṭa and nartakas (III. 1. 26 and VI. 3. 43). Levi renders the meaning of sobhanika as “those who teach actors”.46 Patañjali also often refers to the profession of naṭas (III. 2. 127) but the term naṭa is a generic and is applicable to anyone in the field of the theatre. Pāṇini’s definition of the naṭa approximates more closely to the description of a professional dancer than Patañjali’s. From the Mahābhāṣya we only learn that the training of the naṭa was important and that he was by no means an untrained street singer, dancer or actor; he was, however, greedy and hungry as the dancing peacock (Mahābhāṣya, III. 2. 127 and IV. 1. 3. etc.). Patañjali does know of naṭa teachers (ākhyātā) and of dance novices (ārambhakāh) in the art, who taught their art not through texts (granthārtha) but by direct methods of practice (I. 4. 29; I. 3. 29). This instruction was not considered an upayoga to be used strictly only for the approved religious system of teachers and initiated pupils. In all this discussion, the term naṭa is used connoting all forms of stage craft.

Pāṇini himself quite clearly distinguishes between nartaka and nāṭya,—even though he does not clearly make a distinction between a naṭa and a nartaka. Dance was also considered as one of the śilpas by Pāṇini, the synonym for the sippa of the Jātakas. Saṅgha comprised of nṛtya, gīta and vādītra and sometimes nāṭya. The Aṣṭādhyāyī refers to a dancer as nartaka (III. 1. 145), and to stage acting as nāṭya (IV. 3. 129).47 Pāṇini also knew of a festivity termed sammada and pramada. Sammada, as interpreted by Dr. V. S. Agarwala,48 must have been an opera like the saṭṭaka which is seen in the sculptures of Bharhut. The opera comprised music and dance and was performed on festive occasions.49 The musical instruments for this dance are the lute (vīnā), the percussion instruments, maḍḍukā (a small tabor) (IV. 4. 56), dardura, mrdaṅga and the paṇava. The metal instrument jhar- jhara (a pair of cymbals) is also mentioned.

The idea of a concert of different instrumentalists is termed as the tūrya and
the individual members as *tūryaṅga* (II. 4. 2). *Tūrya* is a collective noun denoting the grouping of two allied instruments. We have thus the term *mārdāṅgikapāṇavikam* for a set of players on the *mṛdāṅga* and the *pañava*. Pāṇini also mentions the *parivādaka* in *Sūtra* III. 2. 146 without stating its meaning, but on Patañjali’s authority we learn that the term stands for a lute-player.\(^51\) Keeping *tāla* (rhythm) with the hands is known as *pañigha* and *tālāgha* (III. 2. 55).

Other related terms mentioned in Pāṇini concern vocal and instrumental music. Thus *gīti* (III. 3. 95) and *gaya* (III. 4. 68) are used for song: *gāthaka* (III. 1. 46) and *gāyana* (III. 1. 147) for a vocal singer, *gāthikā* and *gāyani* for a song-stress: the term *upavīṇayati* is used for singing with the *vīnā*,—and the term *apa-vīṇam* (VI. 2. 187) is used for singing without the *vīnā* (VI. 2. 187). The musical notes from the lute are known as *nikvāṇa* or *nikvāṇa* (III. 3. 65).

**Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra***

Treatises like Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra* throw considerable light on the social status of dancers and actors and the facilities for their training provided by the state. Kauṭilya states quite clearly that “those who teach prostitutes, female slaves and actresses, arts such as singing (*gīta*), playing on musical instruments (*vādyā*), reading (*pāṭhya*), dancing (*nartana*), acting (*nātyam*), writing (*akṣara*), painting (*citra*), playing on *vīnā*, flute (*vēnu*), drum (*mṛdāṅga*) shall be maintained by the State.”\(^62\)

The ladies trained by these masters were noted for their beauty, youth and accomplishment: the rules that governed the practice of the profession of the dancer, the courtesan and the prostitute were strict. Kauṭilya says, “The prostitute (*gaṇikā*) must supply to the superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*) and her future income (*āyati*); further “the same rules shall apply to an actor (*naṭa*), to a dancer (*nartaka*), to a singer (*gāyaka*), to a player of musical instruments (*vādaka*), a buffoon (*vāgajīvana*), to a music player (*kuśilava*), a ropedancer (*plavaka*), a juggler (*śaubhika*), a wandering bard (*cāraṇa*). . .”\(^53\) The visiting professional dancer, singer would have to pay a fee of five *pañas* as licence fee for his performance.

From the above account we know that the professional dancer achieved a definite status in society: the arts were no longer mere hobbies; the professional dancer was clearly distinguished from the professional actor\(^54\) and the professional singer, although all of them were classed together. The *Arthaśāstra* does treat *gīta*, *vādyā*, *nṛtya* and *nātya* as parts of *saṅgīta* like Pāṇini and Patañjali.

In the list of artists the *nartaka* is the classical dancer while the *kuśilava* is the comparatively popular musician. Performances of the *kuśilavas* are forbidden in the rainy season according to Kauṭilya. They cannot wander about and must stay at one place.\(^55\)
Kauṭilya also mentions devadāsis in another chapter: they are connected with temples and are studiously taught the arts of music and dancing.\(^6\)

The demarcation between the classical dancer, who performs for the god, and the classical dancer, who performs on the stage is very definitely maintained. The tradition of the devotee dancing to the god and the tradition of the classical dancer of the stage were contemporaneous but distinct: at a later stage in history they merged into one another. Whatever may have been the differences in approach to the art form between the secular nartakī and the religious devadāsi, we cannot doubt the rigorous training of either: the gaṇikās and the devadāsis have been responsible for preserving the rich tradition of the classical Indian dance through many centuries.

A look at the treatises on law convinces us of the important role played by the gaṇikā and the devadāsi in ancient and medieval Indian society. Dancing was, however, not the sole monopoly of these women. As we have seen earlier, too, it was an important accomplishment and was considered indispensable for the princes’, the noblemen’s and the princesses’ education. Thus, according to Kauṭilya, most citizens should co-operate in preparing for a public play. “And if a man who has not co-operated in preparing for a public play or spectacle is found witnessing it, he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him.” That such shows were regularly held and produced follows quite clearly from innumerable references to professional actors in Sanskrit and Pali literature.\(^7\)

From these works we also gather that prostitution was recognized in this country from very early times but was frequently regarded with great disfavour. Since music and dancing were associated with prostitutes, these arts too started to be regarded with disfavour and thus Manu enjoins the prince to refrain from singing, dancing and music (VII. 46-47). He also asks the Brāhmaṇa to keep away from the courtesans (Manu, IV, 209). He does not look upon either the art or the profession with great favour (VIII, 65); he is indeed very sceptical of the statements of musicians and dancers.\(^8\) So far, except for one or two uncomplimentary remarks in the Mahābhāṣya, we do not come across any derogatory statements: however, by the time of Manu, attitudes changed and music, dance and theatre began to be looked down upon.

**Vātsyāyana and Śukrācārya**

Dancing (in the context of education) is listed in the Kāmasūtra, Śukranitisāra, Prabandhakośa, Lalitavistara and a host of other similar lexicons. These authors give us long lists of fine arts which include anything from dancing and singing to the art of making garlands. The number of arts listed varies, but the most common number is sixty-four. The works in which these references are found are: Rāmāyana (I. 9. 5), Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X. 45. 36). Mahābhāṣya (I. 1. 57), Daśakumārakaśita
(II. 21), Kādambarī, Kāmasūtra and the works of Vāmana, Māgha, Bhavabhūti and others. Some of the other works which contain these lists are: Lalitavistara, Jātakamālā, Kalpasūtra, Aupapātika Sūtra or Praṇavākaraṇa Sūtra. Of these the Lalitavistara gives the number as 86 and the Jaina works as 72, the others mention 64. It is noticed that in all these lexicons—the sixty-four or seventy-two or eighty-six—kalās or śilpas include all that would be included in the very general term “art and craft” in Europe. The Indian works hardly make a distinction within the arts according to differences in psychological approach or the functionality of the art form; instead the distinctions which are made are in regard to the social status of the artist. We do have, nevertheless, a distinction made between the śilpas or vocational arts, and the kalās or avocational arts (accomplishment). It is nowhere conceived that a śilpa can be acquired without training under a master (ācārya) or can be practised other than as an hereditary profession. The Kāmasūtra and the Sukranitīsāra are the most interesting amongst this category of lexicons.

Kāmasūtra

Book I, Chapter III, of the Kāmasūtra is entirely devoted to the discussion of the sixty-four arts: of these eight arts belong to the sphere of music and dancing. The first three singing (gītam), instrumental music (vādyam) and dancing (nṛtyam) are simple and straightforward: the other three arts are connected with stage technique, histrionic representation. Art sixteen nepathya-prayoga is very near the āharikābhinaya of the Nātyaśāstra, and deals with the varied crafts of the green room. Kalā thirty-two, the knowledge of histrionic and scenic representation, demands talent and concentration from both the audience and the actor. The last of these vyāyāmikānām-vidyām is related to dancing only in so far as physical exercise and fitness of the body is necessary for the dancer. Kāmasūtra also mentions the vīṇā and the damaruca in its list. Vātsyāyana also mentions these arts in his discussion of the education of courtesans. The courtesans should be able to hold discussions on the arts: the training of a daughter of the nāṭa is discussed and we are told that she should be given to ‘the one who would train her in the arts of dancing and singing’.

These arts are not confined to the courtesan: the citizen performs, participates and witnesses dances very often. The samāja and the gośthi are the two social institutions where discussions and demonstrations on the arts are held and witnessed.

The words that Vātsyāyana used for dancing throughout are nṛtya and nartana. The nāṭas are the professional actors and dancers, and dancing plays an important part in society at all levels.

Sukranitīsāra

Śukrācārya’s Sukranitīsāra presents another list of sixty-four arts (kalās):
here gītam, vādyam and nṛtyam are not listed separately as in the Kāmasūtra: instead, two general subjects are mentioned: both of these are self-explanatory ‘hāvabhāvādisamyuktam nartanam’, i.e., dancing with emotion, grace, etc., and the second ‘anekevādyavikṛtai tadvādane jñānam’, i.e., the knowledge and ability to play various musical instruments.

The dancing that Śukrāntitisāra refers to is dancing proper which is accompanied by suitable expressions of the face, movements of the arms, etc., and, in short, all that we mean by āngikābhinaya.

On the whole Śukrācārya gives a very high place to the art of dancing. He often talks of the wealth of learning and at one place says, “The man who does not find pleasure in teaching, learning, preceptors, gods, arts, music, dancing and literature is either a man who has attained salvation or beast in the form of man.”

While mentioning the ordinary political and administrative functions of the state, Śukrācārya does not forget the educational activities of the state: regarding encouragement to cultural activities he says, “The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country. He should train up the officers appointed with salaries (bhūti posītam) in the cultivation of all the arts and, having seen that they have finished their studies, should appoint them in special fields. He should also honour those every year who are very high in arts and science.”

This clearly implies that the king should maintain students with scholarships for the study of various branches of learning and, after they have been sufficiently educated, should appoint them to their proper posts.

Prabandhakośa

The Prabandhakośa also mentions nṛtyam as one of the arts in its list of the seventy-two arts: the allied arts of singing (gītam) and instrumental music (vādyam) are also mentioned.

One of the chapters of Rājatarāṅgini mentions thirty-two modes of dancing and calls the whole vādyam-nṛtyam (dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music).

It is significant that none of these works mentions the art of tāla (rhythm) separately, even though in the kāvyas we come across the phrase samatālam very early.

From all this we can easily conclude that dancing was performed to the accompaniment of song and instrumental music: also that tāla (or rhythm) which forms
such an important feature of Indian music was certainly existent but was not
considered a separate art. However, from the number and variety of percussion instru-
ments mentioned and the importance attached to rhythm, we can easily conclude
that it was as highly developed and intricate as the other aspects of music and dance.
It was certainly an integral part of both the training of a musician and a dancer.
Since tāla (rhythm) was considered indispensable, it was perhaps not listed as a
separate kalā.

_Amarakośa_

The _Amarakośa_, a later but an important lexicon, mentions several terms of
music, dancing and rhythm. It devotes one complete _varga_ (sub-chapter) to the
subject of dramatics. It lists five categories of dancing, viz., _tāṇḍava, naṭākam_
nāṭyam, lāṣyam, _nṛtya_ and _nartana_. This is a comprehensive list including all the
categories of dancing (I. 7. 10). It also mentions the combined art of singing, instru-
mental music and dancing (_nṛtyagītām-vādyam_); it is called _tauryatrika_. The lady
who performs the lāṣya is called the lāṣikā (I. 7. 8), and the courtesan who dances
in the dramas is called _ajjukā_. It also refers to men who dance in the dress of women
(I. 7. 10): _bhrūkumā_ is the word used for them. The following terms of rhythm
are included: _laya, tāla, vilambita, druta_ and _madhya-laya_ and _ekatāla_. The following
musical instruments are listed: _viṇā_ (I. 7. 3), _vallakī, vipaṅci, parivādinī_ (a _viṇā_
with seven strings), _vamśi muraja, kānsya-tāla, ghana_, three types of _mṛdaṅga_
(namely, _aṅkya, ālīṅga_ and _ūṛdhvaka_; _yaśa paṭaka_ (a type of drum—_nagādā_),
_daṅka, ānaka, paṭaka, damaṛu, maddu, ḍiṇḍima, jharjhara_ (a kind of cymbals), _mard-
dala, paṇava_, are the percussion instruments mentioned.

The various parts of the _viṇā_ are mentioned: (i) the striker is called _kona_,
(ii) the lower part of the _viṇā_ is called _prasevaka_, (iii) _kolambaraka_ (a _viṇā_
without its strings), and the point where the strings of the _viṇā_ are tied it is called the _up-
anāha_ and _nibandhana_.

In the sphere of _abhinaya_ besides mentioning ten types of _rāsa_ (śānta and
_vātsalya_ included) and the _bhāvas_ and _anubhāvas_, it lists the following terms of
_āṅgikābhinaya_: (i) _aṅgahāra_, (ii) _aṅgavikṣepa_, (iii) _nivṛtta bhru_, (iv) _āṅgikābhinaya_,
and (v) _sāttvikābhinaya_.

_Buddhist and Jaina Works_

_Buddhist Literature_

Buddhist literature and Buddhist canons frequently mention the arts of music
and dancing. For the most part, these arts are spoken of in an appreciative manner
and are considered as sophisticated arts to be learnt and mastered. There is, how-
ever, also evidence in these texts which would easily convince us of the base ends to
which music and dancing were employed. These works provide sufficient data to
convince us of the existence of an attitude of mind which considered the arts of
music and dancing as a snare and temptation to be resisted and overcome. Nonetheless we occasionally come across some highly technical references to dancing and music.

Without attempting to analyze each work in the Buddhist literature, we shall consider here only a few significant examples from some of the Jātakas and the other Buddhist canons.

In the Jātakas dancing peacocks often occur. Jātaka No. 32 tells the fable of a dancing peacock, which, by its impudent dance, forfeits its bride, the daughter of the bird king. Another story tells us of queen Rohini who was jealous of the dancing girl.\(^6\) Another tells of a monk who was once a mime (naṭa).\(^7\) Other Jātaka legends also abound with references to naṭa and nāṭaka.

In Book XX, No. 531 (Kuṣajātaka), we find the expression: “Detu nāṭakāṇī lepattha passāma—Bhadde puttassa te rajjam”, i.e., “Lady in making over the kingdom to your son you should institute dramatic festivities.” In Part IV, 67 (Udaya Jātaka) Book XI, No. 458 occurs—“Rāja puttam abhisincitva nāṭakāṇī”, i.e. “The king desired to make his son king with the solemn sprinkling and to arrange plays for his pleasure.”

Nāṭakāṇī in the above passages means plays and dramatic performances. The Jātakas also speak about actors. Part VI, 102 (Book XXII, No. 543) reads “Nāgas look at a crowd to see whether any actor is near.” Jātaka (Book III, 287) has the following sentence: “Of the four who gain, one is that who has the actor’s tricks”.

The most important mention of dramatic acts occurs in the Kanavera Jātaka (Book IV, part iii) where the Bodhisattva was a robber: the expressions—naṭa, samāja, samāja-māṇḍali are frequently used here.

In the other Jātakas we have frequent mention of the arts as part of the royal entertainment. Thus the Khantivādi Jātaka mentions four branches of music and dancing together as constituting a part of a royal entertainment, i.e., gīta, vādyā, nrīta and nāṭya: (gīta-vāditā nacchesu cekā nāṭakitrīyo gītādino payojayimśu) (Jātaka, III. 40). From the same Jātaka we also learn that the viṇā formed part of an orchestral band (viṇādini tūriyāni, Jātaka, III. 40). The clapper of the hands (one who beats time) is known as the paṇissava (Vidhuraṇḍita Jātaka, VI. 267).

Women dancers are also referred to in the Jātakas: they are accomplished in dancing and music (naccagīta vāditakūḍa or naccagīta vāditakūḍa).\(^7\)

In the Jātakas there is also a frequent reference to students who were sent at the king’s expense to study at Banaras: music and dancing formed subjects of that study.\(^7\)
In the Mahāvastu, dancing is an important feature of the court life of king Śuddhodana: the prince hears the sound of song, dance, drum, tabor, lyre, flute and cymbals in the palace and yet there is melancholy in his heart. The Bodhisattva remains unattracted by all this and wishes to give up this play of recurrent life: he leaves the palace, and the description of the women asleep tells us a great deal of their musical training and accomplishments: one was clasping a viṇā, another a veṇu, another a nakula, another sughoṣa, another tūnaka, another a vallaki, and yet another a panava, etc.

The Mahāvastu refers to the musical accompaniment of the apsarās, of the playing of the pipes by the kiñnarīs at several places. In all these references, singing is more important and the idea of the paṅcagānika tūryāni recurs very many times. The word tūrya is used as a collective noun for an entire orchestra, consisting of all the five types of musical instruments, namely, ātata, vitata, ātata-vitata, ghana and suṣira.

Courtesans, such as Ambapāli and Sālavati, are well-known in Buddhist legends: their fee for dancing was high,—the tradition of dancing and music in a classical form was preserved by them. They are known to be experts in singing, dancing and lute-playing.

The Lalitavistara lists many subjects to be studied: out of the eighty-six arts mentioned, four deal with music and dance: viṇā vādyanṛtyam, lāsyam and nāṭyam are mentioned. We see that nṛtyam or dancing with interpretation and tāla is coupled with instrumental music vādyam.

The Lalitavistara also mentions the following musical instruments,—viṇā, veṇu, nakula, sughoṣa, tūnava, candisaka, sanbharika, a mahati vipaṇcikā (a viṇā), dhakka, paṭaka, vallaki, nukunda, panava, jharjharika, āliṅga and perivādini. We find that the Lalitavistara mentions all the instruments listed by the Mahāvastu and a few more.

In the Lalitavistara, these arts are mentioned in other places. Gautama wants a wife well-versed in the arts: “I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry, who is endowed with good qualities and well-versed in the rules of the śāstras.”

In the Lalitavistara dance and drama are mentioned elsewhere,—“In Rājagṛha, his disciples Maudgalāyana and Upāsiṣya showed their dramatic skill in several exhibitions of spectacle and shows.” We also learn that, under the direction of Gautama (the Buddha), a drama was staged at Rājagṛha. Kauvalyā was at that time the most charming actress who had acquired great reputation in dramatics. As, however, she seduced some monks, she was transformed by Lord Buddha into a hideous woman.
These and other references found in the Buddhist legends leave no doubt in our minds about the widespread knowledge and practice of the arts. The sculptural evidence reinforces it strongly and Bharahut, Sāñci and Amaravati are the living testimonies to it.

_Milinda Panha_ gives a list of the tradition, secular law, arithmetic, music and military art, but dance is conspicuously absent from this list.81

Very early in the history of Buddhism, the Buddhist monastic order had given up its highly antagonistic attitude towards the theatre and even went so far as to make use of the stage as a means of propaganda for the teachings of Buddhism: nor had the Buddhists any hesitation in allowing the Buddha to appear on the stage impersonated by the ordinary actor. The allegorical plays also became very common.

One of the palm-leaf Turfan manuscripts of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, discovered by Luder, contains a scene in which allegorical figures of wisdom, endurance and fame (buddhi, dhṛti and kirti) appear to glorify the Buddha.82

From the _Avadānaśataka_83 (Avadāna No. 75), we learn that a Buddha drama was enacted by the actors of the Deccan in the city of Śobhāvati at the bidding of Krakucanda in which the director himself appeared as the Buddha.

Prof. Sylvain Levi has also referred to another story found in the Kanhgyur. An actor from the Deccan composed a drama containing the story of the Buddha up to his attainment of _Bodhi_ and performed it before king Bimbisāra.84

From _Takakusu's_ account,85 we learn that Harṣa had his drama _Nāgānanda_ (based on the story of Bodhisattva Jimutavāhana surrendering himself in place of a Nāga) set to music and performed by a group; it was accompanied by dancing and acting. Harṣa also had Candradāsa's _Viśvāntara_ and Aśvaghoṣa's _Buddhacarita_ versified and set to music and dancing.86

Professional actors are mentioned throughout Sanskrit and Pāli literature, and from all these references a fairly accurate social history of the life of the actors can be re-created.87

The evidence provided by these texts leads us to the conclusion that acting existed as a flourishing profession: dancing (_nṛtya_) was distinguished from the general and more popular art of dramatics and mime practised by the _naṭas_. The dances described in the _Lalitavistara_ and the _Mahāvastu_ are the only references to the solo-classical dance we come across here.
Jaina Works

Dancing is frequently mentioned in the Jaina canons\textsuperscript{88}: the most important and significant for our purposes is the Rāyapasenīya. Thirty-two types of dances are mentioned. Their names indicate that they were dance dramas: only a few seem to be the names of pure dance numbers:

(1) The first dance drama was presented to the accompaniment of orchestral music: it represented the eight symbols, sotthiya (svastika), siri vaccha (śrīvatsa), naṇḍyāvatta (naṇḍyāvarta), vaddhamāṇaga (vardhamānaka), bhaddāsana (bhadṛāsana), kalasa (pūrṇakalaśa), maccha and dappana (darpana). This was like an auspicious prelude, an invocation.

(2) In this dance-drama, other artistic motifs were represented through dance: āvaḍa (āvarta), paccāvaḍa (pratyavarta), sēdhi (śrēṇi), posedhi (praśreṇi), sotthiya (svastika), sovatthiya (sauvastika), pūsa, māṇavaka (pūsyanākaka), vaddhamāṇaga (vardhamānaka), māchāṇḍa (matsyāṇḍaka), magaraṇḍa (makarāṇḍaka), phulāvali (pūsപวาali), paumapatta (padma-patra), sāgaratarāṅga, vaṭantaḷā (vaṭantalā), and paumālaya (padma-latā): this representation is called bhakticitra.

(3) In this bhakticitra, the following were represented through abhinaya: ihāmiga (ihāmṛga), usabha (vrṣabha), turaga, nara, magara (makara), vihaga, vālaga (vyāla), kinnara, ruru, sarabha, camara, kuṇjara, vaṇalayā (vaṇalatā), and paumālaya (padmatā).

(4) In this variety, abhinaya is not predominant; instead, nātya and nrtya are important. The terms mentioned here indicate dance formations of circles and maṇḍalas. Egao vanka, egao cakkavāla, duhao cakkavāla, cakkaddhacakkavāla, all indicate circle formations—both single circle formations and concentric circle formations. Such circle formations and choreography are found in the Jaina sculptures of Gujarat.

(5) The fifth variety is called āvali and various types of āvalis are represented: candāvali (candrāvali), sūrāvali (sūryāvali), valiyāvali, haṁsāvali, egāvali (ekāvali), tārāvali, muktāvali (muktāvali), kaṇagāvali (kanakāvali), rayanāvali (ratnāvali), etc.

The next three varieties represented the rising of the sun and the moon and other movements of these planets: these were surely short dance-dramas.

(6) Here the rise of the sun and the moon were presented: the numbers are termed suruggamaṇa and canduggamaṇa.
(7) The ascending movements of the sun and the moon are depicted in the dance-dramas known as surāgamana and candāgamana.

(8) The solar or the lunar eclipse was portrayed in numbers known as surāvarana and candāvarana.

(9) Finally, the dances of the setting of the sun and the moon were known as suratthamaṇa (suryāstamana) and candatthamaṇa (candrāstamana).

(10) The candamaṇḍala, sūramaṇḍala, nāgamaṇḍala, jākkhamaṇḍala (yakṣa), bhūtamaṇḍala, rakṣhasamaṇḍala, mahoragamaṇḍala and gandharvamaṇḍala: all denote group formations of divine and evil beings.

(11) The next variety depicted different types of gaits: rśabhalalita, sinchalalita, hayavilambiya, gajavilambiya, hayavilasiya, gayavilasiya, mattagajavilasiya, mattahayavilasiya, mattagajavilambiya, mattahayavilambiya: the whole sequence was called the druta-vilamba dance.

(12) Another variety presented dances known as sāgarapavibhatti and nāgarapavibhatti.

(13) A drama named after two creepers called Nandā and Campā is the thirteenth variety.

(14) In the next variety were the dances known as macchaṇḍa-pavibhatti, mayaraṇḍakapavibhatti, jārapavibhatti and mārapavibhatti.

(15) Letters from ‘ka’ to ‘na’, i.e., kavarga, were represented through movement. The dance sequence was termed as ‘kavarga’.

(16) Another dance sequence was named after ‘cavarga’.

(17) Similarly another represented ‘tavarga’.

(18) And another represented the ‘tavarga’.

(19) And yet another took its name after the ‘pavarga’.

(20) A dance sequence represented the different types of leaves, namely: asoyapallava (aśokapallava), ambapallava (āmra), jambupallava, kośambapallava.

(21) Another variety showed the pravibhaktis (movements) of the following
creepers: paumalayā (padmalatā), nāgalatā, asogalatā (aśokalatā), cam-pakalatā, ambā (amralatā), vanalatā, vāsantī, kundalatā, atimuttaya (atimuktalatā) and śāmalayā (śyāmalatā).

The next ten varieties were nṛtya performances; the names suggest the types of dance, and their characteristics are indicated by words such as druta, vilambita, mostly indicating tempo.

(22) Druta nṛtya
(23) Vilambita nṛtya
(24) Druta vilambita nṛtya
(25) Aṅciya (aṅcita) nṛtya
(26) Ribhita nṛtya
(27) Aṅcita-ribhita nṛtya
(28) Arabhada (ārabhaṭa) nṛtya
(29) Bhasola nṛtya
(30) Ārbhada-bhasola nṛtya or ārbhada-bhesa nṛtya
(31) Uppayanivayapavatta (upṭāta and nītpāta), saṅkunciyā (saṅkucita), pasārīya (prasārīta), rayāraiya (khecarita), bhānta (bhṛanta) and sambhānta (sam-bhrānta) nṛtya

(32) This drama depicted the story of Mahāvira’s early life, his conception, exchange of foetus, birth, boyhood, youth, renunciation, attainment of kevala-hood (kaivalya-jñāna), the propagation of his message, and his nirvāṇa.⁸⁹

From the above we gather some very interesting details about the types of dances and the vast repertoire of the dance compositions. In these thirty-two categories, we have abhinaya, nṛtya, nāṭya and nṛta proper. Many of these terms do not seem to indicate complete dance-dramas, as has been suggested. The first variety is merely the representation of the auspicious symbols (māṅgalika); it could have been done by showing all these māṅgalika symbols through hastābhinaya or by making different actors represent the different symbols: the second variety seems to suggest dance formations, as also names of themes on which dances were com-
posed, such as the phūlāvalī and vasantalatā: the terms vardhamānaka and padma latā seem to have nothing in common with Bharata's use of the same terms. The third variety similarly suggests names of animals, kinnaras, etc., on which the dance was based and no more. The fourth variety alone gives us some idea of the nature of the dance: the circle formations are quite clearly indicated, and the names suggest pure dance (nrīta). The sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth varieties suggest a complete dance-drama based on the movement of the sun and the moon, and the tenth suggests circle formations and dance compositions to represent planets, supernatural beings and the rest. In spite of the fact that the word maṇḍala is used, they have nothing at all in common with the maṇḍalas of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The same is true of the eleventh variety where the gaits of various animals like the horse, elephant, etc., are represented. Even though the Nāṭyaśāstra talks of the representation of the gaits of the animals (NS, XII. 107 ff.), it is not in the same sense. In the Rāyapaseṇiya the walking, prancing and jumping of the gaja and haya are described, and all these are represented in both the drūta and the vilambita tempo. The twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth varieties also indicate just laya and not specific dances. The aṅcita is not a dance of any specific kind and this term might indicate anything from the aṅcita gesture of any part of the body, from the head to the foot, to the aṅcita karaṇa (NS, IV. 84), and bhramara of the Nāṭyaśāstra can hardly be identified with the present bhasola.

The evidence in the text is interesting, but obscure; the names of the dances give some clue but the dances cannot be re-created from these descriptions. The author was not basing the list on the Nāṭyaśāstra. If the terms contained here are technical, then they most certainly belong to a tradition of the classical dance other than the Nāṭyaśāstra tradition. If the terms are descriptive of the theme and the execution, then it is not a technical enumeration, but only a literary one. Scholars of Jaina literature could perhaps throw more light on them than has hitherto been done. We may only conclude here that the present classification does not base itself on the classification and terminology of the Nāṭyaśāstra. However, some connexions can be established between this tradition and that of the Nāṭyaśāstra. A few terms and concepts are common. If an attempt is made to translate these terms into the language of the Nāṭyaśāstra, then perhaps one can say that numbers one, two and three belong to the pūrva-raṅga; numbers four, five and ten describe formation; six, seven, eight and nine belong to the variety of nṛtya where the circular formations plus some abhinaya is suggested. Eleven shows the gaits (cāris) of various kinds. Numbers twelve to twenty-one are small bhāva representations, whether the usual representation of the alphabet or some small episodes. One could also reasonably conclude that numbers fourteen to twenty were viniyogas of samyuta hastas. Numbers twenty-one to thirty-two belong to the nrīta variety and where the nomenclature denotes the tempo (laya) used, the dance poses formed, the exact variety and character of the dance and the choreographical patterns.
Besides the thirty-two dances mentioned above, the Jaina texts mention various types of musical instruments. Of the sixty-four varieties mentioned here, very few are new: they are all classified under the categories of *tata*, *vitata*, *ānaddha* and *ghana* instruments.

Generally, music and dancing are referred to at several places, and festival dances are mentioned throughout the text. Courtesans accomplished in the arts of music and dancing are also mentioned in the Jaina texts. The *Vayadhammakahā* refers to a rich courtesan (*ganikā*), Campā. Famous courtesans adept in the arts are Kośa, Upakośa, Devadatta, etc. They are mentioned in the *Brhatkalpa*, the *Bhagavati*, etc. The *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* also mentions *nāṭṭiya* (dancing girls) apart from *ganikās*.

The Jaina texts on the whole are a very rich source of knowing the social status of artists, the ways in which some of the original characteristics of the arts were being modified; but we find very little technical reference which adheres strictly to the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

**KĀVYA LITERATURE**

From the *kāvyā* literature we obtain a clear picture of the classical dance. The descriptions of and references to dancing in this literature are, however, not on the same plane as in the *Vedas* and the epics. The Vedic writer was conscious of its movements and was sensitive to its beauties. The writers of the epics used the technical terminology for the first time. The authors of the *kāvyas* are aware of the rich heritage and are also fully conversant with the codification made in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The description of dance in these works are seldom those of a layman; instead, they suggest a discerning eye and an acquaintance with the technique of the classical dance. It must be remembered that the tradition which resulted in the codification of the arts in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was a tradition which considered dance and poetry not as members of the same family but as limbs of the same human form. In drama (*dṛṣṭya-kāvyā*), thus, we find a body of stage technique which is none other than the *āṅgikābhinaya* of the classical Indian dance. In subject-matter, in themes and in fundamental philosophic concepts, the writer of the *kāvyā* literature continues to follow the Vedic and the Epic tradition. The characters he chooses are supernatural beings: they are either the gods of the earlier pantheon with modified attributes or the heroes akin to those of the epics. The *apsarās* and the *ganikās* appear on the same stage with gods and heroes who contract friendships with these supernatural or half-supernatural beings: seldom do they appear as the instruments of Fate or Nemesis of the Greek drama. The supreme god that the classical writer invokes thus is Śiva whose Cosmic Dance symbolizes the activity of the universe in its manifold aspects.
The philosophic and metaphysical assumptions underlying this drama give it a technique which can be clearly distinguished from the drama of the West. The writer sees no intellectual conflict, moral or social. The ideas of sin, incest, etc., never form a motif. Moral flaws play little or no part at all: the state of Beauty is one, which is to be achieved through a state of Being, of emotion, of feeling, rather than one of thought and suffering. The total absence of conflict, of the development and growth of character through external and internal suffering, invariably results in the absence of ‘action’ in the Aristotelian sense: there is never the impression of ‘Man’s answer to Fate that crushes him’ and ‘gods who kill us for their sport’, but, instead, there is an impression of Heaven and the gods descending upon earth to sport joyously with human beings. The characters of this drama are differently conceived and the ‘action’ that occurs is not on the level of certain values counterpoised against certain other values. The vehicle of expression of this thought-process is naturally very different, and we must not look in it for the values of Western drama, nor must this drama be judged by those standards. The state of ‘being’, of ‘emotion’, that the Indian classical writers seek to portray can best be expressed in terms of lyricism, and, what is more, in terms of human movement—an instrument of expression already made available through the ritualistic, religious and social practices of the earlier period. ‘Dance’ or abhinaya enters into the body of this drama, not as an intruder or an interloper, not to amuse the audience while the ‘main action’ of the plot of the drama is held up; it is on the contrary an integral part of the drama and anyone who sees classical Sanskrit drama as just the spoken word does injustice to himself by missing the subtle beauties of its elaborate stage-craft. The inclusion of ängikābhinaya in this drama is so completely integrated with the spoken language (vācikābhinaya) that, devoid of it, Sanskrit drama becomes no more than a chain of beautiful lyrics. The easy flow of this drama is achieved through dance movement, through the ability of the artist to carry us across seas, oceans and mountains, to bring before us visions of lions, deers and horses, to invoke thunder and lightning not only through the spoken word but also through a well-formulated language of gesture or pantomime. The total impression of this drama, then, is like that of total theatre in the modern sense, or more truly, of dance-drama with song, spoken word, and gesture—all combined. It is not drama embellished with song, diction, dance, etc., but drama constituted by song, dance (inclusive of nrtta and abhinaya), gesture, etc. Instead of the powerful intellectual impact of western drama we have here an initiation into a ‘state of being’ created by a swift, fluent, light-footed quality of highly cultivated feeling.

The basic approach of this drama is ‘idealistic’: an elaborate stage convention (nātyadharma), meticulous to the last detail, dispenses with the need of realistic presentation (lokadharma) or portraiture. While analyzing the stage directions of this drama, we shall observe how the principle of nātyadharma works and how far the gesture language is an instrument in executing this aim. The characters, as mentioned earlier, are beings who can easily be carried into the supernatural world
with the slightest touch of the imaginative wand: the heroines are invariably the apsarās or the gaṇikās, always adept in the art of dancing. Śakuntalā is the daughter of the celestial Menakā, Urvaśī, the finest of dancers, Mālavikā, a princess trained flawlessly in the art, and Vasantasenā is a courtesan, dancer par excellence of the town. It is obvious that the actors who depicted these heroes and heroines, who are accomplished dancers, must have been masters of the four types of abhinaya, since lack of training in either āṅgika or vācikābhīnaya would have proved fatal to the performance.

Characters in Sanskrit drama and narrative poetry witness dances and dance-dramas like their predecessors in the Vedas and the epics. The description of dance recitals in the Sanskrit kāvya is, usually, in highly technical terms; physical movement more often than not uses the phraseology of Bharata. Before, therefore, analyzing and commenting on such portions of these dramas which are āṅgikābhīnaya and almost indistinguishable from the abhinaya of the contemporary classical dance, it would be profitable to look at the descriptions of such dance recitals in both the kāvya and the nāṭya literatures. We shall first enumerate the non-technical and then the technical references in the kāvya and the nāṭya literatures. From an examination of this evidence a fairly clear picture of the dance and the dance styles as prevalent then will emerge.

The Kāvyas

Buddhacarita

In the Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, we have the first evidence of the technical language of the dance. It is still in a rather unrefined stage, but there is an obvious trend towards the stylized dance of the later days. The poet gives us vivid descriptions of facial expressions, of a few hastas (mudrās), and a long list of musical instruments. Sometimes the terms are used merely descriptively and not in a technical sense.

The musical instruments referred to in the palace are:

- Tūrīya— (I. 45; II. 29)
- Mrdaṅga— (I. 45; II. 30; V. 50)
- Viṇā— (I. 45; V. 48)
- Mukunda— (I. 45)
- Muraja— (I. 45)
- Venu— (V. 49)
- Varāṣṭi—
- Dundubhi—

\[\text{\{VIII. 53}\]

Later the Buddha himself listens to the splendid musical instruments (Canto II. 29). The tūrīya is mentioned again and in Canto II. 30 we find that the mrdaṅga
is ornamented with golden bands (cāmikarabuddha kāṣaiḥ) and is played by women ‘with the foreparts of the hands’ (nārīkarāgrabhīrahataiḥ). The ladies of the palace hold different musical instruments in their laps: the Bodhisattva watches them thus and then walks out of the palace. Later Gautāmi while waiting, compares the voice of the Buddha to the musical sound of the thundering clouds (ghuna dundubhi) (VIII. 53).

Āsvaghoṣa describes vividly some movements of the women: the ladies of the palace allure the prince by their talk and amorous gestures (lalita bhāva); their eyebrows are arched (bhruvaṇicitaiḥ) and they cast on him half-shut, half-stolen glances (II. 31). None of these words is used in the technical meaning given to them by the Nāṭyaśāstra; lalita bhāva does not occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra but the lalita glance (drśṭi) is used for love (NS, VIII. 74). Similarly, aṅcita bhrū does not occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra, but it is related to the two movements of the eyebrow, viz., both kuśicita and recica (NS, VIII. 122-123a), the latter being used specially for amorousness. The side-long glance (ardha niṅkṣita) finds no equivalent in the Nāṭyaśāstra, but the commentary explains it as kujākṣa. The kujākṣa so frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, is in reality a movement of the eyeball and the name for it in the Nāṭyaśāstra is vivartuna (turning the eyeballs sideways, a movement used in expressing the erotic sentiment) (NS, VIII. 98b-100a).

Again in Canto IV. 2, we observe that, when the prince is taken out to the grove and women come out to greet him, there is wonder in the eyes of women (visnayotpulla locanāḥ) and they pay him homage with padmakoṣa hands.

The visnīta glance of the Nāṭyaśāstra used on such occasions is also not very different (NS, VIII. 60); but the first appearance of a real hastābhīnayā term besides the aṅjūli which is found earlier, too, is the padmakoṣa hasta. According to the Nāṭyaśāstra, this asamyukta hasta is employed to represent offering pūjā to a deity, carrying a casket, etc. (NS, IX. 82). These women then try and charm the prince not only with their natural grace but also with their accomplishments in music and dance: one of them looks at him and then sings a song with abhinaya (sābhū-nyāyagītāni) (IV. 37). The āṅgikābhīnayā is quite clearly suggested: the song is the vācikābhīnayā to the accompaniment of which she must have performed the āṅgikābhīnayā, perhaps, as it is done in the contemporary Bharatanātyam padams. Earlier, in the palace, women had entertained him with urṛṭta proper, for then the accompaniment was not song, but drums (mṛdanga) played by the soft fingers of women; their dances were like those of the heavenly nymphs and the palace of the king shone like mount Kauḷāśa (II. 30).

This beautiful dancing of women in the palace and the mango-grove is soon replaced by the odious dancing of Māra and his retinue: now the dancing is no longer lalita, nor are the glances lalita and prekṣita (NS, VIII. 90-92) and the
eyebrows are not recita; instead, there is the bhrkuti, which is used for dazzling light and for objects of anger (NŚ, VIII. 123b-126) (Buddhacarita, XIII. 25). The dancing itself is done with weapons such as the trident, and thus the whole atmosphere changes. Both types of dancing, with their different implications and impressions, are depicted here. It is not rarely that the Sanskrit poet utilizes the different styles of dancing to depict different moods, states of mind and feelings.

Kālidāsa

The evidence of dance and music obtained from Kālidāsa’s works is overwhelming. Kālidāsa’s knowledge of the technique of nṛtya and saṅgīta is no less than his skill in poetry: his sensitivity to the movements of the dancer is indeed so great that he constantly describes natural phenomena in terms of dance movements.

From the kāvyas we can gather references, both general and technical. While these descriptions are on a different level from those found in his dramas, we observe that in these, too, he displays an intimate knowledge of the art of dancing. These references can help us reconstruct certain aspects of dance. We have in his works references to social dancing, the dance of the courtesan and dancing in education. All these references tell us of the prevalence of the Bharata’s phraseology as well as of various styles of dancing.

Raghuvaṁśa

In the Raghuvaṁśa, on the occasion of Raghu’s birth (III. 19), everyone rejoices and the courtesans dance. The joy of this occasion spreads to the heaven itself. Here we have two significant words: maṅgalatūrya (the tūrya is the heralder of auspicious occasions) and pramoda nṛtya, i.e., delightful dancing.

The apsarās are here truly the temptresses of the sages. Indra sends five apsarās to ṛṣi Sātakarni to tempt him with music and dancing. Now and again Indra makes them dance for him; they sing and play on the mrdaṅga (XII. 40). The apsarās who come to entice ṛṣi Sutikṣṇa, however, employ other methods: theirs is the method of glances, of physical grace called vibhrama100 (XII. 42) which is inclusive of gesture, speech, dress, make-up and the rest. The voluptuary, King Agnivarṇa, has in his court music and dancing of every kind. The women of his court woo him, attract him and allure him: they are trained dancers and courtesans who seek the love of the king. Canto XIX of the Raghuvaṁśa is an elaborate description of their performances. The king’s palace resounded with the sounds of the mrdaṅga (mrdaṅganādiśū, XIX. 5) and he spent all his time in festivity of this kind.101 Here we find that the nartakī, the professional dancer, is an important member of the society.

Besides the court dancer, we also find that dancing is an essential part of the
education of kings and queens. Indumati, Aja’s beautiful queen, is mourned by the king in an exquisite verse in which he calls her ‘his wife, his comrade, his confidante’ and, above all, ‘his dear pupil in the fine arts’ (VIII. 67). In the Raghu dynasty, dancing is an essential part of royal education, but music and dancing cease to have a place in Ayodhya in Kuśa’s reign. Later, he re-establishes Ayodhyā as his capital and re-initiates the water sports. The enchanting sound fills the ears, the sound of women singing and the water mrdaṅga (vāri-mrdaṅga) accompanying, which the peacocks on the banks hail with their outspread plumage. Agnivarna, however, is the lover, the teacher of the graceful dance.

But it is not only the graceful dance that we see. In the fight of Aja with his opponents, we are told of a dance of death, where the killed heroes of the battle watch their own trunks dancing in the battle field. A wilder type of dance must have been known to the poet for him to describe this dance (Raghuvaṁśa, VII. 51).

**Kumārasambhava**

The *Kumārasambhava* has for its hero the creator and originator of the dance. Naturally, there is a mention of the sukumāra dance of Pārvati, the graceful abhinaya of the trees, etc., the dance of the peacocks, as also the grotesque dance of Bhṛngi on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati (IX. 48). Kālikā dances with a garland of skulls for the couple (IX. 49). Pārvati describes the dance of the Lord to the Brahmacārī who enters into conversation with her: ‘his ashes shed as he dances’; she uses the phrase nṛtyābhinaya kriyā rather than tāṇḍava, the usual description (V. 79).

The graceful dancing of the earlier cantos of the *Kumārasambhava* is replaced in the later cantos by the dance of swords and men and decapitated trunks in the context of Kārtikeya’s fight with the demon Tārakāsura (XVI. 48-49). The swords covered with blood dance like lightning in the battle field (XVI. 15), and soon there is nothing but the dance of headless trunks of soldiers which the spirits of the soldiers watch from above.

**Meghadūta and Rūtanāhāra**

In the *Meghadūta* and the *Rūtanāhāra*, Kālidāsa’s similes invariably use the image of the dance. As the moods change in the *Rūtanāhāra*, the types of physical movement also change. The peacock is the supreme symbol of the simple joy in life, and its dancing gives us significant details about dancing. In the *Meghadūta*, the women of Ujjain dance (Pūrva Megha, 40), the women of Alakāpurī are exceedingly graceful (Uttara Megha, 2), and the peacocks dance to the sound of thunder. The pictures Kālidāsa draws for us in these verses are richly infused with the language of abhinaya of the dance. His women are invariably the nāyikās of Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra, their movements are the āṅgika and sāttvikābhinaya of the Nāṭyaśāstra and there is hardly a description of movement, facial
or otherwise, which is in a non-technical language. Through his similes, too, we have a glimpse of the nature and character of the classical dance and in all of them we can see a beautiful picture of the dance and its styles. The following evidence of such references will throw considerable light on both the dance of the day and Kālidāsa's knowledge of it.

In the Rūtasaṅhāra, in the rainy season, the entire forest rejoices. The branches of trees dance as if gesticulating with their hands (II. 24). Here the word sūcitbhiḥ is important for our purpose: it occurs again in Mālavikāgniṇīutra where the dance of Mālavikā is described. Bharata defines sūci abhinaya as that in which the meaning of the sentence or song is indicated first by gesticulation and then by words (N Ś, Kāvyamālā, 1894 ed. edition, XXII. 43). But in the Rūtasaṅhāra, Kālidāsa refers to the asamyukta hasta sūci.

Later the wind personified (pavana) makes the trees dance and wave about (lāsakapādupānām) (RS, II. 27); lāsaka is not a technical term here but we may recall that it is one of the names of Śiva in the dancing mudrā. The dance here is of the feet and not of the hands and is obviously of the nṛtta variety.

In the Rāghuvrīśa creepers are compared to the gesticulating fingers of a dancer (IX. 35), the humming of bees is their music and they dance to it, keeping time, as it were, by clapping their hands. (Kislayaśīh salayavirya paśñibhiḥ): the branches of the mango trees, too, wave as if they had just started to learn abhinaya (IX.53). In the former case, we have a very clear indication of gīta, vādyā and nṛtya and the hands move gracefully to this music. In the latter case, it is not dancing but abhinaya: the mango branches respond spontaneously to the touch of the malaya breeze.

In the Meghadūta it is nṛtta that the cloud-messenger will see. The women of Ujjain will be practising dance; to them the cloud will bring a few drops of rain and they will respond with appreciative glances. Here padanyāśaiḥ refers to dancing in which foot-work predominates. The kaṭākṣa with which they will look at the cloud is the vivartana (side-long) movement of the eyeball. The cloud is then not only to watch the nṛtta of Śiva in the evening (Pūrva Megha, 40), but is to become itself an accompanist to this evening dance by contributing his own thunder. This thunder will be the drum (muraṇa) to which the Lord will dance: thus the orchestra will be complete, for the rustling of the wind through the bamboos will be the instrumental music and the song of kinnaris and women, the vocal accompaniment. The sustained simile makes it clear that both instrumental, and vocal music, set to the rhythm of a percussion instrument, was considered the essential accompaniment to this dance (Pūrva Megha, 60). The sound of the thundering cloud is always the muraṇa drum, the accompaniment to saṅgītā: in Alakāpuri the muraṇa sounds to music (Uttara Megha, 1).
The Yakṣa’s beloved makes the peacock dance while she beats time for him (tāla) (UM, 19): the idea of rhythm is very firmly established by this time, and we get frequent references to clapping and beating time with the hands.

Agnivarṇa accompanying the maidens also beats time to the abhinaya of the court dancers when he plays the puṣkara; then they forget their abhinaya and perhaps tāla, too (Raghuvaniśa, XIX. 12).

The apsarās in the Kumārasambhava, however, do not dance to the nyṛdaṅga but to three other instruments of the tūrṇa type: the aṅkva, the aṅṅgṛva and the uṛdhvaṅka (XI. 36). Their recital is complete with song and instrumental music: and rasa and bhāva are perfectly represented. Their dance has a beautiful, well-planned sequence and words such as susandhi, rasa and bhāva tell us of the perfectly executed dance.

From these kāvyas we get an idea also of the qualities of this dance. The dance primarily as performance, as pravogā, is the accepted conception: rigorous practice is considered an essential feature of the art. In the Rūtaviniśa, Kāmadēva leaves the peacocks to go to the swans: the peacocks he leaves are those who have given up their practice of the dance (urtvaprayogā-rahitā).

In the Raghuvaniśa, Agnivarṇa is called prayoganipuna and he teaches the three types of abhinaya to the girls, viz., aṅṅgikā, sāttvika and vācika. He makes them practise endlessly till they are exhausted and sweating (XIX. 36). His favourite are the dances in kaiśikī vṛtti.

When Śiva and Pārvatī are married (in the Kumārasambhava), Sarasvati sings praises of the divine couple; and thereafter, they witness a drama, complete with different junctures (sandhis), styles (vṛttis), rāgas set in the appropriate rasa (Kumārasambhava, VIII. 91), and aṅgahāras appropriate to the śṛṅgāra rasa (lalita). Even if this passage is not penned by Kālidāsa, as some contend, whoever wrote it was fully aware of the aesthetic beauties of the art, as also the theoretical terms of Bharata. The theatrical production is here called pravogā. Thus in one verse we have the terms, pravogā, sandhi, the displayed styles (vṛttis), the well-composed rāgas (pratibaddha rāgam), dance movements (aṅgahāra) described as of the graceful type (lalita). The prevalence of these terms, and their acceptance in the technique, is evident.

Besides these Kālidāsa mentions the different hastas: the descriptions of women abound in details of facial expression and, frequently, the different types of nāyikās are mentioned in his works.

Aṅjali is the most common sanyukta hasta mentioned in literature. We have seen it occur both in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.
In the Kumārasambhava Śiva comes to tempt Pārvati, disguised as a Brahmacārī. She is adamant and chooses to ignore him first but then answers with the rosary in her mukulikṛta hands (V. 63). Mukula is Bharata’s asamyukta hasta (NS, IX. 117) where ‘the fingers bent and close to each other meet’: it is used for worshipping a deity, a lotus bud, etc.’ (NS, IX. 118 ff.). Kālidāsa has thus punctiliously described the way in which Pārvati held the rosary. Elsewhere, names of the saṁyukta hastas, sampuṭa, karkaṭa and kapota often occur both in their literal and in their technical senses. The great prevalence of these terms, as also the frequent play upon them, show their popularity. The average reader and spectator obviously grasped their meanings, technical as well as literal.\(^{114}\)

The grace of women is Kālidāsa’s favourite theme, and we find him engrossed in their beauty. Pārvati is taught her gait by the royal swans themselves and they are anxious to learn from her the sweet sounds of her anklets\(^{115}\) (I. 34). Her training in beautiful gait, her natural grace of vilāsa and her vilola (the loving glance) —she gives up during her penance; then she renounces everything, including the natural alaṅkāras of women (NS, Kāvyamālā, 1894 edition, XXII. 14).

But this Pārvati, who has given up all emotion and gesticulation, is roused to anger at the approaches of the disguised Śiva: her lips quiver, her eyes grow red, and her eyebrows become arched in kuṇcita. Here we have an interesting example of Kālidāsa’s divergence from the Nāṭyaśāstra, for in the text the kuṇcita eyebrow movement is used for the manifestation of affection, while the kuṇcita eyelid movement is prescribed when the object seen is unwanted or unwelcome. Kālidāsa talks of the kuṇcita bhrū (eyebrow) rather than the kuṇcita eyelid (NS, VIII. 114b-118b and VIII. 123b-126).

Princess Indumati is the other paragon of beauty in Kālidāsa. She is the much desired woman and kings and princes of all lands come to woo her. In a mildly satirical tone Kālidāsa describes their movements: one of them employs śṛṅgāra movements (śṛṅgāra ceṣṭā) (Raghuvamśa, VI. 12), the other uses the lotus as a symbol to tell her of his love (ibid., VI. 13) and a third one bends his body obliquely (sācikṛta) to adjust his shawl. In nearly ten verses Kālidāsa describes these ludicrous movements of the princes, studiously avoiding the use of a single technical dance term: doubtless, his intention is to suggest obliquely that none of them was an accomplished dancer. Kālidāsa’s avoidance of the use of the technical knowledge at his command is with a specific aim. It is suggestive of the fact that the discriminating reader or theatre-goer was familiar with Bharata’s terminology and that the absence of technically correct or prescribed movements would arouse laughter.

The eyebrows and their movement form an important part of the description of facial expressions: thus the women of Ujjain have large eyes (cakita netra) and
through graceful movements they allure the cloud-messenger (*Pūrva Megha*, 29). They are unlike the women described earlier (ibid., 16), who do not know how to use their eyebrows for amorous purposes (*bhrū vilāsa*). The cloud can have a drink from the river Vetravati: she is compared to a woman with beautiful, attractive eyebrows (*Pūrva Megha*, 26). The maidens of Daśapura have dark eyebrows (*Pūrva Megha*, 51). The favourites of Agnivarṇa are of course adept in the use of eyebrows (*Raghuvarṇa*, XIX. 17).

The *bhrūkuṭi* and the *katākṣa* are two very common movements: the first is an eyebrow movement and the second an eyeball movement.

The *nāyikās* are mentioned in a beautiful description of the spring in Canto IX of the *Raghuvarṇa*: the cuckoo is like the *mughḍā vadhu* and the night is the *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*.118 The *nāyikās* appear amongst the ladies of Agnivarṇa’s court in the *Raghuvarṇa*: each one of the dancers described above comes like one or other of the *nāyikās* and is loved by him in turn: one comes as the *vipraladbhā nāyikā* (ibid., XIX. 18), another as a *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*; all of them are taught the three types of *abhinaya*, which they are made to perform before the *gurus* of dancing (ibid., XIX. 36).

From these *kāvyas* emerges a picture of the arts of music and dancing, which knows orchestration of various kinds and conceives dancing as both *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*. It also tells us that dance was considered as an essential part of education for all and that it demanded regular practice and performance (*prayoga*). The art enjoys high prestige in contemporary society, though libertines like King Agnivarṇa may debase it by their irresponsibility and moral laxness.

Bhāravi
In Bhāravi’s (7th century A.D.) *Kirāṭarjunīyam* we find very little evidence useful for our purpose. The women here have *klānta eyes* (*klānta vilocana*):117 the *gaṇikās* try to tempt Arjuna with their dance (IV. 17). But Arjuna is not tempted by this dancing, which is called *abhiprayanṛtta* and which has both gesticulation and *nṛtta* in it. At another place, the lotuses dance (as in the *Raghuvarṇa*): the simile here is elaborate, for the dance that the lotuses perform is complete with the movements of eyebrows and the gait (*bhrūkuṭi kuṭila*). The wind (*vāyu*) is the instigator of the dance, for its movement makes the lotuses do the *vilāsasālī nṛtya*, the beautiful amorous dance (V. 32).

The women who bathe in the Gaṅgā are aroused by the sound of the *mṛdaṅga* at a distance: their bosoms tremble as if dancing in *tāla* to the *mṛdaṅga*. Their dance is the beautiful *manorama nṛtya* (VIII. 43).

The *gandharvas* play the *vīṇā* (*vallaki*) and the *mṛdaṅga* (X. 18) and show
the six seasons simultaneously while the *apsarās* get ready to allure and entice Arjuna. Their efforts fail and they call for Vasanta to help them. Vasantalakṣmī descends holding the new sprouts of trees: the hummings of bees are the anklets (*nūpura*), which herald her steps.

The dance appears in its full glory only once, when the *apsarās* come to display their talents before Arjuna. They commence their *abhinaya* according to the rules, but their hands, adorned with beautiful fingers fit for *abhinaya*, and their eyes, which should move with the movements of the limbs, forget their discipline the moment they set eyes on Arjuna (X. 41). We have here a dance of the hands, of the feet, of the eyes that move in accordance with the rule, ‘the eyes follow the hand’, and in the dance all these limbs move in accordance with rules of the presentation of a particular *rasa* and *bhāva*. In a short and simple verse, we have thus a beautiful description of both the aim and technique of the art. Looking at Arjuna, the *apsarās* forget the use of their limbs and err against many rules. These *apsarās* are called dancers (*nartakī*), those who are particular about *abhinaya* (*abhinayamanasah*) (X. 43) and those who are accomplished in the graces (*lalitābhinaya*). They portray different *nāyikās* also.

Besides this there is little of value to the present study in the *Kirātārjunī-yam*. Even the verses referred to do not tell us anything new or extraordinary.

**Daṇḍin**

Daṇḍin’s *Daśakumārucarita* is a work different from the poetry of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. From this prose work we get some very interesting material on the education of princes and the social status of *ganikās*.

The young princes were taught arts and crafts of various kinds: ritual, astronomy, literature, horse riding, and the arts of music, dancing, instrumental music (*Pūrva-piṭhikā*, I. 80). *Nṛtya* is not mentioned here, but *vīnā*, *sangīta* and *sāhitya* are. At another place, queen Kalpasundarī, ‘who is herself well-versed in the arts of music and dancing’ (III. 10) wishes for a young man who will be perfect in all the arts and will be a painter (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, III. 12).

*Nartakīs* and *ganikās* abound in this work. We have the famous Kāmamañjari (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, II. 4 ff.) whose mother gives a long list of the subjects in which a courtesan must be perfect. Rāgamañjari, the sister of Kāmamañjari, presents a dance recital in the assembly of learned men of the court (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, II. 30). Vikata Varma, the husband of Kalpasundari, is an ignoramus, who knows nothing, is not acquainted with the sixty-four arts or with drama, is a liar, and is not faithful to his wife: he falls in love with a dancer called Ramayantikā (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, III. 15).
The mother of Kāmamañjari and Rāgamañjari is a teacher of the courtesans, and in her list she enumerates the Kāmasāstra (anaṅgavidyā), nṛtya, gita, vādyya, nāṭya, citrakālā and the rest. A courtesan must know abhinaya and the mother of a courtesan must see to it that she is separated from her father after the fifth year of her birth (Uttarapiṭhikā, II. 6). Kāmamañjari goes to a sage for refuge and the mother arrives to say that her only fault has been that she has taught her daughter all the arts of a courtesan. From her statement we learn not only of the arts that a courtesan must know but also the mental attitude she must have if she is to succeed in her profession. Later she laments the waste that her education has been on the second daughter Rāgamañjari. The latter does not wish to sell herself for money, and wishes to get married to her mother, Mādhavasena, and her sister, Kāmamañjari, both go to the king and plead before him, “she who was our hope, and whom we have taught all the arts, is today wanting to renounce the duties of a courtesan and to become a woman of the family (kulāngunā)”.

Rāgamañjari is a woman of rare accomplishments. we have a description of a performance by her which citizens gather to look at with great expectations. She dances in a gathering called the pañcavīra goṣṭhi. She is accompanied by both song and instrumental music and the stage on which she dances is called the raṅgapiṭha. Her dance, perfect in bhāva and rasa, is so impressive that the spectator’s heart becomes another stage full of the emotions of love (Uttarapiṭhikā, II. 39). She dances with all her limbs (upāṅgas), her eyebrows are recita and her deśṭi is vibhrama (NŚ, VIII. 93 ff.). With these movements she captures the hearts and eyes of the spectators.

The ganikās formed an important part of the society of our country for ages. As we go along, we see how well and sometimes how shabbily they were treated by society.

Bāna

It is not till we come to the works of Bāna that we find a detailed description of the technique of dancing. Both in the Harṣacarita and the Kādambari there are vivid description of the music and the dance of the time.

Harṣacarita

The Harṣacarita mentions five types of goṣṭhi: kāvyagōṣṭhi, galpagōṣṭhi, Gitagōṣṭhi, nṛtyagōṣṭhi and vādyagōṣṭhi. We learn of various types of dancing in these goṣṭhis.

There is mention of the tāndava nṛtya, telling us of the prevalence of the concept of Śiva dancing (I. 15). In a beautiful simile describing the dust storms
in summer, we are told that the rising dust seemed as if dancers were performing the ārabhaṭī nṛtya (II. 48). There are two other references to the ārabhaṭī style of dancing: from the first, we know that this style was danced in the form of a rāsa dance, in which the recakas were predominant. We are told further that there are five characteristics\(^{125}\) of this dance: (1) maṇḍali nṛtya, (2) recaka, (3) rāsa rasa, (4) rabhasārabdha nartana, and (5) caṭulaśikhānartana.

According to the Nāṭyaśāstra, the ārabhaṭī is a style (vrīti)\(^{126}\) and not a specific dance: when the Harṣacarita refers to the ārabhaṭī the reference must be to the character of the dance and the general impression of the dance and not to a particular form of dance. The maṇḍali nṛtya which is mentioned is interpreted by Saṅkara as the hallisaka,\(^{127}\) where a man stands surrounded by women in a circle: we have a representation of it in the Bagh Caves, where a man stands in the middle surrounded by women playing with little wooden sticks. The maṇḍali nṛtya, therefore, represents a social type of dancing and is obviously related to the hallisaka nṛtya. The recaka is of three types,—kaṭi recaka (waist movement), hasta recaka (hand movement) and grīvā recaka (neck movement). The words recaka and recita often occur in the Nāṭyaśāstra, in the movement of the eyebrows (NS, VIII. 119a-123a), in the movement of the neck (NS, VIII. 171-175), in the nṛttā hastas (NS, IX. 193), and in the movement of the waist (NS, IX. 244b-248a).\(^{128}\) The word recaka thus refers to the type of movement generally used in dance, and Bharata talks of this movement in the context of those anāgas and upāṅgas which can be moved in all directions. The eyebrow recita is an exception, but the eyebrow has a special use in the manifestation of love. The rest, i.e., the neck, the waist and the hands (or arms, to be more accurate) can have free movements. These circular movements in the ārabhaṭī style made it very effective to create a powerful impression. In the rāsarasa, we have again a reference to the patterns formed, specially the floor patterns, rather than the physical movements of the solo performers. According to Saṅkara, the dance consists of the formation of eight, sixteen, or thirty-two maṇḍalas\(^{129}\) (circles). The circle is the chief characteristic of the dance, and to this day the rāsa in any part of India is fascinating for its circle formations of various kinds, e.g., the Gujarati rāsa and the different types of garbā, as well as the mahārāsa variety of the Manipur rāsa. We know that the maṇḍalas formed in these group dances are of all the four types of piṇḍibandha\(^{130}\) (group circle formation). We have, first, circle formations based on single chains or concentric circles; often they break up into the latā bandha variety, where a number of radii revolve round a centre forming a star-like pattern. Or again, a cyclic pattern might consist of several pairs grouped round a centre holding each other’s arms or beating time with sticks, thus evolving concentric circles: a fine example of this type of piṇḍibandha may be seen in the dānd-ḍiyā rāsa of Kathiavara even today. The verve and vigour of this dance might easily make it a dance of the ārabhaṭī style. The rabhasārabdha nartana generally refers to the frenzied emotion and tempo of the dance.
Thus this ārabhaṭī dance to which Bāṇa refers consists of the formation of circles. Distinctly group and collective in character, it utilizes the recakas in its nrīta portions and expresses vigorous emotion, enthusiasm or dynamism. The dance must have been characterized by a quick springing tempo, fast movements and a choreography of circle and group formations.¹³¹

In other descriptions in the Harṣacarita, the couple dancing of brothers and sisters (we have an earlier reference to it in the Ṛgveda) re-occurs: this is also a dancing of the social type. In Chapter IV we have a vivid description of the birth of Harṣa (125 ff.). The old maid servants of the palace dance, the noble ladies come out and perform different types of dance: the young and the old alike dance with mirth and pleasure. Those long out of practice also start dancing but above all the Śūdra maid servants take hold of the favourites of the kings and start dancing with them (IV. 130 ff.). The pratihārīs of the queen’s chambers join the maid servants in a dance. The exact nature of this couple dancing is not mentioned and cannot be precisely determined: there is no exact term which is used here for couple dancing, but it is repeatedly said that they took each other by the arm and danced.

The word rāsakamaṇḍala occurs many times (IV. 130 ff.). This dance lays stress on tāla. It is said that the earth could scarcely bear the excitement and agitation caused by the movements of the feet (tālāvunacaracāraṇacarana-ksobham).

The instruments accompanying the dance are varied: there was the ālinkya (a form of muraja), the maṇīju flute, the tantri, the kāhala (a large drum), the pāṭaka, the metal instrument jhallarika and of course the clapping with the hands. The commentary elucidates that all the four types of instruments,—tata, vitata, susira and ghana—were used, and that the three types of laya—druta, madhya and vilambita—were also made use of. This indeed is a graphic description of the nrīta done by the women of the court: they do not present any abhinaya, however, but the impressive description of this dance tells vividly of the different types of āṅgikābhinaṃya prevalent. The effect of their dance was such that the śṛngāra rasa was experienced by the spectators: their arms moved as if they were going to embrace the sun: they danced like the branches of the candana tree (sandalwood tree). Their pādaḥamaṇsakas (anklet bells) were the tremors of the śṛngāra rasa,—and the expression on their faces was like the kumudini (the water-lily); they evoked the bhāvas of madana, ānanda and portrayed the sentiments of anger (kopa) through the movements of the eyebrows and love through their graceful walking. The description is vivid, but it hardly uses any technical phrases in it, and most of this description of the eyebrows, eyes, shoulders, neck, head, feet, etc., is general where the poet seems to be giving an impression of the dance rather than a technical appreciation of it.

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There is also a mention of another type of dance performed only by the ladies of the court with pitchers on their heads: they carry their pitchers round the village singing and dancing: the auspicious significance of pitchers is recognized from very early times, and continues to be accepted to this day.\textsuperscript{132} In the \textit{Yajurvedic} ritual connected with the \textit{āsvamedha yajña}, women carrying pitchers go round the sacrifice, stepping according to elaborate formulae. The \textit{mahā-vrata} ceremony also had similar ritual.

The \textit{Harṣacarita} refers to all these people dancing to \textit{tāla}. This indicates that none of these dances were without rhythm and the basic discipline of \textit{tāla} in dancing. The concept of \textit{tāla} is already present in the \textit{Ṛgveda}; we see how it grows and develops in complexity to form an elaborate system of \textit{tāla} unknown to many other countries. The women in the \textit{Harṣacarita} sequence put on anklets (\textit{pāda harissaka}) (IV. p. 131) and dance to the \textit{mrdanga}: the use of anklets for purposes of \textit{nṛtta} is mentioned earlier, too, but this is one of the first clear references to it: the word \textit{nīpura} is used in a general sense in Āśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, but nowhere does it indicate the use of anklets for purposes of dance: by the time of Bāna we find that the complexity of \textit{tāla} must have given importance to the use of anklets. The use of anklets is also peculiar to the classical dance of our country: the more intricate and elaborate the \textit{tāla} became, the greater was the necessity for anklets. Earlier, with the stress on \textit{abhinaya}, anklets do not seem to have been so much in vogue.

Dancers, singers and musicians were not only respected individuals but also formed an essential part of society in Bāna's time: only at one place there is a warning against the extreme indulgence in these arts: the crook through music and dance can bring indiscipline and madness to the kingdom (IV. p. 138). Bāna has a long list of friends, inclusive of ladies, poets, artists, craftsmen of all description (\textit{Harṣacarita}, I. 42 ff.). We learn of three distinct types of dancers. \textit{Tāṇḍava}, a young man, is described as a \textit{lāsaka}\textsuperscript{133} dancer; the woman Harinikā is a \textit{nartakī}; \textit{ṣīkhaṇḍaka}, performer of the \textit{bharatanātya}, is called \textit{śailāli}. The last name is obviously derived from Śilāli, the author of the \textit{nāṭa-sūtras}, who is mentioned by Pāṇini.\textsuperscript{131} It is probably also related to the \textit{śailīśa} of the \textit{Ṛgveda}.\textsuperscript{135} The classical dancer is distinguished here from the \textit{nartakī} and the \textit{lāsaka}: the latter were professional dancers, but not perhaps adept in the theory and historical tradition of the dance and drama: the \textit{śailāli} was the formally trained pupil of the dance. Bāna is very particular about making this distinction.

The accompanists of these dancers were the musicians, who were also listed among the friends of Bāna. There was the \textit{mṛdanga}-player (\textit{mārdaṅgika}), the flute-player (\textit{vāṁśika}), the \textit{dardura}-player who played on an earthen percussion instrument (\textit{ghaṭa vāḍya}) which must have been similar to the playing on the \textit{ghaṭa} (pitcher) in the South today. This is a formidable list, but the \textit{vīnā} is conspicuous
by its absence here. Other instruments mentioned are the prayāmaṇa gūnja, a
marching drum, and various types of conch (saṅkha). We also learn of a per-
cussion instrument beaten by the hands, called the lambh paṭaḥa or tantripaṭa-
hikā (VIII. 207). Saṅkara interprets this as the tamālā, i.e., tablā, but it is hardly
likely that it was the tablā in its present shape, for this was unknown to In-
dian musicians till the Mughals came. It must have been a mrdanga of a different variety.
The names lamba paṭaḥa or tantrī paṭaḥhikā indicate that these instruments were
drums hung round the neck by means of a cord.

The dress of the dancers was tight pajamas of the kind depicted in the dance
scenes at Sāranātha and at Deogarh; this garment was called the svasthāna (II).137

Kādambarī

Bāna’s Kādambarī is an equally rich source of music and dancing. Apsarās,
kings, queens, ministers, damsels, courtesans, birds, peacocks, creepers all dance
here at one stage or another. Bāna gives us a long list of the fourteen types of
apsarās, tells us of the education of Prince Candrāpiḍa and gives us another
long list of musical instruments and yet another list of the movements of minor
limbs, besides describing the actual dance performances.

The parrot Vaiṣampāyaṇa is introduced as being well versed in the art of
dancing and music; he has mastered the twenty-two śrutis of music; he has
studied and composed poems, plays, romances (ākhyāṇa): he is a peerless con-
noisseur of all the varieties of musical instruments, such as the lute (vīnā), the
flute (veṇu) and the drum (murača); and he is proficient in the exhibition and critical
appreciation of dancing (nṛtitā prayogadvarśanāmpūṇa).112

Śukanāsa is a learned man and his intellect has been refined by his having
studied all the sāstras and the fine arts. Candrāpiḍa’s education is most elabo-
rate and he makes the ideal student for the “whole range of arts assembled in his
mind as in a pure jewelled mirror.” He gained the highest skill in language, logic,
law and royal policy; in musical instruments such as the lute (vīnā), the flute
(veṇu) and the drum (murača); in the cymbals (kansatāla), in the works and laws
of dancing as laid down by Bharata; and in the science of music such as that
of Nārāda.143

The initiated spectator of the dance and the pupil of classical dancing were
a recognized feature of this society. From the above references it is quite clear
that dancing was not confined to women alone and that it constituted an essential
feature of a prince’s training. In festivities, dancing played an important part.
At the birth of Candrāpiḍa everyone rejoiced and both the young and the old
danced. This frenzied dancing is preceded and accompanied by the sound of
several drums and many other musical instruments like the conch (saṅkha) and

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the dundubhi. The drums mentioned are the kāhala, the ankya, the auspicious pāṭaḥa, and, of course, the mṛdaṅga. We have another long list of drums a little later, where besides the above the mardala is also mentioned.¹⁴⁷ In the festivities, not only do the courtesans dance but also the deaf-mutes in groups; hunch-backs and dwarfs and the bands who sing also start dancing. The accompaniment, in addition to the drums, comprises various mouth instruments (vividha mukhavādyā). All this dancing was perhaps not strictly classical in character, and the poet punctiliously uses the word nṛttā rather than lāṣya or nṛtya or its any other variation.

The youth of Candrāpīḍa increased the prince’s beauty as ‘a peacock’s tail, which is a fit instrument for exhibiting various graceful dances, increases the beauty of the peacock’.¹⁴⁸ Here the word lāṣya is used instead of nṛttā, and the idea of a graceful (sukumarā) dancing is indicated. The dancing of peacocks is referred to in another place,¹⁴⁹ where the word used is nṛtya and not lāṣya.

In similes and metaphors we often find dancing mentioned. The creepers are given instruction in dancing by the wind, an image we often come across in Kālidāsa’s works.¹⁵⁰ King Candrāpīḍa’s ear-rings were set to dancing by the numerous fly-whisks, which were being waved on both sides.¹⁵¹ In a description of General Śabara, we are told that the Niṣādas (a wild tribe) followed the general ‘as the arrangement of notes in the art of music’.¹⁵² In another description of the palace of Candrāpīḍa, the unfurled banners are compared to a dramatic piece ‘which is embellished with clearly marked pāṭakas and ankas (episodes and acts).¹⁵³ Like a music hall (sangīta bhavana) it (the palace) had tabors (drums, mṛdaṅga) placed in various places for practice.¹⁵⁴ As people in the palace took delight in the performances of actors it looked as if they were the family of Raghu delighted by the virtues of Rāma’s brother Bharata.

Later, there is a beautiful comparison: “In it (the palace) was tasted the pleasure of various sounds and sentiments, it was like a musical instrument, the lute (vīgā), from which is obtained the pleasure of various sounds and melodies.” At another place the wind is the dancing master of the creepers.¹⁵⁵

These references in the Kādambari do not give us an idea of any special style of dancing: and there is nothing comparable with the mention of the ārabhaṭi dance in the Harṣacarita. However, eye glances, movements of the eyeballs, and movements of the eyebrows are often described in the terminology of Bharata, besides the mention of his name several times (p. 88 etc).

Thus viṣādaśūnya drṣṭi¹⁶⁴ is here used for fear (NS, VIII, 63 and 70). The movement of the eyebrows is mentioned,¹⁶⁵ but this is a more generalized reference. Smitāvalokita glance and kuṃcita eyebrows and glance are also often mentioned.¹⁶⁸ We have a reference to lalitahasta also.

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We have other phrases like apāṅgavikṣepa (p. 275), gitakalāvinyāsa (p. 57), sangīta as a comprehensive term including vocal and instrumental music and dancing (p. 15), and nartakengagāyatī for singing and dancing together (p. 337), and śṛṅgāra nṛtya for expressing feelings of love through āṅgikābhinaya (gesticulation, p. 359) and laṅita lāśya for graceful dancing to the accompaniment of muraja, etc. (p. 371).

The whole atmosphere of the Kādambarī is wrought with the spirit of dancing and graceful movements, but full-fledged classical dance recitals are few. By the time Bāṇa wrote, however, the entire classical tradition of the Nāṭyaśāstra had become an integral part of the social heritage and the community dancing employed a great deal of the technique of the classical dancing.

Nāṭya Literature

Sanskrit drama has often been severely criticized for its lack of action and for the undue importance it gives to dance and music. Keith thinks that the Sanskrit dramatist used dance for ornamental purposes.189 Today it is generally accepted that Keith misread Sanskrit drama, and that dance and music do form an integral part of this drama. Indeed Sanskrit drama devoid of its dance, its operatic quality, its āṅgikābhinaya (which is none other than the abhinaya of the contemporary classical dance), loses its fundamental character. The dances are not appendages or appurtenances of songs and dances we find interspersed in the social dramas of the contemporary Indian screen. Nor are they introduced to divert the attention of the audience from a serious theme and thus provide relief. They are, instead, rather like the Fool in the Shakespearean drama: like him they continually stress the main theme and, more often than not, a dance recital is a turning point in the plot. Thus it is that the demon appears while Damodara and his cowherds perform the hallisaka nṛttta in Bhāsa’s Bālācarita (Act III). The King in the Mālavikāgnimitra is able to see Mālavikā only through her dance recital. In the Vikramorvaśīya, Urvasi’s dance recital in the court of Indra and the lapse in her acting results in her descent upon the earth. In the Priyadarśikā, queen Vāsavadattā instructs the supposed daughter of Vindhyaketu in dancing and the other arts but the plot takes a turn when Āranyakā plays the part of Vāsavadattā in a play dealing with the love of Vāsavadattā and Vatsarāja (Act III). In the Ratnavalī it is the painting scene which is a turning point in a similar manner. Examples could be multiplied to show how dance recitals are not mere ornaments, but an essential part of the structure of this drama.

From these dramas, we come to know of many types of dancing, both social and classical. There are group dances and solo recitals; frequently there is an opera of some kind. Often opinions on drama, dance and music are discussed, which are no layman’s opinions: they are usually in a technical language, convincing us of the existence of the initiated spectators of these arts. The dances themselves are
performed according to rules prescribed by Bharata and we know of the quality of the dance through the judgement of other characters. Dance descriptions in similes and metaphors continue to occur: we have examples of āngikābhinaṇaya, sometimes, when the abhinaya must have been performed to a verse recited either by the character himself or herself, but more often in stage directions, which indicate stylized gesticulation of both the āṅgika and the sāttvika kind. Stage directions where gesticulation is used according to the nāṭyadharmi convention provides us with a clue to the āngikābhinaṇaya in these dramas, where the language of gestures more than made up for the absence of scenery and realistic stage property.

In Bhāsa’s Bālacarita (Act III) Kṛṣṇa goes to the woods with his friends, cowherds and maidens: they perform the hallīṣaka dance to the accompaniment of drums.160 The dance refers to a group formation, again of the rāsa category, which is vividly described in the Harivaṃśa. The Mahābhārata, too, knows of such a dance in the festival of Indra Maha (Indradhvaṇja) (Ādi Parva, 63.17 and 57.21): it resembled the may-pole dance,161 and was replaced by Gīrī Maha (the mountain worship).162 A similar dance is mentioned in Act II of Bhāsa’s Pañcaratra, associated no doubt with the ritual dance of the winter solstice in the Mahārātra rite. It is also possible that a dance on the occasion of an eclipse is meant.163 In the Abhiṣekamata the gandharvas and the apsarās sing praises of Viṣṇu.

An analysis of the Mṛcchakaṭṭha shows that the author of this play has made a great advance on the plays of Bhāsa: it is obvious that stage techniques have become more defined. The Mṛcchakaṭṭha is also a remarkable example of the successful use of both the nāṭyadharmi and the lokadharmi conventions.164

Dance plays an important part in the play: the heroine is the courtesan par excellence, praised by all, desired by many. She does not dance during the play, but from innumerable references we know that she is an artist of great calibre. In the first act we learn from the Viṣṇu that Vasantaśena is trained in dancing; she is skilled in performance (nṛtya prayoga) and her feet swiftly change their position (I. 17).165 She enters like a frightened deer, with her eyes moving in every direction and a look of bewilderment on her face: she is being pursued. Vasantaśena’s flight, without the aid of lights and sports could be portrayed only through the actor’s skill in dancing.166

In Act IV,167 the Vidūṣaka enters the place of the courtesan to find the ladies singing and dancing; these women play on the kāṇṣya tāla cymbals, the mṛdaṅga, the vaṅśi which sounds like the hum of bees, the viṅā which is played by the touch of finger nails. They are being trained in the art of dance and are rehearsing a drama full of the śṛṅgāra rasa. Here nṛtya and nāṭya are referred to separately: (nartyaṃ nāṭyam paṭhyante sasṛṅgāram). We may justifiably conclude that the practice and learning of dancing was clearly distinguished from that of nāṭya or drama.
The palace of the courtesans is not the only place where singing and dancing are witnessed. The hero Cārūdatta is also fond of the arts of music and dance: in Act III he has just returned from a musical concert at his friend Rebhila's place: his comment on it is in a highly technical language, indicative of his initiated and critical appreciation of these arts. He is a true rasika and sahādaya: reminiscing he exclaims: "The song was informed by the moods (bhāvas) now passionate (rakta), now sweet (madhura), now calm (sama), and now languishing and graceful (lalita); it seemed the lovely voice of my hidden love." (III. 4-5). Besides this he uses the following musical terms: low progression (savara-sanākrama), the high-pitched crescendo (tāra) of the scales (varṇa), modes (mūrcchana) deviation from true note (helā)168 and rāga.

Later, in the same Act, Śarvilaka enters Cārūdatta's house as a burglar: inside he finds a number of musical instruments. He mentions the mṛdaṅga, the dardura, (a kind of flute), the vinaśī, the panava (a kind of small drum), and the vina. He exclaims: "Oh is this the house of a teacher of music?" The word he uses is nātya-cārya; perhaps, teachers of dance, drama or music were all called nātya-cāryas, and the three arts were considered allied (III. 18 ff.).169

From the prologue of the drama, we learn that the author knew the Rgveda, the SāmaVEDA and the arts practised by the courtesans (vaiśākhi kalā).170 The social status of the courtesans and the acceptance of their arts by the public are clear from this. The fine arts seem to have definitely passed into the hands of courtesans by this time. These courtesans were looked upon with respect. The learned authors also took training in these arts.

The Mrčchakaṭika meets the approval of the modern mind and the western critics of drama, precisely because the spoken word is important here, and there is "action" in the modern sense of the word: bhāvas (moods) are not described, and with a few incongruities like the bullock carts appearing on the stage, the play is easy to adapt to modern stage conditions. Examples of āṅgikābhīnaya are, however, by no means lacking in this play; the author of the Mrčchakaṭika must have been familiar with the rules of āṅgikābhīnaya and well acquainted with the Nāṭjadāśāstra. He frequently employs the instrument of āṅgikābhīnaya to great advantage, even though stage directions for these effects are often missing. We know that the visions of a stormy night, of house being broken into, and of carts chasing each other, could only be produced through the language of gestures.

In Act I, Cārūdatta and the Vidūṣaka enter the stage and are supposed to be inside the house: then enters Vasantasena, followed by Śakāra and the others: the Viṭa and Śakāra go on speaking of Vasantasena up to Verse 29; the Viṭa continually describes her movements. Her eyes are frightened and her eyeballs move around in katākṣa. She is like a silken garment fluttering in the breeze. Vasantasena's
enacting of utter fright and running precedes the Viṣa's commentary on her movemen
ts: had she spoken the words herself and had it been in a different mood, it
would have become the sucā type of abhinaya (NŚ, XXII. 43). Similarly, Act III,
where Śārvilaka breaks into Čārudatta's house by cutting a hole in the wall, is an
excellent example in āṅgikābhīnaya. It is possible that a wall was depicted
here by the use of a stage prop, thus dividing the stage into two, but it is much
more likely that through gestures the actor depicted entering the house, seeing the
inmates sleeping. He takes the casket of jewels and walks out of the inner zone,
thus representing his coming out again: meanwhile the audience can presumably
see the inmates sleeping. Čārudatta discovers the theft: they all talk of the hole.
It is possible that this hole may not have been actually presented in certain acted
versions of the play. In Act IV, Vasantasenā is indoors and looks out of a window,
(the window being represented through hand gestures)\textsuperscript{171} to see Madanikā talking
to her lover. Later in the same Act the Vidūṣaka enters the palace of Vasantasenā
to give her the jewels belonging to Čārudatta's wife: his description of the palace
and of its seven quadrangles is a fine instance of āṅgikābhīnaya. With steps and
words, he tells us of the transit from one quadrangle to another. In Act V, the
atmosphere of a great storm raging is created by means of verses accompanied by
suitable action both by Vasantasenā and the Viṣa.

Examples of this kind could be multiplied. But none of these passages, where
āṅgikābhīnaya supports the vācika, are in the nature of descriptions of poses, pos-
tures and dance movements. It is only in Kālidāsa that we come across description
of this type. In the Mrčchakaṭṭika, a visual image is created through words which
must have been supported by appropriate gestures of the hands and other limbs.
They, however, do not attain the technical excellence of Kālidāsa's plays, and are
comparatively of a simple kind.

There are stage directions in the Mrčchakaṭṭika which give us specific instances
of āṅgikābhīnaya. In Act I, Vasantasenā enacts the taking off of her anklets (nūpura),
and the groping with her hands for the wall and door of Čārudatta's house (I.
37ff.). The āṅgikābhīnaya for this would be as follows: The night would be indicated
by sūcīmukhā hands facing each other and held on the right side; the removal
of armlets by ardhaacandra hastas; the anklets by the same hastas; the door would
be indicated by tripatākā hastas and entry into the house with a patākā hasta. The
entire scene of Vasantasenā being pursued, her groping along the wall, her finding
and entering the door would be a piece of āṅgikābhīnaya. The lamp she puts out
may actually have been on the stage; if not, then it would have been indicated by
haṁsāśya hands.\textsuperscript{172} The lamp may also have been indicated by the sūcīmukha hasta
(NŚ, IX. 67). In Act II, Vasantasenā enters in a love-lorn condition; the love-
sickness here is described as utkanṭhā: this is equivalent to Bharata's unmāda, one
of the stages of love in a woman, and would be represented by a fixed gaze, occa-
sional deep sighs, absentmindedness.\textsuperscript{173} Vasantasenā is certainly absent-minded;

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she does not remember what she has said and knits her eyebrows (bhrūkṣepa) to answer her friend: this is the utkṣepa movement of the eyebrows of the Nāṭyaśāstra (VIII. 123-24).

In the same Act, the Māthura and the gamester appear pursuing Saṁvāhaka. Saṁvāhaka after striking several attitudes disguises himself by posing as an idol: the depth of the stage is utilized wonderfully here, because the Saṁvāhaka enters the temple walking backwards (II. 2 ff.). Saṁvāhaka, who can see his pursuers, must have adopted a perfect statue-like stance when the two entered. The entrance must also have been shown by gestures: two kartarimukha hands would represent the gopuram of the temple (NŚ, IX. 42) and patākā hastas would be used to denote entry. The subsequent playing of the dice and the thrashing of Saṁvāhaka must have been done here realistically and not through gesteulation; for otherwise the realistic vitality of the play may have been altogether lost. But when the beating leads to bleeding, the bleeding and the fainting would again be shown by gesteulation.

Saṁvāhaka makes good his escape and the venue shifts from the temple to Vasantasena’s house, but without a change of act or scene. Vasantasena is inside the house, Māthura and the gamester pursuing Saṁvāhaka are outside the house and Madanikā talking to Saṁvāhaka is also outside the house, where she has been sent by Vasantasena, Saṁvāhaka being offered a seat is inside the house; all these groupings are shown in the same scene. The ease with which this is accomplished could only be possible on the Sanskrit stage. The actor merely walked from one part of the stage to another, with hands in the hanisāyya position to indicate an exit from a building to the outside or in the patākā position to indicate entry into a house. The house itself is suggested by using samyukta patākā hands. Even in a play so full of realism as the Mrucchakatika we see that āṅgikābhinaya and stage conventions play an important part: any inaccuracy or shoddiness in the actor’s movements would result in ruining a great deal of the visual effect of the play.

In Act III, Cārudatta’s house is suggested in a similar manner. After Cārudatta and the Vīduṣaka have enacted sleeping, Sarvilaka enters the stage as he is outside the house; he indicates the house with outstretched hands; further, through abhinaya, he depicts the making of a hole in the wall. With gesteulation alone he works industriously to make a breach and, having made it, enters the house. A very skilled and competent actor must have acted this sequence, for the demands made on the skill of an actor here are, indeed, exacting. The burglary scene, from the receipt of the casket from the Vīduṣaka after warming his hands to the description of his prowess, swiftness and agility to his standing like a pillar, is a characteristic example of āṅgikābhinaya.
In Act IV, where Vasantasesa calls for a carriage, a chariot may, perhaps, really have appeared on the stage to take Madanikā. The stage direction does not, as would be the case if the carriage was merely suggested, call for gesticulatory action similar to that indicated in other places; instead, it merely indicates ‘entrance of servant with carriage’ (praveśya sapravāhana). We may presume that the chariot was a piece of stage property. Bharata lays down two stage rules regarding the use of such props on the stage. In the chapter called (Daśarūpalakṣaṇam, i.e., XVIII) he lays down that a chariot, an elephant, a horse or a palace should not be presented on the stage: they should instead be represented or suggested by means of likeness, costume, gait or movements. In the chapter dealing with costume, make-up, etc. (ahāryābhinaya), we are told that many kinds of accessories (upakaraṇa) are needed for the theatre and that an imitation of any object which exists in this world full of living beings may be shown on the stage but that “palaces and vehicles, though these are accessories (for the performance) cannot be produced for the stage realistically.” (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXI. 192). After this general principle we are told that in the lokadharmi tradition some of these things may be produced, but not in the nātyadharma. Regarding props we are told that “skeleton frames of armours...hills, palaces, elephants, aerial cars and houses should be made with sliced bamboo and then such frames should be covered with painted cloth,” palm products may also be used instead of cloth. In the Mṛcchakatikā it is possible that an imitation of a chariot was produced on the stage.

Acts IV and V are full of descriptions, first by the Vidūṣaka who describes the various quadrangles and his transit from one to the other; this he depicts with his hands and gait; and then by Vasantasesa who goes out as an abhisārikā, brilliantly attired, to meet Cārudatta (V. 18ff.). Her descriptions were surely preceded and followed by hand gestures: the expression of her face and gait must also have suited the occasion. It is also possible that some musical sounds suggesting thunder and rain were used but these, too, would be complemented by hand gestures and facial expressions. An upward movement of the arm with patākā hasta, palm down and sloping forward slightly, would indicate the wind and storm (NŚ, IX. 23); the sūcinukha hasta with the fore-finger up would indicate lightning (NŚ, IX. 66); and general movements of svastika hastas would create the atmosphere of clouds, thunder and lightning.

After some trouble Vasantasesa finds her lover. She exhibits the śrṅgāra bhāva and Cārudatta displays pleasure at her touch (sparśa) (V. 46 ff.). If the play was performed in the nātyadharma tradition, it is hardly likely that the actors embraced each other, for these acts were strictly forbidden on the stage. Instead, the touch would be shown by narrowing the eyes, raising the eyebrows, and touching the shoulder and the cheek (NŚ, XXII. 77b-78a). Touch might also be shown by a pair of utsānga hands (NŚ, IX. 139) and an embrace suggested by a pair of kaṭakavardhamānaka hastas (NŚ, IX. 136).
In Act VIII, the strangling of Vasantasenā by Śakāra is also portrayed through gesticulation. The Buddhist mendicant suggests the heap of leaves and the removal of the heap by gesticulation: the stage directions here throw considerable light on the theatrical conventions of the day and show how well the language of gesture was understood by the audience.

In Kālidāsa we find a crystallization of these conventions: a close study of the stage technique of his plays and the part played by dancing therein leaves us in no doubt about the character of the Sanskrit theatre.

By the time of Kālidāsa, not only has the technique of words become more polished, chiselled and refined, but taste in drama, dance and music has developed and become more critically rigorous and academically exacting. References to dancing, nrta and nrtya abhinaya (āṅgika) found in Kālidāsa hardly ever deviate from the rules of Bharata: he is always following the learned tradition of the scholar-poet, the perfect stage-craftsman, the professional dramatist rather than merely the poet. His descriptions of dancers and dancing are accurate observations and critical evaluations of the art, and are, therefore, significant.

All Kālidāsa’s dramas deal with dancers, but in the Mālavikāgnimitra we have a unique reference, which is most valuable for our purpose. The dance recital we see here is a perfectly executed dance number by Mālavikā; it is classical dance at its best. We are not only told of the different types of nrtya and abhinaya she presents but are also given a critical evaluation of the dance performance by an objective spectator in the person of the Parivrājikā.

The drama opens with Bakulavālikā’s going to guru Gaṇadāsa to enquire how Mālavikā has progressed in learning the dance, ‘chalika’: in the subsequent acts we learn more not only about this particular composition, but also about dance in general, and see how accurately this dance training conforms to the theoretical canons of dancing. Gaṇadāsa sets the tone of the academic dancing in his first speech: “Our pride in nāṭya is not false for even the sages regard dancing with veneration; the gods praise it as an agreeable and delightful ritual which satisfies the eye: for the sake of this art Śiva caused the left side of his body to become feminine (i.e., divided himself into two, an oblique reference to the two styles, tāṇḍava and lāṣya): it has the three qualities (guṇas) of sattva, rāja and tama: its appeal is universal and it gratifies the diverse tastes of people.” (I. 4).

The words tāṇḍava and lāṣya are not used, but, in the conception of Śiva dividing himself into two, the idea of two categories of dancing is inherent. In stating that dance imitates and displays various emotions and actions of people in different situations, Gaṇadāsa is once again restating the secular and educational aim of dancing and drama. This verse immediately reminds us of Bharata’s own
explanation of the true character and significance of this art stated in the first chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Here Brahma tells the dānavas: “This play is not merely for your pleasure or the pleasure of the devas, but exhibits bhāva (moods) for all the three worlds” (NŚ, I. 108). Or again, “the drama as I have devised, is an imitation of actions and conduct of people, it is rich in various emotions and it depicts different situations.” (NŚ, I. 113-14). “Drama is that which accords with the nature of the world. It consists in movements of the body and the other arts of expressive gesture (abhinaya). The theatre is such as to afford a means of entertainment in the world and place of audience for the Vedas, for philosophy... and other matters.” (NŚ, I. 117 ff.).

Ganadāsa’s views on dance and drama are those of a learned scholar. He knows that art is not a commodity to be sold, but a discipline to be attained through the severest training. He is not afraid of academic discussion, for the profession of a teacher for him is not merely a means of livelihood (Mālavikāgnimitra, I. 17). To this learned teacher of dance the good pupil is a source of great joy and satisfaction. Praising Mālavikā, he says: “She repeats her lessons so well that the role of the teacher and the taught is reversed.” (I. 5). He is talking specially of her talent for portraying emotions, for he uses the word bhāva;179 for dancing he uses the word prayoga. The latter word plays an important part in this demonstration of dance and gives us a significant clue to the opinions held on the subject. The Parivrājikā says in her observations: “No theoretical discussion will help, for the Nāṭyaśāstra is primarily a practical art (prayoga-pradhāna)” (I. 15 ff.).180 Ganadāsa’s pupil is indeed so talented that the master is anxious to make her perform, even though she has not practised for long. He says later in the act: “When artistic training is imparted to an apt pupil (supātra), it transforms itself into a triumph of achievement, just as ordinary water, when it falls into the shell of a pearl oyster in the ocean, transforms itself into a priceless gem” (Act. I. 6).

After much discussion between the two teachers, Mālavikā is presented on the stage and the Buddhist nun Parivrājikā becomes the judge. The emphasis is on the word prayoga, the teachers and the judge again and again assert that nṛtya is a practical art. Ganadāsa humbly submits that he has learnt this art of gesticulation from great masters and has also given performances of it. Haradatta in his turn wishes that his training both in the theory (śāstra) and the practice (prayoga) should be judged (I. 12 ff.).

The Parivrājikā having given her verdict that an assessment of the art can only be made by witnessing a performance, the performance of the beautiful Mālavikā begins. It is prefaced, however, by a few significant remarks by the Parivrājikā which throw light on the nature of classical dance performances of the time. She wants the performer to come without excessive make-up and costume, so that her movements can be clearly seen. She wants to see the movements of
all her limbs, and her *abhinaya* is to be clear and precise (*svarāngasausthava*). This brings out a subtle but important difference between the classical dance, which became the courtesan’s profession and monopoly, and the classical dance, which continued to be an important part of the educational curricula. The pupil, the disciple in the art, was not to appear too decked up in tinsel and ornament; she was to portray the feelings and emotions through *āṅgikābhinaya* rather than through the art of make-up and costume (*nepathyā* and *āharva*). *Sausthava* of the limbs is an important technical phrase from Bharata; he refers to *sausthava* at various places, and defines it “as the completely natural position of the limbs, when the person is neither too upright nor bent, and is at ease; when the waist and the ears as well as the elbow, the shoulder and the head are in their natural positions (*sāmu*) and the chest is slightly raised.” Those performing the exercises in *nṛtta aṅghāras* must be careful of this (*NS*, *Kāvyanālā*, X. 89b and 91-93). The Parivrajikā’s injunction to Mālavikā is, therefore, significant. The *sausthava* of the limbs is indicative of the accuracy of training, and trappings would necessarily conceal it. Even today, in contemporary classical dance, we can observe that the dance loses its charm and restraint the moment this *sausthava* is lost sight of: negligence in this respect leads to indiscipline in movement, and the body bends where it is not necessary and desirable. Mālavikā then appears on the stage with all her limbs in the *sausthava* position (*svarāngasausthava*); a dance performance must begin from this position of pose, complete control and balance. The Parivrajikā, in her evaluation of the two *gurus*, had already said, that ‘the true *guru* must not only be a good performer but also be a good teacher’ (I. 16). And now the real test of these *gurus* is the performance of the pupil: ‘Mālavikā must dance the difficult composition of Sarminthā named the *Catuspāda Chāliku*’ (II. 4) The *nrīṇāṅga* (*puṣkara*) sounds in the background, the peacocks mistake it for the thundering of the clouds, and the sound that emerges is the *madhyama svara* mayūrī. Against this congenial setting Mālavikā performs her dance.

We are told that she sings an *upagāna* and then does the *abhinaya* to the song. K. V. Ramachandran describes this *abhinava* in lyrical and ecstatic terms: “Mālavikā exteriorizes this inner agitation by a warm gale and listless head lowered to side, life contracted in pain and a variety of glances tender and pathetic, pupils languid, lids weary and drooping punctuated by sighs and tears followed by slow play of eyebrows and the flicker of a smile and opening eyes of wonder and sweet breath encouraged by the throbbing eye, passing on to the distant eyes of reverie and vacant ones of perplexity, ending in the unmitigated despair of the final appeal in the last *pada* of the verse, gliding from one exquisite posture to another, feet stepping gently, wrists curling and uncurling like flowers as she gestures, all this complex ensemble was called *abhinaya.*”

The *abhinaya* is significant for its perfection and everyone applauds the performance. The composition and structure of the verse to which she dances is
the *catuspāda* and the dance ‘chalika’ is described by the commentator Kāṭayavama as the dance in which the dancer, while acting the part of another, succeeds in expressing his or her own real feelings.

Mālavikā does the *abhinaya* according to the proper *rasa* (*yathārasam rasān-ukulam abhinayati*), which is śṛṅgāra. After a successful performance, she stands in an exquisitely beautiful pose, called the *āyata*: the king is irresistibly infatuated and his description of the pose is not only the lover’s response to the loved one but also a correct description of a dance pose (II. 6). One hand resting on the hip, the other relaxed creeper-wise, eyes downcast, toes playing on the ground collecting the scattered flowers, in half or three-fourth profile, she presents a picture more captivating and beautiful than the full moon. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the *āyata* posture as a sthāna for women: one foot is *sama*, the other is *tryaśra* (obliquely placed) (*NS*, XII. 159b-160). This posture is used for the first appearance on the stage, observing carefully, thinking and dissimulation, etc. (*NS*, XII. 163b-164a).

The Parivrājikā’s learned comment follows the king’s ecstatic description. Mālavikā’s acting was successful, for she was able to replace her own personality by that of Sarmiṣṭhā’s as though possessed by her; she had thus been able to inject the audience with her feelings. The Parivrājikā also uses two technical terms śākhā and sūcī (II. 8). Śākhā was a school of dance that employed certain stylized arm movements, as seen to this day in some traditions of Bālī and Jāvā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* defines the sūcī as a technique which conveys and foreshadows, through gestures and temperament, the meaning of a sentence before it is sung or recited (*NS*, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 43). This kind of representation is done mainly through dance and song. If the same technique is employed to recapitulate past events, whether by mere allusion to a past event or by the portrayal of the whole episode through *abhinaya*, it is called ankura (*NS*, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 44). Kālidāsa often indulges in word-play with these terms, sūcī ankura and śākhā, using their literal and technical meanings; and we meet them again in Śākuntalā, when Śākuntalā pauses to beckon Anusuyā in Act I. She bends down with the gesture of the sūcī hands extending down as though to extract the thorn from a sūcī foot and stretches herself with a toss of the arms as though to disentangle her garment from imaginary branches: this sequence is an excellent example of sūcī abhinaya eloquent of the state of her feelings. This sūcī becomes ankura when the king in Act II recapitulates it. Here, too, there is word-play on these technical terms (II. 12). Actually, a great deal of the abhinaya in Sanskrit drama could be classified under the categories of sūcī śākhā and ankura, for the accurate descriptions by characters of each other and sometimes of themselves are often preceded or followed by physical gesticulation and are thus like the song accompaniment in contemporary dancing. We shall examine these examples later.

Nor is the Vidyāsaka an ignorant spectator; his light-hearted comment on
the _priya_ of the Brähmaṇas is as academically sound as any of the earlier learned comments on Mālavikā’s dance. The Parivrājikā rightly says that ‘the question is very appropriate and knowledgeable’ (II. 9 ff.).

The _Mālavikāgnimitra_ provides other important examples of space manipulation and zonal treatment of the stage, as also significant stage directions for _āṅgikābhinaya_. We shall examine them later: for the moment suffice it to say that the dance recital of Mālavikā is the most finished and refined presentation of the classical dance technique. This classical dance was distinctly different from the popular group dances of the time and was rather like contemporary dance performances in which the dancer is a solo performer depicting the emotions of various characters. Further, this dance was a combination of foot work, hand movements, eye movements, expressions, etc., all done to the accompaniment of song and _tāla_.

_Vikramorvaśīya_

We have no other instances of specific dance recitals in Kālidāsa comparable with Mālavikā’s; nor do we find another instance of such detailed description within the play itself. The _Vikramorvaśīya_, however, refers to a play in which, at the command of Lord Indra, the heavenly dancer Urvāṣī takes part. This command is conveyed to Urvāṣī while she sports with the king in the pleasure-garden. The play is described as having the eight _rasas_. These actresses of Indra’s court have been trained by Bharata himself (II. 17). (Later we learn that the theme was the marriage of Lakṣmī.) Incidentally, we gather from this reference that in Kālidāsa’s day Bharata was credited with having listed only eight _rasas_ in _nāṭya_ and not nine: presumably the _śānta rasa_ had not yet been accepted as a clearly defined and independent _rasa_. In Act III, from the conversation of the pupils of Bharata, Gālavā and Pallava, we learn how the audience reacted to this play, called the _Lakṣmī-Svayamvara_. The lyrics for this play were composed by Sarasvatī herself and the audience was completely absorbed in the portrayal of different _rasas_. Urvāṣī, in the part of Lakṣmī, gave herself away by the fatal mistake of saying ‘Pururava’ instead of ‘Puruṣottama’—an unforgivable lapse for the actress who must completely annihilate herself and rise above personal emotion. The celestial dancer’s fault brings upon her the wrath of the god; to expiate she must descend to earth and bear a child to the king, love for whom caused her to err.

There are no other dance recitals in the plays of Kālidāsa but, as in his poetry, so also in his plays, there are descriptions, similes and metaphors which tell us of the widespread knowledge and popularity of this art in Kālidāsa’s time. In the _Kumārasambhava_, the trees dance with the coming of Vasanta (III. 26), and the _aśoka_ trees blossom with the touch of lovely maidens. In the _Vikramor-
vaśīya the madness of the love-possessed king makes him see birds, trees and animals dance.

In Act II, the king sees in the wind a lover who makes both the mādhavī and the kundana creepers happy: the breeze (pavana) makes the kundalatā dance. The word Kālidāsa uses here is lāśva (II. 4); it is obviously used as a synonym for nṛtya. In Act IV, the demented king goes round asking every natural object whether his beloved has passed that way. He talks to the dancing trees, birds and animals asking them if they have seen Urvāśī. The kalpā-tree dances, the bees provide the song (gītam), the cuckoo (kokilā) provides instrumental music like the tūrya and the wind makes the new and tender leaves of these trees vibrate as if dancing in various ways (IV. 12). The idea of orchestration we have observed earlier: we have here another distinct image, one which becomes increasingly common and conventional. The king sees the dark clouds that form overhead and he addresses his question to them. All nature takes part in the magnificent dance performance: the shadow of the clouds is the physical form of the dancer, the waves that rise are the hands and arms moved by the wind: the thunder is the śankha, the hāṁsas which move are the nīpura of the feet of the dancer; the herds of elephants are the blue garments of the dancer; the blue lotuses are the garlands; and the movement of the waves is the rhythm. Here we have an image of the dance complete with elaborate ornamentation.

Apart from these similes, metaphors and references to dancing in Kālidāsa’s dramas, there is an aspect of his art, which is indistinguishable from the abhinaya of the contemporary Indian dancing and which distinguishes it from the tradition of realism on the stage. The result of this technique is the easy flow of movement on the stage and an impression of lyrical fluidity. Act IV of the Vikramorvāṣṭiya provides us with an excellent example of this essential operatic quality.

There is background music and recitation only to enable the actors to conjure up images of mountains, trees and rivers through āṅgikābhīnaya. Two friends, Sahajanyā and Citralekhā, enter the stage, wailing over the fate of Urvāśī. The first two verses tell us of their emotional state. In fact, the tone of the entire scene, is set by these two verses which must have been sung (IV. 1-2). There is little conversation, and before they depart, the second verse is repeated like a refrain from the background, and the fourth one is recited, to which they make their exit (IV. 4). The friends are the swans, and the king is the elephant longing for his beloved. The king then appears in a love-frenzied state and once again the atmosphere is created by the background verse, which describes the mental state of the king. All this is followed by a lovely bit of aṅkura and śuci abhinaya, when the king addresses clouds, plants and rivers, mistaking them sometimes for demons and sometimes for his beloved. Here is an example of the nātyadharmī convention at its purest: the atmosphere is gradually built up through words and, what is
more, through movement to give us a vivid impression of the king's emotional frenzy. The stage directions support the verse: the king bends his knees, turns and twists around and addresses sometimes with raised arm the clouds and the heavens; at other times his hands are in anjal Hastā: he expresses himself through a series of dance movements. These movements are performed to varying metrical forms of poetry set to different melodies, rhythms, and rendered in different tempo. His impassioned state is presented on the stage through movement and static poses and through the recitation of verses from the background (IV. 19 and 23 ff.) The stage directions of this act shall be taken up separately, for they are precise and accurate: they tell us of how far he moved and in which direction, where he knelt and where he stood up to portray the meaning of these verses: the background verses coming like refrains go on telling us of the elephant yearning for his beloved.

The Vikramorvaśīya, however, still does not give us an insight into the exact nature and quality of āṅgikābhinnāvār every time this bit has to be re-created, it makes demands on the originality and imagination of the dancer or the director presenting it. The presentation is inconceivable without stylized dancing; the precise nature of the interpretation depends greatly on the talent and calibre of the individual artist.

The play has come down to us in two recensions: the northern and the southern. S. P. Pandit considers the interpretations (Pandit's edition, Preface, pp. 8-9, Kale's edition, notes, p. 92) of the northern edition. The passages referred to are in Apabhraṃśa and Prākṛta; these passages, however, contain some stage directions which are important for our purpose: they contain references to certain rāgas and lāvās and to a number of dance postures. The following musical compositions are referred to: ākṣiptikā, which is a kind of a song sung while an actor is approaching the stage and is accompanied by dancing and the beating of tālā with the hands. Dvipadī is another kind of song, perhaps, based on the Prākṛta dvipadhikhandu metre. This metre is of four kinds, viz., śuddha, khanda, mātrā and sampūrṇa.

Jambhalikā is yet another kind of song in which each line is sung twice and no pause is allowed between the chorus and the next line. Khandadhārā is both a kind of dance and a tune in music. Carcarī is both a song and a dance, and we again come across it in the Karpūranañjarī: as a song it is a strain, sung by the actor in an emotional state in a high-pitched voice, in either the fast or the medium laya. The Saṅgutaratmaṅkara also mentions this as a metre and a musical composition (IV. 292-93). Bhinnaka is the name of a particular rāga: khandaka or khanḍikā is a particular composition sung with gestures.

Carcarī as a mode of dance is explained by the Bhāvaprakāśa: it is used specially in the troṭaka: khuraka is another kind of dance performed to five cymbals, with a rāga sung in fast and medium tempo.
Kuṭilikā and mallaghaṭi are two other types of dances. The kuṭilikā is done without rāga or song accompaniment and obviously belongs to the nṛtta variety: it is a type of tāṇḍava dancing as it is performed in the ardhamattali. The ardhamattali is a karaṇa of Bharata (NŚ, IV. 88b-89a) and is described by the commentator somewhat differently from Bharata. In the mallaghaṭi all the three types of laya are used.

Galitaka is yet another type of dance which uses abhinaya and nṛtya both. Besides these a number of dance poses and postures etc. are referred to: caturasraka is a sthāna, and so is ardhacaturasraka. We have here a long list of music and dance compositions.

Abhijñāna Śākuntala

In the Abhijñāna Śākuntala a similar atmosphere exists where the flights from earth to heaven occur through the gesture language. At the very beginning, we have Duṣyanta entering the stage as if riding a chariot: dummy chariots were permitted on the stage but from the stage directions we can easily infer that it was through āṅgikābhinaya that the movement of riding the chariot was depicted. The progress of Duṣyanta’s pursuit of the deer is suggested by the charioteer’s verse kṛṣṇasāre (I. 6): the charioteer’s verse serves as a commentary on the movements of the king depicting the pursuit of the deer: then the king’s verse serves as the commentary on the depiction of the deer’s flight. The verse grivā-bhaṅgābhirāmam is a beautiful description of the movements of the deer, which must have been performed by the actor. The Suta and the king both do the sūci type of abhinaya here, for the movement expresses the mood first and then words are used. The charioteer portrays the tightening of the reins and then tells the king that he has done so on account of the unevenness of the ground: the car movement is impeded by the uneven ground which is suggested by the Suta’s words āyuṣman udghātini bhūmiriti, etc. (I. 7 ff.); the reins are again tightened, the slowing of speed is depicted through measured steps and, when the deer escapes again, he is followed by the glances of the hunters, and then follow quicker movements in a faster tempo: the verse mukteṣu raśmiṣu (I. 8) of the Suta and yadāloke sūkṣnam (I. 9) of the king indicate the mad pursuit till finally the illusion of arriving at a point within sight of the prey is produced and then the king enacts the shooting of an arrow. The pose he attained after this lively bit of acting was the aḍīḍha prescribed by Bharata as a posture (sthāna) for shooting (NŚ, X. 67-68)\textsuperscript{187}. We can re-create from these descriptions a complete picture of this movement sequence: the king enters the stage with simple (cūṇa) steps (NŚ, XII. 88-92) in a special laya. He starts from the samapāda position and goes on to indicate the riding of the chariot; one hand suggests the pole of the chariot and the other the bow. The deer similarly is represented not by an actual deer but by a dancer wearing a deer mask, furtively peering and frisking in fright: the movement possibly is the harinapluta movement (NŚ, IV. 144): the karaṇa
is derived from atikrantā cārī (NŚ, X. 42). A pair of kāṭakāmukha hands crossed at the wrist released or taut indicates speed or slow motion of the chariot. This kāṭakāmukha is the kāṭakāmukha of the Nāṭyaśāstra and not of the Abhinayadarpana and is used for drawing up reins, holding a mirror, etc. (NŚ, XI. 60-63). We have in this scene the minutest data for abhinaya; through technique such as this the venue is easily and plausibly changed into the āśrama without taxing the sense of probability of the spectator. The transition is indicated by the king’s words nīvāraḥ sukagarbhakotara (I. 14) and the wildness of the woods is changed to the orderly nature of the hermitage. While the king enacts through vācika and āṅgikābhinaya, the beauty of the hermitage, its trees and ponds, the charioteer goes on enacting through movement the quickening and subsequent slowing and final stopping of the chariot. The king alights from the chariot with a movement opposite to that prescribed for ascending of chariots (I. 15 ff. and NŚ, XII. 91-92).

After the meeting of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta a series of stage directions follow which leave no room for doubt regarding the nature of this presentation. Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s commentary on these stage directions is the certain proof of the prevalence of the rules of Bharata and their constant use in actual practice.188

In Act IV, when Śakuntalā leaves the āśrama, all the verses demand āṅgikābhinaya constantly: a great part of Kaṇva’s speeches is full of movement, and the vision of creepers, plants, streams, etc., is built up only through words and abhinaya. The seventh act builds up a vision of the sky and the king and Mātali riding across the sky only through gestures. Bharata prescribes the appropriate gait for moving in the sky and says: “gait of a character moving through the sky is to include the aerial cāris and looking downwards: he is to move from samapādu sthāna with simple steps. The gait of one who descends from the sky is also to be of this kind.”189 (NŚ, XII. 92-95).

Examples of this kind could be multiplied: the actor has to walk in a certain way, a special sthāna, cārī or maṇḍala to establish his locale: no signs, symbols or announcements are necessary and once the sūtraḍhāra has left the stage, it is through stylized movement with precise and stylized use of the space of the stage that the full meaning of drama is communicated to the audience. From these examples in Kālidāsa it is clear that by the time Kālidāsa wrote his dramas, the rules of gesticulation were perfectly understood and practised: the writer needs to offer no explanations for what he is doing; he is following an absolutely known and prevalent convention of the stage.

Among these conventions, second only to the important stage directions of āṅgikābhinaya, was the convention of the zonal (kakṣa) treatment of the stage. The stylized movements and the stylized acting alone could make this zonal
treatment possible: on a realistic stage, the Sanskrit play presents the oddest problems of divisions of scenes and acts, of exits and entries: actors move in and out of houses, palaces, gardens and woods freely and, what is more, they move from heaven to earth in the same act. To try and present all these on a realistic stage with stage decor and scenery necessarily leads the producer of the play either to do away with the scenery and props or to dispense with the division of acts as given in the texts of these dramas. The answer to all these difficulties is only one, namely, that the dramas were written with very specific stage conventions in mind, and, in order to present them successfully, any superimposition of the stage decor and equipment of the realistic stage is to ruin their flow and movement.

In the Mālavikāgnimitra, the Vikramorvasīya and the Abījāna Śākuntala, there are many interesting examples of this zonal treatment, which could only be feasible if the actors danced their way across the stage rather than conversed in a matter-of-fact realistic style. In the Mālavikāgnimitra (Act III) we have a fine example of this convention. The act opens with the entry and quick exit of two maids, who converse imparting information about the great love of the king for Mālavikā. The king and the Vidūṣaka enter soon after and we learn of the emotional state of the king. The complications arise now, for the king and the Vidūṣaka are on the stage: they are supposed to have entered the garden first. Mālavikā enters the garden later, and by virtue of this she is still outside the garden bower, and yet can be seen by the king and the Vidūṣaka: she cannot see them. Later the king overhears her laments, sees her being decorated for the aśoka-dohada by Bakulāvalikā, and is charmed by the pose of the sālabhāṅgikā or the aśoka-dohada she must have assumed to suggest performing of the ceremony: the sthāna she uses for this purpose is the aśvakrānta sthāna (NS, XII. 172b-173a). The king watches her and then enters queen Irāvati who can watch both; the complication arises because the queen can hear the conversation of the king, who is unaware of her presence.

Such a situation could have been made to look natural, only if the stage was divided into levels or if there was an apron stage with a curtain in between. All that did not exist on the Sanskrit stage; instead, all this was indicated only through gestures. Bharata treats of the zones and the local usage in a full chapter. The treatment of the zones is invariably in relation and with reference to the three types of playhouses. Bharata lays down a general principle (NS, XIII. 1-10): “The zonal division is to be indicated by going about on the stage. When one is on a particular zone of the stage, it will indicate one locality and place and by moving off it, it will indicate another.”

He says further (NS, XIII. 4-6) that the “utility of the zonal division lies in the fact that it is from this convention of the zonal division that one is to know (whether the place in which the scene has been laid) is a house, city, garden . . . . etc.: the zones should be fixed accordingly. The relative location of the place is
indicated by entering the stage earlier or later: according to the convention of the zonal division, those who have entered the stage earlier should be taken to be inside (the house, garden) and those entering later are known to be outside it. He who enters the stage with the intention of seeing the ones who enter earlier should report turning to the right.” (Ghosh, M. M., translation, Nāṭyaśāstra, p. 239).

From the above it is clear that the zones were clearly demarcated and that it would be easy for the spectator to understand the transit from one zone to another. Irāvatī in the present instance must have reported herself to the right before speaking, so that it was clear that she saw those who were already there, but when Mālavikā enters, neither she nor her friend report to the right. Thus they indicate entry but also establish not noticing those already on the stage.

An even more complicated situation arises in Act IV, and its swiftness is possible only through the zonal treatment. We have the king’s part of the garden at the beginning of Act IV, 2 ff. There is the queen Dhārini with her attendants; then the Vīḍūṣaka enters pretending to be bitten by a snake. So far it is simple and we can easily understand the going of the king to the queen with one round of the stage: at this point, according to modern conventions, there would be a drop or a change of scene, but none of that occurs here. The king dismisses the queen and her retinue easily and requests the co-conspirator of the love game to take him to the pramodavāma; without a change of scene they proceed to the pramodavāma. The Vīḍūṣaka enters, tells of his success, and the lovers meet. At this point the stage is once again divided into three zones: the one where the king and Mālavikā are left to themselves, the second where the Vīḍūṣaka lies sleeping, and the third where queen Irāvatī and her attendant enter and go around. It would require careful handling to manipulate these groupings on the stage and it is clear that the various actors must have utilized only their zone in movement, and would have moved only within these self-imposed limitations. The complication arises again, because Irāvatī sees them together and they cannot. The Vīḍūṣaka does not inform the king of the queen’s arrival. It is only when the king leaves his zone to save the Vīḍūṣaka when the latter calls out for help that he notices queen Irāvatī. Mālavikā follows and the two by leaving their zone and entering into the second and third are noticed by the queen. In Act V this division of the stage is again indicated and this time the stage was divided perhaps by the indication of an aśoka tree, and all the characters gather round this tree for festivity.

In Šākuntala, too, we have similar examples of stage manipulation and zonal treatment. In Act III the king and the Vīḍūṣaka enter the stage: the king confides in the Vīḍūṣaka, soon after Šākuntalā enters and confides in Anusuyā. The king is on the stage and can hear Šākuntalā’s conversation, but Šākuntalā cannot hear
the king's; the king continually comments on what Śakuntalā says, and it is on the basis of this that he comes forward. In Act IV, the impression of distance, of Anusuyā going from the garden to the āśrama, is all created through this zonal treatment and stylized walking on the stage: the lyrical beauty of this scene would not be possible if a realistic effect had been attempted.

In the Vikramorvaśīya such situations are frequent. The queen appears to see the king with Urvaśī in Act II. Act III is made stageable and the illusion of Urvaśī as invisible is communicated only through this stage convention of the zones and careful grouping.

Stage situations and their treatment is not our main concern at the moment; but these conventions could have been accurately followed according to the laws of Bharata only if the actors were trained most accurately and punctiliously in the laws of movement and āṅgikābhinaya: the actor trained only in speech could never portray the idea of zones and different moods effectively on the stage. From the dramas of Kālidāsa and the dramas of the later writers, it is clear that these conventions were known not only to the scholar-poets and dramatists but also to the audience, for it is with an eye on these conventions that the Sanskrit dramatist writes and presents his plays. These conventions would be impossible to follow without the medium of dance at the actor's command. The stylization achieved through these conventions is one which dancing, music and imaginative presentation have given to these dramas.

However, once we come to the specific āṅgikābhinaya of these dramas, everything else seems subsidiary. The gesture language is woven inextricably into the texture of Sanskrit drama. In Kālidāsa we find the finest examples, and, once we look at Kālidāsa carefully, we find that these are repeated by the dramatists who follow him. Indeed, the gesture language becomes stereotype in the later Sanskrit drama.

In Sanskrit drama examples of āṅgikābhinaya are of two types. The first is the accompaniment of abhinaya to verses in the play: these verses are sometimes sung by the character, sometimes by the other character, whose speech serves as commentary; sometimes they are sung or chanted from the background as in the Vikramorvaśīya. Invariably, the abhinaya in these cases is of the sūci, ankura or śākhā variety, and from the descriptions of places non-existent on the stage and of mental states referred to, one can easily infer that abhinaya formed an essential part of this recitation. The spoken word was only half the acting, the other half being stylized acting through precise and codified movements of the hands, face, etc., and, in short, all that Bharata includes in the viniyoga of the āṅgas and upāṅgas. We have already analyzed examples of this kind in the Abhijñāna Śākuntala and the Vikramorvaśīya. The other type of abhinaya is suggested through the stage
directions. These stage directions are a help to the reader and the actor, but more than that, they are an essential part of the drama, and the written drama is incomplete without them. From the commentaries on these plays, we can visualize, in certain cases, the exact manner of execution of these stage directions. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the Abhijñāna Śākuntala is a valuable source of information for this purpose: he gives us in this commentary exact descriptions of some of these stage directions. The clue to others can be found in the various chapters of Bharata. An attempt will be made here to correlate these stage directions to Bharata, wherever possible. But first let us consider those which Rāghavabhaṭṭa has stated.

In Act I occurs the stage direction Vīksasīcanaṃ rūpayati (Act I. 17 ff.). This is performed by making the nālimpadmakośa hasta (NŚ, IX. 207): they are taken to the shoulder region, then the avadhāta head movement (NŚ, VIII. 30) is performed; the body bends gracefully a little, the hands are then brought down and released. Then a pair of śukatūḍha hands is formed (NŚ, IX. 53-54)100 and they are crossed at the wrist, finger and palms facing down; these hands are lowered, with body bending on one side, and then with a turn of the wrists, they are turned into a pair of up-going padmakośa hands (NŚ, IX. 79b-80a); they are then taken across the breast to the shoulder region, lowered to the knee region and then released as if watering trees.191

Then a little later comes the stage direction 'Enacts the disturbance by the bee (bhramarabādhāṃ rūpayati) (I. 19). This is shown according to the commentary by the viḍhuta head (NŚ, VIII. 24, a quick movement of the head used in panic and fright) and tremulous lips (kuṭṭuna movement of the lips. see NŚ, VIII. 144-46, used for pain, cold, fear, etc.) and the putākā hands facing outwards placed near the face: the head is turned quickly across in fright, lips quivering and the putākā hands move quickly in double tempo in different directions protecting the face from the bee.192

Śṛṅgāralajjā rūpayati is the next important stage direction; this bashful love confusion is shown by parāyirtta head (NŚ, VIII. 27) and the lajjita glance (NŚ, VIII. 66).103 The lajjā stage direction often occurs in the first act: in this particular case the words śṛṅgāra lajjā specify the type of bashfulness that Śakuntalā exhibits and also set the mood of the act.

The stage direction janāṇitakam occurs often and we know from Bharata and other authorities such as the authors of the Daśarūpakam and the Saṅgitaratnakāra that it is depicted through the tripatākā hasta.104 Sometimes Kālidāsa gives straightforward directions, which are also in keeping with the terminology of Bharata. The adhomukha head is used in bashfulness etc. Śakuntalā lowers her head in this fashion in response to the king's loving attentions (I. 24 ff.). Bharata's term for this
movement is adhogata and adhomukha (NŚ, VIII. 36), but both are similar movements. On the same plane is the showing of the fore-finger by Śakuntalā asking her friends to keep quiet. The bhrūdhaṅga of the eyebrows is also of this kind and needs no great explanation.

In Act III the pupil enacts ‘hearing’ and looking at the sky: both these stage directions are simple enough and can be easily understood. Rāghavabhaṭṭa gives us further hints as to how they are to be represented: the looking at the sky is a technical term ākāśya used here for addressing Priyamvadā who is at some distance. This mode of address according to Bharata is employed in addressing someone who is at a distance and who does not appear on the stage. According to the Daśarūpakam, it belongs to the nāṭyadharma convention. The hearing is represented by the head bent to the side and the eyeballs in a motionless state.

Soon after the king appears in a love-sick state and represents madanaavasthā (Act III, beginning). This love distraction is represented by the lolita head, the śūnya drṣṭi used in anxiety, indicating motionlessness and dola hasta. Thus the whole state is represented by a circular movement of the head, with vacant staring and shoulders drooping with arms released in the dola hastas: a most appropriate rendering of this state of love-distraction and words come as almost auxiliaries to this physical representation. Rāghavabhaṭṭa goes further and tells us exactly how these movements are to be performed: he also mentions an alternative to the dola hastas: the chin rests on the interlocked karkaṭa hasta and this indicates the melancholy reverie.

The king is unhappy, he looks around, addresses Kāmadeva, the doer of all this; looks upward to indicate the mid-day sun: for in this heat of the afternoon, Śakuntalā could perhaps be found in the garden bower: the mid-day sun may be indicated according to Bharata by looking upward with half-shut eyes (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 8). In this heat he goes to find Śakuntalā: as he moves he represents the touch of breeze through movement. Through his movements, we learn that the king has moved from the heat of the sun to the garden with creepers where the cool breeze blows: the touch of breeze he indicates by slightly narrowing down the eyes, raising the eyebrows and by touching the shoulder and the cheek (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 77b-78a): this is perhaps also represented by horripilation, judging by what Bharata says in another chapter (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 9) regarding the representation of pleasant objects. Here we have a very interesting example of nāṭya-dharma where, instead of blazing spotlights and subdued lighting and change of scenery, we have it all represented through āṅgikādbhina. The king starts by looking at the sun upwards with half-shut eyes; perhaps, covers his face to show the hot wind, and then moves around the stage, has a pleasanter expression, enacts the touch of cool breeze and we know that he has moved from one place to another, (parikrama sparṣam rūpayati).
Śakuntalā enters with her friends in this bower: she too is sorrowful and dejected, and thus occurs the stage direction (viṣāda nāṭayitvā): she represents this through an enactment of thinking (NŚ, VII. 104 ff.) a loss of energy and the like: the drṣṭi she uses for this is the viṣāṇṇa used in despair (viṣāda).

The king looks at her longingly, with abhilāyā, and overhears the conversation of this dejected beloved with her friends. Śakuntalā lies on a bed here: it is possible that a real bed was used here, since the stage direction does not specifically mention that Śakuntalā enacts it: but it is probable that the whole scene was shown only through movement; and if the latter be the case then the type of lying down we see here is the nāṭu where her shanks are slightly stretched and the hands hang loosely resting, representing fatigue and distress (NŚ, XII. 234). It is from this graceful and effective posture of lying down that she tries to half arise in order to address Anusuyā.

The king appears on the stage; she wishes to go; he holds her by the hand, attempts to raise her face; she makes a gesture of aversion. The king's action is portrayed by means of the tripatākā hasta facing up and brought under the chin, the middle-finger and the fore-finger being placed near the chin. Śakuntalā's aversion is depicted by an averting head (parāvyrttia head movement) and by folding lower lip in the mouth (vīṇāṉana) (NŚ, VIII. 145-46). Here, too, we have a characteristic example of the nāṭyadharmi and an exquisite piece of āṅgikābhinnaya. It is not a realistic depiction of advances made by the lover; it is, instead, a delicate suggestion made through hand gestures. The act ends with the king's looking up to the sky—this time to tell us that the clouds are gathering and the evening has come. The evening he possibly indicates through two patākā hands raised: these hands make a svastika (NŚ, IX. 135b-137a) and then separate: two arāla hands upturned and held together at the wrists: when these hands are separated from this position and are lowered making a circle, the sky, clouds and other such extensive things are indicated: the head gesture is udvāhita (NŚ, VIII. 29), used for looking up—with appropriate movements of the eye (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 2-4).

If one pauses for a moment to see how the āṅgikābhinnaya has merged itself into the spoken word of the play, one is amazed at the way it permeates through the entire dramatic action. The indication of a change of time, of place, is all represented through gestures: the passage of time is represented through gesture. The mid-day sun changes through movement into the evening sun: the heat turns into cool breeze with gestures and the hero and heroine learn of each other more through gestures than the spoken word.

Act IV begins with friends enacting the picking of the flowers: this is represented through appropriate gestures by hands and arms. The hastas that Bharata prescribes for this is bhramara (NŚ, IX. 101) or the sandarṇa which is used for
picking of a flower from the stem (NŚ, IX. 112-16). Rāghavabhaṭṭa, however, does not prescribe these hands in his commentary; according to him, this is to be represented by the left hand in arāla and the right hand in haṁsāsyā.²⁰⁴

The pupil enters and indicates the time of day through gestures: he has just got up from his sleep and, looking at the sky, tells us of the break of dawn.²⁰⁵

According to Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the falling of leaves is portrayed through the tripatākā hands near the eyes, and the putting of tilaka is also portrayed by the tripatākā hastas.²⁰⁶ They decorate Śakuntalā and the whole decoration is enacted: the sandāṁśa and bhramara hands are used for portraying decoration with ornaments; the kaṭakāmukha and haṁsāsyā hands are used for lac painting.²⁰⁷ These hands are not quite in conformity with Bharata’s uses of these hastas, but the rules for the hastas are so flexible that the movements indicated by Rāghavabhaṭṭa would easily fit. According to the Nātyaśāstra, the kaṭakāmukha hands are used for putting a necklace or a garland. The sandāṁśa is used for lac dye etc. (NŚ, IX. 60-63 and 112 ff.). The feet are decorated with the kartarimukha hastas, and, in this Rāghavabhaṭṭa follows Bharata.²⁰⁸

The entire representation of decoration is thus a short but lovely piece of mime. The scene has another beautiful example of abhinaya when Śakuntalā is stopped by the pet doe of the āśrama. According to Rāghavabhaṭṭa,²⁰⁹ this is portrayed by the urūḍṛṛtta movement: the foot with the heel raised is flanked behind the other foot, and the body is twisted. When Śakuntalā turns back to see, it is in terms of the apakrāntā cārī in which the feet cross, and one foot is in a kuṇcita position. The whole movement would indicate stopping; the sudden stop and then the turning around to see the cause of this with appropriate hands represents the doe clinging to her (gatibādhāṁ rūpayati). The Nātyaśāstra does not prescribe a movement for this, and what Rāghavabhaṭṭa describes as the urūḍṛṛtta movement is perhaps the karaṇa of that name (NŚ, IV. 159).

In Act VI, Sānumati, the heavenly apsarā, descends from her aerial chariot later she ascends to heaven. She ascends by the bāhyabhramarikā²¹¹ and descends by the gaṅgāvataraṇa,²¹² according to Rāghavabhaṭṭa. The gaṅgāvataraṇa karaṇa is rendered in many ways. It may be done by curling of the leg behind like a scorpion’s sting and tripatākā hastas held down, breast erect and the head lowered; the other way was the viṣṇukrānta karaṇa and tripatākā hastas held over the uplifted foot to show the Gaṅgā flowing: the third way is the acrobatic karaṇa gaṅgāvataraṇa, as in the sculptures at the Cidambaram temple. Any one of these movements might have been attempted for showing the descending from the celestial chariot. According to Bharata, these karaṇas or a gait might represent the riding of a celestial chariot and the descending from the sky: simple steps are used for this, beginning with the samapāda sthāna, and, when mounting these vehicles,
the body is to be held up and when alighting, the body is to be held down (NŚ, XII. 88-92). In this particular case Sānumati suggests a descent from the sky through the use of the *apaviddha* arms and tossing of the ends of her clothes (NŚ, XII. 94-95).

At the end of this scene, the king enacts the mounting of the chariot, and there must have been a difference between this mounting and Sānumati's mounting. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, on the authority of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, says that this is portrayed through the *ūrdhvajānu cāri*.⁵¹³

In Act VII, the king is seen in a celestial car in heaven: the celestial car may have been represented by a prop on the stage, but it is more likely that the gaits of the king and of Mātali represented their presence in the celestial regions. The gait began with the *samapāda sthāna*, and constituted the aerial *cāri*, and most likely ended in the *atikrānta cāri* (NŚ, X. 30 ff.). Like the first act, the first part of this act is also an exquisite piece of dancing and *abhinaya*, where both the *āṅgika* and the *vācika* are employed: through gestures of the feet they depict their being in heaven, and by the look of the eyes (looking down) they suggest the earth which lies vast and beautiful below. The king's words act as commentary on the *abhinaya* of Mātali and Mātali's words serve as a commentary on the king's *abhinaya*: they reach Hemakūṭa and alight from the chariot, and this descending from the chariot is also done with a *cāri*. Mātali draws the reins, depicting it through a pair of *kaṭakāmukha* hands (NŚ, IX. 61-63).

The enactment of the child's playing with the cub must also be represented through movement: here the cub was, perhaps, represented by a person with a mask, and the speech of the king (VII. 4.) draws our attention to this bit of enacting.

The rest of *āṅgikābhinaya* suggested through stage directions is of the realistic type and appropriately so: the king's embracing the son, his showing of the ring to Śakuntalā, etc., all belong to the naturalistic tradition.

From this analysis of the stage directions, there can be no doubt whatsoever of the character of this play in terms of stage technique: the playwright obviously had the theatrical aspect of the play in mind, and the stage directions tell us of the very important role played by *āṅgikābhinaya* in these dramas. This tradition which manifests itself so clearly in the plays of Kālidāsa continues to the last days of Sanskrit drama. The stage directions go on becoming more stylized and it must have been easy for the early writers of regional languages to extract the purely *vācika* lyrical portion out of this tradition and also to compose lyrics meant only for acting purposes: the tradition in all the classical styles of Indian dancing, of doing *abhinaya* to the spoken word, whether lyrical or narrative, finds its origin in the drama proper.
Kalidāsa is also a master of sāttvikābhinaṇaya, and the drama as it has come down to us, employs the sāttvikābhinaṇaya to a very large extent. The blossoming of Śakuntalā’s love is manifested by this type of abhinaya and is an excellent illustration of the bhāvas, anubhāvas and vibhāvas of the Sanskrit dramatic theory. The sāttvikābhinaṇaya we find in the play largely centres round the personality of Śakuntalā and in her person we find the feminine grace at its best. The natural graces (alaṅkāra) of women are many. She is the innocent maiden, the mugdhā in the first act, and with the appearance of the king, her natural modesty turns into an adult bashfulness and desire of response (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 23) and with the enquiries of her friends regarding the stranger who has so captured her heart, we have the grace helā (passion) which is manifested in abhinaya such as the śṛṅgāra-lajjā etc. Then we have a beautiful flowering of these graces: she has kānti, a fresh lustre (dipti) and as the love grows the voluntary graces become more predominant and we see their manifestation in graces such as the vibboka (affected coldness), vibhrama (confusion), vilāsa (amorous gestures) and mottāyita (manifestation of affection and being absent-minded due to the lover). It was a continuation of this mood that gave her the dreamy ecstasy of Duṣyanta and the curse of Duryāsā: in Act III she exhibits another grace of sweet reluctance (kuftamitam) towards the king; the capacity to depict these successfully would make the āṅgikābhinaṇaya of the actor significant and beautiful. Bharata devotes an entire chapter to these graces, both feminine and masculine.211

The play Abhijñāna Śakuntalā is not only a literary masterpiece but is also a perfect example of the dramatist’s understanding and application of Bharata’s stage technique. This general pattern is found in the other plays; a mere enumeration of the stage directions in the other plays of Kalidāsa will suffice.

The Vikramorvaśīya is a rich source of āṅgikābhinaṇaya. In the Act I, King Vikrama like Duṣyanta enters the stage enacting the riding of a chariot: (I. p. 9).216 The king portrays the speed of the chariot by taking a round of the stage in fast speed, and then the apsarās enact descending the mountain (I. p. 12). This is performed in the atikrāntā cāri (NŚ, XII. 96-98a); the body is held up; in descending the mountain one foot is in the atikrāntā cāri and the other in an aṅcita position.217 Urvaśī appears seated on the chariot leaning on the arm of the king and the king’s descriptions of the earth and its unevenness are supported by their enacting.218 Urvaśī and the king rub against each other as they alight from the chariot and, as they enact this, the charioteer enacts the stopping of the vehicle. The rest of the act has many examples of the chariot’s movement—its being stopped, of the characters ascending and descending the chariot (I. p. 23). The apsarās then enact moving in the sky (ākāsotpatanam rūpayanti).219

This moving about in the sky can be shown by any number of cāris such as the atikrāntā, pārśvakrāntā, āviddhā and rest (NŚ, X. 30 ff.). As the dance of the
apsarās proceeds, Urvaśī enacts being hindered by something: the whole movement is significant. Urvaśī starts her dance with the samapāda sthāna and performs a number of aerial cāris, and then suddenly stops as if entangled by something: her garland has entangled itself with a creeper and Citralekha helps her to disentangle it.\textsuperscript{220} The entanglement of the garland with the creeper would then be very similar to the movement of Śakuntalā when the doe stops her, with the difference that Urvaśī enacts the garland and its entanglement by looking back rather than at the doe: the garland is represented by a pair of kaṭakāmukha hastas held near the neck (NŚ, IX. 61-63)\textsuperscript{221} and the creeper by the sūcimukha hasta (NŚ, IX. 64-71a). The entanglement is shown by a conjured look and a sudden jump, along with a sudden stopping of the cāris which the apsarās were performing. Menakā disentangles her and her movement starts by first representing the garland and then disentangling it from the creeper.

In Act II, the king describes the spring, and in his description of the spring (II. 7) he must have employed the appropriate gestures; thus spring is represented through enjoyment and rejoicing (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 31).

Thinking or cintā is enacted by (II. 7ff.)\textsuperscript{222} sighing, deep breathing and an expression of absent-mindedness (NŚ, VII. 77-78). Citralekha and Urvaśī enter soon after and Urvaśī enacts being love-sick (madana-vadanā). This manifestation of love can be represented through lalitābhinaya of various kinds and the natural graces of women, i.e., alaṅkāra. The two friends converse for some time, and then Urvaśī decides to overheat the king’s conversation with the Vidūṣaka: she decides to make herself invisible: she conceals herself with the tiraskarini: by covering the face with this veil both Citralekha and Urvaśī become invisible and from this we also know that there is no need of their restricting themselves to one zone for fear of being seen by the king. They perhaps do not touch their heads with the arāla hastas raised from the sides, but if they were to be greeted, then the arāla hastas raised from the sides touching the head would indicate greeting invisible persons (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 72).

Urvaśī writes a letter to the king—which flies across to him; this letter writing is done by one hand in the patākā hasta showing the paper and the other hand in hamsāsya hasta,\textsuperscript{223} showing the pen or the brush for writing or painting. This gesture is frequently seen in the contemporary Bharatanātyam.

Citralekha removes her veil first. Urvaśī follows. With the removing of this veil both become visible to the king. These gestures would have to be accurately executed for the audience to understand that a character is invisible or visible on the stage. Urvaśī is called to heaven; now she enacts unhappiness and viṣāda. This is represented by deep breathing (NŚ, VII. 106-7) and by the viṣaṭta glance (NŚ,
VIII. 89, the glance for viṣāda): she leaves the king, looking at him longingly with both the lalita (NS, VIII. 74) and viṣāṇṇa glances (NS, VIII. 69).

The bhōjapatra has disappeared, and the Vidūṣaka goes looking for it: he moves around the stage with anuvṛti (NS, VIII. 108) glance as if to find something and with parlokita glance (NS, VIII. 109); combined with appropriate gestures of the hands and the feet, he gives the impression of looking frantically for the lost bit of paper. The queen has entered, has seen part of the goings-on, and has found the letter: naturally, she is in a rage and has an heated argument with the king. She leaves in great anger: she manifests here the jealous anger through tearful eyes, touching of the chin and the lips, shaking of the head, knitting of the eyebrows (bhṛkūṭi), curling of fingers and assuming the āyata sthāna posture (NS, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 55b-56a) (kopam nāṭayitvā) (NS, VII 24 ff.). In Act III. 5 ff.,224 the king and the Vidūṣaka enact ascending the stairs (sopāṇārohanam nāṭyanti). In ascending the stairs of the palace, the king and the Vidūṣaka move in the atikrāntā cārī, and their bodies are held erect and they put forward their steps as if ascending the stairs (NS, XII. 96-98a). The king and the Vidūṣaka have ascended the stairs thus and can now see the moon emerging out of the darkness: the king looks at the moon (III. 7 ff.);225 the looking at the moon and the idea of night are represented by the outstretched ardhaucandra hasta (NS, IX. 43-45); the eyeballs are moved upwards, and a kuṇcita movement of the eyebrows is used to indicate the pleasantness of touch.226 The ardhaucandra hastas are prescribed for the crescent moon, but, if the king wished to show the full moon, he would perhaps use the left hand in alapadma hasta and the right in patākā.227 The king also enacts worshippers the moon, addresses it in various ways, one of them being, “as one who is ever present on the crest of Śiva.” This may be depicted through the ardhaucandra hasta, and the worshipping is represented by kneeling on the ground (NS, XII. 201 ff.) and a adhogata face movement (NS, VIII. 36): the hands are padmakośa (NS, IX. 82).

The king sits down hopefully and then enter Urvaśī and Citralekha, enacting the riding of a celestial chariot. Urvaśī wants Citralekha to find out what her lover was doing at the moment. Citralekha meditates to find it out. This meditation (dhyāna) is represented by downcast eyes (avalokita dṛṣṭi) and slightly bent head, (kuṇcita), the left hand being in sandānśa (NS, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 24). Both of them descend from the chariot this time with the atikrāntā cārī and a kuṇcita pāda. Urvaśī enacts being distressed (viṣāda), and, on hearing the queen’s footsteps, she is again distressed and this time the viṣādabhāva has become a sorrow of a different nature, and she enacts viṣāṇṇa by the appropriate dṛṣṭi (NS, VIII. 69). The queen almost repeats the abhinaya of the king described earlier. She, too, looks at the moon228 and enacts worshipping the moonlight with flowers etc. The king repeats the pūjā and then holds his hands in añjali hasta. Later in the Act, Urvaśī and Citralekha again become invisible by wearing the tiraskariṇi and thereafter Urvaśī goes and shuts the eyes of the king: the king enacts recognizing her touch. All
this by itself sounds simple and a realistic depiction of it is easily possible: but in this case, it is hardly likely that Urvaśī really touched the king's person: she enacts it, and then the king in turn enacts the feeling of touch (sparśa rūpayitvā). The utṣahita hands (NŚ, IX. 139) represent this feeling of touch. This would also be shown by slightly narrowing the eyes (kuṭācita) by raising the eyebrows, and by slightly touching the shoulder, the cheek, etc. (NŚ, Kāvyamālā. XXII. 77b-78a).

Various vyādhicāri bhāvas, such as viśāda, soka and the like, are enacted in Act IV. Urvaśī sits by the pond, the pond being indicated by the two patākā hastas extended outwards, and the sentiment of soka she expresses by a copious shedding of tears, a change of colour, etc. (NŚ, VII. 19 ff.). The king then enters in a state of love-distraction: he addresses himself to the sky (unnukha): his gait is unsteady, represented through irregular steps; his body covered with dust and his hair dishevelled. He talks to himself: sometimes he sings and sometimes he laughs: sometimes he dances in joy and sometimes he stands still. Bharata gives an elaborate description of persons in this state and a reading of Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīva shows us how perfectly this description fits the king (NŚ, XII. 123-130). He would move as follows: "After moving in the baddhā cārī (NŚ, X. 21), he is to cross his feet. Then going round in all the four directions with this cārī, he is to perform the bhramara maṇḍala (NŚ, XI. 44b-47a) and reach the corner of the stage. Then turning round the trika gracefully and holding the latā hasta (NŚ, IX. 198) and with irregular steps he is to move and walk about." In this way he addresses the sky and talks to himself, and does abhinaya to the verses recited on stage or sung from the background. He picks up a pebble to throw it into the pond, stops and enacts the bhāva karunā; to depict this bhāva, he would use the appropriate glance, i.e., karunā drśti, where the upper eyelid is lowered, the eyeball is at rest, the gaze is fixed on the tip of the nose, and a tear is held in the eye (NŚ, VIII. 49).

In this distracted state, the king moves on the stage, sometimes walking, at others pausing, but each of these movements is executed so as to make a neat choreographical pattern. An artist unacquainted with the accepted conventions of the stage and the rules applicable in a given situation might have given a general stage direction and would have left it to the imagination of the actor to interpret it. Here everything is laid down, and the precise use of these specific movements alone according to the author evoke the appropriate bhāva. The king moves on the stage in a state of love-distraction; he places his knee on the ground, takes a turn, and recites a verse: the formation of this pose on the knee serves as a kind of a refrain to the rest of his enactment (iti natīrtvā jānuḥhyām, Act IV, 23 ff. and 26 ff.). This dance is performed in the bhramara cārī, which consists mostly of resting on the knee and moving around the trika. In contemporary practice one finds the survival of this movement in Braj Rāsa and in Kṛṣṇa's movement in Manipur.

This piece of abhinaya is a beautiful solo dance, full of a variety of poses,
cārīs, steps (caranās) and emotions (bhaivas). His steps move in rhythm and he employs various types of abhinaya, using movements of both the aṅgas and upāṅgas. His eyes and eyelids follow the hands, and Kālidāsa is careful in laying down exact stage directions for all these movements.\textsuperscript{283} The king delineates the idea of sound, of hearing from the background, and the sound of birds calling by the sāci glance and by putting his hand to the ear (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 76b-77a).\textsuperscript{283} He is tired and faints with exhaustion: this act of fainting murechita is depicted by closing the eyelids (pihita) (NŚ, VIII. 117), by performing a kuṅcita movement of the eyebrows (NŚ, VIII. 128-129a); the head is in the aṅcita position (NŚ, VIII. 32-33) and the hands in dola hastas (NŚ, IX. 148-49): the mouth and face follow other appropriate gestures. Through his words we know that he can see a precious jewel in a cave, and through his enactment we know that he has brought the precious stone out: the words and gesture of the king bring to us the visions of woods, rivers, mountains, creepers, plants, animals, and the rest: the vācika and the āṅgikābhinaya present such a vivid picture that there is no need left for scenery and stage effects, nor do we miss the absence of deer, peacocks, birds, and other animals on the stage. The act ends on a hopeful note: the king has found his beloved at last and they are seen making an exit.

In Act V, the stage directions of bhāva are common: the agitation (āvega) of the king is represented by rubbing the eyes, hurriedly moving from one place to another, and perhaps by weeping, too (NŚ, VII. 62 ff.). Astonishment (vismaya, Act V, 6 ff., sarvey vismayam rūpayanti) is enacted by opening the eyes wide, without a wink (vismita, NŚ, VIII. 61). The head moves to and fro in the parivāhita movement\textsuperscript{284} (NŚ, VIII. 28) and horripilation.\textsuperscript{285}

The other stage directions of this act, such as the embracing the child, the child’s entering with bow, etc., are like those in the last act of the Abhijñāna Śākuntala, and are performed in the lokadharma convention. The king’s acting of viṣāda and fainting, however, is stylized and thus in nāṭyadharma: it is similar to what we have described earlier.

We have already discussed the part played by dancing and abhinaya in the Mālavikāgnimitra. Besides the dance of Mālavikā, there are a few significant stage directions. In Act III, Samāhitikā enacts the plucking of blossoms from a tree; this may be represented by the aśvakrānta sthāna (NŚ, XII. 175-176), but the hands would be either katakamukha or sandamāsa (NŚ, IX. 60-63 and 112-116). The king enacts the feeling of touch\textsuperscript{286} of the air, the representation of which we have mentioned before. Mālavikā enters in a state of anxiety (cintā) and shows this with half-closed eyes, touching the valaya (bangles), the nivi (the navel) and the thighs (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 160): this is the second stage of love according to Bharata (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 153b-157a), but she soon moves to the third stage of reflection (anusmrī) (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XII. 161 ff.). The king observes
her and his despair changes into the emotion of joy (saharsam). This would be represented by the relaxation of the facial muscles and wide-open eyes, with a manifestation of the temperamental states like perspiration, horripilation, tears and the like (NŚ, VII. 92-94 ff.).

In Act III, the enactment of decorating Mālavikā’s feet for the aśoka-dohada is represented through the kartarimukha hands (NŚ, IX. 39-41). Queen Irāvatī’s state of intoxication would be represented by unsteady steps, a reeling body and staggering feet (NŚ, XII. 121-122). The movement of her head would be reeling in parlolita (NŚ, VIII. 37), and her glance would be madirā drṣṭī (NŚ, VIII. 94).

In Act IV, the king is still in a state of depression because of separation: the Vidūṣaka has thought of a plan and he enters the stage holding his thumb as if a snake had bitten him. The queen, the king and everyone is disturbed. He enacts the effects of poison on him successfully (IV. 4 ff.). The (viṣavega rūpayati) enactment of this is portrayed by throwing out of the hands and feet and other limbs, and the effect of this poison is shown by a quivering action of different parts of the body and by closing of the eyes (NŚ, Kāvyamālā, XXV. 104 and 113). Jayasena, an accomplice in the conspiracy, takes the queen’s ring to cure the Vidūṣaka of the snake-bite. Cleverly manoeuvred, the king leaves the stage and so does the queen with her attendants. After this, instead of the change of scene the king, along with Jayasena, enacts the going to the pramodvana where he can meet Mālavikā. They take a round of the stage indicating this, but, before they can quite reach the place, they notice queen Irāvatī and her maid gathering flowers. Here the stage is divided automatically into zones: the queen and Candrikā are seen at one end of the stage and the king and the Vidūṣaka on the other. The king, having entered the stage, can see the queen, but the queen is unaware of their presence. The king hides himself and yet can see Mālavikā and Bakulavālikā entering: the king sees her through a window. We have here a very interesting piece of the zonal treatment. The king and the Vidūṣaka take their positions back stage: they indicate a window with their hand gestures: the queen enters from the other side and, since she does not report herself to the right (NŚ, XIII. 10), she continues to be unaware of the king’s presence. Mālavikā and Bakulavālikā enter from the side of the king and can see the king, but only after Mālavikā has indicated the opening of the door. Mālavikā represents the door by two tripatākā hastas facing each other (NŚ, IX. 35) and, with one tripatākā hasta and an appropriate step, she indicates entering (NŚ, IX. 29a). She is angry. First she turns away her face with the parāvṛttta movement of the head (NŚ, VIII. 34) and then feels a little reconciled, goes up to him, feels shy, and enacts bashfulness. The king in turn enacts love-sickness. The Vidūṣaka cleverly whisks Bakulavālikā away to let the lovers be alone. At this point (IV. 13), the groupings on the stage change. The king and Mālavikā are in one zone, the Vidūṣaka in another (Bakulavālikā having made an exit) and the queen in a third, enacting the plu-
cking and gathering of flowers. Perhaps, a pillar suggested the divisions of the stage: this belief is confirmed by the statement that the Vidūṣaka is seen dozing against this pillar, while Mālavikā and the king converse. Queen Irāvatī, along with Nipunīkā, now enters the stage by taking a round to establish the fact that they are in the area of vision and not away from it. The purely visual effect of this grouping, with characters thus distributed on the floor space indicate the different areas of the stage. The Vidūṣaka babbles in his sleep, perhaps, by speaking indistinctly (NŚ, Kṛ̣vyamāla, XXV. 98), thereby drawing the queen’s attention. A curtain and a pillar were perhaps used for this scene judging from the fact that the Vidūṣaka mentions it, and Bakulavālikā warns the lovers by entering and lifting the curtain in a hurry. With this, and queen Irāvatī’s discovery, all the characters now move centre stage and are thus in a common zone.

It is clear from the above that stage manipulations and directions of the kind noticed here could only be possible through a highly stylized technique. The audience, as also the actors, must have completely understood this division of the stage into zones and the gesture language was employed to present such complicated situations. This could perhaps be represented through purely imitative and realistic gestures, but then the distinctive stylized character would be lost. Kālidāsa is aware of these stage conventions and makes the fullest use of them.

In Act V (Mālavikāgnimitra), the dwarf enters the stage with one foot in the agratalasaṅcara position and the other in the aṅcita one. The steps are narrow and chequered (NŚ, XIII. 135-36). Mālavikā enacts fear (bhaya) by a tremor of the hands and feet (NŚ, VII. 34 ff.). The glance she uses for this is bhayanvita (NŚ, VIII. 59): the eyeballs move in valana (NŚ, VIII. 102) or niśkramaṇa and the lips tremble (kampana) (NŚ, VIII. 141-42). The Parivṛ̣jikā walks in the sumpāḍā cārī (NŚ, XII. 199b-200a) right through; and when in this act she sheds tears, these are represented by the tripatākā hastas (NŚ, IX. 32) and by rubbing of the eyes. Here the Parivṛ̣jikā’s abhinaya is not merely aṅgika; it is also sattvika. Other stage directions such as the enactment of distress, joy, fear, tears and astonishment in the play need not be analyzed again.

With a discussion on these stage directions, we have analyzed all possible sources of the dance in Kālidāsa: through this analysis, we have seen how dancing constitutes an indispensable part of this drama and how the spoken word is but a part of the whole. We have also observed that the character of these plays is determined by the part played by dancing (nṛttā) and aṅgikābhinaya in them. In the successors of Kālidāsa, this tradition continues, and we find that Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, Viśākhadutta and Rājaśekhara employ dancing on all the four levels mentioned earlier. Through their works and the commentaries, we can trace the history of dance and the part it played in drama.
Harṣa

King Harṣa of Kanauja (648 A.D.) was a patron and lover of the fine arts. Bāṇa clearly says that he was a poet and learned scholar: "his knowledge cannot find range enough in doctrines to be learned; all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius." I-tsing tells us that Harṣa "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jimutavāhana, who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga" and Harṣa had this composition set to music and dance and had it performed by a company. From the same source, we learn that Harṣa also had Candradāsa’s Viśvantara and Aśvaghosa’s Buddhacarita versified and set to dancing and music. He is also said to have taken part in dramatic performances.

The sister of Harṣa, Rājyaśri, “gradually grew up in the daily familiarity with friends, expert in song, dance, etc.” Her tutor Divākaramitra taught her the doctrines of Buddhism and she became distinguished in her knowledge of the Sammatiya doctrine.

The plays of Harṣa provide rich internal evidence of the author’s knowledge of and familiarity with the art and technique of dancing and stage-craft.

In the Priyadatśikā, the captive girl is assigned to the queen: the queen is given the task of arranging for instruction of the maid Āraṇyakā: she receives training in dancing, music, singing and instrumental music (gīta-nṛtya vādyādiśu). By Act III, she is so accomplished that she is fit enough to act as the heroine of a play written by Sānkṛtyāyantī, the aged confidante of the queen. In this play, Āraṇyakā plays the part of the queen, and Manoramā, her friend, the part of the king. the play has for its theme the love between Vatsarāja and queen Vāsavadattā. Later, when the role of king is realistically played by the king himself, there are complications; and Priyadarśikā is thrown into prison. The play within a play is a common device, the divisions of the stage for its presentation here are interesting. In Act IV again, great histrionic powers are called for to portray Āraṇyakā’s poisoning herself: aṅgikābhinaya in the nātyadharma convention could be the only mode of presenting such situations.

In Harṣa’s Ratnōvali, there is a music and dance festival, which Rājaśekhara elaborates upon in his Karpuramañjarī. The play opens with a spring festival. The king sits on one side watching the performance of Madanikā and Cūtalatikā. The Vidūṣaka tells us of the nature of this dance: they enter the stage dancing the spring-dance (vasantābhinaya nṛtyantī). The maids enter the stage with quick steps, scattering flowers of various kinds, and with very little restraint, as they are supposedly under the power of madana. The king’s speeches have told us of the general note of festivity in the entire city; and the sound of song is heard and scenes of men and women dancing are seen everywhere.
The enacting of the two maids gives a visual representation of this festival of spring: they enter and dance the graces of love (madana-lilā) and the song they sing is in the dvipadikhanḍa (I. 12-13). This dance belongs to the nṛtya variety, for it has in it both nṛtta (dancing proper) and abhinaya. It has exactly the same basic structure as the padam in Bharatanātyam. The tāla of this dance is determined by the metre of the poem and is directly dependent on it (as it is in contemporary practice, too). In this particular case, it consists of two portions (padas) and each pada has 26 mātrās, being equally divided into 13 mātrās each. This differs, however, from the famous Prākṛta dvipadi, for, according to Piṅgala, it consists of two padas, each pada being of 28 mātrās. The maids in all probability sang this song and interpreted the words through various suṅcāri bhāvas. We know of the fast tempo of this dance, as also of its intense vehemence, through the description of the king (I. 16). They have danced with such exuberance that their long tresses have loosened and the decorative flowers have fallen off: the Vidūṣaka tries to dance with them, but not knowing that the song is dvipadi and not carcarī, he comes back deflated and ashamed of his ignorance. That the tāla and the character of the dance were directly related to the metre is clear from this evidence: other steps could not have been made to fit into the song, and the maids familiar with dance naturally make fun of him.

This is the only dance-composition we find in this play, but examples of āṅgikābhīnaya are numerous. The magician in Act IV (v. 10) proposes to display various celestial beings: by making various gesticulations (bahu vidham nāṭya kṛtvā) and by waving the feathers, he produces the vision of Hari, Brahmā, Indra, Siddhas and Vidyādharas dancing in the heavens (v. 10) (vidyādharu vadhuskārth nṛtyantam). This vision could only be represented through abhinaya of the most perfect kind: through hand gestures and limb movements, the magician must have created this vision; and as he continues with his abhinaya, the king describes the scene as one in which he can see the nymphs dancing in mid-air (iv. 11).

At the end of the act, the impression of the palace on fire and the king jumping into flames is created through flawless and powerful āṅgikābhīnaya. The scene actually constitutes a very effective dance-drama on the theme of fire and the rescuing of Ratnāvali. Through words and abhinaya, this vision is created before our eyes, and the speeches act as commentary on the gesticulation of the characters. This portion is an excellent example of the nirṛtyāṅkura type of abhinaya; this particular type of abhinaya we find often in Sanskrit drama, and we have observed other examples of it in the Mrčchakaṭāki.

Stage manipulation in the Ratnāvali is of the simplest kind and the author simply divides the stage into two. The king and the Vidūṣaka often find a place to overhear the conversation of others; the exits and entrances are so manoeuvred...
that there are not more than two sets of characters on the stage. There is hardly anything new here requiring fresh analysis.

The stage directions demanding a knowledge of āṅgikābhīnaya are, however, many: the stage directions relating to bhāvas and saṅcāri bhāvas such as astonishment, joy, distress and the rest continue. We may now examine a few stage directions of āṅgikābhīnaya.

Vāsavadattā worships the king with padmakoṣa or mukula hastas (I. 22 ff.). Sāgarikā's abhinaya of bowing and of scattering flowers is of a similar nature. She holds her hands in the padmakoṣa to show many flowers, and then a pair of patākā hastas moved separately indicate the scattering of flowers: with the kaṭakā-vardhamāna she bows to the king (NŚ, IX. 137b-138a). The Vidūṣaka accepts the gifts the queen gives him and blesses her: the blessing is indicated by a pair of arāla hastas (NŚ, IX. 47). The acceptance of the gift is portrayed through a pair of hāṁsapakṣa hastas (NŚ, IX. 107). In Act II, Sāgarikā wipes her tears with the tripatākā hastas, when her friend notices that she has been weeping in the course of painting a picture (NŚ, IX. 32). Susaṅgatā in Act II brings lotus leaves and makes coils of the long lotus stalks. It is possible that real lotus stalks were used, but, if not, this may have been represented in abhinaya with the bhramara hastas (NŚ, IX. 102) and the nalinipadmakoṣa hastas. By holding the sandarāṇa hastas in front, she could indicate the stems and leaves of these flowers (NŚ, IX. 113a and 116). The lotus petals may be shown by combined cetura hastas (NŚ, IX. 69). Sāgarikā's love-lorn state is shown only through mukhābhīnaya. The agitation and fear of the two friends caused by the sudden appearance of a monkey is suggested by using a pair of kapota hastas (NŚ, IX. 132a); the vibhrānta dṛṣṭi would soon be followed by trastā to represent confusion and fear, respectively (NŚ, VIII. 92b and 94b): the vidhūta head (NŚ, VIII. 26) would accompany these movements of the eyes to indicate the acute fear of Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā. The rest of the act is simple acting, for the painting board (citra phala) is carried about and the Vidūṣaka's lack of restraint leads to complications, for it is through this that the queen knows of the love of Sāgarikā for the king.

In Act III, the king and the Vidūṣaka enter the bower: the king is in a love-lorn state and his movements are indicative of it: when he comes to the Mādhavī bower, he smells the sweet scent of flowers. The hand is arāla, the eyelids are in kuṇḍita (NŚ, VIII. 116a) and the nose is in socchvāsā (NŚ, VIII. 135a) and his dṛṣṭi is ardhamukulā (NŚ, VIII. 92a). The king with movements of the hands and the face tells us of the Campaka grove, the Bakul row, and various other trees (III. 8). In this act we have a very interesting situation which could be communicated only through āṅgikābhīnaya. Having reached the bower, the king sends off the Vidūṣaka to get Sāgarikā. The king does not leave the stage; he sits in one corner in a thinking mudrā (pose). His hands are in sandarāṇa and his eyes are śānta.
and ṣūnya in anxiety (NS, VIII. 65 and 87a). The queen and Kāñcanmālā then enter while the king holds this pose in a corner. They converse while moving to the front stage. Since they have not reported to the right, neither the king has seen them, nor have they seen him. Then enters the Vidūṣaka in the same zone and talks to them: the queen speaks in ‘asides’ to her maid; her glances are ṣaṅkīta (NS, VIII. 68 and NS, VIII. 89a). After taking a round of the stage, as if making for the Mādhavi bower, they enter into the zone in which the king is seated and the rest of the action of the scene now takes place there: the queen throws off her veil and walks off in a fury. The king continues to be seated even after much imploring, all according to the rules of the śāstra, and what Bharata would call the ābhyaṃtara (internal) etiquette of the king towards the angered queen (NS, XXII. Kāvyamālā, 1943, 142b-143a and 144b-145a). After this Sāgarikā, disguised as Vāsavadattā, enters in a state of anxiety and enacts killing herself. This sequence is a piece of effective acting: the creepers, the trees, the making of the noose, and the attempt at suicide are all represented through āṅgikābhinaya, in accordance with the rules of nātyadharma. The king in turn further enacts the tearing off the noose from Sāgarikā’s neck: recognizing Sāgarikā, his movement that is of outstretched arms to embrace her. The embracing is presented through utsaṅga hastas and the nata grīvā: and, while he performs this action, the queen and Kāñcanmālā re-enter, and this time they enact listening to the conversation by their gesticulation. We must, however, remember that they can only listen and not see. A creeper noose is the only stage property we know of from the text, and this is not realistically used.

In Act IV, the most powerful piece of āṅgikābhinaya relates to the rising of flames in the palace (all through the device of the magician). The king enacts putting off his cloak (uttariya), rushing into the fire, and being overpowered by smoke. With quick movements and jumps, the king tells us of his entering the fire; and then through the quivering movement of the tripaṭākā hastas he suggests flames and fire. This sequence is followed by a sharp stroke of the paṭākā hastas indicating the warding off the smoke. Ratnāvali is rescued. She enters the stage in fetters, is released, and the illusion of fire and everything else is explained by Yaugandharāyaṇa; and on this note of reconciliation and happiness the play ends.

There is in Sanskrit drama always a situation which depends for its successful portrayal not on the words but on the āṅgikābhinaya, and this situation is the climax or the turning point of a play. The Sanskrit dramatist never makes the āṅgikābhinaya an accessory to the vācika; he consciously uses this stylized technique of āṅgikābhinaya in order to achieve the most effective stage spectacle.

Bhavabhūti

None of Bhavabhuti’s (700 A.D.) plays contain dance recitals, nor do they deal with the śṛngāra rasa in the way the plays of Kālidāsa or Harṣa do.
We have an atmosphere full of pathos in the Uttararāma-carita and of intrigue, love and horror in the Mālatimādhava. In these plays, no heroines come to dance on stage; very few characters portray lalitābhinaya. This does not mean, however, that Bhavabhūti is not acquainted with Bharata and that his dramas give no evidence of his familiarity with dance and knowledge of āngikābhinaya: he frequently uses technical terms from Bharata in his descriptions; the dances he describes are those of the gods rather than those of the courtesans.

In the Mālatimādhava we have an extremely powerful description of Śiva's and Kāli's dance: in the prologue to the Mālatimādhava, Bhavabhūti invokes god Śiva in the aspect of the tāṇḍava: here Śiva is seen dancing to the drum of Nandi. In Act V, the kāpālikas bow to the goddess Cāmunḍā and worship her in the aspect of the tāṇḍava dance. In a powerful description, we are told of this dance of destruction. We know of the violence of this dance from the various incidents described in the verse: in the process of dance, her nails pierce through the moon, and the nectar that dropped from the moon on the skulls around her neck resulted in a laughter, horrible and ghastly, from the skulls that revived. Her arms move about so that the serpents around them emit flames of poison. The third verse describes her whirls and violent turns, and the fire that emerges from her third eye. The fourth verse tells us more of the perfectly executed dance. The goddess danced so perfectly that all the ghosts and spirits, vetālas and goblins, began to clap their hands in tāla and appreciation, and Gaurī was so frightened by this noise that she suddenly embraced Śiva. Excepting for general words like prāyṛṭtā, bhramurai and sambhrāntā, we do not have any technical terms here, but, as a general description of the tāṇḍava dance, it is powerful.

In the Uttararāma-carita, we have no description of Śiva and Kāli dancing, but we have reference to the dramatization of the Rāmāyaṇa by Vālamiki. In Act IV, Lava tells Janaka that Vālamiki has sent a portion of the manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa to Bharata Muni: this portion was written for staging according to the proper rasa and bhāva. Bharata is known here as the teacher of the three arts of drama, vocal music and instrumental music (nāṭya, gītā and vādyā). Later, in Act IV, we learn of Kuśa's returning from the āśrama of Bharata Muni. In Act VII, we have a glimpse of this dramatized version of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is enacted on the banks of the Gaṅgā, and Lakṣmaṇa is sent there by Rāma to supervise the arrangements for the theatre. Vālamiki has gathered actors and actresses (nāyaka and nāyikā) and the apsarās to act this play. And then follows a moving spectacle of abhinaya which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa watch: from this scene we know of the prevalence of the rules of Bharata in Bhavabhūti's time, and have certain evidence of the popularity of the theme of the Rāmāyaṇa in the theatrical repertoire. This performance is not an ignorant performance of the epic but a learned academic (śāstric) performance, where Bharata himself has rendered portions of the epic to dance and drama appropriate.
to the stage. The tradition of rendering themes, narrative, epic and lyrical, seems to have begun at this stage and becomes increasingly popular. In fact, it is this tradition of the epic, or of the narrative turned into the dramatic dance, which we observe in the contemporary recitals of Kathākali\(^{250}\). All the dance-drama forms of the South, like the koothus and the yaksā-gānas\(^{251}\) of Kannāda and the Bhāgavatmelā of Tamilnad and Kuchipūdi of Andhra belong to this tradition, where the epic is rendered into dance-drama. These forms, however, have not remained strictly classical in their existing manifestations, but their origins can be traced back to dramatic recitals of the kind mentioned in the Uttarārāmacarita.

Bhavabhūti is familiar with the terms of āṅgikābhīnaya more than any of his contemporaries: very often in general descriptions of people, seasons, etc., we see him use terms of āṅgikābhīnaya. In the Mālatimādhava, Makaraṇḍa describing Mādhava (1. 17) says, "His gait is languid (ālasam) and his look (dṛṣṭi) is sūnya (motionless) (NS, VIII. 87a). His body has lost its grace (sausṭhava). Here sūnya dṛṣṭi and sausṭhava are both definite terms which indicate his state of utter dejection. An absence of the sausṭhava\(^{252}\) position of the body would denote his impassioned and love-lorn state. The sighing adds to this state.\(^{253}\)

Mādhava, describing Mālati to Makaraṇḍa, tells us of various glances (dṛṣṭi). According to Jagaddhara, the commentator of the Mālatimādhava, the following dṛṣṭis are referred to (I. 27) : (1) adbhuta, used for vis Maya, (2) kāntā, used for harṣa, (3) sambhrūprakṣeśpa kaṭākṣa for śrīgāra, (4) mukulītā, śankītā for fear, and (5) kuṇcīta dṛṣṭi. The text itself does not name all these glances, but only gives us the movements of the eyelids, eyeballs and the eyebrows which tell us of the glances: it only mentions the mukulītā and the kuṇcīta glances. Bharata mentions all these glances: (1) the level (sama) glance where the eyeballs are raised in wonder, and when the eyelashes are just a little curled, it is the adbhuta glance (NS, VIII. 51 and 61), (2) the kāntā is the śrīgāra rasa dṛṣṭi; the eyebrows are contracted and there is a sideways movement of the eyeballs (vivartana); this is also the kaṭākṣa (NS, VIII. 47). (3) In the mukulītā or mukula dṛṣṭi, the eyelashes tremble and the eyeballs are opened in happiness: it is used in sleeping, dreaming, etc. (NS, VIII. 70). (4) The śankītā dṛṣṭi is used for apprehension (NS, VIII. 68). (5) In the kuṇcītā, the eyelashes and eyelids are both contracted, and so are the eyeballs (NS, VIII. 71).

The next verse also lists a number of eye movements. The manner in which Bhavabhūti catalogues these glances and movements of the eyeballs and the eyebrows, is amazing. In fact he is listing the various types of side-glances (kaṭākṣa), and from this list, as also from Jagaddhara's commentary, we see how elaborations had become fashionable. Jagaddhara describes the different kaṭākṣāvasthās and then defines three more dṛṣṭis, namely, the viśādīni, the lalitā and the snigdhā.

In Act IV (v. 1 and 2), the author once again parades his theoretical know-
ledge of the different glances and puts the speech inappropriately in the mouth of Kāmandakī. He mentions here the following glances: the śaṅkitā, the jihmā, of the ardhamukulā, or the kuṇcitā and the ekākārā. These descriptions are accurate and he seems to follow the Nāṭyaśāstra fairly closely.\textsuperscript{264}

In Act VIII (v. 1 ff., lines 48-51), Madayantikā, describing her dream, also talks of the various movements of the eyes: the movements are called the dance of the eyes and, surprisingly enough, the word tāṇḍava is used here. We find that the word lāśya is used as a synonym for the word nṛtya very often but tāṇḍava is seldom used. The peacocks also perform tāṇḍava not merely nṛtya (IX. 15): the peacocks who drown Mādhava's words in their notes also perform the tāṇḍava. It is significant how the words nṛtya and lāśya are replaced here by tāṇḍava. We cannot conclude from this instance that the distinction between tāṇḍava and lāśya was lost to the author, but it is clear that little distinction is maintained here between the different terms. Mālati's perfect carriage of the body and her movements are described as beautiful and flawless: her training in these glances and movements has been dictated by a teacher of dancing, who is called the nāṭyācārya here (VII. 120). In the Uttararāmacarita, Bhavabhūti exercises a little more restraint, and thus we have fewer descriptions of eyes, eye glances and eyebrows. Rāma addressing a young peacock in Act III (III. 19) remembers Sitā as making the young peacock dance by the clapping of her hands: the peacock dances and Sitā gives the tālā with her hands: her eyebrows move vivaciously (caṭula) and their movements are like tāṇḍava: the eyeball movements of the peacock are circular and full of sportiveness. The movement of the eyeballs mentioned here is the bhramaṇa where the eyeballs move in all directions (NŚ, VIII. 98b) and make a circle. This is an involved description but what the author seems to refer to is a circular movement of the eyes in which the eyeball makes a complete circle: the descriptions of the tāṇḍava of the eyebrows and the dance of the peacock are simpler statements.

Act IX of the Mālatīmādhava resembles Act IV of the Vikramorvaśīya. The lament of Mādhava, in order to be effectively rendered on the stage, would demand a dancing ability of a very high order.

In the Uttararāmacarita, we have many examples of these stage conventions and zonal treatment. In Act III, the two river goddesses Tamasā and Mūrtā enter the stage followed by Rāma and Sitā. Sitā is invisible; thus, while she can see Rāma, he can only hear her: she comes near him, lets him rest on her, but to him it is as if he were seeing a vision: this is depicted through Rāma's holding the arāla hasta over his head to show that he is addressing an invisible person (NŚ, Kavyamālā, XXV. 72 and NŚ, IX. 46-52).

The stage directions in these plays are more or less repetitions of what we have found in the earlier dramatists. Flowers are plucked and gathered in both the
Mālatimādhava and the Uttararāmacarita,255 with the kaṭakāmukha or the haṁsāsyā hastas; shedding of tears and their wiping is common; they are depicted through the tripatākā hastas placed near the eyes.256 Enactment of touch is also common (Uttararāmacarita, III, 39 ff.). Rāma enacts the riding of celestial chariot through an aerial cārī (Uttararāmacarita, II. 9 ff.) (also Act VI) and the appropriate gait. Sumantra enacts the speed of a chariot in Act V (Uttararāmacarita, 6 ff) and characters speak words indicative of the transitory states with appropriate āṅgikābhīnaya. Terms like sahārṣam (with joy) and saviśādam (with distress) continue to play an important part. Very often Bhavabhūti combines more than one expression in his stage directions; thus there are stage directions, where the character looks with joy, pathos and wonder all at the same time (Act VII, etc.). Stage directions such as these are often of no help to the actor and they only confuse the reader. We are led to believe from these examples that the rules and precepts of Bharata were being applied here rather academically: and it would not be possible to depict the three types of transitory states before speaking one sentence. An interesting set of new stage directions occur in the Mālatimādhava: these relate to the temperamental states (sāttvika bhāva).257

Mālati enacts paralysis of the tongue (vākstambham nātyati) (VIII. 7 ff., line 15). This is done by enacting a sudden motionlessness and pulling a smileless face with a stiff body (NŚ, VII. 155). Madayantikā gesticulates perspiration and other emotions (VII. 1 ff). This is enacted by wiping off the face with the arāla hastas or the sūcimukha walking about nervously and restlessly (NŚ, VII. 156). Change of colour and trembling are also incorporated very often in the stage directions of these plays (VI. 11 ff.). Horripilation may be shown by the haṁsapakṣa hastas (NŚ, IX. 108) and by touching the body.

The plays of Bhavabhūti convince us of the author’s intimate acquaintance with the sāstric tradition of drama and dance. From the evidence listed above we may also conclude that the author was perhaps trying to make use of his knowledge sometimes aptly, appropriately, but, occasionally, only for the fun of exhibiting it, even though indiscriminately. Even in erring against the tradition of Bharata, we are aware that the tradition continues to live, although ornamentation and, departures were becoming common.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa

The Veṇīśāmṛāha of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa hardly calls for any dance recitals or the lyrical āṅgikābhīnaya of the dramas portraying the śṛṅgāra rasa.

The highly declamatory character of the play, half poetic and half dramatic, gives us a few instances of dance recitals, but the author, like other dramatists, is conscious of the art, even though he does not seem to have a detailed technical knowledge of it, like Kālidāsa or Rājaśekhara.
At the very outset, in the benedictory verses, the author invokes Lord Kṛṣṇa for blessing: the reference to Rādhā in this verse is to one who has lost interest in the rāsa dance on the banks of the Kālindī (Yamunā) and whom the Lord follows (I. 2). This is the solitary reference to the dance in the whole play, even though the words, nṛtya, lāśya and śālīśa occur in the body of the play (Act I, v. 24, v. 25, v. 8, etc.). We also have a demon (rākṣasi) dancing with satisfaction in Act III (v. 1 ff.). In a powerful simile describing the battle field, Bhimasena tells Draupadi that the sons of Pāṇḍu are skilled enough to move about in the depths of the water of the incomparable ocean of war, where the headless trunks dance to the accompaniment of musical instruments in the form of female jackals, howling inauspiciously during the gathering for drinking profuse blood (I. 24).268

Musical instruments, such as the tūrya, are mentioned in other places (Act I, Prologue v. 8 ff., Act II, v. 12 ff.).

Stage manipulation and division of the style into zones is also seen here. In Act I (v. 14 ff.), we have Bhima and Sahadeva on the stage in one zone, and Draupadi and the maid in the other. The latter group can watch the former, while the former are unaware of their presence (I. 14 ff.). We have a similar situation in Act II, in which king Duryodhana, enacting as though hiding behind the śyāmā creepers, overhears queen Bhānumati’s conversation with her attendant. The play on the word ‘nakula’ produces a misunderstanding between the two. This enacting of hiding behind the śyāmā creepers is surely a piece of āṅgikābhinaya. In the same act, we have an effective piece of dancing almost of the sūcī type when all gesticulate the hindering effect of the whirlwind and moving forward with an effort. There is a vivid description by the king (II. 20) which acts as commentary on the queen’s enacting; he describes the eyebrows (bhrukuṭi), the movements of her breasts, and the expression of her eyes. The queen covers her face with her arms and walks in chequered steps, executing a difficult piece of mime. After she has taken a round of the stage, the king walks into her zone by enacting entrance, and the queen reaches a place where there is no wind. The king, however, does not use any technical language in describing the movements of the queen.

Among stage directions, no new ones occur. We have stage directions in which the characters look at the sky and speak (ākāśāni datta drṣṭi) (Act II, v. 1 ff. and Act VI, v. 18, etc.). There is also the riding of and ascending and descending (V. 26 ff.) from chariots, and once “Duryodhana is lying in a chariot in a swoon”. The charioteer enters and takes him away (Act IV, beginning). This could have been enacted either by Duryodhana really coming in a ratha with the charioteer enacting pulling it or by the suggestion of a ratha at the back of the stage; the latter is more likely; then with figure of the swooned king in the background the charioteer does the rest of the abhinaya of looking around, of being confused, etc. (sambhramana). The minor transitory states are enacted throughout and stage
directions like "enacts anxiety (cintā, Act II, v. 2 ff.), dejection (viśāda, Act II, v, 12), anger (krodha, Act I, v. 19 ff.), bashfulness (lajjā, Act II, v. 16), joyfulness (Act I, 15), are found. All these must, of course, have been enacted according to the rules of āhhyāntara enacting (NS, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 72b-73a), laid down by Bharata.

In the post-Kālidāsa drama, a stock terminology āṅgikābhinaya becomes an integral part of the spoken drama; each subsequent author, whatever his theme and whatever the character and rasa of his play, employs it in the same way as he employs words and language. It is taken for granted that the feelings of touch, smell, sound, taste, etc., will only be shown through āṅgikābhinaya (NS, Kāvyamālā, XXII. 75b-76a, etc.) and through the rules of 'basic representation' and the 'special representation' codified by Bharata in Chapters XXII and XXV. The dramatist does not find it necessary to make new innovations in technique because the instruments provided to him by tradition and by the sāstras fulfil all his needs.

Rājaśekhara

In the Karpūramaṇjarī, we find interesting material on dance: here are dances, swing festivals and stage manipulations, where two or more scenes occur at the same time; pantomime is richly woven into the fabric of the spoken word.

In Act IV, the king and the Vidūṣaka ascend the terrace of the palace and watch the carcari. The Vidūṣaka's speech acts as a commentary on this dance; it serves the purpose of both a commentary on the exact progress of the dance and is a clever technique which does not let us forget that the king and the jester are not part of the same scene but are only spectators. From these verses (IV. 10-18)265 we gather many technical details of the dance. The dance is of the lāṣya variety; the word lāsa (lāṣya) is used for it (IV. 10a).

The dance is further described as the danda rāsa (Act IV): this dance may have something to do with the staff-dance of the Sutapatha Brāhmaṇa,260 or, perhaps, the rāsa of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.261 The latter, however, was in all probability a mixed dance of men and women, specially if we agree that Kṛṣṇa multiplied himself several times. The present dance definitely belongs to the rāsa nritya type, judging both from its name and description, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it was exactly like the rāsa of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, as the latter also had couple formations in concentric circles: both these details are missing from the present description. This is also to be distinguished from the ārabhaṭi nritya of Bāṇa,262 for the vṛtti that the present dance follows is obviously kaiśekī and not ārabhaṭī. Judging from the word danda, we are led to believe that the particular dance was akin to the contemporary dandiyaṛāsa of Kāṭhiavāra and the kolāttam263 of the South. But both these dances are performed with sticks, and there is no mention of the striking of sticks in the present context. It is unlikely that the danda rāsa has some-
thing to do with staff or staffs, either dancing round the staff or holding sticks in hands. It is more likely, judging from the name and the circle formation, that this dance belongs to the rāsa nṛtya of the contemporary Manipuri dance and that its name is derived from Bharata’s nṛta karaṇa, nṛta hastas and cārī of that name. The word danda does not perhaps denote a staff, but the attitude and posture in which the danda hastas or the danda pāda are used.

Bharata mentions a cārī, a nṛtta hasta of the danda variety. The danda pāda karaṇa or the danda pāda karaṇa or the danda recita karaṇa may be the dance movements employed in this dance. In the first, the urdhvajānū cārī is used; in the third, the danda pāda cārī is employed; and in the second the nṛta-hasta danda pāda are held out like a staff: the first karaṇa also utilizes these hastas (NŚ. IX. 202). The cārī danda pāda suggests turning round one foot (NŚ, X. 44). The two characteristics common to all these movements are (a) a position of the hands in which the arms are stretched out diagonally on either side, and (b) the feet moving freely and taking turns on one foot. Both these characteristics would suit a rāsa dance of the kind described here. The women stretch their hands out on either side, pirouette and then move jointly in a circle. Another technical term used here makes this clearer: the word bandha denotes the circle formation and may easily be the śrīkhalikā or latābandha of Bharata’s four pīndī bandhas (NŚ, IV. 295b-296a). The adjective vicītra qualifies this formation. The number of dancers is thirty-two, and their steps (pāda) follow the beats (tāla) of music. A very vivid picture of the danda rāsā is thus created. We know of the movements of individual dancers and the collective formation of the group. The emphasis all through is on nṛtta and the quick laya indicates the fast tempo of the dance.

From the next stanza (IV. 12) we learn of a cālī dance. Here the women arrange themselves in two rows facing each other: their poses are clear and the formation is called a (rekhā). The shoulders, arms and hands are in a natural position (sama). The characteristics of this dance are thus obvious: the women stand in single file, move their hands and feet in the samapāda, samabāhu, etc., facing each other (śāhimuha or sābhimukha), and dance in an appropriate tempo (laya) of the proper metrical cycle (tāla).

The sama position described here is a position from which most dance sequences and dance cadences in India are begun. This natural stance invariably forms the starting point of all Bharata’s movements. He, however, does not list a sama position of the arms or the shoulders, both of which are mentioned here. Bharata nevertheless, does mention the sama position for movements of the head and the hands. The Saṅgītaratnākara also mentions these positions. The latter text also gives us a clue to the cālī dance. The Saṅgītaratnākara (VII. 1215) enumerates ten rustic dances. The first is cālī; it is “not too fast nor too slow”, (in the madhya laya) and is characterized by the simultaneity (yauja pādyā) of the movement.
CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

of feet, thighs, waist and arms. The same dance performed in a fast tempo with dancers facing each other is called cālivada. The laya of this dance is according to the tāla and is in the madhya laya here. This group cāli dance is to be clearly distinguished from the second cāli mentioned in a subsequent verse (IV. 16); the first is a group dance consisting of graceful natural movements; the line formations of women is the most characteristic feature of this dance: the second cāli dance is apparently a solo dance, which the dancer performs to the beat of a drum called the hudukkā and to the music of a flute (vēnu); this is called the cāli or challikam dance. The swaying of the arms (dola) refers, perhaps, to the dola hastas: this dance is more in the nature of a classical dance, accompanied by drum, madalam and instrumental music: the swaying of the arms refers definitely to dola hastas (NS, IX. 149). This solo cāli dance comes nearest to the dance named cāli in the contemporary Manipuri dance: the cāli of the Manipuri is the first dance taught and is both performed solo and in a group. In the group, however, two lines facing each other are formed, and the dance is performed either in a single row or in a circle. The characteristics of the dance, common to the description found in the Karpūramaṇi, are the graceful movements of arms, the slow (madhya) tempo, and the more or less natural position of the body. In the contemporary Manipuri cāli dance, the axis of the body is hardly broken and there are also a few fast movements: it derives its name also from the tāla of that name, which consists of eight beats and is done in two distinct tempos (laya). The above description does seem to have something in common with this contemporary Manipuri cāli dance, but it would not be correct to identify the dance of the Karpūramaṇi completely with the contemporary cāli of Manipuri. The Assamese Bihu nṛtya is the contemporary dance which comes closest to this description.

There is a third dance mentioned in the festival. It seems to be of a general nature; it has no name. All we learn from the description is that it is performed with bells and is accompanied by vocal music (a song) and consists of a graceful (lalita) movement performed to the proper laya and tāla (IV. 17).

All these dances belong to the nṛttta variety. Another scene of pantomime is also described, where the women enact a cemetery scene (IV. 15).

From these examples, we have a fairly good idea of the dances of the time: group dances seem frequent, and the idea of laya, tāla and music (instrumental and vocal) guiding and regulating these dances is also clearly brought out.

Throughout the Karpūramaṇi, there are words which relate to dance and music. There is, however, only one instance of a full-fledged dance scene with three easily distinguishable dances, viz., the danda rāsa, the carcarī and the cāli dance.

It is unlikely that all these scenes and dances were presented on the stage at
the same time. It is more likely that a group of dancers entered, performed their respective dances and made their exit; the others followed quickly. Other words relating to dance, dancers and musical instruments are listed below:

(a) Kuśilava—(kuśilava kuṣolava) is used for an actor (I. 42). We have come across this word earlier, too (cf. the Rāmāyaṇa etc.);

(b) Āsthana—(atṭhano, āsthano) for assembly room (II. 3a);

(c) Pakhāujja—(pakhāujj, pakshātodh) for drum (mṛdaṇga) (I. 4, line 10). This is one of the earliest mentions of this instrument. The pakhāvaya used in Kathak dancing and North Indian music is, perhaps, derived from this. The performance begins with the sound of this instrument:

(d) Miana—(miana, mṛdaṇga)—This is the mṛdaṇga proper (I. 4, line 9); and

(e) Veṇu—flute (IV. 6a and 18a).

The king and the Vidūṣaka in the Karpūraṁaṅjari witness yet another sequence which is a significant example of abhinaya and the zonal treatment; this is the swing festival. In Act II, the king sees his beloved on the swing. Once again, the stage is divided into two portions, and, while the king and the Vidūṣaka stand on one side of the stage, the abhinaya of the swing is performed by maidens in the other zone (II. 30 ff.). Bharata²⁷⁵ lays down a general rule about the representation of a swing, and we must assume that the abhinaya of the swing was done to a general rendering of the swing movements (imitative in character, rather than suggestive or symbolic): the verses which the king recites act as commentary on the scene. The Vidūṣaka’s beautiful lyrical description of this²⁷⁶ tells us of the movements of these maidens: the terms used here are, however, all general and none of them is technical. Words such as vilola are only technical descriptions of these graceful movements, inasmuch as the Nāṭyaśāstra also uses the term vilola, which was perhaps depicted by the āndolita movement of the arms.²⁷⁷ There is no doubt that this representation of the swing was more in the nature of a swing-dance than a crude representation of a swing on the stage with a heroine sitting on it. The words used here for the movement is bhramavata.

There is a mention of dancing in two beautiful similes in the Karpūraṁaṅjari. Describing the coming of spring, the king compares the movements of creepers to the movements of girls dancing: “the festival season of spring—that sets a dancing like dance-girls, the creepers that sway in the breeze”²⁷⁸ (I. 16b ff.). Spring comes to dance and sing; and the creepers that dance are like the dancing girls (not courtesans but any one who dances or, more specifically, the professional
dancer, nartani). The queen also describes the spring and uses the same words. The causes and initiators of the dance here are the breezes of Mālābār who "set a dancing the creepers of the betel" (I. 17). From the text itself the Mālābār breeze seems less appropriate than malaya. For our purpose, however, the reference to the 'professional dancer' alone is important.

Stage manipulations and zonal conventions are employed in the Karpūra-maṇji to create varied and interesting effects: these effects are hardly possible without flawless ūṅgikābhīnaya and a strict adherence to the zonal treatment. Without going into the details of how these scenes were manipulated, we may only mention here the acts where these double scenes take place.

In Act II, twice there are situations where the stage is divided into two parts: in the example mentioned above, the king and the Vidūṣaka are supposedly in the plantain arbor, while they watch the heroine on the swing.379 Again the king witnesses the heroine perform the aṣoka dohada while he stands in one part of the garden: the heroine must have shown the aṣoka dohada in the aṣvakrāntā cāri280 (II. 43-47). Two groups thus act simultaneously (IV. 9 ff.). The king and the Vidūṣaka have ascended the steps of the palace up to the roof: from there they witness the colourful festival. The entire dance of the carcarī goes on while the king and the Vidūṣaka are on the stage, supposedly on the palace roof. Later in the act the progress of the queen and Karpūramaṇji going up and down from the garden to the prison room, along the wall through a subterranean passage, is a bit of a clever and highly specialized acting. The audience would have to understand the quick change of scene and place only through the zonal treatment and strict adherence to the rules of entrance and exit: with one mistake the whole scene would fall to pieces. Bharata lays down very clearly the rules of exits and entrances in his zonal treatment (nŚ, XIII. 12-14). These exits and entrances with proper abhinaya create the required effect.

Besides these, other stage directions demand stylized ūṅgikābhīnaya. In Act I,281 soon after the Prologue, the king enters the stage with the queen, jesters and attendants; they enter the stage in a proper order and take their seats: here the king follows the hand-maid, and is surrounded by the Vidūṣaka and others (nŚ, XIII. 16).

In Act I,282 the jester looks back by turning his neck (valīta-grīvā). This valītam of the neck is the valīta movement of the neck, which is used for turning around etc. (nŚ, VIII. 174-175).

In Act II, the king enacts as if smelling a pleasant odour: this is represented by slightly narrowing the eyes (the kuṭhīta movement) and the socchavāsā
movement of the nose (NSS, XXII. 79b; VIII. 135b). The hands are in arāla (NSS, IX. 51).

In Act II, 46, in the aśoka dohada scene, Karpūramañjarī represents embracing the tree by ardhacandra hastas which suggest the tree (NSS, IX. 44a); the vardhamāṇa hasta represents the grasping of the tree:\(^{283}\) the hitting and holding the tree is represented through the aśvakrānta sthāna (NSS, XII. 175-176); the cărī used for kicking the tree is presumably the sūcī or āviddhā cărī (NSS, X. 33 and 38).

In Act III, Karpūramañjarī and Kurāṅgikā are about to enter the stage; the king and the Vidūṣaka gesticulate entering inside, so that they can hear her: this praveśa nāṭāyaṇa (enacting entrance) would be represented by taking steps backwards and through the use of patākā hands (III. 20 ff.).

The stage direction sparśābhīnaya (III. 23) we have discussed earlier (NSS, XXII. 77a-78b). This is depicted through the utsaṅga hastas (NSS, IX. 139), the lalitā drṣṭi and the utkeśa (lifted) eyebrows (NSS, VIII. 73, 119, etc.).

In Act IV, the king and the jester enact ascending the terrace before the carcarī begins. This is represented by steps in the atikrānta cărī (NSS, XII. 96-98a).

In Act IV, Karpūramañjarī gesticulates, making an opening at the mouth of the sanctuary of Cāmuṇḍā and enters. The patākā hands raised and stretched, with fingers pointing downwards, indicate darkness; the idea of a tunnel and the door is shown by the tripatākā hands facing each other; one tripatākā hasta with the appropriate step suggests entering: all this abhinaya would, of course, be done in a particular zone, thereby establishing the sanctuary in the rest of the act (IV. 17 ff.).

In Act IV,\(^{284}\) the queen worships with the padmakoṣa hands; the muṣṭi and the haṁsāsyā hasta indicate an exit (NSS, IX. 55-56 and 105). The queen listens to Karpūramañjarī through a sūcī glance and the bending of the neck on one side. The scene of the prison room and the sanctuary could be executed effectively only through acute stylization. We notice here that the author carefully indicates the stage directions which provide a clue to the movements of these characters. The queen only enacts the making of an exit. She is as if making an exit and reaching the prison-room; the heroine, Karpūramañjarī, on the other hand, makes an actual exit—a real one, and here the stage direction does not use the word nāṭīta-kena.

In Act IV,\(^{285}\) the marriage between the king and Karpūramañjarī is presented in pantomime. This is portrayed through a pair of arāla hastas moving
around each other and their fingers meeting to form a *svastika* (*NS*, IX. 49) and with the same *hastas* the king and Karpūraṇaṇārī circumambulate round the fire.286

The glances referred to in the text and in the stage directions are *tryāra*, *kaṭākṣa* and *sācī*: all these come from Bharata, but it must be pointed out that Rājaśekhara also uses some of these inaccurately.

Except for a few directions from the codified tradition, and a few inaccuracies and general statements, the *Karpūraṇaṇārī* presents before us a kind of drama, which was very much akin to what is today known as operatic dance-drama. The literary merits of the play may not be great, but of its significance as a play, with a very definite technique, there is no doubt. Rājaśekhara himself tells us that his work is not a plain drama or a *nāṭikā*; it is a *saṭṭaka* (I. 4, 6 and 12): it is defined in the text as the play which “very much resembles a *nāṭikā*, except only that *praveśakas*, *viśkambhakas* and *aṅkas* do not occur” (I. 6). Konow287 in his introduction to the *Karpūraṇaṇārī* says, “the *saṭṭaka* in most of its characteristics resembled the *nāṭikā*, but was classed separately, not only because it was written in Prākṛta, but also because a distinct kind of dancing was used in it.” The tradition preserved in this form of play is, perhaps, an older tradition of a class of plays in which dancing played an essential part. We find the word *saṭṭaka* occur in the form of *saṭṭaka* in the Bharhut sculptures under the scene of the *apsarās* dancing.288 This word *sāḍika* or *sāḍikasa*289 is interpreted as an irregularly formed equivalent of Sanskrit *sāṭika*, which stands for a kind of a dramatic performance and is here applicable to the dance of the *apsarās*: the dancing and musical instruments seen on the Bharhut railing may not tell us exactly of a dramatic performance, but the association of music with dancing and that of both of them with dramatic performance is obvious. The type of operatic drama we find in the-*Karpūraṇaṇārī*, perhaps, grew out of the music and dance recitals portrayed in the Bharhut sculptures.
Notes

2. Ibid., p. 262.
3. For other references to Indra as a dancer see \textit{Rgveda}, VIII, 68. vii., VI. 33. iii, and VIII. 92. iii, etc.
5. Max Müller, \textit{Sacred Books of the East}.
6. VI. 63. v.
10. \textit{Nrtaye}: the infinitive form is used.
11. Griffiths translates this as: “.... eagles have sent forth their cry drift in heaven in the sky’s vault the dark impetuous ones have danced.” Wilson translates this hymn in an entirely different manner. The deities of the hymn are the stones used for brushing the \textit{soma} plant, —the \textit{ṛśi} is Arbudha, the serpent, son of Kedru,—and the descriptions are those of the stones. The hymn becomes a sustained simile, in which the stones are compared to a hundred thousand men (X. 94, ii), who receive into their mouths the sweet (\textit{soma}) juice and roar (like the eaters of flesh) over the roasted meat. Thus verse four is translated as: “They cry aloud calling upon Indra with the intoxicating effused (\textit{soma}) they took the sweet juice into their mouth, soiled by the sisters the bold stones danced filling the earth with shouts.” And the next verse as: “The well gliding stones made a noise in the firmament; they danced like the black deer in the stall. . . . . .” (Wilson, H. H., Vol. VI, pp. 177-78). It is quite clear from either interpretation that this virile dancing was certainly couple dancing and had vocal music as its accompaniment. From Wilson’s interpretation we may also conclude that there was a circular gliding, swift-footed movement in the dance.
13. The commentaries of the text are useful as the details of the rituals are described there.
15. X. 19; three strides of \textit{Viṣṇu} are mentioned here, too.
16. This sounding of sixteen or seventeen drums is the beginning of the Nāndi in the \textit{Sanskrit} drama, where sixteen drums are sounded. To this day such drum beating is seen in the beginning of an orthodox \textit{Kathakali} performance and in some kinds of \textit{Nāga} dances.
19. Translation by Griffiths.
20. Translation by Macdonell, XII. 1. 41.
21. \textit{Aitareya Bràhmana}, VI. 27, where the nature of art creation is discussed. Also \textit{Aitareya Áramyaka}, III. 2. 6, where “Prajāpati the year, emanating offspring was disintegrated (\textit{vyaśravanta}) he reintegrated himself (ātmānam samabodhayat) by means of the metres (\textit{chandabhūḥ})” and \textit{Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Bràhmana}, III. 2, where initiation is called metrical transformation (\textit{dikṣituschandānīsyeva abhūsambharaṛati}). In these passages the spiritual significance of the rhythm in art is plainly asserted. Conversely, they are also of interest in connection with the problem of the origins of art, all rhythm corresponding in the last analysis to cosmic rhythm; see \textit{Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Bràhmana}, I, 35, 7.
24. \textit{Devapānā Vidyā} is interpreted by Śārkhā as the science of making essences, of dancing, singing, music, architecture, etc. Hume translates it as the “Fine Arts”. For further interpretation see Faddegon, B., \textit{Acta Orientalia} 4. 42-54.
25. In VII. I. 3, the difference between \textit{Ithāsa} and \textit{Purāṇa} is made; \textit{Vedic Index} discusses this fully.
26. For references in the \textit{Upaniṣads}, which have a bearing on aesthetic theories of the Hindu, see \textit{Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad}, I. 4. 10, where it is said that the true knowledge of an object is not obtained by merely empirical observation or reflex registration (\textit{pratyakṣa}) but only when the knower and the known, the seer and the seen meet in an act transcending distinction. . . . . etc. This has a direct bearing on the stress on the “state of being” rather than “one of action” in the Indian Arts. See also ibid., III. 3. 32. The conception of god as the supreme artist, as representing the perfection toward which human art tends, has played an important part in Indian aesthetics: the artist consequently slaves in the timeless activity of the god. The idea

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of the necessary disappearance of the perfected being finds its place in all metaphysical systems. See Chāndogya Upāniṣad, VIII, 13.

27. See also concept of the space in the heart (antarhrdaya ākāśa) (ibid., VIII, 1 and 1-3)—and Brhadāranyaka Upāniṣad, V, 3, etc. For other references to related concepts, see Kauśitaki Upāniṣad, I, 3, and Prasna Upāniṣad, VI, 5, for three modes of perception etc. A different conception is seen in Brhadāranyaka Upāniṣad, I, 4, 17. Coomaraswamy has discussed this aspect fully in many of his studies.—Transformation of Nature in Art in Dance of Śiva and in the introduction to History of Indian and Indonesian Art.

28. For a detailed enumeration of these customs see Hindu Ritual and Customs, also Divedi, Hazārī Prasad, Prācīna Bhārata ke Kalātmaka Vinoda, where he gives a fine description of the domestic life of the people.

29. For discussion on musical instruments see Indian Culture, Vol. April 1938—Music Culture in the Rāmāyaṇa by Dharma P. C.

30. Cf. commentary to Rāmāyaṇa, Tilaka, p. 295, where laya is used. The sampa tāla is perhaps the ancient jhampa tāla and modern jhapa tāla.


32. Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, CH. 44, verses 25-27.

33. Mahābhārata, Vīrāga Parva, CH. 11.


35. In the Rgveda, the dance of Kṛṣṇa is not referred to. The passage literally means: ‘The being’ (One) assumes various bodies: One form stood apart occupying triple observance.”

36. Nāṭyaśāstra, IV, 293b-294a discussion on types of pīṇdis.


38. Also see hallisa as mentioned in Bhāsa’s Bālaracita.


40. Four readings are found of this, and technical phrases that refer to tāla are indicated.


42. Ibid., p. 328 (footnote).

43. Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X Section XXXIII v, 2 ff.)

44. Wilson’s translation Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Vol. IV.

45. See Keith, Aṣṭāpartambha and Bahvraja Brāhmaṇa, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1915, p. 498. See also Annapadā Sūtra,IV, 5, etc. and Weber Indische Studien: 156 Indian Literature, 197, —who compares the naṭa-sūtras of Pāṇini to those in the Brāhmaṇas etc. Also V. S. Agrawala, India as Known to Pāṇini, p. 338.

46. Cf. also to Kayaja the commentator of Patañjali and Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 32-33.

47. Also see Mahābhāṣya, VI, 3. 43, where the dancing of women is described. Also see Purī, B. N., India in the Time of Patañjali, pp. 110, 218-220.

48. Agrawala, V. S., India as Known to Pāṇini, p. 168.

49. See Bharhut inscription where sadakam and sammadam etc. occur. Also Levi, Sylvain, Le Theatre Indien, Paris, 1890, II, 5, for origin of the sattaka.

50. Tūrya, according to the Jātakas, consisted of a female lyre player, a hand-capper, a cymbalist, a taborer, and a flute player. See Nīḍānā-Kathā Jātaka, I, 32.

51. See Rāmāyaṇa where the term pāṇi-vādaka occurs.


54. Compare this with Pāṇini and Patañjali where naṭa is the only word used.

55. Kauṭīlya’s Arthaśāstra, Book IV, CH. I.

56. Kauṭīlya’s Book II, CH. XXIII (Syamasastri’s translation, p. 140).

57. Miśinda Pañcha, I, 191; Jātaka II, 12; Jātaka VI, 191; Saddharma Puṇḍarika, CH. III.

58. Also see Manu III, 155, 158; Manu IV, 214; Manu XII, 45; and Manu X, 52.

59. Other texts consider dancing as indiscipline and forbid the Brāhmaṇā to take part in it: see Gopātha Brāhmaṇa also Hārīta, III, 8; Uśana III, 17, Vyās I. 28. Sāṅkhya III, 12; Viṣṇu XXVIII, 11, Manu II. 178. He is also asked to avoid singing,—Hārīta III, 8; Uśana III, 20; Vyās I, 28; Sāṅkhya III, 12; Viṣṇu Purāṇa, XXVIII, 11; Manu II, 178.

60. The Triṣṭartāloka puruṣacarita, I, 2, 950 ff. (Gaekwār’s Oriental Series, L, 1, 152) lists only five arts (śilpa), viz., “those of the potter, architect, painter, weaver and barber”.


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63. Translation by Binoy Kumar Sarkar.
64. Translation by Binoy Kumar Sarkar. The *Sukranitiśāra* also gives us some very definite statements of aesthetic principles in the passages dealing with the making of images (CH. IV, verse 70 ff.). In all these portions the author is propounding a purely scholastic and hieratic conception of what is lovely and beautiful, thereby convincing us that the inspiration of Indian Art really proceeds from a more or less religious scholasticism that implies a traditional classification of types established by convention. The validity of personal and individual art is hardly ever admitted in any academic discussion of the Arts.

65. For a detailed discussion on the sixty-four arts, see Dr. Venkatasubbiah’s scholarly work *The Sixty-four Arts and Crafts* (Adyar, 1911). Also see Venkatasubbiah and E. Muller, “The Kalas”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1914). Also see, Ganguli, *The Sixty Four Arts*.

67. Also see Kālidāsa, *Rāghuvrāṇa*, Canto XIX, where these are mentioned.
68. Ibid., I. 7. 16.
70. Ibid., Book XXVI, story 32.
71. Fausball; *Jātaka* II, p. 328; V. p. 249.
72. Refer to *Jātakas*, I, 239; III, 18 and 237 and IV, 237.
76. *Vinaya Texts*, Part II, p. 171 and 172. Also see ibid., IV. 6 for classification of *śīla* (vocational arts).
77. *Lalitavistara*; Arts Number, 36, 37, 41 and 42.
79. Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*.
80. Ibid., Mitra. R. L., XII. pp. 199-200. Also see Weber, *Dramatic History of the World*, where he says, “In the *Lalitavistara* apropos of the testing of Buddha in the various science, *nātya*, most undoubtedly, is taken in the sense of mimetic art.”
81. *Milinda Panha*, I, 6 (sikkha... etc.).
82. Luder’s translation of *Sāriputra-Prakarana*: the last chapter describes a philosophic dialogue between the Buddha and Sāriputra.
83. Translated into Chinese, 3rd century A.D.
84. Bimbisāra, the king of the Magadhas, also had a drama performed in honour of a pair of Nāga kings.
86. Ibid., p. 165.
87. For other references to the professional actor, see *Milinda Panha*, I, 191, also *Jatakas*, II, 12; *Jātaka* IV, 191, etc.
88. The following Jaina texts deal with the 72 kalās. *Nāyadharmikā*, i (N. N. Vaidya’s edition, p. 12); *Samavāyāga* (Ahmedabad edition, p. 77a); *Ovavya* (Surat second, p. 40); *Rāyapa-senīya* (Ahmedabad, p. 211); *Jambubuddhipannatti* (Santichandra, Bombay, 1920), p. 136 ff.
89. For discussion on these, see the following articles and books; Sen, Amulyachandra, Social Life in Jaina Literature, *Calcutta Review*, March 1933, p. 364 ff; Bhagavāna Mahāvīra in *Dharmakathao*, p. 193 ff; Das Gupta, D. C., *Jain System of Education*, p. 74.
• The following subjects in music and dancing are mentioned in these texts: dancing (nāṭa), singing (gōya), instrumental music (vāḍya), vocal music (saraṇgāya), drum music (mukkhār-vaṇa) and samatāla. For discussion see Jain, Jagdish Chandra, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 172 ff.
91. Nātyaśāstra, CH. XI dealing with *mandala*.
93. This, if we agree to interpret ārbbhādi as the Nātyaśāstra ārbbhādi.
94. Jain, J. C., *Life in Ancient India according to Jaina Canons*; he lists the varieties.
95. III, 4106 ff. and 1-2443 f 2085.
96. i.e., technical in so far as the phraseology of Bharata is employed.
97. Also see *Lalitavistara*, 252-258; *Mahāvastu*, Jones J. J.’s translation, Vol. II. p. 155. Other instruments are mentioned there.
98. *Lalita bhāva* is not one of the transitory emotions (vādhisīrī bāvas) but is related to *rati* and *ṣīrīgāra*. Also see Nātyaśāstra, IV, 25. It is, however, included in the ten natural graces (ālan-kāra) of women. *Lalita*, where ‘graceful movement of hands, feet, brows, eyes, lips, etc. are made by women’ (NS, Kāvyamāla 1894 edition, CH. XXII. 22). It is also mentioned under ‘Basic Representations’ (śāmityābhīna) where in describing Helā, the phrase ‘lalitābhīna’
is used: "Emotion which depends on the erotic sentiment and expresses itself in graceful movements (talitābhīnaya) is called heḷā (passion)" (NS, Kāvyamālā, 1894 ed., XXII. 11, Ghosh, M. M. translation, p. 441).

99. For other references to dhṛti in the Buddhacaritam see IV. 6; IV. 7 and IV. 37.
101. Technical references found here are discussed later.
102. Cf. Canto XVI, 12—where Kuśa is told that in this city (Ayodhyā), where the sound of mṛdanga was heard, now jackals cry.

Ramachandran, K. V., Music and Dance in Kālidāsa, p. 7. He quotes an extract from Dr. Kunst: "Chiblon is the rhythmic beating with the hand in different ways either with the crooked or flat of hand on and in the water, the chiblon has also given its name to certain ways of drum playing: thus the chiblon became afterwards the name of one of the drum forms."

103. In the Rūṣamhūra, trees, creepers, peacocks, swans dance in different seasons; the trees dance in autumn (Canto III, 10) and the peacocks rejoice in the rainy season The peacocks rejoice with the seasons. See:
Ibid., Canto II, 3-5.
Ibid., Canto II, 14.
Ibid., Canto II, 16.
Ibid., Canto II, 19.
In the Raghuvamsa Aja is told that with Indumati he will watch the peacock dance in the rains (Canto VI, 51). But when love ceases and the union is destroyed the peacock stops dancing. Thus, in the Rāmaśāstra when Sītā is abandoned, the trees, the flowers, the deer all weep and the peacocks cease to dance. Nature responds to Sītā's tragic fate (Canto XIV, 69).

The spirit of Ayodhyā, addressing Kuśa, says to him, "The peacocks have stopped dancing here, and they have become wild" (R.V. XVI, 12-14).

In the Kumārasambhava the army of the devas is described: "The dust that arose from the feet of the army seemed to the swans and the peacocks like rain clouds: the swans went to the Mānasarorava and the peacocks gleefully danced (sānandamahantrit kekhībhīh) (Canto XIV, 35). "The domestic peacocks will dance"—Meghadūta (Pūrva Megha, 36) "to welcome the messenger" (ṛṇyopahāra).

105. See Monier-Williams, p. 899. Lāsaka later came to mean a tāṅgula dancer; see later Bāna's Harṣa-carita.

107. Also Rūṣamhūra, Canto II, 3, 4 and 6 the peacocks dance hearing the drum of the clouds the mardala is the percussion instrument here (cf. the maddalam of Kathakali and the khoł of Manipuri dancing today).
108. In the Kumārasambhava the same idea is repeated when the poet compares the passing of the breeze through hollow bamboos to instrumental music and this is the accompaniment to the singing of the kinnaras (Canto I, 8). In the Raghuvamsa, Canto II, 12, in the same style this music is compared to the music of the flute keeping accompaniment to the singing of the gods (see Ramachandran, K. V., Music and Dance in Kālidāsa, p. 5): he takes the instrumental music described here to be "the Aeolian flute, a wind instrument fashioned by human hands but played upon by the breeze.
109. Also see Mahāvīrakāṇimitra—Ganadāsa's definition of the perfect dance.
110. See also Raghuvamsa, XIX, v. 13, 14. From the description of these dances, we know that the practice of the four types of abhinaya was customary and well-known, that dance gurus (see Raghuvamsa, XXII, 14 and XIX, 36) were employed in courts, that the dancing was done to the accompaniment of the mṛdanga and song, and that it had to be perfectly executed without flaw in tāla.

111. See earlier Kumārasambhava.
112. VIII, 91.
113. Nāṭyāśāstra, CH. IV.
114. See Kumārasambhava (Canto VII, 81 and Canto V, 74) etc. Also sūcī hasta described in Raghuvamsa, Canto II, 24.
115. Viśhrama is frequently mentioned: it is one of the ten natural graces (alankāras) of women (Nāṭyāśāstra, Kāvyamālā Series, XXII, 17). The apsaraś in the Himalayas mistaking the cloud-shadows for evening hurry indoors in a state of confusion (Kumārasambhava, I, 4).
116. Canto IX, 34 and 38.
117. Kirāṭārjunīya, Chowkambha Series edition, p. 86. Mallinātha's commentary interprets klānta vilopacana as glāni dṛṣṭi. Glāni dṛṣṭi is one of the thirty-six glances of Nāṭyāśāstra (VIII, 67 and VIII, 88). It is used for weariness, sickness, etc.
118. See Commentary, Chowkambha Series, p. 224.

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119. Uttarakīthikā, II, 10 ff.
120. Uttarapīṭhikā, II, 42 ff.
121. The gathering here is the equivalent of the janapada 'samāja' of the Rāmāyana, and the gośthi of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra.
122. Recita, as a general term, only means moving about, but in almost all the movements of the limbs and the face, there is one movement called the recaka; the recita of the eyebrows 'is the lifting of the one eyebrow and is used for amorous sporting' and is used in dance (Nātyaśāstra, VIII, 119 ff.).
123. Agrawala, V. S., Harsacarita. A comprehensive analysis of the society, culture and the arts as found in the work and as given in the commentary.
125. Agrawala, V. S., Harsacarita, pp. 32-34, for an interpretation of these terms.
126. Nātyaśāstra, Kāvyamāla Series XX, 14.
127. Cf. also to the hallisaka mentioned in the Harivamsa, II, 20.
128. We have various karanas and angahāraś also by that name. Nātyaśāstra, C11 IV—svastika, retca, adha-retca, etc. Here Bharata talks of four types of retca, viz., pāda (foot), katt (waist), hasta (hand) and gīvā (neck). Nātyaśāstra, IV, 252-256.
129. See Śaṅkara commentary.
130. For a definition of pindī and pindībandha see Nātyaśāstra, IV, 260: and Nātyaśāstra, IV, 294b-295a. See Ghosh, M., translation of Nātyaśāstra, footnotes on p. 67 and 71. Śrādātānaya's Bhāvaprakāsa gives an exhaustive definition of pindī
   The four types of pindībandha known to Bharata are pindī, śnykhālā, latābandha and bhedākā: rāsākā. Here is obviously of the second śnykhālā type where circles are made by joining the hands.
131. Agrawala, V. S., Harsacarita, p. 32 ff. footnote, p 34, who compares this dance with the dances of the Greeks: he is also of the opinion that the Indian iśā and the Greek hallisaka combined to produce the peculiar dance of the Arbutae or Arbiti which came to be known as ārābhaṭī. What he points out, is supported by Bharata's description of the ārābhaṭī: Nātyaśāstra, Kāvyamāla Series, XX, 26.
132. Pitchers feature prominently in the Varāṇaṅgaḷa dances in Bengal and some koṭi dances in Uttar Pradesh.
133. For reference to lāsakā sangītasālā, see ibid, III, 80 ff., where different types of educational agencies are mentioned.
134. Pānī, IV, 3, 110.
137. Ibid., p. 148; illustration of the Deogarh scene
140. Ibid., pp. 124-25; ibid., translation, pp. 103 and 105.
141. Ibid., pp. 61, 153 and 230; and ibid., translation, pp 43, 130, 195, etc.
144. Kādambarī, Kale's edition, p. 125; Nyttāśāstra and Gandharva Vidyā, both are mentioned.
145. Ibid., p. 126, T. Ridding's translation, p. 60. The words ṇṛtta, ṇṛttakā ṇādā and lāyuvālāśa are frequently used.
147. Ibid., p. 125.
149. Ibid., p. 73, description of the hermitage of Jābāli
152. Gitakalīvānasamavā, Ibid., p. 59.
154. Ibid., p. 150.
155. Ibid., p. 151.
156. Ibid., p. 61.
158. Ibid., p. 226.
159. Keith, A., Sanskrit Drama, p. 112.
160. The hallisaka is a nyūya known since the Harivāmaṇa: See Kakati, B., 'Rīṣa Dance and the Moon Myth', Journal of Gauhati University.

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161. See also Keith, A., Sanskrit Drama, p. 41, resemblance to the Holi dance and to phallic orgies of Pagan Rome as described by Juvenal.
Keith also observes (p. 112) that "this may be a reminiscence of a cult dance in honour of Viṣṇu where weapons of Viṣṇu appear as figures on the stage in the dress of herdsmen."

162. Gūrī (mountain) was substituted when Kṛṣṇa played the part.


164. See Mṛcchakatika, Kale's edition: Introduction where he classifies the play as prakarāya.


166. The scene of the chase will be discussed separately as an example of anjikābhīnaya.


168. See Mallinātha's commentary for definition of this term.


170. Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra devotes a whole chapter to these arts. An alternative meaning of vaśīkī is mentioned by the commentator: See Kale's Ed., p. 3, commentary.

171. The window would be represented through two hamsapakṣa hastas turned down: this is when the hamsapakṣa hastas form a vardhamānaka (Nāṭyāsāstra, IX, 158).

172. This is according to Abhinavagupta, v. 155-157.


175. The couplet does not occur in the G.O.S. edition of the Nāṭyāsāstra. It is found in the Chow-kambha edition (CH. XX, 42).


177. Bharata says (Nāṭyāsāstra, Kāvyamālā, 35) that the rainy night should be indicated by 'loud sound of masses of clouds, falling showers of rain ...' (translation, Ghosh, M. M., Nāṭyāsāstra, p. 497).


180. Also see Nāṭyāsāstra, IV, 275b-276c, where the lōṣya is termed vakumāraprayoga.


182. End of Act 1: it occurs as stage direction.

183. There are numerous examples of this type of word play in Sanskrit drama.

184. Nāṭyāsāstra, I, 47, for apsaras and VI, 15 for the eight rutas.

185. Some commentators believe that he did the three dances, viz. the carcāni, khuraka and kuttilkā in this act: these three are defined as special kinds of dances, the third is in the category of the nāṭya and the first two in the category of nṛtya.

186. There is an angalāśa, as also a karana by that name: (Nāṭyāsāstra, IV, 184, 81, 82).

187. Bharata really prescribes two sthānaṇas for the releasing of missiles, the mandala sthāna and the āḍāha. The first relates to Indra. The feet are obliquely placed four tālas apart and is assumed in the use of weapons like the bow and the thunderbolt. The āḍāha is done by the right foot in the mandala sthāna and the left pushed away five tālas apart, an attitude common in Indian iconography such as the Mahāśmrardini and other such figures. It is assumed in the release of missiles.

188. We shall discuss these in detail later.


190. Notice that the uses of suktumāṇa hands according to Bharata do not include watering of plants. See illustration of these gestures in Ramachandran, K. V., Music and Dancing in Kālidāsa, p. 22 ff.

191. See Abhijñāna Sakuntala. Nirmaya Sagar Press, p. 27, commentary. Also see Ramachandran, K. V., Music and Dancing in Kālidāsa, illustration, p. 22.

192. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

193. The lajjita or lajjanīvita glance is described as the glance in which ends of the eye-lashes are slightly curved, the upper eyelid is lowered, the eyeballs look down (see Nirmaya Sagar Press First edition, p. 40).  

194. Nirmaya Sagar Press edition, p. 38 and p. 40. Bharata does not say specifically that the tripa-takā haṭa is used for an aside: but one of the uses is to place it near the mouth and ears; and the convention emerged out of this. Bharata talks of junāntika in his chapter on Special Representation and does not mention the use of the tripa-takā haṭa; he also does not say how it is to be represented on the stage (Nāṭyāsāstra, Kāvyamālā Series, CH. XXV, 91a-92).


196. Ibid., p. 84.

197. Nāṭyāsāstra, VIII, 36—paralolita is the word used when the head moves on all sides; it is used in fainting, intoxication and when one is possessed by a spirit: and see VIII, 86-7, for śānya dṛṣṭi and X, 148-149 for dola haṭa.
199. Bharata does not mention melancholy or love-sickness as one of the states in which the karkata hasta is used. see IX, 133b-134a.
200. Abhilāsā is described by Bharata as the first stage of love (Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXII, 157-158).
201. It is used in turning away the face and looking back. See Nātysāstra CH. VIII, 34.
203. The word 'possibly' is used, as there is a controversy regarding the definition of the term citra-bhīnaya here: some scholars have argued that it stands for pictorial effect, and others say that it stands for pictorial effects created through abhinava (see Ghosh, M. M., Nātysāstra, p. 440 and p. 493(b). We take it to mean as the representation through gestures. Also, see Abhinavabhāṣāt, 487 and Kāvyamālā XXV, 2-4.
204. See Nirmaya Sagar First edition, p. 115.
205. See sun and time of day rules by Bharata.
206. See Nirmaya Sagar First edition, p 129.
207. Ibid., p. 129, commentary.
208. Ibid., p. 130 and Nātysāstra, IX, 39-41.
209. Ibid., p. 139.
210. Nirmaya Sagar First edition, p. 188.
211. Ibid., p. 222.
212. Ibid., p. 188.
213. Nirmaya Sagar First edition, p. 229 The Nātysāstra defines the indhivaśum cārī (Nātysāstra, X, 33) as the movement where a kūhastā foot is lifted upwards to the breast level, and the other foot is motionless and samapāda.
214. See Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā edition, CH XXII, v 12-13 and 19-20 Also Ramachandran, K. V., Music and Dance in Kālidāsa, pp 27-29, who gives a very fine analysis of these.
216. There are two other versions of this stage direction.
217. The height of the mountain may be shown by the udhānta head (Nātysāstra, VIII, 29) and the hamsapakṣa hasta (Nātysāstra, IX, 110) on the right side (see Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXV, 2) and the arms are lifted outstretched to indicate the climbing (Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXV, 77).
218. The rubbing against each other to represent the feeling of touch is shown by a pair of utvāṅga hands (Nātysāstra, IX, 139).
219. See Kale's edition, p 19, 20 ff. Also see the stage direction kumāritkālam which is frequent.
220. Act I, p. 23 (Kale's edition)
221. It is more likely in this case that the two arāla hastas were used: the arāla hands are held where the sacred thread is shown and one is separated from the other from a svastika position (Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXV, 13).
225. Ibid., p. 71.
226. Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXV, 6 and XXII, 77b-78a.
227. This is according to the Abhinavadarpana, 251, and not the Nātysāstra.
228. The worshipping may also be done with the mukuta hasta (Nātysāstra, IX, 118 ff).
229. This is formed by placing the arāla hastas contrarily and turning them upwards. It can also be represented by the hamsapakṣa hasta (Nātysāstra, IX, 108-09).
230. Cf. to Nātysāstra, IX, 18-25. The two patākā hands would be separated from the svastika position.
232. Cf. to stage directions: like looking sideways (pārśvata dryūtim) and going round and looking (parikramya pārśvata) etc. and taking two steps (pada-lavaye).
234. This could also be shown by the paralollita head (Nātysāstra, VIII, 37).
236. Nātysāstra, Kāvyamālā, XXII, 77b-78a.
237. Cowell and Thomas, Harṣacarīta, p. 58.
238. Ibid., p. 65.
239. See Takukusú's English translation, p. 163.
240. Ibid., p. 165.
243. Huen-Tsang's account of Harṣa

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244. Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvyamālā, 1943, XXII, 48. Here she represents the words of another through sāki abhinaya.


246. "The eyelids are drawn up and the eyeballs are trembling (calatva) and the middle of the eye is full blown".

247. It is obvious, however, that the stage was not absolutely bare in this scene and the foliage on the stage may easily have given Sāgarikā the noose she wanted. The noose is later employed by Kāñcanamālā to punish the Vidūṣaka.


249. Ibid., Act V, verse 23.

250. Raghavan, V., Kathakali and Other Forms of Bharatanātya, Trivenī, Vol. VI, No 2, October, 1933.

251. Ibid, Yaksagāna, Trivenī, Vol. VII, No 2, October, 1934

252. Nāṭyaśāstra, X, 56-58; the saṅghava of the limbs is defined by Bharata as the position of the body where there is complete equilibrium.

253. This is the conventional description of a love-sick person: see also Jagaddhara's commentary on Sūnya dhūṣi etc.

254. Nāṭyaśāstra, VIII; verses 68, 73, 76, 71 and 79 for definition of these glances and verses 87-94 for their uses.


256. Mālatīmādhava, Act VI, 15 ff. here the tears are wiped by the end of a garment, and VII, verse 7 ff., line 3. Uttarārāmacarita, Act III, verse 18 etc., whereas tears are of affection, wonder, etc.

257. Kapālakundalā worship the deity (Act V, 21 ff.) with padmakāśa and mukula hastas. She enters the stage at the beginning of the Act (V, I) by the aerial path,—the ākāsapatha which is indicated by the atitrāntā cāri.

For other stage directions see Mālatīmādhava, Act VI, verse 7, line 27. Lavangkā and Kāmanḍāki enact entering the temple.

Gamanābhinaya Act, IX, 4 ff., Kapālakundalā entering the cemetery: smelling the odour. this would be done by the vikṛita movement of the nose (Nāṭyaśāstra, VIII, 134)


262. Bāna's Harascorita: one of the characteristics of the āhāṭi nṛtya is rūṣaiva which consists of circle formations of eight, sixteen or thirty-two, but its atmosphere and flavour is different. it is much more vigorous.

263. Sreen, H., Folk Dances of the South—Pinnal Kolliṭamāna, see p. xv and pp. 77 ff

264. Konow, Sten, Karpuramāljari, p. 280, footnote: he interprets this as 'staff-dance'.


266. See Nāṭyaśāstra, Bharata, CH. IV. 95 (danda-pakṣa), 102 (danda-recita) and 143 (danda-pūda) karnā: also Sangitaraṭṭakara (Anandaśrama Series). VII, 642, danda-pakṣa; VII, 651, danda-recita; VII, 711, 965, 1015, 1186, danda-pūda.

267. The danda-pakṣa hasta: two hanṣasapakṣa hands are moved alternately and then held out like a staff, i.e., in a diagonal position.

268. See karanas, 34, 41, and 82 on the walls of the Cidambaram temple, specially illustration of karanas 34, 41 (see Naidu, V. N., Tānda Lakṣaṇam, pp. 131-32 for illustration). We frequently come across this pose in the nṛtya portions of Bharatanātyam.

269. For definition of pīṭhas, see Bhāvaprakāsa, Sāradātana's, p. 264.

270. Rekā is defined as "correct pose of all the limbs in dancing". Cf. Sten Konow, Karpuramāljari, p. 280, footnote 6 (Lamman's translation). Lamman adds, "with clean-cut poses" may be an avayā bhāva or else an adjective with callim.

271. Sangitaraṭṭakara, CH. VII, 315. svabhāvanas sthito bhūmāu samah padabhāhyate, also see Nāṭyaśāstra, X, 13.

272. Ibid. (Anandaśrama Series), CH. VII, 1215.


274. A term still current.

275. Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, XXV (Kāvyamālā, 1943), verses 83-85a. According to the Nāṭyaśāstra, "A swing should be represented by its movement,—fast movements of the limbs and by representing the holding of strings. It is by movements of this kind that the spectators will know of the moving characters who occupy their seats after this are supposedly moving in a swing" (Translation, Ghosh, M. M., Nāṭyaśāstra, p. 503).


278. Konow, Sten, Harvard Series, p 10, and Lanman, translation, p. 228,—the king’s speech.
280. See also Mālavikāṅghunātra.
282. Ibid., p. 19.
283. This vṛddhaṁśa is the samyuta hāsta formed by the mukula and the kappitha hāsta. The Baroda edition and Kāvyamālā edition describe the formation of the vṛddhaṁśa through the hamsapākṣa hands facing outward (Nātyaśāstra, IX, 158) mukula and kappitha formation is on the basis of other manuscripts, see Ghosh, Nātyaśāstra, p 184 Here the vṛddhaṁśa would be the vṛddhaṁśa samyuta hāsta and not the vṛddhaṁśa of the hāvipakṣa hāstas.
285. Ibid., p. 112 (Vivāhaaghāțana nāțayatah).
286. Ibid., p. 114 (Rāja Sarve tathaivanațayati). This refers to the circumambulations mentioned in the Vidūsaka’s speech.
228 Barua, B., Bharhut, Book III, Plates XXXIX and XI II.
SCULPTURE AND DANCING

In a discussion between King Vajra and Mārkanḍeya on painting and drama (nāṭya) occurs a memorable verse which states in a nutshell the manifold inter-relationships of the visual arts and the plastic arts: the King is told,

“As in nāṭya, so also in painting (citra), it is the imitation of the universe, that is the representation of man and other human beings in their state of emotion: as in nāṭya, so in painting, those eyes, those bhāva, that abhinaya aṅga and the upāṅga present a supreme picture—the parama citra.”

What has been said here of painting (citra) can be applied with equal justification to sculpture, and the statement gives us a clue to the nature of relationship between these arts. There is first the identity of the purpose of all Indian arts. Indian sculpture and painting embody in plastic form what the Upaniṣads state in terms of philosophy and what the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and other creative works of literature portray through the fable, and what Indian drama (nāṭya) and dancing present through visual form. The figures of Indian sculpture and painting are the gods of Indian literature and dancing; they are cosmic beings, embodiments of an abstract idea, of an inmost psychical significance; and the human form is the vehicle of communication of this soul state. In both sculpture and dancing the human form is the instrument of expression and everything in the figure, the face, the hands, the posture of the limbs, the pose and turn of the body, each accessory has to be imbued with an inner meaning; it manifests, on the one hand, the basic idea and, on the other, suppresses anything which would mean an emphasis on the merely physical or sensuous.

The technique of the arts is conditioned by this ultimate purpose: since the aim is not only physical or emotional beauty, it presents the human form as a symbol capable of evoking states of being; the canons prescribe the laws and rules by which each single part of the human form can be utilized through the plastic medium and through the language of movement to evoke these states. Thus every figure of Indian sculpture is, like every pose and gesture in Indian dancing, highly symbolic, and each figure has a particular evocative quality. The technique is the methodology by which the artist can present this spirit in form, the soul in body, and it lays down the rules by which the universal and cosmic can be presented through an individualized representation, which can in turn suggest the divine and the cosmic.
The supreme picture, about which the Visnu dharmottara Purana speaks, is suggested and created through a parallel technique of form in both sculpture and dancing: the an̄ga, the upānga, the eyes (drṣṭi), etc., are portrayed with a view to giving the movement of these parts of the body an utmost symbolic significance. Since dancing treats of the an̄gas and upāngas in the movement of the living human form, King Vajra in the Visnu dharmottara is asked to master the laws of dancing before attempting to learn painting and iconography. Once the technique of movement in the living human form is mastered it can be arrested in the plastic medium of stone and colour.

The relationship of sculpture, painting and dancing can, therefore, be analyzed from many angles. It can be studied from the point of view of their identity of purpose, their similarity of content, and their parallelism in technique, or their mutual borrowing of the finished product. An attempt has been made here to analyze these similarities of content and form.

In an earlier chapter the overwhelming sculpturesque quality of the Indian dance has been mentioned, we observed how the Indian dancer seemed to aim at attaining the perfect pose, the moment of perfect balance, after a series of movement in time. The Indian sculptor in turn tries to capture cosmic movement through the perfection of rhythm and line; he also attempts to arrest the rapturous intensity and abandon of dance movement. From the earliest times to the sixteenth century, the Indian sculptor seems to be fascinated by the dynamic energy of the Indian dance: time and again he has tried to arrest the moment of vital and significant movement in stone: the prolificness of the dancing figure in Indian sculpture gives it a unique quality of rhythmic expression.

The fundamental technique of Indian sculpture has been discussed in some detail earlier. We saw how the conception of the sūtra (the plumb lines), the different māna (the linear measurements), the tāla (the space measurements) and the bhaṅga (the poses or deviations from the vertical median) governed the modelling of images in Indian sculpture: we also saw how each pose and each type of pose stood for a corresponding spiritual and emotive quality. From this discussion it was clear that this elaborate and precise system of proportions was not an arbitrary pattern, but was one which was abstract without being meaningless and unsymbolic.

When we compare this fundamental technique of tāla and bhaṅga based on the conception of the sūtra and māna with the technique of dancing as analyzed by us in the chapter on the theory and technique of Indian dancing, we find that there are significant points of contact between the two arts; little wonder, the dancer evokes the sculptured image of Indian temples in the mind of the spectator, and the figures of Indian sculpture evoke visions of dance movement of gods and human beings.
Without going into the differences of opinion between the different authorities of the śīlpaśāstras and the nātyaśāstras, we shall analyze first some of the salient features of the technique of the two arts, and then attempt to analyze the sculptural representation in terms of the dance movement to show how the technique of one art form can be applied to analyze the finished products of the other art form. The representation of dancing in sculpture helps us to reconstruct the missing links in the history of Indian dance; through examples of dance in Indian sculpture we can have some idea of the growth and development of Indian dancing when no written history of the dance exists. The literary and dramatic works give us a clue to the type of dancing, the names of dance forms and compositions prevalent at particular periods of history. Indian sculpture shows us visibly in plastic form, the exact nature of human movement, and the development of stylization in dancing during different periods of history. The consummate skill with which the Indian sculptor has modelled the dancing figure over a period of nearly sixteen hundred years is a rare and significant fact in the history not only of Indian sculpture but of all Indian arts.

From the point of view of form, we find that both Indian dancing and sculpture consider the basic anatomical skeleton of the human form more important than the accessories of muscles and tendons that cover it. The division of the human form into the various niṅga and the upāṅga in both the arts has been made on the basis of the bone structure, the joints of the body rather than the muscular system of the limbs of the human body; muscles and unnecessary details of mass are suppressed, although they are not erred against. Since it was the bone structure and not the muscle structure which was important, it was also possible to analyze the human form in terms of a set of geometrical and mathematical laws of planes and surfaces. The tāla as a unit of measurement in space is mentioned by both the śīlpaśāstras and the nātyaśāstras. The definition of the tāla is quite clear in the śīlpaśāstras and it naturally constitutes the most important and basic unit of measurement. The tāla in Indian dancing cannot obviously stand for height measurement, and the navatāla, aṣṭatāla measurements cannot be applied to dancing; however, the term occurs often in dance texts in discussions on sthāna, cāri and the karaṇa, as also in the description of feet and knee movements. This term is, used in dancing in the measurement of space on the horizontal plane, i.e., along the pramāna. Sometimes the movement of the hands and the feet prescribed for cāris or karaṇas can also be understood in terms of the upamāna (the measurement of interspaces between parts of the body). Indeed the nṛtta technique of Indian dancing can be understood to a very large extent if we understand the conception of the sūtra and the māna of Indian sculpture. Indian dancing intentionally imposes upon itself this discipline of limited space and all its movements can be analyzed in terms of the relation of the different parts of the human body to the vertical median (the brahma sūtra) on the one hand and the measurements along the different planes denoted by the area which would be covered by the māna, the pra-
māṇa and the ummāna corresponding to the dimensions of height, breadth and thickness and the measurements of the interspaces (upamāna) and the periphery along the circumference (the parimāṇa) on the other. The leg extensions of mandalas and sthānas of Indian dancing can be measured along the pramāṇa, the movемents of different parts of the body, specially the chest and the neck etc., can be measured along the ummāna; the movements of the recita type and the bhramaris take into consideration the parimāṇa measurements. Just as Indian sculpture conceives of the deflections and poses of the human body along these different planes and areas of space, so also Indian dancing conceives of movement in space along the three planes; characteristically, Indian dancing seldom conceives of space without these limitations. The vertical ascension in either dance or sculpture is emphasized but rarely, and there is no attempt to spread out, or to extend the limbs to the furthest point from the centre of the body. The point of perfect balance can be maintained if there is the minimum possible deviation from the centre of gravity: both the Indian sculptor and the Indian dancer follow this rule. Violent movement is depicted only by one leg and the utmost poise and stability of a rare static quality is suggested by the other.

Closely related to the manipulation of space in relation to the vertical median (sūtra) and measurements along the different planes is the manipulation of weight which results in the deflections of different parts of the body from the vertical median. All human movement can be classified into the four bhaṅgas in both sculpture and dancing. The moment of perfect balance and poise when the weight of the body is equally divided and the sūtra passes through the crown of the head through the navel to a point midway between the heels is the samabhanga pose in Indian sculpture. There are in Indian dancing also a large number of positions in the sthānav, in the cūris and in the karaṇas, which correspond to the samabhanga position. The samapāda cūri, the samanakha and the sama karaṇa and the samapādu sthāna correspond to this position in sculpture. There are no knee bends here, and no recita of the hands; the hips, waist, sides and the feet all suggest perfect poise, without any relaxation or tension.

From this moment of complete poise and perfect balance, the next step is when slight movement is suggested without covering space but by a shift of weight: this is the abhaṅga pose. the point of unrest and not of movement: here there is only a slight flexion of one knee. Although the plumb line (sūtra) passes from the crown of the head to a point midway between the heels, it passes through the right of the navel and not through the navel as in the samabhanga pose. There is thus a shift of weight, which results in either a change in the position of the hip (kaṭī) or the placing of the foot, or sometimes by the deviation of the torso to one side. But the placing of the feet is by far the most important method of depicting the abhaṅga pose in both dancing and sculpture: the tryaśra\(^b\) placing of one foot, without the knee bend or the controlled udvāhita\(^b\) movement of the hips results in this
stance: the sides (pārśva) move but slightly. The beautiful images of Kōdanḍa Rāma, of the Cola queen in bronze, of Pārvatī and Mātaṅgi in the South Indian bronzes all show this slight shift of weight, and oblique placing of one foot. In dancing this pose is mentioned in the context of sthānas for women, the āyata and the avahītha sthāna are fine examples of the abhaṅga pose. Both in Indian sculpture and dancing the abhaṅga pose is never shown by a kuñcita or an aṅcita foot; it is always the samapāda frontal position of one foot and slight tryaśra placing of the other; the flowing figures of the verandahs of the Rāmasvaram cave in Elurā are also faithful representations of the abhaṅga pose, full of rhythm and yet suggestive of unique poise. The tribhaṅga indicates a complete shift of weight from one leg to the other; for here one leg is in contact with the ground: the other can be lifted up and drawn away and in doing so the balance has invariably to be maintained by shifting the torso to the opposite direction. There are, therefore, three distinct deviations of the head, torso, and the legs from the vertical median; the central plumb line (sūtra) passes through the left or right pupil, the middle of the chest, the left or right of the navel down to the heels. The human figure is divided along the three horizontal sūtras (namely the hikkā, the bhadrā and kati) and each unit moves in an opposite direction to the first: thus if the head and hips deflect to the right the torso deviates to the left. This is one of the significant similarities of technique between Indian sculpture and Indian dancing. The conception of the tribhaṅga indicates clearly the basic laws which are followed in the depiction of human movement: the human form is broken up into the units of the head, the torso (above the navel line) and the lower limbs below the kati sūtra (hip line) and these are then manipulated in different ways. Most of the sculptural representation of Indian dancing can be classified as the tribhaṅga pose and the finest examples of Indian sculpture, such as the image of Śiva as Nāṭarāja and the other nṛttamūrtis of Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇa and Durgā, are all in the tribhaṅga pose: the cāṛī or karana or maṇḍala of the Nāṭyaśāstra, when analyzed in terms of the static posture they finally attain, can also be analyzed in terms of the tribhaṅga or the atibhaṅga pose. The maximum deviations are allowed to the different parts of the body in the atibhaṅga: the bend of the knees, the deflection of the hips, the extension of the side (pārśva) and the movements of the head can all take place at the same time in the atibhaṅga, and some of the contortionist sculpture and the acrobatic feats of Indian dancing were possible in the freedom allowed by the principle of the atibhaṅga. Used in a restrained manner, it resulted in the powerful stances of Durgā and Śiva and, when used to show virtuosity in the plastic medium or through the medium of the movement, it resulted in the different types of contortionist poses seen sometimes on the walls of Indian temples, and the acrobatic movements prescribed for some of the Nāṭyaśāstra karana like the cakramaṇḍala and the gāṅgāvataraṇa etc.

Arising out of the conception of the bhaṅga are the different types of sthāna, āsana and šayana (reclining postures) mentioned in both the Nāṭyaśāstra and the
śilpaśāstras. Of these the sthānas are the most closely related; the āsanas and the reclining postures also correspond to each other in the two arts, but a close parallel cannot be drawn. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa mentions about nine such sthānas in one context and thirteen others in another: all these arise out of different positions of the legs and the feet and lead to a series of postures and movements like the vaiśākha, theālīḍha and the pratyālīḍha, visama, calita, skhalita, āyasta (āyata) etc. These terms are closely related to the terms of the Nāṭyaśāstra: theālīḍha, pratyālīḍha, the vaiśākha and āyata belong as much to the sphere of dancing and drama (nāṭya) as to the sphere of sculpture. Bharata prescribes theālīḍha, the pratyālīḍha and the vaiśākha sthāna for men and the āyata sthāna for women. The definitions of the terms such as theālīḍha, the pratyālīḍha and the vaiśākha sthāna closely correspond to each other: the āyata mentioned in the context of the holding of the spear etc. in the Viṣṇudharmottara is mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra strictly in the context of the standing postures of women. The Viṣṇudharmottara also classifies all these sthānas in two general groups of the sama and ardhhasama sthānas. This classification is akin to the classification of cārīs into the bhaumī and ākāṣikī, by which one foot movement and the movements of both the feet are indicated. A similar kind of parallelism can be worked out in the discussion of the āsanas and the śāyana postures in both the arts, but this is neither too precise, nor is the parallelism so striking. The most striking similarity between the two arts is seen in the manipulation of the hands, termed hastābhinaya in dancing and hasta or mudrā in Indian sculpture. As in Indian dancing, so also in Indian sculpture, the hand positions and movements constitute an important aspect of technique. Much of the sculpturesque quality of the dance lies in the accurate depiction of the hand movements and the arm positions along with the tribhāṅga posture mentioned above: also, the symbolic and highly stylized quality of the Indian images lies in the faithful presentation of the hand postures according to the laws laid down in the śilpaśāstras. Each one of these hand gestures is used in a special way in each image and depicts the idea or the character and the mood of the image. Each mood of a god has a prescribed hand gesture and seldom do we find the sculptor erring against this. The devahastas described by the Abhinayadarpana and mentioned by us earlier can be applied fairly accurately to the hastas of the different gods and goddesses seen in Indian iconography. The śilpaśāstras mention only a few hasta and many of them repeat the hasta of the Nāṭyaśāstra and other texts of dramaturgy. The iconography texts mention many hasta; in our discussion of hasta in the chapter on the theory and technique of classical Indian dancing we examined some of these similarities and differences. The most common hasta are the varada, the abhaya, the kaṭaka, the sūcī, the tarjana, the kaṭyavalambita, the daṇḍahasta, the vismayahasta and the añjalihasta. The South Indian texts also mention the nidrīta hasta, the gaja-hasta (variation of the daṇḍahasta), the śīnḥakarna hasta (variation of the kaṭaka hasta), and kartarī hasta. These are in addition to the four hasta-mudrās, namely the cinamudrā, the vyākhyaṇa mudrā, the jñāna mudrā and the yoga mudrā known to Indian icono-
graphy, in the context of meditation and exposition. Most of these hastas are mentioned in the Nātyaśāstra or are comparable to those found in other dance texts. Both the Viśṇudharmottara Purāṇa and the Agni Purāṇa\textsuperscript{13} use these, with slight variations. On the whole the Agni Purâṇa is more precise; the Viṣṇudharmottara Purâṇa lumps the iconography hastas and the nṛtta hastas and the different karaṇas of the hastas and the arms (bāhu) movements into one list. The uromāṇḍala, the arāla and the āviddha are all spoken of in the same breath.

Since Indian sculpture and Indian dancing treat of the human form and the movements of the different parts of the human form with an identical purpose of suggesting a state of being, a soul's state: they also use a similar formalized language of abhinaya and bhāva, the aṅgas, the upāṅgas and the hastas.

It is not our purpose here to go into greater detail of the parallelism of technique and a comparison of technical terminology of the two arts. It will be obvious from the above discussion that there are many vital points of contact between the two arts, and what seems as vaguely sculpturesque is really the result of a deliberate plan and a highly formalized technique of the depiction of human movement. What may seem spontaneous in both Indian dance and sculpture is really the result of a well-thought-out complex system of proportions and of the use of aṅgas and upāṅgas in the two arts.

Since dance was consciously striving for the sculpturesque, all dance poses can be classified and analyzed in terms of the samabhāṅga, abhāṅga and tribhāṅga, and within the tradition no movement would be possible without falling into one of these three categories; conversely all examples of Indian sculpture whether obviously dancing or not can be analyzed in terms of the aṅga and the upāṅga of dancing, specially in terms of the static positions and individual movements of the different parts of the human body as described in the Nātyaśāstra. If one began to do this, practically the whole field of Indian sculpture could be covered and all sculpture could be analyzed in terms of either the nṛtta or the abhinaya technique of dancing. It is, therefore, necessary to restrict our field of analysis and to state clearly the type of sculptural representations which can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of dance movement.

We have confined ourselves to certain types of Indian sculpture to show how Indian sculpture and dancing are related to each other on different planes. When we analyze and trace the history of Indian dancing in these sculptures, we are aware also of the distinctive stylization of each of the schools of Indian sculpture, this in turn is analogous to the distinctive stylization in the major styles of Indian dancing. For purposes of analysis, the sculptural representations have been divided into the following categories:
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(1) The traditional stylized motifs of Indian sculpture such as the śālabañjyān-kās, the yakṣīs and river goddesses, from the earliest Mauryan times to the late medieval examples of sculpture from Gujarat and Rajputānā. The flying figures of the gandharvas and the vidyādharas etc. form another class of stylized motif which can be analyzed sometimes in terms of Bharata’s terminology.

(2) The unclassified and scattered scenes of dance and music, and the dancing figures which can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of the dance terminology of Bharata. These we find from the earliest times to dance reliefs on the South Indian temples. Amongst these are often examples of highly stylized and formal dancing, even though they have not been identified as such so far.

(3) There is then the sculptural illustration of certain verses of the Nātya-śāstra in the temples of the South, specially the Bṛhadēśvara temple of Tanjore, the Natarāja temples of Cidambaram and Śāṅgappāṇi temple of Kumbakonam.

(4) Finally, the sculptural and the iconographical texts describe a class of images of the gods and goddesses known as nṛttamārtis which represent the dancing aspects of these gods and goddesses. These have been described in the śilpaśāstras but they can also be analyzed through the terminology of Bharata. Some examples of these have also been included.

As pointed out earlier, practically all sculpture of India can be analyzed in terms of the single units of movement or static position of the different parts of the body. Each piece of sculpture can be analyzed in terms of the position of the head, the arms, the hastas, the incline of the body, the torso and the deflexion of the hip, because the basic treatment of the human form is similar in both the arts. These examples of sculpture can be analyzed also in terms of the units of movement of the body or those primary movements that condition the movement of the entire body such as the cārī, the sthānas and certain basic movements of the knees or the waist. There can then be the third approach by which we can attempt to analyze all the music and dance scenes in terms of Bharata’s karaṇas, as described in the IV chapter, and attempt to identify all sculptural representation of dancing with the karaṇas of Bharata.

The last of the three approaches has often been adopted by the few scholars who have attempted to analyze the dance scenes and dance-poses in sculpture through Bharata’s terminology. This approach has obvious dangers and limitations, and cannot be one which can be uniformly adopted if we are aware of certain fundamental differences of the artistic medium of the two art forms. In spite of the parallel techniques of the two arts, movement can be depicted only within limitation and one point of movement alone can be captured in the plastic medium. We must also bear in mind that Bharata’s karaṇas are sequences or cadences of move-
ment and are not always static poses. An attempt at sculptural representation can thus only be an approximation of the movement described, and cannot possibly depict the entire movement. In fact until we come to the medieval examples of the nrttamurtis and the sculptural representation of the karaṇas, it would be inaccurate to analyze all dance-poses in terms of the karaṇas.

We have thus adopted the second approach for the most part, in the belief that a fair measure of accuracy is possible when the sculptural representation is analyzed not in terms of the single movements of the different parts of the body or in terms of sequence of movement, but in terms of the primary units of movements like the cărī, and the formalized poses such as the sthānas etc. Wherever it was possible to identify the pose of the sculptural representation with a pose which has been described or implied by Bharata in the description of a karaṇa, this has been done; but since most karaṇas themselves emerge from the cărī it was considered more appropriate to analyze these movements in terms of the cărīs, the thigh positions and the hands and the arm positions. The śalabhañjikās and the yakṣīs specially can be analyzed in terms of the cărīs or the sthānas only and not in terms of the karaṇas. One of the obvious differences between the dance scene or a depiction of the dance proper and the depiction of an aspect of it, such as the cărī or the sthāna, seems to be the presence or absence of the kṣipta (knees thrown out—flexing sideways) position of the knees. Almost as early as Amarāvatī, we begin to notice the kṣipta position of the jāṅghā and, as time moves, this becomes increasingly pronounced; indeed we find that about 11th or 12th century in practically all schools of Indian sculpture, from Gujarat to Orissa, and from Rajasthāna to Trivandrum, dance movements were being sculptured with the kṣipta position of the knees.

In the śalabhañjikā, yakṣī and the river goddess motifs, however, this kṣiptu position is not noticed and these postures can be analyzed in Bharata terminology either in terms of the position of the feet, or the thighs and hips, or the twist of the waist, and sometimes the cărīs.

The first two groups (i.e. the śalabhañjikās, flying figures and the general dance scenes) have thus been analyzed in terms of Bharata's terminology taking into consideration the most important feature of the figure, and no attempt has been made to analyze them in terms of the extensive terminology of Bharata. The earlier examples of the representation of Indian dance in sculpture up to the Gupta period can be analyzed only generally in terms of the movements of the feet, hands etc. Only the latter examples have been analyzed in terms of the appropriate cărī and karaṇa.

The discrepancies between the description of the karaṇas and the sculptural
representation of these *karaṇas* in the Cidambaram temple have been analyzed at length in Chapter Two and have therefore not been repeated here.\(^{11}\)

The *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa have been so exhaustively dealt with in books of Indian sculpture that it has not been considered necessary to include all examples of the *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva, Sarasvatī and Kṛṣṇa: only a few significant examples have been chosen. Nevertheless a detailed and accurate analysis of the *nṛttamūrtis* from the point of view of their description in the various *śilpaśāstras* and *Purāṇas* and its comparison with the *karaṇas* of Bharata is another task yet to be undertaken for a full comprehension of the significance of these *nṛttamūrtis*.\(^{15}\)

Our first examples of the representation of Indian dancing belong, however, to none of these categories, and are a class by themselves. The stone statuette from Harappa of figure 1, and the copper figurine of the dancing girl or mother goddess as she has been termed recently from Mohenjodāro (figure 2) date back to the Indus Valley civilization, and convince us of the fully evolved and consummate skill of the creators of these sculptors. Marshall identifies the first as a male dancer: the figure stands on his right leg with the body from the waist upwards twisted well round to the left. It is more difficult to say which direction the arms took, but it is most likely that they were also in the front: the left leg must have been raised. Indeed, the three-dimensional movement round the vertical axis is already obvious and the twisted suppleness and ease of movement is suggestive of the images of the dancing Naṭārāja. The uplifted leg and the twist of the torso is the most important feature of the figure which has led scholars to identify it as a dancing figure. If one were to apply Bharata terminology to this, then one would identify the twist of the torso as the *vivartita*\(^{16}\) movement of the sides (*pārvīva*). The thighs would be in *vivartana*,\(^{17}\) or the shanks would be in *āvṛta*.\(^{18}\) In either case, it is an uplifted leg which is implied; and the figure suggests this clearly. Whether the neck held three heads or had the head of an animal is not too relevant a consideration for us. Figure 1 shows clearly that the leg must have been uplifted and that the waist turned round the axis in the *vivartita* movement of the side (*pārvīva*).

- The Mother goddess or dancing girl from Mohenjo-dāro (figure 2) shows us another type of movement. The front inclination of the torso suggests the characteristic torso treatment of the female figures of the later South Indian bronzes, and the dignity and grace of a great many of the feminine sculpture of India results from this slight provocative concave curve of the spine, so characteristic of both Indian sculpture and dancing, specially in a dance style like Bharatanātyam. This depression of the back and stiffening of the torso leads to the *nirbhugna*\(^{19}\) position of the chest in Indian dancing and sculpture. The other important feature of the figure is the knee bend of one of the legs: the knee is bent in front and can be identified as the position termed as *nata* by Bharata.\(^{20}\) Indeed, everything in the figure is suggestive of later developments: the arm positions become a characteristic mode
of arm position in the standing poses of both Indian sculpture and dancing: the chest indicates a stiffening with a back depression characteristic of later sculpture; the knees are flexed in front, and are not so far suggestive of an outward flexion characteristic of sculpture of later centuries.

The Didarganj yakṣī does not strictly come under the category of the yakṣis depicting dance movement but is one of the finest examples of the samapāda cārī position and the samanakha kacāna position. The perfect poise and balance and the equal distribution of weight is seen in a moment of easy control; ease: we notice that there is a slight interspace between the legs and the feet, which is also usually seen in the samapāda position. The muṣṭi hasta, which holds the fly whisk (cowry) is also clearly seen in the sculpture. This hasta is used later in iconography for holding objects. The Nātyaśāstra also prescribes that the muṣṭi hasta, can be used for holding spears, club and other objects, even though the fly whisk is not mentioned specifically.

The pillar reliefs of Bharhut provide excellent examples of foot positions and body flexions which we have not noticed hitherto. Practically, all the yakṣas and yakṣis strike significant poses but the Cūlakokā Devatā (figure 3), the Sudarṣanā Yakṣi (figure 4) and the Candra Yakṣi are most important from our point of view. In these reliefs, we come across the kuṇotta foot; also, for the first time the outward flexion of the knee is noticed: both these positions were to become more stylized in Indian sculpture, so much so that by the 12th century there is hardly a dancing figure which does not use the kuṇcita pāda position and outward flexed ḫṣipta position of the knees.

Cūlakokā Devatā (figure 3) holds the branch of the tree in her right muṣṭi or śikhara hasta, and clasps the trunk of the tree with her left arm which has a clearly defined patākā hasta. Her right leg has a samapāda foot and carries the weight of the body, and, since it does so, the hip is thrown out slightly; the left leg is comparatively free to clasp the tree with an outward flexion of the knee, and a kuṇcita pāda. We cannot yet discover a cārī or a sthāna in this pose and the aśvākṛānta sthāna prescribed by Bharata for the clasping of the tree in the representation of the aśoka dohada motif is not seen here. The Sudarṣanā Yakṣi (figure 4) has an even more significant pose of the legs, for without clasping the tree one of the knees is in an outward bend and the kuṇcita foot almost crosses the samapāda foot at the back. The sūcī foot mentioned by Bharata is not clearly seen, but the foot position is suggestive of it. The right hand of the Yakṣi is in sūcīmukha hasta and the left hand is held near the hips in a śikhara hasta.

In the sculptures of Sānci we find that this clasping of the tree becomes the set pattern of these sālabhaṇḍikā figures, and three distinct types of yakṣis and sālabhaṇḍikās are seen. There are the bracket figures like the yakṣis or vykaṣakā (dryads)
of the East Gate, who clasp the tree with one arm only and hold the branch of the tree with the other: there are those which clasp the tree with one leg and one arm but which is different from the representation seen in the Cūlakovā Devatā (figure 3) of Bharhut. There are then the figures which have a slight forward movement of one leg and show a back flexion of the knee joint: the front extended samapāda foot touches the tip of the tail of the elephant and the back flexed leg is lifted up and placed on the trunk of the tree. All three types of figures21 show greater agility and suppleness than the Bharhut figures. The uplifted leg and the back flexion of the leg is noticed for the first time, this gained popularity and became a frequent pose in the later representation of the sālabhuṇḍā motif in Indian sculptures. These figures do not depict dancing poses but they treat space in the same manner as in dancing. The pose of figure 5 (Yukṣī of the North Gate) is suggestive of the aśvākrānta sthāna of the Nātyaśāstra,25 even though it is not a full depiction of the sthāna. The sūcī or aśvādha cāri mentioned in the description of the sthāna in the Nātyaśāstra is not seen but the crossed foot is clear. The same can be said of the flexed knee position: this back flexing of the leg takes the form of the vṛśčika arch in medieval sculpture, and it is suggestive of the final position of the sūcī cāri though the position seen here is not exactly the aśvākrānta sthāna or the sūcī cāri.27

Before we proceed to examine other examples of the sālabhuṇḍās and the yukṣīs it will be well to remember that there has been much discussion on the sālabhuṇḍā and rākṣī motif by writers on Indian art, and most of them have come to the conclusion that these figures do not depict dance poses, and are not sculptures of dancers either. Without going into the controversies and discussions about the significance of the sālabhuṇḍā it is necessary for us to point out that, while they may not or may depict dancers they do depict a movement of the dance, or an aspect of it,28 and their movement can be often analyzed in terms of the cāris of the Nātyaśāstra.

There are many accurate illustrations of the cāri movements in these figures representing these motifs. One such is the beautiful and accurate representation of the baddhā cāri in figure 6 from Sānci. The crossing of the thighs of the baddhā cāri is very clearly seen. The figure holds the branches of the trees in two muṣṭi hasta in revita.

The ivory statuette of Laksṇī from Pompeii (figure 8) is another fine example of the baddhā cāri position (NS, X. 21) where we find that the calves and the thighs are crossed, and the goddess stands in a very restrained twist of the upper body; the placing of the feet is important, because the crossing at the thigh level is not frequently noticed in Indian sculpture before the Amarāvati period; there are a few isolated examples of it in Mathurā, but the present figure like the Sānci figure is a very clear depiction of the baddhā cāri position.
The stone hedge of Bodha Gaya (figure 7) showing a man holding one foot of a girl while she embraces the tree with the other, is very closely related to the yakṣīs and the sālabhaṃjīkās of Bharhut and Sāñcī. The uplifted leg of some of the Sāñcī yakṣīs is also seen in this figure; we also notice that there is greater ease of movement in the present example. The kuṅcita foot of the raised leg is clear and the waist is deflected to the opposite side. The Bodha Gaya sculpture has a suppleness which becomes characteristic of the Indian dance sculpture from the Amaravati period onwards. This twisting and pushing out of the waist could be identified as the prasārita movement; the feet can be clearly identified as the final position of the āśvakṛṣτa sthāna. The nāṭi from Paṭaliputra is again one of those sculptures which cannot really be classed as either the sālabhaṃjīkā or the yakṣī or even as a figure depicting necessarily dance pose, but the balance and poise of the samapāda position of this figure, with the hand pose makes it a significant point of development. The feet are in samapāda but one of them might have been in a tryaśra position; it appears that the point just before the āyata sthānu¹⁹ is depicted: her right hand is in ardhaṇāḍra or may be in ēṛṣṭānābhu but the first is more likely; the left hand is in a relaxed muṣṭi hasta.

The Mathurā railing figures are more naturalistic in their portraiture and these examples of sculptural relief have a remarkable quality of spontaneity about them: this spontaneity, nevertheless, is expressed through the perfectly conceived sculpture of the period. Figures 9, 10, 11, 12 are but only a few examples from the innumerable types of sālabhaṃjīkās, yakṣīs and female forms found on the railing pillars of Mathurā.¹⁰ These figures depict several motifs. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has divided them into twelve categories: there are women who bathe under the fall (nirjhara-snāna): there are those that show the aśoka dohada motif, and those that sport with parrots (śukakṛiḍā) and those that hold the sword (khaḍgābhinayu), etc. Our concern is not with the thematic differences of these female figures; we are concerned only with the variety of postures they strike during all these movements. All the figures show a beautiful crossing of the feet; this svastika of the feet is seen in figures 9, 10, 11, 12, and in many other figures on the Mathurā pillars. The crossing is, however, of a different variety from what we saw in the Lāṃkāmi from Pompeii; in three figures (9, 10, 12) the foot crosses in front of the kuṅcita or almost a agratalasaṅcara position. The knee of the crossed foot is in a kṣipta position in all the figures, and the toes of the kuṅcita foot touch the ground (except in figure 11) as in the Bharhut sculptures. The lightness of the foot is seen at its best in fig. 11, where the crossed leg is free and is resting against the wall suggesting a loss of contact with the ground. The svastika position of the feet is mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra several times both in the context of the cāris and the karaṇaśas. The svastika position in the Mathurā sculptures approximates to the sthītāvarta¹¹ cāri more than any other movement mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The crossed foot has to be identified as an agratalasaṅcara foot in each case. The hand positions are also full of rhythm in all the figures and, even though they were
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perhaps not modelled according to Bharata’s definitions, we can easily identify the position of the hands and the arms in figure 12 as the final position of the uromāṇḍala uṛtta, hastas32 according to which after circling around one hand is held on top, and the other is hung down near the hips. Figure 12 does not show the right arm of the figure in complete relaxation but a muṣṭi hasta near the navel is clearly visible. The hands of figure 9 are interesting: they are held at the back of the neck, possibly in the karkaṭa saṁiyuta hasta33 a gesture which is seen in some styles of contemporary dancing as well: the elbow and the arm positions of the figure may also be identified as the kéśabandha uṛtta hastas34 where the two hands move out from the nape of the neck. The hand positions of figure 10 are charming for their symmetry: both hands are lifted to catch the branch of a tree at the head level: two muṣṭi hasta hold the branches of the tree on top of the head: had the hands been ulapadma instead of muṣṭi, then the gesture could have been identified as the lalita uṛtta hasta.35 The dola hasta and the sūcinukha hasta is seen in other figures from Mathurā. The abhaṅga posture is also beautifully represented in many of these figures where the weight of the figure seems to rest on the left leg, and the right leg is free to move.36 Another feature which deserves notice in these figures is the waist and side (pārśva) movement. The nāta position of the pārśva is often seen in these figures, and, occasionally, a twist of the trika is also implied in some positions.

By the time we come to Amarāvati, we find that a certain amount of stylization has been achieved and that all the forms and methods of movement depiction of Mathurā are being followed both in a restrained manner and with a view to experimenting freely within the broad limitation imposed by limited space. Dance scenes and different types of poses, some of which can be identified with the dance poses described in the movements of the karaṇas of Bharata, can be seen in this period. Fig. 13 is a unique example of extraordinary restraint and poise. The kuṅcita foot crosses the samapāda leg behind and a variation of the sthitā-varta position is depicted. This back crossing is reminiscent of the leg position of the sudarśanā yāṣā (figure 4) and much later in Cidambaram this back-crossing with the kiḍita position of the knees is used to depict the nūpurpādkā karaṇa. The nata bent of the pārśva (side) is also clearly seen in the relief from Amarāvati: the hands are also suggestive of an inward collecting together rather than throwing out movement characteristic of other sculpture from Amarāvati. The right hand is held on the chest in a sūcinukha asaṁiyuta hasta and the left hand clasps the fruit of the tree above with a flexed arm. The inclination of the head is an important feature of the sculpture, and we find that the nāta movement of the neck or a udhagata37 position of the head is suggested by the figure. One other example of an isolated figure from Amaravāti38 presents a complete contrast to the earlier figure. Here, we have an apsarā or a detached figure in a pose which is obviously a dance pose, and it could with justification be classified as such. The apsarā stands on a lotus with two kuṅcita feet, and a marked kiḍita position of the knees: the ārdhva-
jānu cāri with one kuñcata foot thrown up to the side is seen here without doubt.\textsuperscript{39} The hand movement seems to be the final position of the urmatāḍala nṛtta hasta: one hand is on top and the other is hung down resting on the thigh. This is one of the earliest examples of the ārdhavajānu cāri in Indian sculpture.

The sālabhauṣṭikā motifs in the gāndhāra sculpture are not significant for our purpose: nevertheless, we notice that this motif is seen in a stylized manner also in these sculptures, and here, too, the crossing of the feet at the calf level is a characteristic feature. Even the Bacchus on the left side of the aachen pulpit holds a stance which is similar to those seen in the earlier Hindu sculpture.\textsuperscript{10} But we need not go into the details of the Gāndhāra school, for the main stream of Indian sculpture finds its finest and most refined and chiseled expression in the sculptures of the Gupta period, ranging from the door jambs of the Deogarh temple to the Gaṅgā and Yamanā figures of the Ajantā and Elurā caves. The terracottas of Mainpuri, Ahicchatrā, Rājaghāṭ, the figures on the walls of the temples of Tezpur (Assam), and the river goddess of Besnagar. Ajantā and Elurā show an integrated tradition which was common to different parts of India.

The sculptured reliefs of medieval India are characterized by the sculptors’ desire to use the twist of the torso. Gupta sculpture is peculiar for its flowing restraint, precision and elegance. This is in contrast to the flowing effervescence of the Amaraśāti and the Nāgarjunikonda periods.

Figure 14, terracotta from Gundanpur (near Mainpuri, 5th century, A.D.) is significant for its directness of approach, and the two kūrṇa hastaś near the head denote a dance movement obviously. The legs may have been in a svastika position. But they could have been also the flowing legs of the other Gupta figures. The bhanga must have abhanga rather than samabhanga: the samjhava of the limbs which Bharata speaks of is quite obvious in this figure.

The Besnagar Yaksi\textsuperscript{11} is a rare example of the crossed feet position in the sculpture of the Gupta period, for most of the river goddesses stand in the sama-pāda feet with a slight flexion of one knee, just so that movement is indicated without the slightest break in the continuity of the line of rhythm. Most of the other examples of the river goddesses depict only the sama-pāda position of the feet, where one leg is slightly bent forward in nata,\textsuperscript{12} or one leg is slightly deflected to the back as in the Elurā figures of the Ramesvara cave (figure 15). The last mentioned is the most characteristic and most beautiful of the stances of the period and some of the rhythmic flow of Manipuri still captures this quality of the Gupta sculpture: there are no great deflexions or deviations from the vertical median and yet a delicate sense of movement is conveyed: this is akin to the sense of movement which is conveyed by the completely relaxed postures of Indian dancing where there is hardly any violent movement and yet a sense of rhythmical energy is conveyed.
The same pose and mellow feminine grace of movement is witnessed in the sculptures of Māmalla puram; in these shore temples, we have examples of gigantic sculpture of a colossal magnitude, but alongside, we have also examples of exquisitely restrained delicate modelling. The figure on the door jamb (figure 16) stands midway between the Gupta period and the later Cola sculptures of South India, when the torso as an unit assumes importance in both sculpture and dancing. Here she stands in full control of the movement of each unit of her body; there is no exaggeration, no over-statement, but there is a remarkable restraint in execution. One leg crosses the other in front at the calf level: the crossed foot is in ćakratalaśańcāra more than in kuñcita for only the toes touch the ground—and the knee of this foot is in a slight kṣupta position. The right arm clasps the tree (stylized into a framework working vertically upwards) and rests its ardhamccanda hands on the hips, the other hand clasps the same curved torana, at the level of the head: all in all, the uromandala utta hasta position of the arms is suggested. The torso is much more firm than it has been in the earlier sculptures, and we find that the stiffening of the torso with the back depression, so characteristic of Bharatanātyam and South Indian bronzes, is already suggested here. Other door jamb figures in South India follow the model of the Māmalla puram figure faithfully, for we find a close second of the same figure in the Tādāpatari figure in the 15th century.

About the 7th century we find innumerable examples of isolated figures of dancers; one of the most powerful of these is the stone relief from Pāhārpur, North Bengal (7th century). On a double lotus is seen a dancer with forcefully bent knees of the acute kṣupta kind: the weight of the body is on the left samapāda foot, and the right kuñcita foot may take a whirl at any moment: one arm is thrown across the body in the lata hasta or the kara hasta—the left arm and the left shoulder are raised and the left hand hangs loosely from the bent forearm with the palm inwards in patākā. The head is bent and turned towards the right in the direction of the whirling movement. The entire composition of the figure is indeed borne by the dance. The kṣupta position of the knees is slightly exaggerated in the sculpture and none of Bharata's karaṇas seems to describe exactly this position, but the lata hasta of the hands is characteristic and the across swinging of the arm is common to karaṇas like the catura (karaṇa 39), lahta (karaṇa 33), bhujangatrāsita recita (karaṇa 35) and many others.

The medieval temples of Khajurāho, Bhuveśvara, Hālebid, Belur and Mount Ābu vibrate with the rich beauty of the wall surasundarī and bracket figures. We can hardly do justice to them in this study, for the exact identification and classification in theme and form of each of these very sophisticated figures has yet to be attempted. There is no doubt however that a great many of the poses that these wall figures assume belong to the sphere of dancing and can be identified as either the sthānas or cāris of the Nāṭyaśāstra. It must be remembered, never-
theless, that no attempt was being made by the sculptor to depict actually dance postures in these figures for he devotes himself to the depiction of dance recitals separately.

In Khajuraho we find the richest array of these figures: they are as prolific here as they were in Mathurā and show the logical culmination of the beginnings of plastic movement seen in the earliest examples of Mathurā sculpture: thematically there is hardly any departure, and we have the stylised motifs of the kanduka krīḍā (ball playing), the muktā-labhī haṁsa motif, the sporting with the parrot (suka krīḍā) motif, as we find in Mathurā, and many others like the mahāvara applying motif and the figures accompanying the śārdūlas not found in the Mathurā sculptures. Figures 17-20 give us some idea of the variety of movement treatment of these figures: the twisting round the vertical axis is a distinctive feature of the medieval figures, but apart from this, the Khajuraho artist seems to have made full use also of the plastic medium to arrest dynamic human movement at its most intense moments. Many figures show different poses in which kanduka krīḍā is portrayed: most of them have a kuṇcita and a clearly defined aṅcita foot in svastika: the back crossing of the nūpurapādikā-cārī described in the Nāṭyasāstra is seen with an accurate aṅcita foot for the first time in Indian sculpture. Others depict what can be identified as the prsthastavikā karana of the Nāṭyasāstra without of course suggesting the apakrāṇtā cārī mentioned in the description of the karana. A partial prsthastavikā can be observed in figure 17 and 18 where the crossing of the feet and the vivartita movement of the waist can be observed. Figure 19 depicts the vidyudbhṛṅtā cārī where a complete flexion of the leg is implied and it is when this leg is taken to the level of the head that the karana vidyudbhṛṅtā is formed. The female figures carrying the lute belong to the category of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures of the Ajantā and Elurā caves. However, the most striking example of a powerful movement which can be indentified as a cārī is seen in Fig. 20. This is a highly stylized depiction of the ārdhvaśānu cārī which we observed in its formative stages also in the Amarāvatī sculptures. The firmness of the samapāda foot and the complete tension of the uplifted kuṇcita foot of the ārdhvaśānu cārī is beautifully depicted here. The samapāda foot obviously does not have a kṣipta position of the knees like the other wall figures of the medieval temples: but the cārī position is obvious and is successfully presented. One hand is stretched straight down in a dola hasta in patākā and the other arm is uplifted with a flexed position of the arm: the face is turned upwards, with an aṅcita movement of the neck and an udvāhita or more accurately an utkṣipta movement of the head.

About the 10th century we find a figure from Champā (figure 21) which can be easily identified as a dance figure: although the lower half of the figure is broken, it clearly suggests the outward kṣipta position of the knees, and a clear karihasta position of the arms: one hand swings across the body in latā and the other is held near the ear exactly as in the description of the Nāṭyasāstra, only the hand near the
ear is not in tripāṭkā as prescribed by the text, but is possibly a alapadma or a palla ha ha. The pose also reminds us of the dancer from Pāhāpurpur, Bengal of the 7th century; it is not uncommon to come across an almost identical pose after a lapse of three centuries in a different part of India.

The Bhuvaṇēśvara and Konārak wall and bracket figures are as rich in their variety of movement depiction as the Khajurāho figures, and the two stylistically complement each other in movement representation. Most of the wall figures of the Rājā-Rāni and the Liṅga-Rāja temple of Bhuvaṇēśvara are also seen on the walls of the Nāṭa-mandir of the Konārak temple; most of these can be easily identified as the cāris of Bharata. Figures 22-29 are a few characteristic examples of these poses. Figure 22 depicts the svastika foot position we have seen in Bharut, Amaravati and the Gupta periods: the agratalasaṅcara foot of the crossed leg at the back is seen much more clearly here. Figures 23 and 24 depict very restrained aspects of the sūcī cārī and indeed this as a posture is not too distant from the position seen in the Sāncī dryad; however this is also one of the positions possible in the alātā cārī where also the foot is taken to the back, but the back extension implied in the text is not seen in the sculptural representation: instead a flexion is observed. The karkaṭa hasta held at the head level with the nata and unnata pārśva makes the figure 24 very definitely into that of a dancer’s. Figure 25 depicts a pose which is also possible with the description of sūcī cārī where the kuṅcita foot is lifted to the knee level and is then lowered to the ground; however none of the karaṇas which utilise the sūcī cārī depict this particular position in the Cidambaram sculptures. Figure 26 is a fine example of the nīpurapādiḥā cārī in the final position: the backward twist of the upper half is balanced against the push of the flexed knee and this gives the figure a beautiful sense of rhythm. Figures 27, 28 and 29 are poses which we do not often come across in the other schools of Indian sculpture and it is also doubtful if they were frequently used in the body of dance movement of those centuries. The position of figure 29, nevertheless, seems a common one, and the svastika of the thighs when they are in the valana position is clearly seen here. The baddhā cārī of the Nāṭyaśāstra approximates this depiction closely: the crossing of the thighs we had noticed also in the pose of the ivory figure from Pompeii. The Bhuvaṇēśvara one is full of dance movement, the alapa-dma hasta, the well bent neck in a tryaṣra all go to make this into one comprehensive dance movement. Figures 27 and 28 show a different type of a body manipulation, and these figures can be identified as the syanditā and utsyanditā cārīs of Bharata. This can only be done from the point of view of the distance between the two feet and the placing of the feet and not the exact movement described by Bharata.

Figure 27 is an excellent example of the nīvṛtta katu movement and the vivar-tita pārśva movement where the trika is turned around. Figure 28 shows us a posterior view of the syanditā cārī where the foot is placed five tālas apart. The
karanas which describe the side ways and back movements are the dikasvashta and prsthhasvastika, and these figures cannot be identified as these karanas.

The bracket and wall figures from the Cinna Kesava temple of Belur and Hoysalesvara temple of Halebid are another group of medieval figures which constantly evoke the dancing image. Figures 30-34 represent characteristic examples of movement depiction in the thirteenth century. Besides the pre-occupation with detail and ornament which strikes us about this style of sculpture, the close proximity of exact dance poses and these sculptures is also one which we have not encountered before. Unlike the Khajuraho and the Bhuvanesvara figures, these bracket figures can be identified completely and without doubt with the cari, sthanas and even the karanas of the Natyasastra. The bracket figures seem to have been sculptured with deliberate design and knowledge of the dance poses of the Natyasastra.

The ksvpta position of the knees which was confined to specific scenes of dance and music in Khajuraho and Bhuvanesvara is transferred here to the bracket figures with the utmost ease; the hand and other positions of the body are also accurately sculptured. Figure 30 is an example of the ayata sthana prescribed by Bharata for women, where one foot is in samapada, and other is placed in utvaha; the hip (kaati) is shifted and raised in udvaha, and the whole stance is one which is articulate with the movement of the dance. One hand is gracefully extended in lutata, and the other is possibly a katakaumukha hasta. Figure 32 is a variation of the same and in this figure also we find the slight ksvpta and nata bend of the knees. One hand is clearly in katakaumukha and the other holding an interesting musical instrument is also perhaps in katakaumukha. Figure 30 resembles closely the viksvpta-ksvpta kara position described in the Natyasastra. Figure 31 depicts a sukakrida motif, and the posture assumed for doing so is in the svastika position of the foot, with one agratatalasancara foot behind a samapada foot. The feet position can be identified as the sthitavartha cari as also as the final position of the nupurpadika cari. The hands and arms positions are similar to Figure 30. A good example of another moment in the nupurpadika cari is seen in Figure 33. The hands are in perfect urumandala hasta. Figure 34 is an excellent example of the urdhvajani cari and we see how the Khajuraho figures depict this cari with the one samapada erect leg and how the sculptors of the Halebid model it as a finished dance movement by depicting as the ksvpta position of the knee of the samapada foot; indeed the entire pose corresponds closely to the description of the urdhvajani kara of Natyasastra IVth Chapter. The katakaumukha hands are also seen in the sculptural representation.

About the thirteenth century we find a prolific use of the urdhvajani position both in India and in the South East Asian examples of apsarases etc. Figures 35-36 are bracket figures of the 13th century from Palampet, and represent the urdhvajani
cārī clearly: since the knee of the samapāda foot is not bent in kṣipta we cannot identify these as full-fledged karaṇa but the figures approximate the karaṇa closely in the feet positions: the hands on the top are a variation of the kuṭakāmukha hasta for the forefingers do not touch the thumb: these hands may easily perform either the ārdhvamanḍala movement of the hands, or if they changed to be alapadma hands and were held in that region they could also indicate the luṅita hasta. The ārdhvajānu cārī in Figure 36 is slightly different. Here the knee of the flat samapāda foot is in a kṣipta position. The hands are in a variation of uroṣṭānta.

We have two very accurate examples of the ārdhvajānu from Cambodia, Ankor Thom, both of which depict the ārdhvajānu karaṇa. In the first, there are three figures, all in the ārdhvajānu karaṇa, the kṣipta position of the knee of the samapāda foot is seen in these examples. The middle figure has one kuṇicita foot resting on the lotus and the other thrown up with the knees at the level of the waist and the sides. The hand positions however do not accord with the description of the Nāṭyaśāstra. One of them is held near the head possibly in the alapadma hasta and the other is held on the waist in patākā: the paksavaṇīta hasta or paksapradyotakaṇa nṛṭta hasta are suggested by the pose. The other is also an example of the ārdhvajānu movement of a couple of apsaras from the Bayon, Ankor Thom, Cambodia. The right and left jānu of each figure is lifted and the left and right foot of each is in samapāda respectively: the two together make a very fine symmetrical composition: the hands of either figure resemble strongly the hand positions of the earlier examples and are suggestive of the paksavaṇīta nṛṭta hasta. The uplifted hasta near the ear and head region seem to be held in alapadma and the others are held on the navel in a hariśūsva or sundar Typeface hasta.

The Dilwārā temples are another rich source of the sālabhuṣāṇkās and the bracket figures: they crowd in dynamic movement on the walls and ceilings and brackets of the Vimal Visāhi temple of Ädinātha, and the pillars of the upper hall of the Tejpāla temple in Mount Ábū: like the figures of the temples of Khajurāho and Bhuvanesvara these figures also show a characteristic stylisation: there is a marked diversity in treatment of the human form and twisting round the axis of the Khajurāho surasundarīs and the Bhuvanesvara figures seem to have given place to an intricacy of movement which arises for the main part from the uplifted leg position. A few svastika motifs are seen but the ārdhvajānu position is still the most popular and we find several examples of this. The śuci pāda, with the kuṇicita foot resting at the side of the other is another favourite mode of depiction here: the budelhā cārī position seen in the Bhuvanesvara temples is also seen in these sculptures. One such example may be seen in figure 37 from Sirohi Mirpur: the crossing of the legs is balanced by an emphasized waist and neck bend. The two hands are near one ear, and may be in ārdhapatākā. Fig. 38 is a nartakī from the Neminath temple. Mount Ábū. We observe here a very definite pose: the lifted knee is at the level of the waist, but is not in the ārdhvajānu cārī, the trika.
is turned around in *vivartita* and the movement corresponds here closely to the *karanas* of the *bhuaṅgatrāsita* variety such as the *bhuaṅgatrāsita*, *bhuaṅgāṅcita* (*karaṇa* 40) and the *bhuaṅgatrāsita-recita* etc. (*karaṇa* 35) rather than the *ūrdhvajānu*. The raised foot is in *kuṇcita* and is taken to the side of the other foot and the *trīka* is turned around in the opposite direction. The hands are however not as prescribed for *bhuaṅgāṅcita karaṇa* but these hands are common to a great many *sālabhaṅjikā* figures of the earlier periods. They can be identified as the last movement of the *uromaṇḍala* or the *pakṣavāṅcita hasta* for one is in the region of the head possibly in *mukula* or *catura* and the other holds a sword and is placed on the side. In the Vimal Visāhi temple of Ādinātha, we observe an accurate illustration of the *vidyudbhrāntā cārī* (Figure 39); the back flexing of one leg is clearly sculptured, and it is this movement which can result in the final position of the *vidyudbhrānta karaṇa* where the toes of the foot touch the head. One arm is seen in a flexed position, the exact *hasta* of the other hand is not clearly identifiable.

It is well-nigh impossible to deal with all the bracket and wall figures of the medieval period or even comprehensively with the figures of any one school, in the present study. The *cārī* positions are seen on the walls of the Visveśvara temples at Hāṭ Bajaurā, Kulu, on the walls of Vaiśṇava temple at Jangiri east of Bilāspur, in the Nilakanṭheśvara temple of Udaipur, in the Harasiddhi temple at Jhālāwār, Mālāwār, and in the Śiv temple of Rāmgarh (Kotah), in the Someśvara temple of Jodhpur and on the pillars of the Kirtstambha of Chittrā. The *ūrdhvajānu* position, the *sūci pāda* and the *svastika* positions abound here, and occasionally we find that a *karaṇa* like the *nikkuṭta* is also depicted amongst these bracket figures. The same motif with the same poses is also seen in medieval South Indian temples and the dryad from Tādapatri convinces one of the remarkable continuity of tradition from the 2nd century to 15th century: the *sālabhaṅjikās* of the Tanjore temples of Bṛhadēśvara and Dārāsuraṃ etc. also provide many examples of these *cārī* positions. Indeed as late as in the Hāthī Singh temple of Ahmedabad (19th century) we find the Indian sculptor capturing with great exactitude dance movement in the *sālabhaṅjikās* and the bracket figures. Throughout, we find that these figures are sometimes *yakṣis* and dryads in beautiful postures, not necessarily those of the Nātyaśāstra, at other times they are full-fledged dance figures whose poses can be identified as the *cāris* and the *karaṇas* of Bharata. We see also that the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* position of the raised lower leg is a popular stance, in the later temples, as much as the *svastika* is a favourite one in the earlier examples from Sānci and Mathurā. The *sūci pāda* and the *vidyudbhrāntā* are the two other *cāris* we come across, often from the earliest times to the example from the Neminātha temple. In the hand positions also there is a certain amount of consistent repetition of the *uromaṇḍala* and the *pakṣavāṅcita nrīta hasta*. This rich sculptural tradition of eighteen centuries and more exhibits the gradual development of the motifs from simple naturalistic treatment heightened to a very high degree of stylization. From these sculptural representations we can deduce fairly certainly that
there must have existed also the same continuity of tradition in the movements of the different schools of dancing in the various parts of India. The nature and degree of stylization must have varied, but the essential principles of space treatment remained the same. Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśvara sculptures emphasize the movements of the waist and the sides, and most of the figures depict a standing posture without the pronounced ksīpta position of the knees; the South Indian figures treat the entire torso as one unit and emphasize the position of the legs: from the early medieval times the outward flexed position of the ksīpta knees becomes a characteristic feature of all dance sculpture. The dance styles which evolved in these parts also treated the human form in an identical manner: all the styles of Northern and Eastern India explored the intricacies of the waist movement and the movement of the side: we have only to watch a Manipuri performance carefully to be aware of the spiral and figure-of-eight (nāgabandha) patterns it composes in space through the complexity of the waist and neck movements. Similarly, the South Indian styles, specially Bharatanātyam, insists on the accurate use of the ksīpta position (which the practising dancer calls the maṇḍali and the ardhamandalī posture) as much as the sculpture of the region, which hardly ever models a dance pose without this position of the feet and the knees: there is no twist around the axis in these sculptures so characteristic of the surasundarīs and dancing figures of the Koṇārak nājamandir. The dance styles of South India also do not emphasise this spiral movement. The torso is considered as one unit in these dance-styles, and we find examples of the bhugna and the nirbhugna and udvāhita chest but seldom do we find examples of the vivartita of pārśva, and the nivṛtta movement of the kaṭi (hip).

The sculpture of the sālabhoṣājikās therefore helps us to discover some valuable and characteristic features of the dance, and what may have seemed an application of the dance-technique to a sphere outside it, really becomes a rich source of new light on the nature of movement in a particular dance style and the nature of stylisation of that dance style. Whenever the contemporary forms of Bharatanātyam and Manipuri and Orissi evolved, two things are clear: first, that they were broadly following the tradition of the Nāṭyaśāstra and were practising similar principles of technique from their inception, and, second, that the stylisation of movement began as far back as the 8th and 9th century; the evolution of this stylisation of movement resulted in the distinctive character of the regional schools of both sculpture and dancing. This continuous development was possible only when the tradition was alive and vibrant. The sculptors and dancers of each period seem to have been keenly aware of the possibility of variations in a given set of rules. As long as the rules were interpreted imaginatively and creatively, the creations continued to assume new significance. As soon as it was blind following of precepts, the result was dead convention. Behind it all, lay the unbreakable faith that through the known convention, a new form could be evolved. The challenge of the tradition, its strength and its dangers lay in the fact, that for the imaginative alive artist
it was a handy tool, for the mere craftsman, a series of known laws which could be passably executed. Thus, the same motif could be sculptured, danced powerfully and splendidly and it could also be executed competently but lifelessly. The śālabhāṇjikā, like other motifs of Indian sculpture provide excellent examples of this. So does Indian dance: at its best it is great, at its worst it is mathematically competent, and repetitive.

**Flying Figures**

Other motifs of Indian sculpture such as the flying vidyādhara, gandharva, mithuna (couples), dancing kumara and other miscellaneous niche and corner figures are almost as important from the point of view of the depiction of movement in sculpture and dancing as the yakṣi and the śūlabhaṇjikā. It is true that most of them do not depict dance poses, and very many of them have not been modelled with the dance movement in view; often they are conditioned by the arches, the niches, the corners where they fulfil an architectural function also. Nevertheless all of them are significant from the point of view of the dance in so far as they illustrate significant ways of movement depiction through postures of sitting, kneeling, extensions and flexions which in turn suggest flying and leaping.

The sculptural representation of the motif of the gandharva and apsarā in flying and sometimes kneeling positions is found in Indian art from the earliest times. Actually, by the time Bharata prescribed the rules of the kinetic art, a fair amount of stylisation must have already taken place to enable him to lay down the various movements and postures by which flying movement should be depicted.

Movements of flying could have been suggested in various ways and one of the most obvious ones would be to take a leap in the air by losing contact with the ground: in sculpture also, by providing figures with a pair of wings, flying could be easily indicated. But, this is not the characteristic way of Indian art. The movement is, instead, suggested through a stance which is not naturalistic but is symbolic and stylized. In short it is depicted through what the Nāṭyaśāstra terms as nātyadharma technique. The poses prescribed for flying in the Nāṭyaśāstra follow the principle that only one leg must cover an area in space; at no time a maximum forking of the legs is allowed. The same principle is strictly followed in sculpture also. Wings (with the exception of some examples in Sāñci and Bharhut) are dispensed with and instead poses (well thought out poses which also do not model the forked position) are utilised to denote the idea of flying. It is also significant that most of the figures occur on arches and niches in very limited space, and yet they convey a tremendous sense of release from the ground, and thus an impression of flying.

Bharata speaks of flying movements in several contexts: he prescribes movements by which walking in the sky can be represented and speaks at length on
the gait of flying persons. In the discussion of the vihānas, specially of men, he tells us which of them can be used for depicting a large bird.22 In his discussion on the karānas he describes as many as ten karānas which can be profitably used to indicate flight in air. The vrśikā karānas which have been spoken of earlier are all used for depicting flying movements. In addition to the nukūcīta (karāna 26), the vrśikā kutāla (karāna 42), latā vrśikā (karāna 44), vrśikā recīta (karāna 46), vyēśa (karāna 47), the mavīnaalāta (karāna 80) and sūrīkārṣita (karāna 90), the three karānas derived from vihānas, namely the viyāmsita (karāna 48), the mveśa (karāna 96) and the lalita (karāna 105), can also be used to show the flight of large birds. Three other karānas which can be included in this list are the karanaphuta and the garudaphuta, the gārdhvāvalīka (karāna 74). 

The characteristic feature of this group of karānas, as might be surmised from the name vrśikā (scorpion), is that one leg is flexed at the knee with the lower leg stretched or upturned. The degree of flexion at the knee, as well as its position in relation to the ground may vary. The leg which supports the weight of the body, on a samapāda foot, is also flexed either to the front or side and this flexion, whatever its degree, is never altered. The leg thrust back with the foot upturned gives a sense of movement. The level at which the knee is bent indicates also the degree and level of elevation. The flexed leg at the knee joint and the samapāda foot gives the figure a rare stability and the stretched and released leg suggests the dynamic movements of flight.

The sculptural representation of flying follows analogous principles. One knee is bent in front or often at the side: the outflexed position is such that either the knee or sometimes the entire calf and the foot also are in contact with the ground. One leg has either a bent knee at the level of the waist or has an outflexed knee touching the ground with the thighs and hips in line with the calf. The other leg is released and moves either in high-low or front-back or is seen at the side in either a partially or a fully extended position. When the front knee is bent, and only the samapāda foot touches the ground, the vihānas of the alīdhā and pratvālītha are the easiest position to attain by the extension of the other leg, when one knee and the calf both touch the ground and the other leg is released at the side or back, then different types of flying movements can be suggested.

It is obvious from the above that leg extensions and knee flexions, infolding and outfoldings have been so analysed that a most suggestive use can be made of them.

The vihyādhana from Rāngumpha Udayagiri caves is the earliest example of the historical period. Figure 40 shows us a celestial figure carrying garlands or a tray of garlands, in a pose which can be easily identified as one of the poses mentioned above. One leg is bent in front and has a samapāda or possibly a kuśīta.
foot touching the ground: the other is extended to the back like an arch, with a kūṭēcita foot off the ground. The weight of the body is on the foot of the bent knee in front, and the tray of flowers in one hand helps the forward thrust of the figure. The figure can be identified as being either in the ālīḍha sthāna or in a position which can be a significant moment in the execution of the alātā cārī, where a back extension is implied. The pose cannot be identified accurately as a vrścika karaṇa although it is certainly indicative of the karaṇas of this group.²⁵

There is another example of a flying figure found in a portion of a frieze from the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.²⁶ The figures on either side of the arch are flying forms perhaps coming to worship the hood of the Nāga: the torso of these figures leans completely forward in the direction of the front bent knee and the other leg extends backward; the foot is raised to a higher level than the knee so that it is vertically in line with the thigh and hip. These figures depict the vrścika karaṇa more accurately: the uplifted foot and the bent knee is a characteristic feature of the latā vrścika karaṇa.

We have other examples of flying figures from the Rāmgarh hills and the stūpas of Bharhut and Sānci: the delineation of flying in Sānci and Bharhut²⁷ is not significant from our point of view as the portraiture is more naturalistic with wings etc. than stylized.

In the Kārli caves, there are two reliefs of couples sculptured in arches. Although these figures have been identified as early examples of Mithuna, their poses also fall into the category of vrścika karaṇa from the point of view of movement. They seem as if the precursors of the characteristic knee bend and the slight back flexion which was to develop into the beautiful and dynamic motifs of the flying figures seen on the arches of the stūpas of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā. In the Kārli figures everything is restrained: a slight bend of the front knee balances the back extension of the other leg. It is this back extension which leads to the flowing curves of the Amarāvati sculptures. Here their arms clasped suggesting a typical pīṇḍi and in one of the reliefs the female figure has a pair of aṇjali husta above her head.

In the Amarāvati and the Mathurā sculptures the portraiture of flying movement has developed remarkably and the mastery of movement with grace and elegance is one of the most significant achievements of these schools of sculpture.

Back leg extensions are seen in Mathurā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and Amarāvati. There are a variety of ways in which this is presented on the torānas and arches of the slabs and pillars. There are some remarkable backleg extensions in the figures who carry the huge serpents: very many of them are faithful portrayals of the vaiṣṇava sthāna or the ālīḍha sthāna.²⁸ In most of the flying forms on the arches,
we find that the knee which is bent in front touches the ground, or gives the impression of touching the ground. Sometimes the knee also touches the ground in front, and the thigh either rests on the calf or is also on the ground in the same line as the calf: the other leg is extended to the back, sometimes in a complete extension on the same level as the bent knee, sometimes in a flexed position where the knee may touch the ground, but the calf is invariably raised with the result that the foot is lifted to the level of the shoulders or the chest. There is also a third position where one leg bends forward with the knee touching the ground, and the released leg hangs, as if the flying form was sitting on an imaginary seat (āsana). The first position described above can be often identified as the positions of the kuṭcita karaṇa (karaṇa 52) or the vrścika recita karaṇa. Similar flying postures can be seen in the Jain stūpa of Ayagapata in Mathurā, and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā. The back extension of the released leg is characteristic of these sculptures. The knee position of the bent leg and the arched movement of the released leg is often repeated in sculptures of subsequent periods. The Gupta flying figures share the elegance and grace of the river goddesses of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Figure 41 from Deogarh is a typical Gupta variation of these poses; both the legs of the gandharva are flexed and one knee certainly touches the ground: the knee of the released leg also seemingly rests on the ground. Another variation may be seen in figure 48 from Sārnath. Here a pair of wings have been added, in addition to the pose. There are other reliefs from the Gupta period which depict gandharva flying. In all these there is a forward thrust of the torso suggesting forward movement and extension of one leg or both legs suggesting release. An interesting illustration of the karaṇa kuṭcita and the vrścika leg extension is seen in figure 42 from Deogarh: Svarupnakhā takes this pose to suggest running away. One knee is firmly on the ground and the calf also rests on the ground. The knee of the other leg touches the ground also but the lower leg is lifted with the foot in line with the hip. Laksmana holds a tuft of her hair firmly and the extended torso (prasārita) provides the tension suggesting her discomfiture. Rāma and Sītā look on. One other figure of a vidyādhara (figure 45) from Bundelkhand shows the same pose of the vrścika karaṇa but this time the shift in the placing of the knee of the flexed leg in front and the marked forward thrust of the torso in a udvāhita movement, makes it a joyous figure of one naturally, moving in air. It is significant, that the same pose can be used by the dancer and the sculptor to convey different moods. Svarupnakhā is definitely in captivity trying to release herself: the vidyādhara is released—and in spite of the massive stone evokes a sense of freedom and joy. Figure 47 from Nālandā is a controlled well-balanced example of the vrścika kutjita karaṇa. The knee of the bent leg rests on the ground; the calf is also on the ground; the knee of the back extended leg also touches the ground; the calf of this leg is raised high so that the foot is at the shoulder level. The flying apsarās and gandharvas from Aiho (figure 44) are a distinct development from the Gupta figures. While the knee bends of the front leg remain the same the extensions of the other leg change. The lower leg is no longer
either in line with the knees, nor is the raised foot close to the hip. The eal is raised but extended. The triangular space provided by the gandharva's leg is dexterously used to seat the apsarā. Her bent knee in front touches his, and the extended leg re-enforces the dynamic movement of the gandharva. The gandharva's torso is not thrust forward as in the Gupta examples. It twists around in a half vivartita movement.

From the Kailāśa temple (Elurā) we have an example of a flying figure (figure 45) where the sculptor has utilised the back extension of the vrēcika karaṇaś in a manner which makes the exact movement depicted as possible only in sculpture and not in dance: nevertheless, the principle followed for the back extension is the same which is followed in the karaṇaś of the vrēcika variety in the Nātyaśāstra. Instead of the ārdhvalatā arch of the leg which takes the foot of the extended leg to the high head region, the extension has been taken to a much lower level than the level of the flexed knee of the leg: the two hands are held near the forehead in aśiṣāli. The Siddhas seen in flying postures in the Kirātārjuniyam relief in Māmallapuram also show the same type of leg extensions at the back but the foot of the released leg is not at a deep low level, it is almost at the same level as the knee of the flexed leg in front: the siddhas hold their right hands in ārdhavanacandra hasta. It may be mentioned here that in spite of the difference in the two arts the manner of suggesting flying movements is similar. The Elurā figure, the siddhas of Māmallapuram when transposed to dancing are seen when Hanumāna is described in Bharatanātyam as the son of Pavana. The sudden release of a leg and the fall on the ground with a flexed knee and an extended leg at the back is performed on the same principles of the treatment of human form—to suggest flying as in sculpture.

The torso of most of the figures mentioned above remains erect, and seldom do we find a screwing of the waist or the side as in the Aihole reliefs. In the medieval flying figures, a significant development takes place; most of the flying figures from the 8th century onwards have a nata bend of the side (pūrśva) and this goes on being attenuated so much so that by the time we come to Khajurāho and Koṇāra the waist has turned around completely, resulting in the depiction of the nivṛttta and the vivartita movement rather than the simple nata and the prasārīta movements of the waist of the earlier figures. The beginnings of this we notice in the flying vidyādharā from the Virupakṣa temple of Pattadakal, South West Deccan (figure 46). The knee positions, the extended leg at the back are similar to the postures of the siddhas in the Mamallapuram relief, but the torso is shifted far out in the prasārīta movement of the sides and the slight chinna position of the waist. The hand positions also resemble the uromandala nṛtta hasta position; one hand is held in patākā near the head and the other rests on the thigh. The chinna waist and the twist of the torso is seen even more clearly in the figure of the sporting yakṣa with bird from the Rājiva Locana temple, Rajim, Madhya Pradesh (figure 49). The legs
are also modelled on the basis of the vrščika kūṭṭila karaṇa and the whole gives an impression of intricate convolutions.

In the temples of the Khajurāho, these dancing and singing kinnaras, vidyādhāras, gandharvas and yakṣas attain the most complex poses, where a variety of rhythmic lines of angles and curves together leave an overpowering impression of the most difficult turns and contortions of the human form. Closely analysed, we find that even though these poses tax our credulity, they are all in the realm of human possibility and are not physically improbable poses. There is hardly a recess or a niche where they do not find a place and the amazing variety of these figures and poses, along with the consciously conceived plan which is followed in their depiction, is a fascinating aspect of the Khajurāho sculptures. They occur in the guruhāra in the bottom lintels, as kinnara dancing in the internal ambulatory passage, on the walls of the ardhamanḍapa, and on the walls outside of the Kandariyā Mahādeva and the Laksmana temples; they are seen also as details on the back of the colossal Varahā, and occur as fully modelled figures in the round clinging but most delicately to the walls of the Dulādeo temple. A fascinating panel of musicians and dancers is seen in these poses on the varahā: the Kandariyā Mahādeva has innumerable examples of musicians and dancers, yakṣas and vidyādhāras in the vrščika leg positions. They can be identified as the vrščika latā and the vrščika kūṭṭila movements. The musicians with horns and pipes on the varahā are fascinating for the many possibilities they present. If the panel is looked at vertically then they seem to present only contortionist poses; they are sculptured with consummate skill, but are not dance poses. If the same panel is viewed horizontally then we find that the sculptor has utilised his medium by modelling the figure on a different plane, but the pose he is depicting is already familiar to us as one of the variations of the lalāṭa tilaka. One knee is bent outwards, with a side facing; the other leg is thrown back with the knee touching the ground, but the calf is so raised that the foot practically touches the head. The vrščika leg is employed splendidly and the forward thrust of the movement is also seen clearly. There are other panels in which the poses suggest the movements of bhujangatārāśīa variety. None of these examples however depict the flying movement so perfectly as the singing and dancing gandharvas of the Dulādeo temple in Khajurāho. Figures 50-55 are bracket figures of this temple and their mastery of modelling is unparalleled. There is a turning around the trika in most of these figures with the characteristic position of the lower limbs. Figure 51 is like the figures of the seventh or eighth centuries, but the accentuated bent leg already anticipates the twist of the waist: figures 52, 53, 54 and 55 display the skill of the craftsman both as a sculptor and as one who understood perfectly the laws of human movement. The lower half of these figures is in one or other of the vrščika karaṇas. In figures 52, 53, 55 one leg is bent forward and the toes of an agratalasāñcara foot touch the ground and the knee is raised; the other leg is flexed at the back with the knee of the flexed leg touching the ground and the calf is raised with an upturned foot which is at the hip.
level. The turning of the waist and reeling around the axis of the torso is seen perfectly in the upper body, and what the yakṣa of figure 49 had anticipated finds its culmination in these figures. The vivartita side (pārśva) movement is captured at its best in figure 54 which depicts a complete dance movement. A less dynamic example of the same is seen in figure 53. There is a recita of the kaṭi, a distinct head inclination and the flute is held in a pair of ardhapatākā and a muṣṭi hasta. In figure 54 two hamsāsya hands with palms facing out, suggestive of the vivartita and parvartita hasta karaṇa are seen. The neck is bent to the side in tryaśra in each of these and the head is slightly bent in a slight adhogata movement; the sculptor has proceeded a step further from depicting the basic movement of the vṛścika karaṇas and has proceeded to explore the full possibilities of depicting kinetic movement in stone, by trying to create sculpture in the round rather than being limited by the two dimensional quality of sculptural relief.

Flying figures continue to find a place in Indian sculpture; the temples of Orissā, Rājasthāna, South India all provide us with significant examples; nevertheless, rarely have they excelled the sculptures of the flying vidyādharas and ganḍharvas of Khajurāhō. In these sculptures it seems as if the absolute limit of movement had been explored: what followed could only be unnecessary ornamentation or a close second. From the point of view of dance they serve as the ideals of the perfect pose which can be held for half a second in a powerful movement. One can have a glimpse of these poses for a split second in the perfect execution of movements like tāt tī tam in Bharatanātyam, and in the nrīta portions of the Orissā.

Dance Scenes

Although the figure from Mohenjo-dārā is the first example of significant movement patterns there are no major examples of dance scenes in Indian sculpture until we come to the Rānigumpha and Udayagiri caves in Orissā. These are, perhaps the earliest consciously sculptured scenes of dance and music. They are perhaps court scenes; if they are identified as scenes connected with King Udayana, a view held by some scholars, they are the first examples of theatre where full orchestration along with dancers and actors is seen. A frieze (figure 56) on the lower verandah of the Queen’s palace contains a group of musicians and a dancer. There are four musicians on the left side of the verandah each one of them with a musical instrument; the extreme figure plays on the flute, the next figure plays on a stringed harp, and the next two are drummers. The drummist on the far side seems to have just finished a moment of climax in playing, as her hands are raised in joy, with the mrdanga still between her knees; the other drummist is in the background and she seems to be watching the performance rather than playing; perhaps it was customary that of the two drummists, who accompany the dancer, only one played at a time. The dancer herself is in a very vivacious pose, fully confident of her powers and capacities. She stands erect with a clear frontal position: the face is in three-fourths
profile. Her right knee is bent in nata and her right foot touches the ground in a kuñcita foot, the other leg is slightly extended to the side, but has no knee bend and has a full samapāda foot on the ground. The waist and the chest are erect and raised: her hands and arms follow the lines of the legs below: and her right arm is bent at the elbow, held in line with the shoulder and the forearm is bent inwards with a patākā hasta. The weight of the body is on her right-bent leg. The character of the pose, though not in keeping with any pose of classical Indian dancing today, already suggests later developments: the combination of the two hands might easily have become the kari-hasta of the Nātyaśāstra (IX, 199), where the tripatākā hasta is held near the ear, and the other arm in latā moves from side to side: but the hands in the present pose are not tripatākā, and kari-hustas: the extended arm moves in line with the shoulder level, whereas according to the Nātyaśāstra and contemporary practice it should be slightly obliquely curved or flexed, with the forearm on a lower level than the upper arm. The feet too might be identified as the feet of the adhyardhikā cāri where the left foot follows the right, and is at a distance of one tāla from the first. The Nātyaśāstra verse (X, 17) however does not specifically mention that the right foot should be in kuñcita. The whole figure thus anticipates a stylisation and is the first example of movement which has evolved a specific style. There are many other friezes in these caves which speak of the great fluidity of movement which the artist was able to capture. Extended arms, and legs are characteristic: indeed in many ways these friezes are freer and more eloquent than those at Bharhut and Sānci. They seem as if the true precursors of the Amarāvati friezes full of dynamic movement of the human body.

Bharhut

The Buddhist stūpas of Bharhut depict a nation which was keenly alive to the arts of music and dancing. Within the limitations of bas relief these sculptures express considerable suppleness of the human form: the ‘bhanga’ of the body may not be as stylised as those seen in the Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda sculptures, yet the Bharhut sculptor surely knew the extensions of the upper limbs. The legs, as pointed out earlier in the context of the yakṣis are for the most part stiff, but the upper limbs are rendered with great vigour and surety: a humour that penetrates throughout these reliefs is evident in the dance scenes also. We have here dancing and music scenes in many contexts, and they may be briefly listed:

(a) A wife trying to please her husband with a dance.81
(b) A kinnara couple dancing in a playful mood.85
(c) Nymphs and courtesans dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music88 (figures 57, 58).
(d) A nāga maiden dancing on the lifted head of a Nāgarāja.87
(e) A Nāgarāja, accompanied by two mermaids in human form, maintaining rhythm.88
(f) One more example of the dance pose might be seen in the relief of Goddess Śri, who stands as if in a dance pose.  

Of these the first is indistinct and uncertain, and not of much value: the kinnara pair dancing, and the Nāgarāja with two mermaids on either side, maintain rather unstyled hand and feet positions, the Nāga maiden on top of a Nāga-hood has indistinct feet movement, but the upper part of the body is straight erect with arm movements which do not seem to move away from the body and yet a sense of movement is conveyed. The group of courtesans or nymphs dancing is the most important of all these, for here we find examples of dancing which has a distinct character. The Goddess Śri on the pedestal is significant for its waist bend which is usually absent in the other sculptures. For the first time we find that the waist has been attenuated in this manner: she bends to the left, with a nata movement of the side, and her arms extend on either side, in a graceful manner touching the tendrils of the lotus on which she stands. There is a quality of suppleness about this figure, which makes it surprisingly fluid for the period. 

From our point of view, it is the scenes of group C, which are of the greatest interest. The first of these is found on the lowermost panel of the outer face of Prasenajit Pillar. It depicts the dance of the apsarā in heaven and from the inscription we learn that the names of those dancers are Subhadra, Sudaśanā, Miśra-kāsi and Alambuṣā. The scene probably depicts one of the dances performed before the Devas in Indra’s Palace. 

The scene (figure 58) contains four female figures and a child dancing in different attitudes: in the middle and to the left are eight other female figures all seated, one handling a pair of cymbals, and two playing the seven stringed harp, while the others have no instruments and seem to be singing. One of them may be playing the drum, but only the posterior view is seen. 

The four who are dancing are all in different attitudes in the same dance: the sculptor utilises the different postures to form a harmonious group of the two on the top and the two on the bottom. The top left and the bottom two have a similar hand and arm movement. The left hand of the top left figure of the apsarā is in patākā hasta held near the ear, like the one seen in the Rāṇigumphā figure: the elbow is held outward in the line with the slightly raised shoulder. This position of the patākā, with the palm facing outwards seems to be a common feature of Indian dancing from the earliest times: this hand moves away gradually from the ear, in years to come, and the elbow extends out till finally we have the perfect curve achieved in the Naṭarāja abhaya hasta arm. In all the earlier sculptures the hand is invariably placed near the ear with the fingers pointing upwards, near the chin or just below the chin. The other hand of this figure is extended down
on its own side, the extended arm is not relaxed and seems much more tense than the extended arm of the Rāgumāpa figure: the extended arm has moved downwards and is approximating the dola hasta of latā hasta of the Nātyaśāstra. The lower two figures show the same hand and arm positions: it is the patākā hasta near the ear, but the extended arm has moved upwards instead of down: the thumbs of the patākā hasta are also clearly placed on the palm and not extended: such a flexing of the thumb is seen today in certain portions of Manipuri, with the important difference that they are always relaxed in Manipuri, and do not necessarily touch the palm. In Bharatanātyam, the thumb is bent at the knuckle and placed taut near the palm. The top right figure has both her hands near the face with a flexed position of the arms. Had these hands been in kaṭukāmukha and not patākā then we could have easily identified them as the caturśra hasta 91. The leg positions of only the lower figures are visible and we find that even though the feet are obliquely placed in samapāda they cannot be identified as tryaśra, for the placing is in a completely out-turned 180° angle, as in the first position of classical western ballet. The little child alone shows a slight kṣipta bending of one knee and he seems also to have one foot in the kuṇcita rather than the samapāda. The torso is held erect in sama by the extreme right figure, but all the others show a marked bending to the right or left. In the bottom right figure, the waist seems to be in chinna, but in the bottom left figure a clear prasārita side (pārśva) movement can be seen. Although these poses cannot be identified as the karaṇas of the Nātyaśāstra, we find that the arm extensions are those which set the tone of the stylisation of classical dancing, for even in contemporary Bharatanātyam we find a similar treatment of the torso and the arms. The other dancing scene (figure 57) is seen on the west gate corner jamb of the Ajātaśatru Pillar. The upper bas relief depicts the Vajrayanta Palace and Sudharmā Hall of the gods of the thirty-three, with the scene of the Cudāmaha. The lowest panel depicts four women dancing to an orchestra in which seven people take part. The poses of most of the figures are similar to those seen in the earlier relief and we find a more exaggerated version of the patākā hasta near the ear: the flexed arm has the elbow pointing upwards now and the patākā hand is on the ear rather than near the ear. The second arm of three dancers is stretched down in a stiff latā hasta: the extreme right figure has her feet in svastika, with a kuṇcita foot crossing the samapāda one at the back: the attitude of the fourth figure is significant, for apart from holding two patākā hands near the ears she bends her knees in an outward sideways position, and these are the first beginnings of the kṣipta position of the knees which was to become a basic stance of classical dance styles of India in years to come.

The Bharhut sculptures, in spite of their limitations and handicaps of modelling in relief seem to have captured some of the spirit of the contemporary dance as it must have been practised then. It is clear that the latā hasta and the patākā hasta with the thumbs touching the palm were popular. The waist bends were also known to the age, and even though dancing was for the most part in the standing

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position, there were signs of stylisation, specially of the knee bends as seen in the second scene (figure 57).

A scene from Mathurā (figure 59) depicting musicians and dancers rejoicing at Nema's feet belongs very much to the Bharhut variety, even though in point of time it comes later. We see a group of four dancers with three seated musicians; of these one is clearly playing the seven stringed harp. Three dancers are reminiscent of the hand positions of the reliefs from Bharhut (figure 58). However, there is a significant difference between the hand and arm position of this relief and those from Bharhut. The palm does face the audience, but the thumb is neither taut nor on the palm. The elbow is no longer in line with the shoulder: it is at the waist level in three figures. Their feet positions cannot be seen in the sculpture; only one woman stands in samapāda feet in a movement of the dance; the hand positions anticipate the pakṣavañcita hasta mentioned in the Nātyaśāstra: one hand is held near the head, and the other is hung down near the side: this arm position is one which we commonly find in the medieval sculpture of India, but is not found frequently in contemporary dance practice. Her right hip is raised to the side in a udvāhita movement.

Sāncī

The relics of Sāncī bring forth a faithful picture of the life of the people of the times: it is obvious from these sculptures that the people represented here were alive to the joys of the world and conscious of a divinity that ruled their lives. Music and dance naturally plays an important part both as a form of enjoyment and as a form of devotion.

Dancing is associated here with both the gods and the humans. Some of the scenes depict dances which cannot be identified as classical dances; there are others which belong fairly certainly to the sphere of classical dancing. There are many dance scenes in the stūpa which depict social dancing of various kinds: one of these, is seen on the West pillar of the Northern Gateway (figure 62). Even though these figures stand worshipping the stūpa with folded hands, which can be identified as the aṇjali hasta, there is nothing in the scene which can make this scene an example of classical Indian dancing. The musicians and dancers do seem to take some steps, but neither their stance nor their apparel has anything in common with the dance scenes seen earlier. The scene is important for the musical instruments they hold, and these include double pipes, two carved trumpets, a harp, little drums, tambourines and drums; one of these beats the drums with sticks, again an uncommon feature of Indian drumming at the classical levels; the shape of the drum is unlike those we usually find in Indian sculpture. The nagārā and the cendā (in Kathākali) are notable exceptions which are played by sticks in India; the drum of Sāncī cannot be identified with any of these.
There are other scenes in Sāñcī which are important more for the musical instruments that they represent than for the dance poses. One such scene is identified by Fergusson as depicting a story from the Lalitavistara, where prince Siddhārtha displays his martial skill by shooting an arrow to produce a water fountain: in the foreground of this scene (Fergusson, Pl. XXXVI), there are warriors who hold drums, pipes: these musical instruments are obviously Indian compared to the scene just described. There is another scene, where we notice a music dance performance in a demon-court. A burlesque orchestra of tambourines, harps, sistrom accompany the dancer: the contours of the dancer are no less grotesque than the musicians and the dance is obviously not classical.\textsuperscript{93} However, even in this grotesque example, the rākṣas or the asura holds one hand in patākā near the face and the other is extended upwards: it is obviously a mimicking of the refined dancing of the devas.

There are perhaps only two scenes in Sāñcī which can be identified with any certainty as depicting classical dancing. One is found on the Northern Pillar of Western Gateway (figure 61). It shows the Nāgarāja Mucilinda with his queens. The nāgarāja sits with his wives to his right and behind three attendants hold a dish, jar and a fly whisk: on his left is a troupe including a dancer and five female musicians. They hold two tambourines (mrdaṅga and gholaṅka), a harp, a flute, and one more instrument which is indistinct. The mrdaṅga is placed between the knees by one, and is stood up by the other musician. The couple of drummers are similar to those we noticed in the Rāṇigumpha caves. The flute is played with two muṣṭi hasta facing each other. Only the stretched arm of the dancer is visible, and judging from this high extended latā arm it may be assumed that the other hand was in patākā held near the face, if not the ear: the movement reminds one of the movements of the Bharhut apsarās.

Another scene is seen on the West Pillar of the Southern Gateway, upper panel on East face (figure 60). Whatever the scene depicts, and about which there is much controversy,\textsuperscript{94} it is clear that the sculptor has most ingeniously contrived to seat some thirty-three gods on the left in order to let us see the orchestra of heavenly nymphs and the twist of the lovely dancer with the heavy plaits. There seem to be three musicians who accompany the dancer: of the dancer herself we see only a three-fourths view of her figure up to the thighs. Her arms are brought forward, to meet in a curve: the hasta is not clear but obviously she seems to be showing a clasping of the fingers, which may be in pāśa or in karkaṭa samyutta hasta. We come across this hand position for the first time in sculpture: it is not frequently repeated: we notice also a twist of the waist, but the dance pose cannot be classified as a cārī or a karana.

There are some other scenes in Sāñcī which depict dancing of a similar type but the two scenes mentioned above (figures 60 & 61) are by far the most important.
One other scene is similar to the scene of the nāgarāja court, and the same outstretched arm position can be observed; another depicts the happy family of Hariti with his children and attendants, four musicians and a dancer.

**Amarāvatī**

It is not till we come to Amarāvatī that we find a profuse knowledgeable and precise depiction of the dance movement in sculpture. The agile men and women of Amarāvatī with their elongated limbs sing and dance on every occasion; dancing is associated also with the religious and social life of the people, and we find that dancing plays as important a part in the scenes of the worship of the Buddha, as in the courts and palaces of the Nāga kings.

In these dance scenes we discover also for the first time a suggestion of the *karaṇa* and *cārī* or examples of a finished movement as codified by Bharata. There is both a spontaneity and a stylisation in these sculptures. The stances which these sculptures portray suggest a distinct form of movement in keeping with the sculptural style of the period. The *kṣipta* knee position is not yet witnessed, but the other characteristic modes of depicting leg movements are clearly seen in these sculptures. The crossing of the leg according to the fundamental principles of the *bhujāngotrāśītā cārī*, and the *kari hasta* are popular. The kneeling position of a great many worshippers can be identified as the *kuṅcita karaṇa* of Bharata (*karaṇa 52*). These dances, scenes and poses sometimes offer only a beautiful scenic representation of the dance, which is difficult to interpret fully in the technical terms of the dance, at others it can be analysed in terms of either a *karaṇa* or *cārī* of Bharata.

A well-known dance scene is seen on a medallion which narrates the story of the Muga Pakkha Jātaka. The prince Siddhārtha is seen in one of his previous incarnations being entertained by music and dance; he however remains unmoved by it. Detached in mind he is seen serenely seated on a couch to the left of his stern father. In the lower half of the medallion there is an elaborate music and dance scene (figure 63). The ensemble consists of eighteen women out of which fourteen are playing one instrument or the other. One stands backing us, while beating time with her hands, and the two are indistinct, and amidst all these stands the prima donna, who seems to sing as she dances. The orchestra consists of conch-trumpets, a small drum, akin to the modern “duggi” of Northern India, cymbals, drums like the *mrdanga* and harps and one of them plays perhaps an instrument like ‘nāgasvaram’ of South India. Such an elaborate orchestra is the first of its kind, and its rich array of instruments is impressive. The scene represented must have had both ‘abhinaya’ and ‘nṛtta’ in it, to demand all these instruments as accompaniments: in the later scenes of stylized dancing, we find that the orchestra consists mainly of a drum, cymbals and a flute: the harp like the *vīnā* seems to have gradually gone into disuse.
The main figure who is apparently gesticulating to a song, stands with one foot placed on the stool in front, and the other extended backwards: the accent however is not on the back leg, the foot of which is hidden, but on the leg placed on the stool or drum in front. From the position of the raised and bent leg on the stool we may identify this as the initial position of the atikrāntā cārī where one leg is raised in front in kuṭicā foot and is then placed gently on the ground. This initial movement of the cārī is captured here, where the foot is lifted in front and is then placed on the ground. The harp that she holds does not allow for further movement of the limbs; however, the harp is held rather gracefully.

Another court scene (figure 64) has a single dancer amidst a similar, though not quite as elaborate an orchestra. Also the music instruments here are different, instead of the harps, there is a vina-like instrument, commonly found in later sculpture, and the flute plays an important part. The lady who holds the flute stands with dignity and plays it with great flourish; the drummist too is sitting in a rather elegant pose of the outturned legs with the knee on the ground; a drum counterpoised between the legs. The figures to the left are obviously very pleased with the performance as they are raising their hands in applause. The dancer herself seems highly sophisticated with a costume which is cut and sewn: she wears a scarf and an elaborate hair dress. Her pose is one which we shall find repeated in the Gupta sculpture at Gwalior. She crosses her legs at the hip level, thus giving one the impression of standing sideways, in the direction of the musicians, but her upper body is straight facing the audience. She stands with one arm bent, in line with the shoulder, with elbow pointing sideways to the right; this hand in patākā or tripatākā and is held near the shoulder, and not against the cheek or the ear, as was found in Bharhut; her left arm is extended downwards, obliquely in a relaxed but controlled movement of the latā hasta. Her torso is also divided into two units; the unit from the shoulders to the waist and the hip region, is turned and accentuated; the upper torso or the side (pārsāva) is raised and pushed to one side without the shoulder line being disturbed: thus the three horizontal sūtras have been used to great advantage, to show a complexity of movement, which must have been quite difficult to render in sculpture. The lower waist we may identify as the chinna (Nātyaśāstra IX—245b) and the pārsāva (side) movement can also be prasārita, but the two together cannot accurately describe the movement depicted. Here then we find the first complex pose, which utilises various angas and upāngas of dancing. The legs cross at the hip level and one foot is in anācāra: already the pose anticipates the bhujangatrasitā cārī. However the position possible is in either the aksiptā cārī or the spanditā cārī position where thighs cross, and the right foot is crossed to a distance of five spans.

We have other examples of cāris in the other medallions from Amarāvati. The upper half of a medallion represents the trisūla ornament. In the centre of bas-relief sits the nāgarāja prince with a nine-headed snake hood between his two
wives on either side; almost on the edge of the circle is a female figure on either side each standing and holding on to the branches of a tree. This is a domestic scene in which few significant poses are seen: the attitude of the two women on either side are seen in the Sāncī dryads, and the aśvakṛānta sthāna may have been used to attain this posture: as represented in the relief, the pose is nearer the initial position of the vidyudbhrāntā cārī, or the intermediary position of the alātā cārī.

In a similar scene on another medallion kneeling postures of women are significant: an orchestra of a harp (parivādini) and flute is seen here, and a number of domestic activities seem to be going on to the music and flute: the lowermost extreme right figure seems to be in a dance pose, in the gesture of carrying a pitcher; and she holds the pitcher in a movement of the kuñcita karāṇa.

In the scenes relating to relics of the Buddha or the Bodhisattva we have an example of social dancing unaccompanied by music, on a medallion where as many as twenty-two male dancers and twenty-two women take part: the dance, devotional in aim, is vigorous in character (figure 65). They dance behind in front, and all around the central figure, (who carries the begging bowl) of either the Bodhisattva, or the Buddha himself.101 They are all obviously in a great frenzy and seem to have quite lost themselves in the dance: in the lowermost area of the medallion there are seven men of whom five are in an identical pose, three on the left side and two on the right; the two figures in the middle completely backing the viewer are in different postures and have their hands in aṇjali hasta. The two side figures, at the bottom the last but one from either side (i.e. 2nd and 6th from the left), are seen in a more sophisticated movement than the others, and remind one of the various postures of flying and the vṛścika karāṇa (karāṇa 52), which Abhinavagupta's commentary prescribes for people who are overflowing with joy during the worship of their favourite deity: the pose indicates a moving forward on the bent right knee; the left leg is flexed at the back, the knee touches the ground and the calf is raised: the sculptural representation depicts through the plastic medium the pose accurately. The hands of these two particular figures are not in folded aṇjali hasta, but the others make up for it by folding aṇjali hastas on top, in front, and sometimes even sideways. All the others are variations of this, and we have an important example of a devotional community dance, in this medallion. It is clear from this example that dance was closely related to both religious and secular life. We may not find the finished products of the pure classical dance in this representation, but the character of this dance is preserved in contemporary dance forms, in the Svegi dancers of the Punjab or in the Himācal Pradesh dancers of the Kāngarā valley: this characteristic knee bend, and walking in perfect synchronisation, placing one in folded knee after the other, crossing, and hardly rising from that position, is a feature which is seen in the folk dances of this region, to this day. Also it is significant that even though there are an equal
number of men and women, they do not dance in couples, instead they dance in
two distinct groups: this is again a feature which is often seen in Indian folk-dancing.
Another incomplete version of the same is seen on the inner face of a pillar of the
outer enclosure: the medallion is broken, but it seems to represent an almost identi-
cal dance.\footnote{131}

Dancing figures are invariably seen in the various scenes depicting the dream
of Queen Maya, and the descent of the Buddha: of these the best example is found
on a pendant to a bas-relief.\footnote{102} In the central division (figure 66), Buddha sym-
bolised by the white Elephant descends from the Heaven Tūsita borne by celestial
dwarfs, and surrounded by devas. An umbrella of state is borne before him, and
music and dancing accompany him. The orchestra here consists of a flute, and a
lute, cymbals and the like, similar to what we saw in another court scene (figure
64): the male dancer holds an interesting pose, with his right leg crossing the left
leg at the thigh level, and hardly touching the ground; he extends his right hand
out crossing the chest in the latā hasta, and the other arm is raised with the hand
just above the ear in a sarpaśiraśa, with the back of the palm touching the head.
The arm-positions are a fairly good illustration of the Nātyaśāstra karī-hasta\footnote{103}
(IX 199). Such an elevation of the hands, and this crossing seems to be a favourite
mode with the dancers of the period.

The leg position of course makes it quite different from the karana lalita
or bhujangatrāśita recita where the karī hasta is used: in the latter it is a kuñcita
foot and it does not cross. The feet and legs of this figure conform much more
to the āksiptā cāri or the spanditā cāri as in figure 64. However, the twist of the
waist with the karī hasta makes this figure more in keeping with the bhujangatrā-
sitā cāri where the text definitely mentions a turning around of the hips. The position
in the sculpture could have been the bhujangāṅcita karana (karana 40) had the
leg been raised. The figure on the extreme left top is possibly in this position,
judging from the clear crossing of the legs: the latter figure has the right hand
in patākā near his ear, and the other arm is extended out on the side above the
shoulder level; his neck is bent to his left side in kuñcita. Both these figures can
be identified as variations of the bhujangāṅcita karaṇa. The extreme right figure
on top is in ārdhavajānu cāri, with one latā hasta.

But more important than all these scenes of music and dancing in Amarā-
vati is the scene sculptured in one of the discs on the intermediate rails of the
outer enclosure\footnote{104} (figure 67). The scene depicts a king, either Siddhrārtha or
his father, seated with two principal wives, surrounded by ladies of court; some
sitting some standing in pairs, but all collected to watch a performance, which
Fergusson terms as a ‘wild performance of six men’.\footnote{105} The postures of all these
six dancers are significant. The figure on the top right is a class by herself: she
assumes a vaiśākha sthāna or a maṇḍala sthāna with the thighs outturned and the
feet placed at some distance: she is actually one of the drummers who places two \textit{mrdanga}s vertically and counterpoises a third horizontally on them: she must also be like the contemporary `khol' players of Manipuri, and some of the \textit{mrdanga} players of Kathäkali who dance while they play on the drum—a skill which became very popular in the medieval period; it is also depicted in the sculptures of Bhuvarnaśvara and Khajuraho. Her left hand is not on the waist, but is poised on the side of the drum: the \textit{latā hasta} swings across the body to do so: this is a virtuosity in playing which is displayed by the drummers of India in practically every part of the country, even today: it is not infrequently that we find the \textit{pak-hāvaja} players and \textit{tablā} players touching the left skin of the instrument with their right hand or vice versa as sheer flourish. The lady in this case lifts up her right hand to the head making on the whole quite a dance pose by herself. The two figures below are in the \textit{latā vrścika} (\textit{karaṇa} 44), quite obviously with one of their legs arched backwards in \textit{kuñcita iṛdhva latā}, and one arm is also raised in \textit{latā} which seems more like a \textit{recita} movement of the hands: the other foot is on the ground with a bent knee: a \textit{patākā hasta} is also near the shoulder: the accent of movement and weight of body is on the foot of the bent knee. The figures depict thus the \textit{latā vrścika karaṇa} with accuracy. Two upper symmetrical figures are accurate sculptural representations of the \textit{bhujangañcita karaṇa} (\textit{karaṇa} 40), with the difference that the one arm is not in \textit{latā} but is flexed with the \textit{patākā hasta} held near the shoulder. In the representation thus the hand gesture is more in keeping with the hand gesture of its allied \textit{karaṇa bhujangaṅtrāśita} (\textit{karaṇa} 24) rather than the \textit{latā} and the \textit{recita hasta} of the \textit{bhujangañcita karaṇa}. The waist is bent in \textit{chīna} and there is a slight neck bend in \textit{tryuśra}. The whole pose reminds one of the figures of the dancing Nāṭakāja: but important differences must be pointed out, before we identify this as a complete Nāṭakāja pose: the uplifting of the leg is no doubt akin to the movement seen in the Nāṭakāja pose but the foot of this uplifted leg is not in \textit{aṅgatalaśauścara} as it should be with the big toe slightly separated from the others and pointing downwards and stretched: this stretching gives the Nāṭakāja figures a tension beginning from the toe travelling to the top of the foot and ending in the knee: the angle thus formed is different from these reliefs where the uplifted foot might have been \textit{kuñcita}, but here it looks more like an \textit{aṅcita} due to the flexing of the ankle, as heel points to the ground. The hands and arms are of course different, as only one arm has the \textit{abhaya patākā hasta}; the other is in \textit{recita} rather than the \textit{kari} or \textit{varada} hasta of the Nāṭakāja. The crossing of the legs at the hips however is very much the same; and it must be pointed out that the pose anticipates and suggests the Nāṭakāja pose truly, even if it does not depict it fully.

The profuse prolificness of dance is evident even from the few examples analyzed. There can be no doubt that music and dance played an important role in the life of the people. Some idea can also be formed of the dance-styles that must have been prevalent.
SCULPTURE AND DANCING

As pointed out earlier, the outward bend of the knees (ksupta) had still not become a regular feature; nonetheless the sculptor has captured successfully a distinct style which is characterized by its free use of the upper and lower limbs, bends of the waist and the crossing of the thighs. No posterior views of dancers, or turning around the trika are witnessed but frontal positions and profiles are common. This dancing is also as social and devotional in character as it is classical and urbane: in the social type, the men and women dance in separate groups; in the classical (in the court scenes) there is an orchestra consisting of chiefly the flute, the lute (which is seen here for the first time) and various kinds of drums. In the classical, women perform solo dances, and sometimes they perform also duets, trios and quartets. It must also be remembered that this is also the time when Bharata’s terminology is frequently used in literature and from these sculptures it is evident that significant developments have taken place since Bharhat and Sānci. These sculptures seem to be following on the whole a definite style and the frequent repetition of these poses also follow a definite plan. In these reliefs also, the beginnings of a stylisation of movement can be discerned: the poses anticipate the stylised poses of the Gupta and medieval period. The fundamental principles of movement and definite rules of nṛtta have evolved, and it is these which become more polished and chiselled in later centuries.

Nāgārjunakondā

Nāgārjunakondā and its Buddhist railings seem but another flowering of the Amarāvatī stūpa. We have here the same exuberance and abundance as in Amarāvatī: the* torsos and limbs of the men and women move as freely as the supple slender forms of Amarāvatī. These figures seem to assume dancing postures, graceful bhaṅgas even when they are not dancing. The west face of a Railing Pillar with Reliefs shows us a woman holding a child, she steps forward in the adhyārāntā kārī, with her left foot at the back of the right, and placed two tālas apart. The waist is slightly bent, with the sides in nata, and the arm is raised to the face suggesting bashfulness. The vakrama position of the thigh is seen in another figure of the same relief, where the lady seems to be walking sideways: both the knees are bent to the same side, almost in the initial movement of the pārśva jāṇu karāṇa.

In another scene we have a nāgarāja seated on couch: the ladies and the others are seated on the ground before him, in a vivid expression of amazement, because they seem to be watching the preaching Buddha standing in a rocky country with deer, lions, trees: the Nāgarāja’s attitude is significant, he raises both his hands high up in recitā of the hands, and sits erect in a stylised manner.

In a scene depicting divine musicians and worshippers floating in the air, we have a royal personage evidently opening his mouth to sing, and he plays an
instrument at the same time. The middle figure has a lute like the one seen in Amarāvati; the extreme figure stands in a dancing pose. There is a deep waist bend in chinna and the hands are pakṣavaśićita nṛta hasta with one hand raised to the head and the other on the waist: this is a common mode of standing and performing dances in Amarāvati too. On the topmost level, to the left, there is a figure who seems to be standing in the atikrāntā cāri with one kuñcita foot thrown up in front which is about to be dropped on the ground. A similar scene is seen in figure 68, where the extreme left figure has one hand in recita, the other on the waist, and the kneeling figure has her hands in pakṣavaśićita, and the knee position of the kuñcita karaṇa. The scenes of the Nativity of the Buddha, where Māyā stands in the Lumbini garden, in a svastika pose of the feet and the pakṣavaśićita pose of the hands, are also frequently seen in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā sculptures.

In a scene depicting the temptation of Buddha by Māra we have a couple on the extreme left, in an attitude of real wild dancing. One lady stretches out her hands on top, takes a big stride to one side in samapāda feet and with a defined udvāhita chest. There seems to be a complete lack of restraint in these figures, and their dancing seems hardly of the classical type.

In a beam, on the middle panel is the scene representing the Buddha seated with more than fourteen figures scattered all over. There is a couple on either side, who, with their upraised heels and standing on the tip of the toes, seem to be in a wild frenzy of devotion and dancing. This is perhaps one of the most accurate illustrations of the agratālasaṁcara foot.

Another couple is seen in the scene delineating the Prince Siddhārtha leaving the world: here the woman raises her hands on the top of her head in aṇjaja hasta. Another figure on the right assumes the feet of the bhuyāngāṅcita with the karihasta gesture.

Gāndhāra

In tracing the history of movement in Indian sculpture, the Gāndhāra school is not as significant as the sculptures of Amarāvati on the one hand and the Gupta period on the other. Nonetheless we find that here too dance scenes are not infrequent: the poses and the attitudes they execute may not be striking, but from minor details it is clear that the basic 'hasta' and the feet positions of the classical dance are not unknown to them, and there is a discernible Indianness in the movement.

A bas-relief in the Lahore Museum depicts episodes from the life of Buddha. In a scene we find two dancers with a number of musicians entertaining Prince
Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā. The musicians play on drums and harp, and the dancer interlocks her hands in karkaṭa hasta,112 the other pose is indistinct.

Another beautiful relief depicts a music and dance scene (figure 69) performed before a Nāgarāja.113 The dancers in this scene raise their hands over their head in uromaṇḍala and assume svastika positions of the legs: both stand in perfect symmetry on either side of the Nāgarāja. A harp and flute and a tabor constitute the orchestra. The whole scene is full of vivacity, and the Nāgarāja seems to be listening intently to the strains of the music. The dancers are ornately dressed in flowing robes and the harps and lutes have little in common with the instruments we saw in the reliefs of Amarāvati.

In another frieze, from the Jamāi Garhāi Yusfāzai now in British Museum— we see seven dancers and musicians taking part: the first two of these dancers, but what this dance must have been it is not possible to say: few of these examples however can be identified with certainty in terms of Bharata’s karaṇa or cāri.

A beautiful and well executed dance scene of the Gandhāra period is seen in figure 70. A flutist and a harpist accompany two dancers. Although the drapery and garments conceal some of the precision of their movements, the svastika feet of both the dancers are clear. One stands in a prṣṭhasvastika and the other in a frontal svastika position. The hands of the figure in prṣṭhasvastika are in paksavāniṣa and the other dancer may have held one kaṭakāṁukha hasta near the chest. The other hand may have been in lata, extended or flexed. The movements of the two figures balance beautifully, and this seems to be a rare early example of couple dancing. It is also the first example of the prṣṭhasvastika movement. Although the legs are erect and not in a kṣupta position, the waist bends, the curve of the arm of one dancer and the lata hasta of the other dancer, give it a distinctly Indian character.

Gupta Art

But these scenes are tributaries to the main river of the experience of life and art of India. The strong current of the earliest centuries of the Christian era passes through the torrents and uproars of exuberance and abundance in the Kuśaṇa, and Amarāvati periods; it settles down into the calm flow of a mighty river in the Gupta period with immeasurable depth below and an undisturbed quiet flow on the surface. The upsurging of human emotion, which knew the unbounded freedom of the spirit and the joy of life leads to a discipline, which is not discipline superimposed but is one which has arisen from within. In a word, the whole of Gupta Art extending through the length and breadth of India is a testimony to this discipline and order, where art is no longer merely self-expression, but is self-effacement and self-annihilation, a sādhanā, of the mind and the body.
This quality was not unknown to the earlier sculptors and artists, but now it manifests itself in a definite form and is an accepted principle of art to be followed with all the devotion and sanctity that the artist could bring to it.

In technique, we find the counterpart of this maturity of the spirit in the perfect balance and controlled poise of the sculpture of the period. The dance scenes are, without doubt, classical in character and are finished artistic products of a style which has come to stay. The dance scenes of the period are not those in which we have to look for unidentified, unformulated patterns of movements; dance now moves only in certain patterns, in certain categories: it is not the abundance and vivacity of Amarāvati where the awareness of space around the physical form was the chief impetus of the dance: here, movement, and dance movement in particular, seems to have been categorised; it has been divided into the sukumāra and lāśya on the one hand, and the heroic, vigorous tāṇḍava on the other. We find examples of both the types of dancing in the sculptures of this period. This is true specially of the later Vākāṭaka period, especially in Ajantā and Elurā, where we find the various tāṇḍava poses of Śiva.

Court scenes still abound, and the dancer stands amidst musicians and drummers. The scene from Gwalior State, on a lintel from Pavaya (figure 71), depicts a dancing scene, which is significant both for its polish as also for its close associations with the dancing figures of Amarāvati. We see here a complete concert in progress:114 seven women form the orchestra, the harpist and the lutist (viñā) sit in line with the dancer; a flutist and a small drum115 player are immediately behind: in the background are three others, of whom one plays two vertical drums, reminding one of the Amarāvati drummer as also of the contemporary tablā, the most prominent of them all, is the cymbal player who seems to sit commanding the whole orchestra like a nattuvumāra. The chief person watching the performance holds a lotus in her hand. The formation of the orchestra itself is interesting: the stringed instruments are placed in front, the wind instruments next, and finally the chief rhythm and percussion instruments: if one observes carefully, there is little difference between the method of sitting here and the order of sitting of the musicians in a Bharatanātyam performance. The harp like viñā gradually disappears from the scene, and the drums take different shapes in different regions, but the rhythm of the drum and the cymbals seem a constant accompaniment of all dances.116 The pose of the dancer herself reminds us of the Amarāvati dancer: her right leg crosses the left at the thigh level, and the left is placed at the back in a kuñcita foot: the right leg is slightly extended out, and both the knees are bent: her right arm is flexed with the elbow pointing out, a patākā, or perhaps a kātakāmukha hasta is near the chest, the other hand hangs in lātā or dūla, on the left side; the hand position is that of the āyata sthāna but her feet do not suggest this pose: the feet position accords more with the svastika group of cāris, and can be identified as either the static position of the Naṭyasāstra sthitāvartā cāri (X 15)
or the ēkṣiptā cāri (X 37). The waist is bent slightly with a nata pārvīva to the right, and the neck is bent in kuśicīta. No specific karana can be identified, but it is clear that the dancer moves to definite rhythm and music.

The scene from the Deogarh temple is of a different nature (figure 72). Here we have a group of five: musicians to the right of the dancer beat time with small sticks\(^{117}\) and the third to her left does the same; the extreme left figure plays on a drum placed horizontally across her waist. All of them wear sewn clothes, the two on either side wear dhotis in the same manner as men wear today, and the other two wear transparent thin skirts that cling to their body and come down to the ankles. The dancer herself has a rich costume; a skirt that comes up to her knees and falls down in flames. Another sewn garment covers her legs to the ankles; she has an elaborate head dress and earrings, different from the other figure. Her pose is simple; she stands in āvata sthāna for the most part, with one foot sama-pāda on the ground, and the other placed slightly obliquely in tryaśra, the knee of the tryaśra foot is bent, and the hip of the flat foot is elevated; her waist is slightly bent; the left hand does not hang down, but is placed on her left thigh gracefully, but all her fingers are spread out.\(^ {111}\) The right hand is placed between her breasts and is also opened out in alapadma; her head is just slightly turned, suggestive of a kuśicīta neck movement. The pose of the dancer has great dignity and elegance; her dress and demeanour remind us of the figures of the Ajantā and the Bāgh Caves.

We have another example from Deogarh (figure 73): here too there are five figures, four musicians and a dancer: one of the musicians is definitely playing a drum like the mrdanga (extreme right), and two of the musicians seem to be playing on cymbals; the hands of a fourth are indistinct. The dancer herself shows a distinct kṣipta outward bend of the knee, and the feet may easily have been in samapāda and kuśicīta; one of the arms is also definitely across the body in the latā hasta suggestive of the kari hasta position. The other hand gesture is not clear, but it was obviously held near the waist. This is one of the earliest scenes where we can observe a distinct kṣipta position of the knees.

Sārnāth brings us other important examples of dancing scenes and dance figures of the same school.\(^ {119}\) The finest of these is found on the long door-way lintel of 16 feet.\(^ {120}\) The panel is divided into six fields: of these, two represent dance scenes, identified as the five dancers of King Kālābū in the Khantivādi-jātaka: also in each one of lower niches we notice a group of three musicians.

The two dancing scenes on the upper panel are reminiscent of the scenes in Deogarh temple. In the third field there are five figures, of whom four play on musical instruments—a drum, a flute, a pair of cymbals, and a vertical mrdanga. The central figure who is the chief dancer stands in an āyata sthāna. Her left arm
is in *latā* hung down relaxed away from the body, and her right hand is in *patākā* held near her left shoulder; the fingers point slightly obliquely: but for the changes in the position of the hands, the pose is similar to the Deogarh dancer; so is her dress.

The next panel (figure 74) shows the same dancer; perhaps, now, not as if at the beginning of a dance, but in a moment of dance: she rounds her arms, holds her left hand in *kaṭakāmukha* very taut near the waist, and makes a *recita* with her right arm, which is lifted to the shoulder level. The left hip is pushed out and the foot of this leg is placed in front with a slant of the leg: her right leg crosses the left at the knee level, makes a *svastika* and touches the ground in a *kuṇcita* foot: the initial position of the *āviddhā cārī* is suggested and the pose belongs again to the *svastikā cārī* group, but the difference between the leg positions of this dancer and the Amarāvatī figures is significant. The crossing is at the back of the leg with the *sampaṇḍa* foot rather than in front. The flutist in the foreground to the left sits in a rather stylised posture—with both the knees bent to one side.

Of the women playing musical instruments in the lower niches of the same panel, two of them have significant postures: we come across a sophisticated sitting position, with both knees bent outwards and pointing sideways. The *hasta* are very definitely *kari hasta*, one hand is in *latā* and the other is held over the ear in *patākā* presumably. The dwarfs in these niches also dance and sing, and are reminiscent of the *vidūsaka* scenes found at Rājghāta depicting a court amusement scene.121

With the Cave temples of Elurā, Elephanta, Ajanṭā begins a new era in the history of Indian sculpture, which has its roots in the Gupta art of the earlier century and is yet breaking fresh ground. Amongst the dance scenes in these temples the most important feature to be noticed is the emergence of the full-fledged image of the dancing Śiva. Although earlier examples of these images exist, both Elurā and Elephanta give a distinct formulation which is followed for many centuries. Elurā devotes many scenes to the depiction of the various aspects of this deity. These we shall discuss as *nṛtta-mūrtis*.

To this period also belongs the rock-cut temple of Aurangabad132 (figure 75) which contains the figure of a Tārā. From its style and character it is strongly reminiscent of the sculptures of the Gupta period. She stands amidst six musicians, three on either side, holding cymbals and flute, and the small sticks seen in dance scenes from Deogarh.

However, her posture has become more stylised than the dance poses of the early Gupta period. The *kṣipta* outward bend of the knee is seen here; it is so
effortlessly sculptured that it no longer seems as an innovation; it appears instead as an accepted feature of a dance style. Indeed, the sole criterion for many scholars of identifying many poses as classical dance poses has been the presence or absence of this position of the knees. The feet of this figure are in samapada and kuńcita, a slight nata bend of the sides (parśva) is also characteristic of most of the dance poses of this period: her left arm is arched and the hand of this arm rests on the thigh in an ardha-patākā hasta, palm facing upwards (uttāna), and the other is perhaps a patākā hasta placed near the waist. The karaṇa suggested is the vaṅga (karaṇa 31), where one hand is on the thigh and the other is in apaviddhā sūci. This is one of the first examples of a dance pose which can be identified as a complete faithful representation of one of Bharata’s karaṇas. However, the sūcinukha hastas mentioned by the commentary are not seen in the sculpture.

Orchestration is also complete with flute, lute, mrdanga, cymbals and sticks. Another example of a dance scene is seen in Ajantā (figure 76). Like the dancers in Amarāvati, Deogarh and Gwalior, this dancer also stands surrounded by an élaborate orchestra of six musicians. The instruments played by three of these are the cymbals, the two vertical drums and a small kuńjirā. The others perhaps keep time by clapping. The dancer has a svastika position of the feet like the dancer from Sārnāth with a crossing at the back; one foot is in samapāda and the other is in kuńcita. One hand is in kaṭakāmukha and the other hand is in latā near the hips. The hip is shifted to one side in a slightly raised udvāhita movement and the neck is in a perfect equipoised sama. The kṣipta position of one knee is significant and although the dancer seems to indicate a static pose, it is nevertheless a pose of the dance very definitely.

The various dance poses of Śiva in Elurā, Athole, Paṭṭādakal, etc., belong to the group of nṛttamūrtis and should be analysed in that context. Indeed, in Ajantā and Elurā the motif of the dance is seen at its best in these conscious efforts at depicting the different modes of dancing of many gods specially Śiva. Early medieval sculpture of South India and the Deccan abounds in these nṛttamūrtis, although scenes of dancing continue to be numerous.

However from the 11th to the 15th century, a most prolific representation of the dance is seen in temples of Khajurāho, Bhuvanesvarā, Mount Ābu and South India. The schools of sculpture differ, change and develop from century to century, and the dancers also exhibit strong characteristics of their locale: regional variants are evolved, but the fundamental treatment of movement remains the same. As has been pointed out earlier, once the tradition of the kṣipta knees, karihastas and latā arms is accepted, there is seldom a departure from it. The tradition must have been so widespread that these poses are often repeated over a large geographical area. The sculptures do not depict, quite naturally, the whole range of movement described in the Nātyakāstra; the artists’ pick and
choose and select only those poses of dancing which would be most appropriate for depiction in the plastic medium. We find, therefore, that the karaṇas like the valita, latita, īrdhvajānu and the sūcivudha are popular; gradually they become stereotypes throughout the vast canvas of Indian sculpture. We also find that the elaborate orchestra of the earlier period gives way to drummers and the kānsya tālu (cymbals) players and the kaṇṭrā players of the 11th century. The vina (lute) and the seven stringed harp is seldom seen, and the flute is the only musical instrument used in the context of the dance. Most of these poses depict the uṭṭa aspect and not the abhinaya aspect of the dance.

Khajurāho

The temples of the Candelās are as rich for dance scenes, as they are for the variety of the wall figures of the sālabhaṅgakās and the sūrasundarīs. Figures 77-82 give us an idea of the sculptor's preoccupation with dance. Dance panels are found on the outer walls for the most part in both the Hindu and Jain group of temples: sometimes, isolated dance figures are also seen. Dancers are invariably seen with the kṣipta position of the knees. Figures 77, 78, 79 belong to one group, and figure 80 to another: figure 81 presents a different version of the classical dance. Figure 80 shows a male figure dancing amidst drummers and warriors, who carry both weapons and musical instruments like the horn etc. associated much more with martial music than classical dancing. Figure 82 falls into an independent group and this figure must have depicted an eight arm Śiva in a dancing pose. The poses of the dancers in all the figures are similar except that of figure 82 and all of them show a samapāda foot and a kuṇḍita or agratalasaṅcara foot placed against the heel of the samapāda foot: the position is akin to the sūcī pāda position and all these figures depict it with slight variations. Figures 77, 78 and 79 show a clear kṣipta position, with a definite agratalasaṅcara foot rather than a kuṇḍita foot. The arm movements of 77 and 78 are all different and the torso movements also vary. One hand is near the thigh or kṣipta knee, in an ardhapatākā or haṁsāsya hasta in figure 77, the other extends out in a lata hasta, and is raised above the level of the shoulder. She is accompanied by two drummers, one playing the mṛdeṅga and the other a damaru. This pose is seen in the Cidambaram temples as the ardhamattali karana (karana 28). In figure 78, the hand is in haṁsāsya near the chest and the other is held at the hip. There is no bend of the torso here and she stands erect accompanied by two drummers (mṛdeṅga), one flutist and one other figure who may have played cymbals. The hands resemble the gestures of the karana mattali, but neither this figure nor the Cidambaram figure represents the movement of this karana described by the text. The movement of the hands can be identified as an intermediary position of the uromanḍala hasta. Figures 78 and 79 show the same feet position; in both one hand hangs in patākā near the thigh, the other is held near the shoulder but with the palm facing the dancer. The waist of the dancer in figure 79 is in a pra-
śārīta movement. She is also accompanied by two drummists and a flute player. In figure 81, the hands of the dancer resemble the hands and arm movement of the dancer in figure 77. However, the hand near the kṣipta knee is clearly in a patākā and not hanisāsyā. Also the extended and raised latā arm is in a curve. Unlike the dancer in figure 77, it is a right foot which is in kuñcita. This gives the figure a different stance than that of the dancer in figure 77. A cymbal player is clearly seen in this panel. Figure 80 shows a male dancer in a pose similar to the one of the dancer in figure 78. The knee position of the leg with the samapāda is not a defined kṣipta position and the other foot is in kuñcita rather than agra-talasāṅcara. His right arm is flexed with the elbow at the chest level and the hand is held near the shoulder in a patākā hasta. The other arm hangs down in latā with the hand touching the knee. He is accompanied by two drummists, a mṛdaṅga player and a damaru player and a large cymbal player (kānsya-tāla). The flute is conspicuously absent and there is perhaps a horn carried by the lady who has one foot in svastika. Others carry weapons suggesting a martial or heroic dance.

The most significant pose amongst these sculptures is of figure 82 which could, with justification, be treated amongst the nṛtamūrtis. The figure in spite of its being broken clearly suggests Śiva dancing in tāndava in a beautiful vivar-tāta movement of the waist, extended dola hasta and prṣṭhasvastika movement of the legs. One leg is in a clear kṣipta with a samapāda foot, the other was possibly raised in a pārśvakrāntā cārī.

It is obvious that the Khajurāho sculptures of dance are a logical culmination of the beginnings seen in Sānci and Bharhat and Amarāvati. The dola or latā hasta of the Bharhat dancers, the Amarāvati dancers and the Ajantā and Aurangābād caves continues. The stiffness of the arms of Bharhat figures gives way to the smooth elongation of the limbs in the Amarāvati sculptures and which in turn gives place to the perfect proportions and balance of the Aurangābād Tārā. In Khajurāhō a stylisation of movement has been achieved which is as much a culmination of the sculptural style as of the dance technique. The distance of the limbs from the body is perfectly conceived and could be executed by a dancer without any difficulty. The elaborate orchestra of the Gupta period gives place to a smaller accompaniment of the drums, the flute and the cymbals: the harp is almost never seen and although the vīnā (lute) is seen often in the single figures of the śālabhaṇḍātikās, it is seldom seen in the context of the dance scene. A specialisation of dance music is already obvious from this, and we find that the rhythmical accompaniment of the mṛdaṅga and the cymbals is invariably portrayed in sculpture until the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. It is this percussion accompaniment which forms the core of musical accompaniment in the nṛta technique of the contemporary classical dance styles of India.
Bhuvaneśvara

Two scenes from Bhuvaneśvara (figures 83 and 84) depict men dancers, obviously in a group dance, exclusively for men: they perform in groups of three, and the orchestra is seen separately in a different panel. A flutist, a drummer (mṛḍanga player) and a tāla keeper (rhythmic clapping) are seen in the lower niche of both the panels: the dancers themselves hold interesting poses: they do have the kṣipta of the knees; but the poses are not as formalised as in Khaju-ṛāho: instead thighs of practically all the figures are slightly thrown out to the side, and this results in an exaggerated mannerism characteristic of this school of sculpture and dance. In figure 83, the extreme right dancer is in a prsthavastika pose described by Bharata. His feet are in svastika and the back is turned towards the audience: the second figure has a samapāda and a slight kuṅcita foot, the latter is drawn away slightly: one hand is held in a half muṣṭi hasta near the head, the other hand hangs in dola hasta: the arm movements depict the final position of the uromaṇḍala hasta. No specific karaṇa of Bharata can be identified in the pose, but it can be one of the many intermediary positions of a karaṇa like the kaṭi sama (karaṇa 19) or chinna (karaṇa 45). The extreme left figure has a svastika of the feet and the same type of the hands as the second figure. The second dance scene (figure 84) seems to have more movement, with greater flow and coherence in the composition. The extreme right figure of the panel has a svastika of the feet, a uromaṇḍala arm movement, where the elbow points out, without the exaggerated prasārita waist of the central figure of the earlier dance scene. The second and third figures hold sūcipāda and karihasta positions: their poses are however not such as can be called accurate depictions of the initial positions of either the catura or the karihasta karana.

These dance figures when compared with the existing Orissi style capture a type of movement distinctive to Orissa. The kaṭi as a unit is usually kept in sama in Bharatanātyam and there is no movement of the hips. In Orissi the hips are moved, and the tribhaṅga is usually formed with the kṣipta position of the legs and the hips deflected or shifted to one side: it is this characteristic deviation which is also depicted in these sculptures. The hips and the head deviate to one side and the torso deviates to the opposite side. The karihasta is also more frequently seen in Orissi than the other contemporary styles of classical Indian dancing.

There are many remarkable examples of the nyttamūrtis in Bhuvaneśvara and one example will be dealt under the group of nyttamūrtis. Apart from these, two other interesting examples of sculpture of the dance are seen in figures 85 and 86. Figure 85 is of a dancer half reclining on the ground, with the torso raised and the elbow touching the ground. The other arm extends backwards. One leg is raised up with the foot nearly touching her head. This is perhaps the
extreme example of the vrścika leg position. If both the legs had been raised and extended up with the torso touching the ground, the pose would have approximated the sculptural representation of the karaṇa šakatāsya in Cidambaram. The present figure cannot be identified as the karaṇa lalāṭatilaka on account of the suggestion of reclining, although one foot is raised almost to touch the head. The other figure (86) is of an acrobatic movement and a rare example in sculpture of this pose. Although the movement is physically possible and is performed by acrobats, it is seldom seen in the body of classical dances. The movement of the legs again belongs to the vrścika group and while the knee and foot of one leg touch the ground, the other is raised high, this time well above the level of the head. The weight of the body rests firmly on a patākā hasta on the ground and the knee of the static leg. The other arm is raised high above the head: the uplifted leg and arm balance each other remarkably and the head is bent backwards in a marked aṅcita neck movement and an utkṣipta head movement. If the weight of the body had been on both the hands resting on the ground, the present figure would have approximated the sculptural representation of the karaṇa gaṅgāvataraṇa (karaṇu 108) in Cidambaram. As it is, it does not. Finally there is one dance scene from the Mukteśvara temple from Bhuvanesvara (figure 87) which is unique for its grace and precision. The exaggerations of figures 83, 84 have given place to a perfect movement of the classical solo dance. The ardhamanḍali, the kṣipta of the knees is perfect. The raised leg with the kuṅcita foot is as full of dynamic movement as it is controlled. There is no extra movement of the kāṭi: the prasārita waist is clear but not laboured: the arms are in a clear distinct beautiful kari hasta. The slight nata bend of the neck completes the picture of this joyous solo dancer. The musicians look on in enjoyment and adoration playing the vīṇā, cymbals and other instruments.

Dilvārā

Many scenes from a ceiling of the Dilvārā temple, Mount Ābu, present a variety of poses. The women who dance here are sometimes more sophisticated than the men dancers of Bhuvanesvara. The elongated limbs, the attenuated waists and the rounded torsos leave an impression of great plastic skill. The dancers are accompanied here too by mṛdaṅga and flute players. The flute is unusually long and the mṛdaṅga usually is a small sized one. Occasionally one comes across a dwarf playing on the damaru. Coomaraswami in ‘Mirror of Gesture’ gives three excellent illustrations of dancers from these temples. Ūrdhvajānu is popular and the knee here is taken almost to the level of the chest. There are also examples of the pārśvajānu and the svastikā cāri. The pakṣavaiṅcita hasta, the kaṭakāmukha hasta and the haṁsāśya are common. The women who hold musical instruments also use hasta such as the simhanukha and the ardhapataṅkā.

Two scenes from the same group of temples show dancers and deities in
the characteristic ārdhavajānu, pārśvajānu, and svastikā cārī movements. Figure 88 represents a central male deity accompanied on either side by two female deities each. Apart from the many attributes that these deities hold in two pairs of hands, the third pair of hands is in uromaṇḍala hasta. One hand is in a clear patākā hasta in abhayamudrā. The position of the lower limbs is either in svastikā cārī or in ārdhavajānu cārī.

The dancers in figure 89 surround a female deity and the line of dancers present a great sense of movement. The two dancers closest to the deity have a svastikā cārī position of the legs with a very clear extension of the torso. We do not often come across this torso position in Indian dance. Usually the torso twists round the waist or there is a simple bend. This slant is rare; the other dancers on the left of the seated figure have a ksipta position of the legs; but this can hardly be identified as a clear ksipta position of the knees because the upper leg does not move out from the centre of the body; instead it is turned inwards suggesting āvarita or pārśva movement. The other lower leg is lifted and the toe is held by a dwarf in each case. The waist is either turned round in recita or it is almost vivartita. In all these figures, the samapāda foot is clear; in two figures, the kūṇcita foot is also clear. The kūṇcita foot in other figures is closer to the agratalasaṅcara foot. The dancers who cross their legs usually hold a position which can be identified as the sthitāvartā cārī.

As in other medieval temples, dance scenes and dance poses are frequent in all the temples of the Mount Ābu group. These dancers appear on ceilings in circular formations, on horizontal lintels and on vertical pillars. Although there is some variety in the dance poses, it is not really enough because from the evidence available it would appear that the sculptor was restricting himself to the depiction of three of four movements of the sthitāvartā cārī, the pārśvajānu cārī and the ārdhavajānu cārī.

Rājasthān

A frieze from Jodhpur (figure 90) shows a panel of dancers in different poses. The kaṇjirā is the only musical accompaniment and no drums are seen here. The sūcippāda feet position is noticed in most of the figures; two have a svastika of the feet and one seems to be in the movement of the apakrāntā cārī (second from left). The third and fourth figures from the right hold the same poses as those observed in Khajurāho: the central figure is seen clearly in the movement of the prasthasvastika karaṇa, but one arm is raised with the elbow pointing high up, resulting in a prasārita movement of the sides (pārśva) and an udvāhita movement of the chest. Her head is turned back in the parāvrītta movement. This is a highly stylised and polished depiction of the karaṇa and we see a similar representation of it in the frescoes of the Brhadeśvaram temple, Tanjore.
A scene from the Purāṇa Mahādeva temple from Rājasthān (figure 91) repeats these poses. The musical accompaniment is more elaborate here, for we see besides the flute, drum, cymbals, a vīnā or an ekārā, and two other instruments. Two musicians have the svastika position of the feet, one foot is in agratāla-saṅcara. The kañjirā player is in prsthassvastika. The pose of the main dancer in the middle is akin to the pose of the dancers in Khajurāhō and her arms are in uromandala hasta. In another dance scene from Suravāyā we find the main dancer in a similar pose. The scene (figure 92) shows five dancers interspersed between musicians, who play on drums (mrdanga), flute and kañjirā.

There is another scene of the dance of the gods in Indra’s heaven from the Harsanātha, Sīkar, belonging to the same period (10th century). In the frieze, we find Indra seated on his elephant Airāvata, a warrior holding shield and sword and an Apsara. The movement sways and surges to either side of a standing god who holds a long lance and who seems to have ushered in before Indra the warrior, so that he becomes one of the dancers. The apsarā stands in a delicate mild ārdhva-jaṅu pose where she does not lift her knee too high; two hamsāṣyā hands are seen clearly, one is near the shoulder and the other near the waist: the palms of both are facing out.

In a relief from a temple at Harsanātha in Rājasthān (figure 93) now in William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Śiva is seen seated with Pārvatī on the bull Nandu, surrounded by dancers and musicians. All the musicians and dancers have a clearly defined ksipta position of the knees and except for the figure immediately to the right of Śiva their feet are in suci-pāda. One musician plays the kañjirā, another a mṛdaṅga, and a third a horn, very much like the present turahi. The figure immediately next to Śiva dances in a ārdhva-jaṅu cārī, one hand in a clear hamsāṣyā hasta is placed near the hip. The other is held at the level of the head, making it a variation of the uromandala hasta.

The sculpture of dance can be seen practically in every temple of Rājasthān of the early and late medieval periods. The poses these figures assume are varied and like the sculptors of Khajurāhō and Bhuvanesvara attempt to capture a dynamic movement of the dance. The Sirohi Mirpur dancers of figure 94 depict yet another pose of the dance. Three of these dancers assume the vrśika leg position with a vivartita waist movement. The foot which touches the ground is not in samapāda but a kuṅcita foot, and there is no forward thrust of the flying gandharvas of Khajurāhō. Instead, the torso is either erect or turned around in vivartita creating a different impression. The knee of the vrśika leg touches the ground in each case: the lower leg is raised and the foot is at the hip. On the whole the karana kuṅcita is suggested.

A relief from Markanda (figure 95) depicts a finished movement of a dance.
The dancer executes a precise *atikrāntā*. Her hands are also in a finished movement, one in a clear *ardha patākā* and the other in a *patākā*. The raised head in *udvāhita* with the elbow at the chin level adds to her grace. On the whole the pose suggests any of the *recita karaṇas* of Bharata. The dancing drummer (figure 96) has a *sūci pāda* in its final position with an *agraṭalasaṅcara* foot. The little toes are slightly bent inwards and the foot is placed slightly forward, which gives the figure an added sense of movement. Figure 97 from the Sāsabahu temple of Gwalior shows a *prṣṭha-svastika* with a *vivartita* of the waist. The *ūrdhvajāmu* and the *prṣṭhasvastika cāris* seem to have been a great favourite with sculptors throughout India in the medieval period.

**Aihole**

There are many examples of dance sculpture in the Tirpurāntaka and the Mauliśvara temples at Aihole. Most of them are seen on the perforated screens of these temples. The dancers are mostly seen in a *mandala* or *vaisākha sthāna* with a *vivartita* movement of the waist. These figures can be identified as the *karaṇa niveda* and *lolita* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

**Kerala**

The scene from the Trivikramamaṅgala (figure 98) and the *Kudakutta* dance, Kidangur (figure 99) provide enough evidence to convince one of the similarity of the style of dancing prevalent throughout India from Rājasthān and Khajurāho to Kerala, and from Gujarāt to Bhuvanesvara. The dancer in figure 98 has a *prṣṭha-svastika* pose like the Purāṇā Mahādeva figures; one hand is near the chest while the other is extended in *lata*, like the description of the *karaṇa prṣṭhasvastika*. The hip is turned around and the torso is again twisted to the front, resulting thus in a *niyṛtta* movement of the *kaṭi* and the *vivartita* movement of the *pārśva*. One foot is in *agraṭalasaṅcara*. The relief from Kidangur (figure 99) depicts a *kudakutta* (pot-dance): there is much greater sense of action and rhythm in this dance than in the movements of the dancers in the earlier frieze: the dancer seems to juggl deftly with the pots, and two are balanced on the arms, while one is still in the air. Even in this dance we notice that the *kṣipta* knee position is not forgotten and there is the suggestion of both the *recita* of the *lata hasta* of one arm and the *kuṇcita* of the other.

**Pālampeṭ**

In Pālampeṭ dance scenes are innumerable and the orchestration has achieved an unmistakable stylisation. The *mṛdaṅga* and the kettle drum (like the *edekkā* of contemporary Kerala) invariably accompany the dancer. Figures 100 and 101 from the Ramappā temple show dancers accompanied by drummers. The leg
positions of both the dancers are in ārdhavajānu although the leg with the samapāda foot on the ground is not in a marked kṣipta position. The hands of the central figure are raised high above the head, and the hands are in hanisāsya. The side (pārśva) is in a clear praśārita movement of this figure while the torso of the dancer in figure 100 is in prasārita, the torso of figure 101 is held erect in sama. One of the other dancers (second from the right) has a svastika position of the legs (figure 100) and the hands are in pakṣavañcita: one hand is near the head and the other at the waist level. The drummers are also dancing, and one of the drummers in each of the figures plays the drum in a karihasta position.

Śrīśailam

Examples of completely finished and polished depiction of dance movement come from the Śiva temple, Śrīśailam, Kurnool district. Figures 102, 103 and 104 give us three different types of poses; each significant as dance movement and beautiful as sculptural relief. In figure 101 we see a dancer in the ārdhavajānu karana. One hand is above the head in either an Abhinayaśāstra hanisāsya or Nāṭyaśāstra sandanīsa, and the other is extended down and held gracefully near the thigh; it is held in an arch and does not touch the thigh. The head is in parivāhita. The musical accompaniment consists of a flute, a cymbal, a mṛdaṅga and a nāgasvaram. One hand of the mṛdaṅga player is raised in ardhapatakā as if to indicate a special point in the metrical cycle (tāla). In figure 103 we have an exquisite example of the lalāṭatilaka pose, and, even though this and the Cidambaram sculpture do not seem to accord with each other in the interpretation of Bharata's karana by that name, both are undoubtedly attempts at sculptural representation of the final position of this karana. The present figure presents a pose which is more in the sphere of actual dancing than the lalāṭatilaka of Cidambaram or Kāñcipuram. The main difference arises from the relative emphasis on the kṣipta position of the knees in the two figures. In figure 103, the kṣipta of the leg which holds the weight of the body is greatly emphasised and thus the curve of the back arched leg is more pronounced; the flexion of the knee is preserved and the leg is not straightened as in Cidambaram and Kāñcipuram representation.

Figure 104 from the Śiva temple, Śrīśailam and the figure 105 from the walls of the Hazārārāma temple, Hampi depict different types of staff dances. In the Bāgh caves, we notice one of the first examples of this dance in painting: in these reliefs we find that the same character has been preserved though the dancers of the Śrīśailam temple seem more accomplished than those of the other reliefs. The tradition of the dāndīā rāsa is preserved in the folk dances of India from Gujarat to Andhra and Kerala, and its popularity seems to date back to the 5th-6th centuries; about this time we find that the dāndīā rāsa is also mentioned in contemporary literature. The dancers in figures 104 and 105 beat their sticks in karihasta and svastika hasta; the lower limbs are seen in the ārdhavajānu cārī; the dancers of figure 104 seem to have a staff in both hands. The staffs meet on the head level and
the knee level, and the pattern is repeated by the other couples. Figure 105 (top panel) shows clearly how all these couples are self-sufficient in themselves and yet form a group composition. It is also obvious from these reliefs that nowhere is the dance depicted as an isolated dance of a couple; it is always a group dance. These are perhaps the few sculptural representations of the padi bandhas discussed by Bharata.

The dancers from the throne platform in Hampi (figure 106) belong to a different school of dancing, judging from their feet positions, their costume and their pose. They depict couple dancing through symmetrical poses: each pair is seen in the position of the mandala sthāna and one of the knees is bent inwards in āvartita. They hold an object in their uplifted patākā hasta which has a palm facing up in uttāna, the other pair of hands clasp each other. The dance is obviously not of the same kind as we have seen in the poses with the ksipta position of the knees, and seems to belong to a different category. The pose of the dancers cannot be identified as any of the Nātyaśāstra karanas although it comes nearest to an intermediary position of the karana nīveśa, which is inaccurately sculptured in Cidadmbaram.128

Cidadmbaram

The Cidadmbaram temple and the Bṛhadeśvara temples are the richest sources for sculptural representation of dance poses: they are found on the Amman walls in Cidadmbaram, and the antarāla walls in Bṛhadeśvara. The karṇas are seen on the pillars of the Gopuram in one, and on the walls of the garbhagriha in the other. The figures on the Amman walls have not been sculptured as karṇas specifically but they are accurate depictions of significant moments in the movements of many karṇas. Figures 107 to 120 represent a cross-section their variety and their insistence on a distinct style is obvious.129

The knees of all these figures are in ksipta and from this completely out-turned position of the feet other movements are derived: figures 107, 108, 109 and 110 show a distinctive samapāda but with considerable distance between the two feet. The hands of these reliefs vary but they are the hand gestures and positions of a common language of a distinct dance style which is established. The latā hasta, the dola hasta and the katākāmukha hasta seem to be most popular. The total impression is of movements and poses suggested by karṇas like the ardha-recita, apaviddha, kaṭichinna etc. Figure 111 seems to present the movement of the ardha-recita karaṇa with one hand possibly in the patākā near the ear and the other extended out in lutā at the shoulder level. The apaviddha movement of the arms is suggested in most of these figures: the pose suggests the movement of the karaṇa aksipta recita.
The pose of figure 107 is suggestive of the ardharecita karana when after the recita of the hands one rests on the thigh and the other is extended out. In the Gopuram, this karana is sculptured slightly differently when one hand is near the chest, and the other is extended in latā above the shoulder level. Figures 108 and 110 also suggest the ardharecita karana. Figure 109 suggests the movement of the karana kāśyana in the final position. Figure 112 suggests the karana unnuṭtaka where the two hanusapaksa hasta finally extend out above the shoulder level in the dola hasta.

Figures 113, 114, 115 and 116 from the Devi temple in Cidambaram, depict the same kṣiṇṭa position of the knees with one foot in kuñcita in all cases. The movement of the torso, the arms, the hands and the head makes each of them different. Figure 113 has a marked udvāhita movement of the chest with a corresponding udvāhita movement of the left hip. One hand is in patākā, with the elbow flexed, and the other arm is extended out in a dola hasta above the shoulder level. None of the karanas sculptured in the Gopuram depict this particular udvāhita movement of the chest, although many depict the feet position. The movement suggested by figure 113 is closest to the Nāṭyaśāstra’s description of the karana ardhahamattali. Figures 114, 115 are variations of the same feet position with a clearly marked kuñcita foot of the sūci cāri. Figure 114 is perfectly sculptured with a vama kāṭi and sama chest, the head is slightly bent to one side in a delicate parvāhita head movement. One hand is in patākā at the waist level and the other is extended down in latā, with the thumb touching the knee. The stance suggests the movement of the karana vaḥita. The Gopuram relief of the karana ghūṇīṭṭta resembles this figure except that the position of the lower limbs is reversed. In the Gopuram relief the dancer’s right foot is in kuñcita. Figure 115 has similar feet position, but the kāṭi is in a slight udvāhita movement. One hand is in an upright patākā at the waist level and the other extends out in latā with the wrist and hand above the shoulder level. However since the torso is not in udvāhita, the pose differs from the pose of the dancer in figure 113. A comparison of figures 113 and 114 and 115 shows the possibility of many variations of a movement with similar feet position. In contemporary practice the kṣiṇṭa sequences in Bharatanātyam are reminiscent of movements suggested by these poses.

The feet position of figure 116 is also the same as the feet position of figures 113-114 and 115, but the arm movements and the head movement give this dancer yet a different stance. The arms are in karhastā with one arm crossing the body in the latā hasta, and the other held in a patākā hasta near the ear. The head is in an udvāhita movement, and the entire pose resembles the sculptural representation of the karana lahitā in the Gopuram. A variation of the same hand positions and arm movements is seen in figure 119. Here the feet are different. The kuñcita foot is clearly raised and does not touch the ground. It is an accurate depiction of the pārśvavāṃśa cāri movement in the initial position, and it can be concluded that
this figure rather than the Gopuram relief depicts the movement described by the 
Nāṭyaśāstra for the karaṇa pāṛśvakṛnta. Figures 118 and 120 depict two beauti-
ful positions of the īrdhva-jānu cārī movements. In figure 118 the hands are in a 
karihasta with an aṅcitā head position. The īrdhva-jānu cārī movement is per-
fectedly captured by the sculptor and closely resembles the position of the lower 
limbs of the sculptural 'reliefs of the karaṇa daṇḍapakṣa and īrdhva-jānu in the 
Gopuram. This figure however cannot be identified as either karaṇa on account 
of its karihasta and it cannot be as identified as the karihasta karaṇa on account 
of its īrdhva-jānu position of the lower limbs. Figure 120 resembles the sculptural 
relief of the karaṇa īrdhva-jānu in the Gopuram, the position of the lower limbs 
being reversed. One arm hangs in front of the raised knee in a dola hasta instead of 
being raised shoulder high in an extended latā hasta as in the Gopuram figure.

A beautiful example of the vṛṣcika leg position with the karihasta is seen in 
figure 117. The figure closely resembles the sculptural relief of the karaṇa nikuṇcita 
in the Gopuram. The vṛṣcika leg and the karihasta are seen in both the figures, 
although the neck is bent to the right in one figure and to the left in the other. 
The karihasta is not mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra although both these figures 
depict them.

The Prṣṭhasvastika position of the lower limbs with the complete vivartita 
movement of the waist is seen in figure 121. The crossing of the svastika feet and 
the turning around of the trika is perfectly captured: one hand is in dola hasta and 
the other in allapallava at the head level.

A complete and detailed analysis of the dance sculpture in the Devi temple, 
Sūrya temple and Natarāja temple in Cidambaram demands an independent study; 
the few examples included reveal the sculptor's keen eye for capturing precisely in 
stone dance movement. Observed closely, there is hardly a single repetition and 
each figure has some distinguishing feature: it seems most unlikely that sculptors 
were presenting variations on the same motif of the kspta knee position, dola hasta 
and karihasta without reference either to the Śilpaśāstra or the Nāṭyaśāstra. It must 
be concluded from the precise delineation of movement in these figures that the 
Nāṭyaśāstra and contemporary practice of the dance was being followed as meticu-
culously and studiously by these sculptors as by the sculptors of the Gopurams 
who were seeking to illustrate the Nāṭyaśāstra verses of the karaṇas in the Gopu-
ram more academically.

The story of these dancers and musicians in stone, however, does not end 
with the sculpture on the Cidambaram temple. Their prolificness and their pre-
cision speaks of a continuity of tradition, which was both deep-rooted and wide-
spread. Dance was a significant theme of sculpture for several centuries: it is seen 
on the walls and shrines of temples in Kerala, Halebid, Belur, Madura, Orissa, 
Paharpur, Khajuraho, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The tradition of Elura and Auranga-
bad continues till the eighteenth century. Some of the temples of Gujarat of the eighteenth and even nineteenth century testify to the wide prevalence of a similar tradition of dance in different parts of India. The Cidambaram reliefs stand as an important landmark in this history, and if a history of the dance is reconstructed through evidence in sculpture, then Cidambaram is certainly one of the richest and most important sources.

Although the present study does not aim at tracing the history of dance through subsequent centuries from examples spread throughout India, it can be fairly certainly concluded from all available evidence that a common tradition of the dance existed throughout India till the seventeenth century, and perhaps later. The regional differences in sculpture styles are nonetheless significant; strict regional codification of movement is easily noticed: an unmistakable tradition of the classical dancer performing to a drum, a flute and occasionally a viṅā is seen in all the temples. The knees, the waist, the feet, the arms, and the hands are similarly treated. Some movements seem more popular than others; thus the ṣivasṭika, the ūrdhvajānu, the bhujāṅgatrāśita and lañita and the ṣṭeṣika are vocabulary of a common language of movement arrested in dance sculpture through many centuries over a vast geographical area. Some contemporary styles preserve the characteristic features of this tradition more rigorously than others: Bharatanāṭyam uses the basic ardhamuṅgali most rigorously; other dance styles like Orissi and Kuchipudi also use it. Kāṭhakali perhaps derives the rectangular basic stance from the muḍala sthāna of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Although the history of contemporary classical dance styles in their present form cannot be traced too far back, each style preserves some characteristic feature of this rich over-powering technique; unmistakable links between these dance styles and the earlier tradition exemplified in literature and sculpture, exist: nonetheless a systematic and objective study has yet to be conducted so that a history of the evolution of movement can be traced.

*Karaṇa*

Apart from the hundreds of unclassified dance poses found on the walls of temples, some of whom we have discussed, there is a category of sculptural relief where the sculptor sought to illustrate movement described in the texts of dance through the plastic medium. Three outstanding examples of this exist in the temples of South India. The first belongs to the eleventh century from the Brhadeśvara temple in Tanjore, the second of the Śaṅkangapani temple of Kumbakonan and the third the Cidambaram temple in the four Gopurams. Both at Brhadeśvara and at Cidambaram the sculptors were obviously making a deliberate attempt at illustrating movement described not so much in the Śilpaśāstra as in the Nāṭyaśāstra. Sir T. N. Ramachandran has attempted to identify the poses in the Brhadeśvara temple with the karaṇa described in the fourth chapter
of the Nāṭyaśāstra. He has proceeded more or less on the same hypothesis as Sītā B. V. N. Naidu and Sri Ramakrishna Sastri, have in respect of Cidambaram: these scholars imply in their discussion that karaṇas are static positions and therefore it is possible to identify the sculptural representation accurately with a particular verse of the Nāṭyaśāstra. A comparison of the karaṇas as sculptured in Bṛhadēśvara and as identified by Sri Ramachandran with the sculptural reliefs of these karaṇas in the Cidambaram temple is a rewarding study but it has not been possible to include it in the present volume.

The karaṇas as sculptured in the Gopurams in Cidambaram and as analysed and identified by different authorities has been discussed by us in the second chapter. Here we can include only a few illustrations of these karaṇas. Figure 123 represents aṅcita (karaṇa 22). The Nāṭyaśāstra mentions the ardhasvastika of the feet, and the parsvātita movement of the hands. The commentary of Abhinavagupta adds that after performing the ardhasvastika karaṇa and the krihasta of the arms, one should execute the alapallava gesture in the region of the nose. The sculpture shows a crossing of the feet, with one foot in a clear kuñcita pāda and the other in samapāda. The arms are seen in krihasta but the hand is near the shoulder rather than the nose and is in patākā and not in alapallava. Figure 124 illustrates the karaṇa talavīrśita in its final position. The Nāṭyaśāstra states that the leg should be extended to the side and held high while the foot with the toes and soles upturned should face the sky. The commentary adds that the leg should be in latā and that the movement should be performed by either leg alternately for purposes of practice. A clapping of the hands is indicated in the initial position: in the final position they should be also bent and held high. The position seen in the sculpture is one of the many positions which could be attained by a sideways uplifted leg, and the sculpture shows an extreme position of an uplifted leg with the elbows bent and the hands at the level of the ears. Figure 122 depicts a karaṇa which has commonly been identified as illustrating the description of the karaṇa catura. Some of the nṛttamūrtis of Śiva in this particular pose have also been identified as catura. The description of the Nāṭyaśāstra does not mention the krihasta movement seen in the sculpture. It only mentions an aṅcita hand which the commentary explains as the alapallava. The relief shows one hand in a hamsapakṣa held obliquely and a dola hasta of the other arm crossing the body. The Nāṭyaśāstra mentions the right hand as being in catura. Since the Nāṭyaśāstra does not specifically mention the positioning of the arms, it is possible that in practice the krihasta arm position was used, but nonetheless, this sculpture as also the other figures of Śiva dancing in this pose do not depict either the alapallava hasta or the catura hasta. The movement of the feet mentioned by the Nāṭyaśāstra was more difficult to capture in sculpture; kuṭṭila or udghaṭṭita is a toe heel movement of the foot, where the heel strikes the ground, when the toe is already in contact with the ground. In the sculpture one foot is in kuñcita touching the ground and the other is in a samapāda. In fact it would
appear that the sculptor was repeating to a large extent the movement of the *karaṇa lalita* where the *karihasta* and the *kuttīla* of the feet are specifically mentioned and which is accurately sculptured in Cidambaram. The position of the arms is reversed in the sculpture of the *karaṇa caturā*.

It is possible thus to take each sculptural relief of the Gopuram in Cidambaram and to analyse it in its minutest details with the verses describing the movement in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Discrepancies in depiction occur in quite a few cases, and some of these have already been pointed out in an earlier chapter. However, it must be admitted that in most cases the sculptors have attempted to capture the spirit of the movement at a given point, and the *karaṇas* of the groups *vrścika*, *svastika* and a few derived from the *cārīs* have been fairly accurately sculptured.

*Nṛttamūrtis*

The *Śilpaśāstra* and the *Āgamas* and specially the *Kamkāgama* and the *Kāraṇgāma* have dealt at great length on the iconographical aspects of the *nṛttamūrtis*. Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon in their dancing aspects have been the subject of considerable research and many scholars have tried to identify these poses in relation to the sculptural texts. Some scholars in recent years have also devoted attention to these poses from the point of view of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is not our purpose here to analyse these dancing aspects in relation to the sculptural texts; it is also not our purpose to present a historical survey of the *nṛttamūrtis* from the earliest times to medieval Indian sculpture. The subject is too vast and calls for a fresh independent study. We have included a few examples to present a cross-section of these *nṛttamūrtis* as they are found in different periods and in different regions of India.

The Gods and the Goddesses who assume dance postures are many; it has not been possible to include even a representative example of each of these Gods and Goddesses. We have confined ourselves to some well known figures of Gaṅeṣa, Gaṇuḍa, Sarasvati, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the analysis no attempt has been made to repeat or to re-interpret the identification of these poses in terms of the *Śilpaśāstra*, the *Āgamas*, the *Śilparatna* etc. Our purpose is merely to establish that when these Gods and Goddesses dance the poses they strike belong to the field of *nṛtta* described in the dance texts, more particularly the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The *nṛttamūrtis* begin to appear fairly early in Indian sculpture, but they are most prolific in the medieval and the late-medieval period. The *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva in the Elurā and the Elephanta caves are well known. So are the *nṛttamūrtis* of Sarasvati and Durgā of the Cā lukyan and Hoysāla periods. However, we find the representation of Gods and Goddesses as dancers all over India and many more
examples could have been included from Khajuraho, Rajasthan, Bengal, the Deccan area, Tamilnad and Kerala.

These nṛttamūrtis naturally share the characteristics of the sculptural style of the period and the region. They cannot be seen as a class distinct and therefore common to all parts of India. The different poses of the nṛttamūrtis of Garuḍa, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvati, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Śiva have the characteristic features of the sculpture of the region. The identification thus even from the point of the Nāṭyaśāstra is only a general identification in terms of the cārī positions as judged from the movement of the limbs or certain characteristic features of the karaṇas described by Bharata in the Fourth Chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Two examples of Gaṇeśa from the medieval period are interesting. A nṛta Ganaipati from a ceiling of the Mukteśvara temple in Bhuvaneśvara (figure 125) is an excellent example of a dance scene complete with orchestration. The dancing God stands in a samapāda of one foot, and a kuṇēta of the other in a position of the ardhasūci karana. The God has four pairs of arms: the two upper arms are high up above the level of the head and hold a snake like a creeper. This pair suggests a position of the uromaṇḍala hasta. The second pair must have held a rosary and a kapiththā. The rosary is distinct, but the other hand is broken. The third pair is in a gesture of the dance: again the left hand is broken, but it is likely that it was a nataka hasta. The other is in kafakāmukha and holds a lotus stalk. The fourth pair is indistinct, but one of these was certainly in front, palm facing out and placed on the chest. The trunk of the elephant God is also curved suggesting movement. In spite of the limited space and the rounduity of the figure, the knees are in a clear kṣipta position, definitely making this pose into one of the many dance poses of Gaṇapati.

The orchestration is simple: there is a drummist with two drums, suggestive of two vertically placed mrīḍangas: the manner of playing almost suggests a tabla, but it would perhaps not be correct to identify the percussion instrument as the tabla. The other accompanist sits erect on the hips and knees raised: one plays the maṇīrā. Two other subsidiary figures delicately balanced on lotus leaves, are on a higher level than the musicians: the feet position of one suggests a catūra karana, and the other a sūci cārī. Both hold lotus stalks in one hand the other arm is relaxed in dola hasta. While there are many scenes of the Gaṇapati dancing, this is a rare example in which there is musical accompaniment and support of other dancers.

There are many examples of the dancing Gaṇapati from Halebid. In some he is seen dancing in a distinct ārdhva-jānu, and in others in pārśva-jānu: in yet some others we can see the movements of the kaṭisama and the laṅka karana. In all these the kṣipta of the knees is distinct, and usually one foot is in samapāda with
the toes pointing outwards. In Figure 126, in spite of the heavy ornamentation and ornate style of the sculpture, the pose is distinct. He has a perfect *ardhamanḍali* and one foot is in *samapāda*. The other is possibly in *kuṇīta* for it seems as if only the forepart of the foot is touching the ground. He also has four pairs of arms, and each pair holds the conventional implements associated with the deity. One pair is at the level of the head: one is in a *mukūr*, and the other in *śśī or ham-sāsya*. One hand of the second pair is in *ardhapatikā*: and one hand of the third pair is in *kaṭakāmukha*. One arm of the fourth pair is in a graceful *dola hasta*, palm facing out.

The pose (figures 127 and 128) of two examples, of Garuda from Halebid holding Laksminārayana, is in the *kuṇīta karanā* movement. In one the God is kneeling on the ground; in the other it is a distinct flying movement. The second figure is full of dynamism, with one leg in a typical deep knee flexion and the other thrown outward. The two knees form a diagonal which is reinforced by a forward thrust of the torso which is in *udvāihita*. The right arm follows the line of the leg and the movement of the God is in direct contrast to the equipoise of the divine couple he supports on his left shoulder. The sculpture is effective for its high relief and its powerful dynamic movement.

Two examples of Sarasvati from Halebid (figures 129 and 130) are both seen in *ūrdhvajānu*. Figure 129 exhibits perfect control at the very moment of communicating a sense of open-movement. The lifted leg in *ūrdhvajānu* is beautifully balanced by an extended *dola hasta* at the level of the shoulder. The torso is in *sama*.

In the second example (figure 130), the lower limbs are in a similar position, only this time the right foot is in *samapāda* and holds the weight of the body and the left is lifted up, with the knee bent and raised to the knee level. The shift of the torso to the left however makes this pose quite different from the first one. The character of the movement also changes by the changed position of one pair of hands. Also the hand that holds the rosary is extended out in *latā hasta* at the shoulder level. One pair of hands are in *kaṭakāmukha*, āvartito and *parāvartita*. The slight shift of the torso, the slight change in the vertical median, imparts to the same movement a different character.

Both the examples of Garuda and Sarasvati convince us of the many different possibilities of executing a movement indicated by a *karanā* or a *cārī*.

Thus, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Śilpaśāstra* may prescribe that the Garuda *nyttamūrti* should be in *kuṇīta*, and that of Sarasvati in *ūrdhvajānu* both the sculptor and the dancer have freedom to execute the particular movement in a variety of ways.
This is further borne out by the two examples of Kṛṣṇa included. Both sculptures (figures 131 and 132) in terms of iconography and in terms of Bharata’s karaṇas and cārī are also in ārdhva-jānu, but how different the quality of modelling and of movement of these figures from the Sarasvati’s and how different from each other. The Hoysala stone Venugopāla heavy in character holds the flute in a pair of kaṭakāmukha hasta; movement is suggested by the flowing jewellery only: the uplifted leg is static. In contrast there is the Bālagopāla in bronze also in ārdhva-jānu with one dola hasta like the dancing Sarasvati and the other hand in an ardha-candra. The God stands in perfect poise, with rare calm and is yet full of vitality.

The nṛtta-mūrtis of Śiva begin to appear in Indian sculpture around the 5th century and continue to find a major place in the depiction of Śiva until the 17th century. Although Śiva as a dancer appears in literature fairly early, the iconographical descriptions of Śiva as a dancer in the sculpture texts are found only in the Śaiva Āgamas. Gopinatha Rao, Coomaraswamy and now Sivaramamurti and other scholars have described eloquently the different forms of Tāṇḍava narrated in the Āgamas. As the supreme dancer he assumes many forms; the poses represent the different forms of Tāṇḍava and each dance is charged with symbolism. In terms of the dance, Śiva like other innumerable reliefs of dance assumes poses which can be easily identified as cārī positions, karaṇa and sthāna positions of the Nāṭyaśāstra. Besides the nṛtta-mūrti proper, there are aspects of Śiva in the saṁhāra-mūrti where he assumes poses which can also be identified as sthānas of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

Some well known examples of Śiva’s nṛtta-mūrti have been discussed at length by Gopinatha Rao. Figure 133 from Elurā has been identified as the kaṭīsama karaṇa. While it would be possible to identify this as the kaṭīsama position, it would be possible to identify it also as a variation of the aṅcita or lalita.

The God stands with a marked ardha-maṇḍala position and a very clear agrātāla-śaṅcara position. One pair of hands is in a clear uromaṇḍala hasta and of the other pair, one must have definitely rested on the knee. The musical accompaniment is not very clear from the relief but it is obvious that there were at least two or three musicians. Surprisingly enough, there is no clear indication of a percussionist.

Figure 134 from the same caves is slightly different. Here, the orchestration is complete with two mrdaṅgas held vertically, a flutist and a cymbal player. The kari-hasta position of the God is also clear even if one arm is broken. The praśārita waist where the torso is broken up into two units is a characteristic feature of the later Elurā sculptures. The deflection of hips in the dance postures is also a feature which is characteristic of the Elurā Śiva sculptures. The pose has been generally identified as the lalita mode, the characteristic features being one sama-
pāda foot in ardhamanḍali position and one kuṭcita foot along with a pair of hasta in which a karihasta is an absolute must. A comparison of figure 134 with those of Śiva in the same mode from Gurjar Pratihāra (figure 135) and Alampur (figure 136) show the development of the same pose. By the time we come to the Alampur figure, we find that the ardhamanḍali is clearer and the triangular position of the knees much more marked. There is no longer a prasārika waist. Instead, there is now only a sama torso. The bronze image, figure 139, is a prefect example of complete control with the possibility of dynamic movement. Sri Sivaramamurti has identified this pose as the catura position. A comparison of figures 138 and 139 with figures 135 and 136 will make it clear that the positions assumed by the dancing God could be attained largely in the execution of the lalita karaṇa or in the final position of the catura karaṇa. Puspagiri figure 138 is slightly different from the others in so far as the kuṭcita foot does not touch the ground and therefore suggests a pārśvajānu position rather than sūcīpāda. The complete frontal treatment of the figure also gives it a two dimensional character. It also differs from the others on account of the absence of the clear karihasta position. Indeed there is only a dola hasta. It would be much more accurate to identify this as a position of the pārśvajānu looked at frontally.

Another figure of Śiva from Aihole (figure 137) is in contrast to the controlled movement of either the Alampur figure (figure 136) or the Puspagiri figure (figure 138). The kuṭi is elevated. There is a definite udvāhita movement of the torso. One hand is in kuṭakāmukha and the other in dola hasta. The other pairs of hands hold conventional implements. Pārvati and Ganeša stand on either side in samapāda positions and are static. The lower limbs of the God indicate vigorous movement. There is a distance between the two feet, a feature which we do not often come across; both the feet are kuṭcita, thus suggesting a udgahaṭita movement of the feet. A sense of dynamism is created by placing the thighs in an open position. It is also indicated by general extension of all the five pairs of arms. While this relief is generally reminiscent of some of the reliefs of Elurā, there is a distinct departure in the manner of movement-treatment.

The lower limb positions as either ūrdhvaṇa or pārśvajānu are seen in many examples of the dancing Śiva. Figures 141, 142, 143 and 144 from different parts of India show the variety of ways in which the ūrdhvaṇa could be depicted. The Bhuvaṇesvara relief, figure 140, is midway between the earlier lalita or catura mode and the later ūrdhvaṇa movements. The karihasta and the dola hasta are both seen here. There is also a prasārita movement of the waist. The Figures 141 and 142 are however definitely depictions of the ūrdhvaṇa with a clear samapāda position of one foot and an uplifted ūrdhvaṇa movement of the other.

The Raichur figure (141) is vivacious, full of dynamism both on account of
the uplifted leg as also the two extended arms above. The other pairs of arms hold implements. While the Raichur figure in this position gives the impression of pure nyūta of sukumāra type of dance, figure 142 from Halebid is definitely in a rau- dra rūpa. Here the God stamps firmly the asura, holds the trident diagonally and the uplifted foot assumes a sense of power. This slight aggressive quality is achieved by treating the torsi tautly and this time the torso is uvāhita and of course the facial expression reinforces the mood created by the lower limbs and the upper limbs.

Figure 143 is different from the earlier two because here the face has changed its direction, although there is a clear ārdhvaśāna position of the legs. The kurhasta of the arms balances the uplifted leg: the face is not straight front, as the neck bends to one side. The God is accompanied by dwarfs playing on the mrūṇga and maṇjirā. One of them is in a marked kučita position. An interesting feature of the later medieval sculptures of the Śiva images is the definite appearance of the anklets. If the Raichur figure and the Halebid figure are seen closely, we observe that the nūpur has been substituted very definitely by a pair of ghūṅgra. The ārdhvaśāna position at its most exaggerated form is seen in figure 144 and in its very controlled mood in the Palampet figure 145. The Palampet figure is very definitely a dance scene where Śiva dances accompanied by two consorts in uromāndala hasta and musicians with drums and other musical instruments.

The Nāṭarāja figures of the Cola period belong to the group of karanas of the bhuyaṅgāṅcita and bhuyaṅgatrāśita variety. Two examples, one from the Rockhill Museum, Kansas, figure 146, and the other from Madras Museum, figure 147, have been discussed at such length that they need no further detailed discussion here.

Amongst the other karanas which are chosen for the depiction of Śiva in his dancing aspect, the most important is the lalāṭatilaka. Figure 150 from the Śāraṅga- pāṇi temple and figure 153 from Kāṇcipuram show how the same pose could be treated very differently. In the Śāraṅgapāṇi relief, figure 150, the static foot is in ārdhamanḍali. The uplifted foot is straight but covered by the arm. The torso is also erect. There are nearly 10 pairs of arms of the God, all holding implements quite apart from the main pair of arms which are distinctly in a dancing movement. The raised foot does not touch the head. How very different is the depiction from the lalāṭatilaka pose of the female dancers in the Śrīśailam relief. Figure 153 from Kāṇcipuram is massive, impressive and aggressive. The static foot is erect. There is no ārdhamanḍali and the dynamism emanates from the massive torso.

As Bhairava and as Andakāsuravadhamūrti, Śiva assumes poses which may be identified in terms of the Nāṭyaśāstra movements. There are two magnificent examples of āliṅha sthānu of Śiva as Bhairava in figures 148 and 149. The Elurā figure 149 is significant for the clarity of its lines and for the consistent use of dia-
gonals in movement. The medieval figure from Rajputana, figure 148, is in āda
dha sthāna, but this time the weight shifts entirely to the side of the extended leg rather than the leg which is in ardhamandali position.

An example of Visnu from Nepal (figure 151) also depicts the possibility of diagonal movement. This figure may or may not be identified as a movement from the karanas of Bharata but it would really not be wrong to identify it as a moment in the execution of visnumkrānta karana. The sculptor has no doubt taken liberties with the foot which holds the weight and had that foot been completely on the ground in a kūpta position this would have been an accurate depiction of the final position of the visnumkrānta movement.

From Kāṇeipúram we have one interesting example of nrttamūrti of Śiva (figure 152), where the God is in a kūțita mode. This mode we have analysed at some length in the context of the flying forms. We have seen it in Khajuráho and in other medieval temples. However, here the karihasta and erect arm position gives it a different character. As Andakāsārunavadhānāmūrti and in his aspect as Gaajasam-
hāramūrti, Śiva can be seen in two significant positions of the prsthavastika positions (figures 154 and 155 respectively). Figure 154 has been identified as a bharavā figure, but perhaps that is not entirely a correct identification. The pose of the God is undoubtedly in prsthavastika and is reminiscent of the Jodhpur reliefs. As Gaajasamhāramūrti (figure 155) there is as much movement, but the character of the pose has changed on account of two distinguishing features. The leg which holds the weight of the body is erect and not bent in a kūpta position. There is then a twist of the torso (trika) and a diagonal portrayal of the uromandala hasta. Da-
maru and the other implements become part of the movement in a dance. The drapery helps in the creation of this impression, indeed there is little to suggest that the God is in a ferocious mood. He is really calmly dancing over the head of the elephant.

Examples can be multiplied. Even this cursory glance will convince one of not only the prolificness of the nrttamūrtis but also the possibility of variation in a given karana or a cārti position.

From the Mohen-
jo-dālo fig-urine and the Harappa torso to the reliefs of Cudambaram and the bronze Nājarāja figures of the 16th century is a long journey. This journey of movement bears testimony to the acute sensitivity of the Indian artist to movement. Like the seer of the Rgvedic period, the educators of the Upa-
nsad, the priests of the Brähmanas, the poets of the Kāvyas and the dramatists of the Sanskrit theatre, the Indian sculptor whether he was creating sculpture in the round, or relief, high or low, or casting in bronze or sculpturing in wood, he was conscious of the human body as a most powerful instrument for the communication of moods, bhāva and rasa. Like the creative poet and dramatist he was also
knowledgeable. His imagination was harnessed to the canons of not only sculpture but also dance texts. Through these examples of Indian sculpture one can reconstruct to some extent a history of movement of Indian dance. Through these examples one learns that stylisation was a slow process. The beginnings were clear in the Udayagiri caves. These beginnings found development in the Gupta period; they were ornamented and elaborated in the medieval period and possibilities of movement were explored to their maximum by the sculptors of Khajurâho on the one hand and Bhuvaneswara and Koñârak on the other. The development continued in different parts of India giving rise to distinct styles and while following the main principles of the bhaṅga and the sūtra there were also regional variants. Thus, within a single continuity and unity there was a variety and many shades of the same colour could be discerned. The South Indian sculptor chiselled the tradition and he was an illustrator of movement par excellence. Bhâdeśvara was the beginning and from Bhâdeśvara to the reliefs of the Śāraṅgâpâni temple is a history of movement captured in stone incomparable to any found in the world. The Bhâdeśvara sculptor was trying to illustrate different stages of movement and even if some of the reliefs give impression of surrealist sculpturing he was really notating movement. He was followed closely by the sculptors of the Cidambaram Gopurams, as also by the sculptors of the reliefs of the Amman in Cidambaram. The Śāraṅgâpâni temple presented a tradition slightly different from the classical tradition but one which is significant for its regional characteristics.

The over-powering richness and variety with an incredible continuity can be seen in dance sculptures of India for nearly 17 centuries. In fact, its richness has always been a source of inspiration to the dancer. The dance poses of the nṛttamûrtis, the śâlabhaṅgikâs and the flying figures have been a challenge to the imagination and creativity of the contemporary dancer, and little wonder that the Naṭarâja is the iṣṭadevatâ of all dancers.

Notes
1. Visnuḍharmottara Purâṇa III, 35, v. 5-7 (Translation by Dr. Raghavan in Triveni Vol. III, No 2 Sept.-Oct. 1963 in his article 'Kathakah' and other forms of 'Bharata-nâtya')
2. Manasara CH I.IX v. 67-100 and Sukranitârâ, Kasyapa CH. 49, etc.
3. NS. X. 52 53 ff. 65-66 etc. and NS X 17-26.
4. See Manasara CH. LV v. 1-15 for definition of the different types of measurements.
5. NS. XII, 163b-164b.
7. Kar, Chintamani, Indian Metal Sculpture, figs. 4, 27, 37, 41.
11. N.S. XII 163b-164a.
14. See Theory and Technique of Indian Dancing where the sculptural representation of the karaṇas in Cidambaram is discussed.

16. N.S. IX 236-238.
17. N.S. IX 254-256.
18. N.S. IX 257-258.
19. N.S. IX 226.
20. N.H. CH. IX, 262b-263a
21. For other examples of the Samaḥāneana see, Kar, Chintaman, Indian Metal Sculpture figs. 19, 20, 36, and Ganguly, O. C. South Indian Bronzes Pls XVII, XVIII and XIV of Cambara-śekhara XXV.
22. N.S. IX 55-56
23. Zimmer, Herenick, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol II, Pl 34b, also Pl. 33 and 35, for other examples of pillar reliefs.
24. For other examples of the Śaṅcī dryads see Marshall, J. Monuments of Śaṅcī, P XXX, LXIII and LXIV etc. Also Ferguson ‘Tree and Serpent Worship’ Pl. XIII, Pl. IX and XIII.
25. N.S. XII 172b-173a.
26. N.S. X 34 and X 38.
27. N.S. X 33.
29. N.S., XII 163 b-164a
30. For other examples of the Mathurā railing figures, Agrawala, V S. ‘Rupakha’ Vol II, No 3 Figs 1-10 Agrawala, V. S. Mathura Museum, Catalogue, figures mentioned as Nos J. 55 and 2345 and pillar Nos B 92 and B 75 in Lucknow Museum. Also Smith, Vincent, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon Pl 16C and Pl. 18C. Coomaraswami, A. K. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. XX and Coomaraswami, A. K ‘Yakṣas’— Pl. IV and VI etc.
31. N.S. X 15
32. N.S. IX 204.
33. N.S. IX 133b-134a.
34. N.S. IX 197.
35. N.S. IX 209.
36. For other examples of Mathurā railing figures, see Smith, Vincent, History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, pp. 18 C, 19A, B, C.
37. N.S. VIII—171-172, and VIII—36.
38. Coomaraswamy, Mirror of Gesture, Plate XI A.
39. The śraddhāvātā cārī is the basis of several Karanas See N.S. IV 85b-86a— Karana. No. 25.
40. Smith, V. History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Pl 39 A and Pl 39B.
41. Coomaraswami, A. K ‘Yakṣas’, Pl 14, Fig. 2—in the Boston Museum now.
42. Coomaraswami, A. K History of Indian and Indonesian Art P XLVII, Fig 176, of Nāgini, Stucco, anivar utha (5th century)
Barua, B. K. The Cultural History of Assam, Figs 69 & 70
Agrawala, V. S Gupta Art, life size images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Ahichchatra etc.
51 N.S. IV, 9 karana Ganḍāsūci etc. Sūci, ardhasūci and the sūci-vuddham, which derive their movement from the svetpāda and not sūci cāra
52. N.S. X 24-26. Also see Sangītanatvākāra Ch. VII, 934—5.
53 N.S. X—26
54. N.S. XII—163b—164a
55. N.S IV 81b—82a (Karana 21).
56 N.S. X—15
57. N.S. IV—85b-86c
58. Nāṭyāsāstra, IX, 203.
59. Nāṭyāsāstra, IX, 209 Also see Mirror of Gesture, Pl. XI D.
60. Zimmer, Heinrich, Art of India, Vol II, Fig. 580
61. N.S. IX 200, 201
62. Silva-Vigier, Anil De, ‘The Life of the Buddha’, (Phaidon) Fig. 21
63. Smith, Vincent. History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, plates 60 and 67. See the figures on the right and left side, both have a figure in the ārdhavāmaṇa position. The left second pillar has a figure in the sūci pāda, and the side figure on the left pillar has a svastika of the feet.
64. Coomaraswamy, A. K. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp 107-108
67. Ibid Vol II, Pl. LX
68. Ibid Vol II, Pl. LXII Pl. LXIII—the former depicts Śīva
69. Ibid Vol II, Pl. LXXVI
70. Smith, Vincent, History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon. Pls 78(a)
71. N.S XII 92-95.
72. N.S X 58-71
73. See vṛśīkā-karana, Chapter on Theory and Technique of Dancing.
74. The angahāva which are sequences of movements also utilise these karānas for jumps and flight movements: they are mentioned in the following angahāvās: Vṛṣīkāpara (angahāva 13, NS, IV, 204b-206a) Mātattakalita (angahāva 15), Varsākha recita (angahāva 20, NS 220b-223q). Udvrata (angahāva 25), and Aksipta recita (angahāva 27) etc
75. See also Mitra, R. l. Antiquities of Orissa VI, A6 & 7 Pl. XXII D2.
Also, Agrawala, V. S. JOSIA, Vol. XIV 1946 Vāsavadattā and Śakuntalā scenes in the Ramgumpha caves.
76. Mitia, R I. Antiquities of Orissa, Pl XXII D2
77. Barua, B Bharhut—Aspects of Life and Art, BOOK III Pl. XXXVII fig. 47, Pl. XXXVII 32, etc.
78. Ferguson, Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl. LVII, fig 2, Pl. LI and Pl. LVII, figs 1 and 2, and NS X 66-67 etc
79. Zimmer, Heinrich. The Art of Indian Asia, Vol II, Figs 96 and 98 Scenes from the adornation of the stūpa by the Nāgas
80. Smith, Y. History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Pl. 15, top
81. Archaeological Survey Report 1930-34, Pl. XLV and Annual Report of Archaeology Survey 1930-34, Pl. XXXIX
82. Kramrisch Stella, The Art of India, figs. 81-82
84. Barua, B ‘Bharhut, Aspect of Life & Art’, Book III, Fig. 95a
85. Ibid Pl. XXX 23.
86. Ibid Figs 34, 39
87. Ibid Fig 69.
88. Ibid Pl. XXX Fig. 23.
89. Ibid Pl. LXVII 80 b
Also see Barua, p 67 where he maintains that “the grandest dance in the 2nd century B.C. was that of Nagara, long perhaps before the dance of Nataraja came into the field”
90. Cunningham, D Y. ‘The Stupa of Bharhut’ description of Pl. XV.
Also see Barua, B. Bharhut Book III, p. 3 where he does not agree that the scene can be identified as that depicting the employment of Mara to tempt Buddha.
91. N.S. IX—184.
92. Marshall, John The Monuments of Sanci, Vol. II, Pl. 36 (e) and description where he identifies the scene with the feast of the Mallas of Kusunda in honour of their share of the Buddha’s relics & Ferguson, J. ‘Tree and Serpent Worship’. Pl. XXVIII, Figure (1) and P. 136, where he thinks that the people belong to Kabul perhaps.

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95. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India', P. 17.


97. Fergusson, J., 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXII, Fig. 2. Also see description on p. 198 where he discusses the ethnic types represented by the dancers.

98. Sivaramamurti C. Amalavah, Sculptures in the Madras Museum pp. 150 - fourth para, where he identifies this as anātikātā kāraṇa rather than the anātikātā caṇā. However, it would be more accurate to identify this only as the anātikātā caṇā and not the kāraṇa.

99. Also see, Fergusson, J., 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. IX, fig. 2. Top medallion, broken on one side, the scene depicts Nandi and his wife, and the story of the Jataka of Nāga campāka. Also Pl. XXIV lower panel.

100. Fergusson, J., 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXII, Fig. 2. Description at p. 210.

101. Fergusson, J., 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXIII, Fig. 2 and LXVII. Also pp. 211-212 where Fergusson has a very interesting description of this dance.

102. Ibid Pl. LXXIV.

103. The differences between the kāṇṭha of the and must be borne in mind, for according to the Nātyaśāstra the tripātā is held near the caṇā.

104. Fergusson, J., 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXXIII.

105. Ibid pp. 211. There is doubt about the sex of the four dancers in front: the one at the back is certainly a lady, and the one in front in straight saṁ związku position is a man. But the other four may be men or women. The line on the upper arm or level perhaps indicates a garment, as there is a corresponding line on the arms indicating sleeve. This is perhaps only the example of the top garment for women if we are to take it that the bangles and anklets they wear indicate 'women'. Sivaramamurti refers to them in the feminine gender right through. Fergusson in the masculine: it is possible, however, that the four are men, professional classical dancers who are dressed and ornamented for the occasion. The hip garments of the upper two make them out to be women while the lower two seem to be men. From their postures of the bhutaśācita and the lata vr̥kṣa, it would perhaps be more correct to term these four as men.

106. ASIAR 1930-1934 Pl. XXXIX (b) Fragment of Pillar with square upper and lower portion middle hexagonal.

107. Ibid Pl. XII (b) Right.

108. Ibid Pl. XIV (e).


110. Ibid 1927-1928 Pl. LI (d).

111. Khandakavala, Karl Illustration of Indian Sculpture and Painting, Pl. XII, Fig. 31.


114. Agaraja. V. S. 'Gupta Art', Pl. I, Fig. 1.

115. Ibid Agaraja identifies this as the anātikā kind of drum of the āvākṣa.

116. Nātyaśāstra, Ch. IV verse 278 — Bharata gives an elaborate description of the rules and regulations of the performance of the anākṣa. From his description here and in Ch. V, verses 16-25 regarding the preliminaries of a play, it is clear that the stringed instruments and the percussion instruments were clearly distinguished, their tuning too was done keeping the placing of the orchestra in mind.

117. We find other examples of this type of sticks in a painting of the Bagh Caves and in a scene from Aṣṭāvata.

118. This is one of the positions achieved in the sthānas assumed by young women in graceful gait on the stage (V. S. XII 178b-183a).

119. For other figures see ASIAR 1907-1908, fig. 4 etc p. 70. Also catalogue of Sarnath Museum under Female figures.

120. ASIAR, Pl. XX Marshall also Sahani, Dayarama, Sarnath Catalogue, Pls. XXVI-XXVII for dancing figures from Sarnath.

121. Agaraja, V. S. 'Gupta Art', Pl. VIII, Fig. 10.

122. Cohen W. 'Illustrations of Indian Art', Pl. VII, Fig. 2.

123. Some of these are dealt with under the head of the 'uttamātrī' later.

124. Nātyaśāstra, IV. 76.

125. Ibid VIII. 168-173 and VIII. 33.


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128. For other illustrations of dance poses from the Throne Platform reliefs from Vijayanagara see Zimmer, Heinrich 'Art of Indian Asia', Vol. II, figs. 440 and 441.
129. For other scenes, from Halebid see Zimmer, Heinrick, Wall Fragment of musicians and dancers, Pl. 433
130. For discussion of nyttamārtis see the following:
    Ganguly, O. C. ‘South Indian Bronzes’, Pls. VII-XII show different types of Naṭarāja. Pl.
    XIII is gaja saṁhāramūrti, Pl. XXIII is the sandhyāṁṛtta mūrti and Pl. LXIV and LXVI
    show the Krishna Tāndaḷa.
    Zimmer, Heinrich, 'Art of Indian Asia'.
    Pl. 223, Śiva King of Dancers from Elurā.
    Pl. 232, Śiva dancing, Elurā, Rāmesvaram temple
    Pl 261, Śiva dancing, Elephanta. Kramrisch, Stella ‘Art of India’.
    Pl. 72, Śiva dancing, Mallikārjuna temple, Pattadakal.
    Pl 110, Krishna dancing on serpent Kaliya.
    Pl. 155, Veṇugopāla, svastika position of feet.
    Minakshi C. ‘The Divine dancer in Pallava Sculpture’, Article in Indian Art and Letters,
    Vol XI No. 2, 1938, pp. 93-98. Examples of the kuśica, lalita, lalāṭatilaka from the Kailā-
    sanāth temple, Kāṇchipuram are illustrated.
    Srinivasan, P. R. Śiva Naṭarāja, the Cosmic Dancer, article in Roop-Lekha, Vol. XXVI
    No. 2 Winter 1955.
    Illustrations of Śiva in Catura pose from East Bengal, Bāḍāmi caves (fig. 1 and 2). Also
    the lalita pose from Aihole and Elurā. The identification of the pose alatakridita and kati-
    sama by Sri P. R. Srinivasan seems to be inaccurate
    Srinivasan, P. R. The Naṭarāja concept in Tamilnad Art, Article in Roop-Lekha, Vol.
    XXVII Vol. Summer, 1956. Examples of Śiva dancing in ādhvajām from Kāṇchipuram
    and Kurnoo, Chingleput District. Figs. 2 and 4: Bhujaṅgāṅcita pose in a Naṭarāja
    bronze from Tirumangalām Taluk, Madurai District (fig 6). Sinarammurti, C, Naṭarāja in Art & Thought, Chapter XIII, Fig. 11 Fig. 133. is identified
    as catura: this is perhaps more accurate than Gopinath Rao’s identification as katisama.
    Ibid Chapter XIII Fig. 56, identified as ālilhā, the pose depicted obviously belongs to the
    kuśica variety of karanas and is not a sṭhāna.
V

MUSIC AND DANCING

When Markendeya told King Vajra in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa that he must learn the art of dance before he learnt the art of icon-making and the art of music before he learnt dance and that he must master tāla before he attempted to learn music, the Rishi was not being merely fastidious; he was stating a fundamental principle of the Indian arts. In Indian aesthetic theory the interrelationship of the arts has been known and recognised not on the level of the aesthetic experience alone but also on the level of technique. The concept of tāla (rhythm) has been fundamental to all the Indian arts. This preoccupation with time on various levels, in different contexts, and in relation to different artistic instruments has determined the structure of Indian music, Indian dance, Indian painting and Indian sculpture. In classical literature it has played a significant part in shaping both content and form. In Indian music and dance this is concretely manifested in the concept of tāla (metrical cycle). Indeed, one may without hesitation say that more than any other single element, it is this preoccupation with time which binds the two arts in a manner in which not even sculpture and dancing and literature and dancing are bound. To use a commonplace analogy, sculpture and dance seem like two sisters of the same family; literature and dance: the background and foreground of the same picture, but music and dance are two limbs of the same human form. The relationship of these two arts is so intimate that at certain moments it is difficult to distinguish one from the other in the final artistic product.

As in the case of literature and dance, and sculpture and dance, the relationship can be seen and analysed from many points of view and on many levels. One could adopt one of several approaches to establish the different dimensions of the relationship. Firstly, it is not necessary for us to reiterate once again the common objective of rasotapta in all the Indian arts. It is recognised that the aim of all the Indian arts was to evoke a state of being resulting in an experience which was shared by the creator and the spectator-reader: the state of beatitude was second only to the supreme experience of Brahmānanda. In terms of technique, on analysis, it is observed that the essential constituents of each of the Indian Arts can be broken up to its smallest fundamental units. A correspondence is established between these units, between the word spoken or written or mass or volume or measurement or note or movement and a specific emotive state; these basic units are then arranged in distinct patterns so that the pattern itself has an evocative potentiality. In the specific context of music, the technical structure is built from the śruti to the svara and from the svāra to the octave; in an earlier chapter we have seen how the śruti and the svāra charged with emotional content are capable of presenting a bhāva which in turn evokes a rasa. This identical approach in artistic technique establishes a basic relationship between any two Indian arts.

Besides, the relationship of music and dance can be analysed by examining
the details of the technical structure; it can be examined also from the point of view of the content of both Indian music and Indian dance. Finished compositions could be taken and the distinctive treatment of an identical theme in both dance composition and musical composition could be examined. It would also be possible to look at the relationship of Indian music and dance from the purely historical point of view. One could take the musical pieces mentioned in Sanskrit drama and could attempt to re-create these musical pieces in so far as they form the accompaniment to dance composition. Compositions like chālikā or the catuspāda mentioned in the body of Sanskrit plays could be taken for this purpose. It would also be possible to examine the part played by dance in what was known as uparīpakas of Sanskrit literature and the saṃgīta nātya or the gītā nātya, of the medieval period in order to establish that since musical composition determined the dancer’s purpose of interpreting the sung word through movement, the form of the musical composition acquired a distinct character. This category would comprise the several operatic works written between the 13th century and the 19th century. One would undoubtedly have to begin with the Gītā Govinda and its manifestations as musical composition in different parts of India ranging from Manipur to Kerala. To this would be added the musical compositions of the saint poets of South India and the Bhakti poets of North India. Musical forms such as the bhajan, the jhūmarī, the hori, the dādri, the pada varga, the jāvālī could be analysed to establish how the svāra pattern was conditioned by the dancer’s demands. Again, it would be possible for one to examine the dance chapters in the music texts and music chapters in the dance texts. This approach has been followed to an extent by the inclusion of chapters relating to dance in the Saṃgīta texts in Chapter II.

However fruitful all these avenues of exploration may be, they do not fall strictly under the purview of the present study. While it would be an interesting exercise to attempt to reconstruct the music and dance compositions mentioned in Sanskrit drama, it is a task for the academic musician. The task of analysing both musical compositions as also musical operatic forms is certainly worth attempting and this, it is hoped, will be taken up seriously and academically by some scholars. The present study confines itself to source material found in Sanskrit and therefore does not attempt analysis of material, musical and literary, found in the regional languages. For our purposes here, instead of examining the part played by dance in music, the approach has been reversed. We have taken in this chapter the oral tradition as our source material, as it is this living tradition which provides the links and makes the academic tradition worthwhile and meaningful.

These two arts alone amongst the Indian arts have, in spite of all the changes and transformations and the assimilations, maintained a continuity with the śāstric tradition we have discussed in the foregoing chapters. For our purpose here we have tried to establish the vital relationship between the two arts by analysing the repertoire of contemporary Indian classical dance from the point of view of musical
composition and our examination will, it is hoped, identify the manner in which the musical composition serves as the solid foundation on which the citadel of dance is built.

We know that the superstructure of musical composition is built by svaras (notes in an octave) which are charged with emotive content and each svara has a distinctive character: the rāga is built from the svaras by emphasizing specific notes in a particular sequence in the ascending and descending scales (ārohan and avarohan); the mood or bhāva of a rāga determines the nature of the vadh (assonant) and samvādi (consonant) svara. By treating these svaras in a special manner, by emphasizing some and ignoring others, by lingering on some, by running through a group of others, a particular mood is built. In Indian dance the different parts of the human form are like the notes of music in a given rāga (melody), and are used in an analogous way. The minor limbs (upāngas), and the eyebrows, eyelids, eyeballs, nose, lips, and mouth are emphasized in mime (abhinaya) and the major limbs (ūṅga) i.e. the head, chest, waist, hips, thigh and feet are emphasized in the dance proper (nrutta). There are then the pratyāngas, i.e., the neck, the elbows, the shanks and the knees which can be used in either aspect.

The poses so characteristic of the Indian dance are executed to emphasize a point of perfect balance. In fact all movement in Indian dance emerges from this point of balance or of perfect stillness and it is the same as the sama bhaṅga (the poised stance with an equal distribution of weight) of Indian sculpture. All movement returns to this point of perfect balance and stillness. We have already pointed out that, like the Indian sculptor, the Indian dancer also does not lay much emphasis on the muscles of the human form and takes the joints and the bone structure of the human form as its basis. We also saw how this enabled the dancer to achieve absolute form and geometrical patterns in space. The knee, pelvis, and the shoulder joints constitute the key points from which movement emerges in the lower and the upper limbs, the neck joint is the pivot responsible for the movements of the head and the face. The classification of human movement in Indian texts has, therefore, followed two categories: first, the movements of the major and the minor limbs separately which can be called primary movements, and second, combinations of these primary movements into small cadences known as cāris, maṇḍalas and karanas. Each of these is governed by a rule and in each style of Indian dance today there is a distinctive stylization of these cadences of movements.

The technique of any classical style of Indian dancing can thus be analysed from the point of view of the treatment of the human body where certain movements are deliberately avoided and others emphasized and from the point of view of the particular methods of the gesticulation which forms the basis of mimetic gesture (abhinaya) in the style. The dancer, like the musician, uses movement to evoke
particular emotive states through pure dance sequences and through interpretation in stylized pantomime of the single poem set to music. To the purely musical, melodic patterns in a given metrical cycle the dancer weaves abstract geometrical patterns in space; to the words of the poem set to music (libretto) in a specific melody (rāga) the dancer interprets through stylized gestures the literary content of the piece. In either case the musical composition determines the dance compositions; the patterns of melody determine the pure dance sequences (nṛtta) and the nature and composition of the sāhitya (literary piece) determines the interpretation of the permanent mood (sthāyi bhāva) and transitory states (the saṁcāri bhāva).

Let us take only the very simple existing musical patterns in a contemporary style of Indian dancing, say, Bharatanatyam. An analysis of the primary dance movements, as well as cadences of movement which correspond to phrases of music forming a melodic pattern (rāga), gives us an insight into the technique of the dance proper (nṛtta); an analysis of mime and stylized gesticulation to the poem gives us an insight into the nature of abhinaya (mime).

In Bharatanatyam, the principal stance of the dancer is one in which the body is broken up into a series of triangles. The triangle is formed with the line joining the two knees (flexed and outstretched as in the demi plie in the first position of the classical ballet) as the base, and with its apex at the heels (where the feet are outturned as in the first position of the ballet). Another triangle is formed with the waist as the apex and the line joining the knees as the base. A third triangle is conceived with the waist as the apex and the line joining the shoulder as its base. This is further emphasized by the outstretched arms, which make yet another triangle in space on either side of the vertical median. The flexed position of the knees known as the ardha maṇḍali or the maḷḷa ukkāradal in colloquial Tamil is an imperative in Bharatanatyam and the entire dance is executed with a few accepted exceptions in this position. The leg extensions, the jumps and pirouettes all emphasize this and the entire technique of dance-cadences is one which deliberately seeks to emphasize covering of space, in terms of many varied triangular patterns. The aḍavus (the smallest units of dance patterns) are conceived as different types of cadences where all movement relates to the vertical median on one hand and to the fundamental poised position of one half of the human body on the other. It is these primary units of movement where the feet and the hands and other limbs of the body form a precise co-ordinated movement which combine together to form a dance pattern. However, none of these primary or secondary movements are conceived outside a given time cycle and without reference to the musical or rhythmic phrase which they interpret in a composition.

The above can be illustrated throughout the repertoire of Bharatanatyam. The first number alārippu is a dance of invocation with little musical content, but one which seeks to execute a number of concentrated and yet elemental rhythmic pat-
terns. The basic and most significant movements are introduced, almost like the introduction of the chief notes in ascending and descending order in a melody. Beginning with perfect repose, an attitude of perfect equilibrium (the sama bhaṅga in the standing posture) the movements of the neck, the shoulder, the arms are introduced. This is followed by the ardhamandali (the dépni plie in the first position of ballet), we have spoken of earlier, and finally the full mandali (the full plie in the first position of the ballet) is introduced. Thus all the major limbs (aṅga) and minor limbs (upāṅga) are executed in their simplest formations. The dancer is able to check on all her limbs, and attains positions of perfect balance and the piece is one which warms up the dancer for the entire performance.

The jatisvāra, the next piece, is the first musical composition in music; it follows the rules of the svara jati in musical structure and consists of three movements, the pallavi, the anupallavi and carnam. It is distinguished from the musical compositions called the gīta on the one hand and the varṇam on the other by having no sāhitya (sung words of a poem) passages in it. The solfa passages are all important and the composition is set to any of the five jatis (time units) of the metrical cycle patterns (tāla) of Karnatic music, i.e., 3, 4, 5, 7, 9. The basic metrical cycle which guides the music guides the dancer; to the repetition of the sung melody the dancer weaves different types of rhythmic patterns in terms of the primary units of the dance (the aḷavus). The entire korēvaṅgal (dance cadence of the jatisvāra) is based on this principle of the constant repetition of the svaras (notes) of the melody in a given metrical cycle (tāla) to which the dancer weaves a variety of dance patterns. Thus, what is pure svara (note) in music becomes pure dance cadence (urtta) in dancing. The dancer and the musician may begin together on the first note of the melody and synchronize to arrive back on the first beat of the metrical cycle, or the dancer may begin the dance pattern on the third beat instead at the beginning of the melodic phrase and may yet synchronize with the end of the melodic line. The variety of permutations and combinations within these self-imposed limitations is infinite, and the more dexterous the dancer the greater is the complexity of patterns which are woven. However, nowhere is the basic rāga (melody) ignored and it is seldom that the characteristic aḷavu patterns of rhythm of one jatisvāra can be transferred to a different jatisvāra in the same tāla. We have a very good example of this if we compare the composition of a jatisvāra in the rāga sāveri and another in the rāga kalyāṇi. Both are tisra in tāla but if one tried to transplant the dance patterns, called the koravai and tiramanama of the one to the other it would not be easily possible. The dance patterns are invariably conditioned by both the nature of the svara (note) and the duration of each svara (note) in the time measure. We have in the jatisvaram in the rāga kalyāṇi, the following notes in the melodic cycle:

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in the Jatisvaram in the rāga sāveri they are:

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We note here that each melody consists of twenty-four beats but the time interval and the pause position of the notes differs. While composing the dance pattern on each of these melodies, the dancer has to bear in mind the exact treatment of the note in the melody and the dancer’s patterns are governed by the musical pattern. The cross rhythms and the non-synchronized patterns of the dance when the dancer deliberately does not execute a note to note synchronization is equally governed by the musical melody and the time metrical cycle (tāla). To a svara pattern of Sa - Ga Re Sa Ni - Re Sa Ni Dha - Pa Ma Pa the dancer achieves a note to note synchronization by executing Tai - Tai hat Tai hi - Tai hat tai hi -- tai tai ta -- and to Re -- Ga Ma Dha Ga -- Ma Dha Ni Ma - Dha Ni Re the dancers patterns are —

Tai - di di tai Tai - di di tai Tai - di di tai.

These are the simplest and most elementary examples of the nature of the relationship between the notes of the musician and the dance patterns in Bharatanatyam. However in the more complex and intricate patterns the same principles are followed and the increasing joy of a Bharatanatyam recital is the dancer’s ability of interpreting the endless variations of the melodic line in a metrical cycle. Just as much the notes (svaras) or rāga guide the pure dance sequences (nṛtta), the sāhitya (the words of the sung poem) determine the mime (abhinaya) of Bharatanatyam. Compositions like the gītā, the padam, the kirtana and the varṇam are primarily musical compositions which the dancer interprets through movement by a most precise and highly complex technique of synchronization and co-ordination of the word and the gesture, the note and the movement.

The most interesting and complex musical composition in Karnatic music is the varṇa and this in turn is the most complex as also the richest dance composition in Bharatanatyam. In music the varṇa gives great scope to the musician for both the sāhitya and the solfa passages, to the dancer it gives the fullest scope for both pure dance (nṛtta) and mime (abhinaya). The sāhitya (sung poem) and the svara (notes in the melody) alternate with each other and the dancer performs nṛtta (mime and dance) and nṛtta (pure dance). The rhythmic patterns in the three tempos are a characteristic feature of the dance composition, and to a repetition of a line of the song, gigantic tiramānam (dance cadences) are woven in the three tempos making the dance composition a highly elaborate edifice on the foundations of the repetitive melody. The dancer begins with a trikāla tiramānum (a long dance sequence of adavus primary dance units) in three tempos which is composed to
the first line of the song. The mnemonics which the drummer uses, the dancer uses and those recited by the nattuvanar (the dance master who recites the syllables of the dance pattern and plays the hand cymbals) are all different, although each has an intimate relation to the other and all of them in turn are governed identically in segments and the whole by the musical composition on the one hand and the basic metrical cycle tāla on the other. The architectonic structure of varna is a result of this many levelled layering on the musical theme. This diversified treatment of the musical phrase by the singer, the drummer, the dance-master and the dancer lead to a final synchronization, when the end of the tīrāmānam coincides with the first note of the song. The structure and the sequence of dancing of the varṇa could be roughly broken up as follows:

(i) Tīrāmānam (dance sequence) to the first line of the song. No mime is used, only rhythmic patterns are executed.

(ii) Abhinaya (mime) to the first line.

(iii) Tīrāmānam (another dance sequence) to the first line.

(iv) Abhinaya (mime) to the second line.

(v) Tīrāmānam (dance sequence) to the second line.

(vi) Abhinaya (mime) to the third line

(vii) Tīrāmānam (dance sequence) to the third line.

and so on till the last phase is reached when the musician sings the notes in solfa passages of the fifth line and follows it by singing the text of the next line. The dancer performs adavu and renders pure dance sequences to the solfa passages and interprets through mime the sāhitya (libretto—sung words). The mime is often a word to word interpretation of the text in the same sequence and the dancer interprets the word in as many different ways as the meaning of the word is capable of suggesting, but invariably following the text and the musical form closely. The transitory states (sañcari bhāva) represented in the mime (abhinava) portions change as the musician improvises on the melodic line. The theme consists mostly of the yearning of a devotee for the God, or of a lover for the beloved, and although the words remain constant the musician and the dancer both improvise within the rāga (melody) and the metrical cycle (tāla) to convey as much of the meaning and mood of the word as possible. The particular musical style of the singer often determines the dancer’s interpretations and vice versa. The complete understanding between the singer and the dancer, and the dancer’s ability to understand and interpret not only the word but also the musical note and its rendering is an essential prerequisite of this tradition. The dancer presents repeatedly through mime (āngi-kābhīnaya) states of being which the musician expresses through the rendering of the svaras in a rāga.

The padam is a musical piece which belongs specifically to the sphere of dance-music, even though the term is often used to signify any type of devotional composition. The musical composition is created with the dancer in mind and its themes
treat mostly of nāyikā and nāyaka of literature. The bhakti school of poetry found its finest expression in the padam composed mainly during the medieval period, and the subtlest shades of śrṅgāra rasa are manifested in these compositions. The music determines the nature of the saṅcāri bhāva which the dancer depicts in endless ways and the chastity of the abhinaya technique at its best is seen in the execution of the padam: the greater the artist, the subtler the shades of saṅcāri bhāva he or she can present.

The jāvali presents a different aspect of the padam: the earnest devotion and the bhakti bhāva of the padam is replaced by a comparatively lighter vein of the śrṅgāra rasa. The jāvali like the padam treats of the nāyaka and nāyikā bheda but in a slightly lighter mood than the padam. The nrṭta and abhinaya portions of the dance are also not so clearly demarcated, and the composition is not as rigorous as the varṇa and the padam.

The ragamālikā and the kṛti are other forms of musical composition specially suited to dancing, they offer vast scope to the dancer for improvisation in both nrṭta and abhinaya.

The tillānā takes us back to the abstract musical and rhythmic composition: like the jatisvara, it seldom contains sākitya passages: the dance also restricts itself thus to nrṭta and is governed by the crisp quality of the svara of music: more than any of the earlier musical numbers, rhythm is predominant in this composition and thus the dance gradually builds from the basic rhythm patterns which are simple first but gradually develop to form complex patterns. Compared to a jatisvara, we notice that the tillānā creates the atmosphere of the final crescendo of pure nrṭta and is much more intricate in design than the jatisvara. The very mnemonics of the song indicate its abstract and pure rhythm quality and the dancer interprets this through chiselled dance-poses. The dancer here begins with the eye movements, goes on to execute neck movements, follows it up with the shoulder and the waist movements and gradually, the whole physical form is in action in a series of sculpturesque poses. The musical line of the tillānā forms a stable pillar to which the dancer keeps coming back and perhaps here alone it might be said that the basic music melody serves as only a background on which the dancer weaves highly intricate patterns. Nevertheless, as in the jatisvara so also here, as the simple pallavi changes to the anupallavi and finally develops to the caṇam, the dance pattern also goes on gathering tempo and develops the simpler dance poses into one continuous dynamic movement.

The recital is concluded by śloka, another pure sāhitya piece in music and to this the dancer performs abhinaya.

From this brief survey of the contemporary programme of the Bharatanatyam
a few things become clear: the dance recital and presentation follows strictly the building up of musical patterns both in the sphere of svāra and saṅgīta and in the sphere of sāhitya. The two then provide the nṛtta and abhinaya of the dance: there are moments when the two are fused together. The pure rhythmical pattern of the alārppu gives place to the simple patterns of the jātisvara, and develop into the more complicated interspersed svāra and sāhitya passages of the varṇa, and finally conclude in chiselled formalised patterns of the tillānā. The sāhitya or the abhinaya portion begins with the erotic theme of the sātāda and is followed by the saṅcāri bhāva of the sāhitya passages of the varṇa, proceeds to present the subtle shades of expression of the lyrical pada, and finally through a portrayal of the different types of pada both religious and secular in character, move to the final dedicatory mood of the śloka.

We observe thus that music and dance go hand in hand to produce certain effects and, by repeating identical techniques and methods the distinctive characteristics of the dance style become an integral part of the special quality of this music. The dance style has been described as lāsya and is fundamentally feminine and refined in character. The musical compositions of the dance style also have this sensuous and chiselled quality about them: the fine precision and clarity of the compositions of the dance style are not witnessed in many other dance style. There is hardly any superfluity and even when the dancer describes in ten or twenty different ways the same words of poetry she is representing a complex emotional state which is continuously receiving endorsement, ornamentation as also inspiration from the music. The absence of the tāṇḍava type of dancing in Bharatanatyam explains the kind of compositions that constitute its music. Since the purpose of Jayadeva aśṭapadi, Kṣetragna pada and Diksitar's compositions was an attempt to express the yearning of the jīvātmā for the paramātmā the pada in dancing is invariably pure abhinaya where the devotee yearns for the deity and describes Him in different ways.

What is true of Bharatanatyam is also true of the music of other classical dance styles in India. Each number of the classical repertoire from either Kathakali or Kuchipudi or the Ojapali of Assam or Orissi or Manipuri could be analysed in terms of the musical composition or the rhythmical accompaniment. In most cases it will be observed that the dancer illustrates the musical phrase or the line.

Sometimes the degree of relationship is as precise and accurate as in the jātisvara of Bharatanatyam; at other times it is a more general relationship where the music provides a background against which the dancer weaves different patterns.

Kathakali music presents an interesting contrast to the music of Bharatanatyam. Contemporary Kathakali is essentially a dance drama and not a solo dance as Bharatanatyam. Its place and its environment are different. It is not con-
ceived in the sophisticated religious atmosphere within the temple walls. It is conceived as an architectonic presentation outside the temple in the court-yard. The musical accompaniment creates the atmosphere for enacting this dance drama which seeks to present the other-worldly super-human characters. The drumming of the ‘cenda’ and the ‘madalam’ creates this gigantic elemental quality. These instruments have vigour, magnitude and a spectacular vastness which has little in common with the embellished vocal singing of the Karnatic musician and the ‘mrdanga’ player. The ‘Kelikoṭṭu’ starts the Kathakali performance. What is this ‘Kelikoṭṭu’ but a combination of weird fascinating sounds of various percussion instruments!

The cymbals and the gong call the spectator, arouse the actor to transform into the character which he is going to play. This is followed by other musical compositions such as the ‘Thodāyam’ and the ‘Vandānāsloka’. The ‘purappādu’ is a dance composition to a definite musical composition and it too serves the purpose of creating the right mood and the appropriate sense of mystery. The other invocatory compositions drawn from the Gita Govinda serve the same purpose.

After this the drama proper begins. The musician recites verses and prose passages which describe the situation and supply the narrative links between the action not presented on the stage and the songs to which the dancer actually presents the story. The ‘cenda’ and the ‘madalam’ and the ceṅgolā accompany this vocal singing. The style of this vocal singing has a distinct tonal expression because the singer is no longer like the Bharatanatyam dancer and musician a narrator; he is a character in a drama. The musician through the word and through the note provides the dancer opportunity to show laughter, anger, quarrel and the rest. The melodic line provides the boundaries within which both the dancer and musician perform: the singer is also a participant in the dramatic action. This particular style of singing has come to be called the sopāna style of singing as distinct from the karnatic style. The emphasis on the sthāyas and the gamakas like andolan and līna shifts. The selection of musical phrase is also conditioned by the fact that the musician must provide an opportunity for the dancer to portray the particular character. The musician has also to keep in mind that a performance lasts for more than six hours and he must go along with the dancer to present the whole spectrum of the bhāvas. The play begins usually with śṛṅgāra and develops through a series of rasa like the vīra, raudra, vibhatsa and concludes on a note of sānta in the early hours of the morning. The quality of the narrative lyrics in the dance drama is different from the shorter more compact sāhitya passages in the varṇa or the kṛiti of Bharatanatyam. Although they are called padas they have little in common with the composition called the pada in Bharatanatyam. These are no longer descriptions and manifestations of moods. They are verses which lead from one incident to the other, from one emotional state to the other. The singer must be a consummate musician with an eye on the movement and with a capacity to both guide and
to follow the dancer. The note to note and the phrase to phrase synchronization so characteristic of Bharatanatyam is seen rarely in Kathakali. It is the emphasis on a full line or a whole phrase which gives the dancer scope for improvisation. Indeed, the improvisation is carried to the extreme when the singer gives up and the dancer is left free to perform manodharma. In the nrīta portions there is no svara accompaniment; there is only the ‘madalam’ or the ‘ceṇḍā’ which accompany the dancer in the execution of ‘kālasama’.

The verses sung are often the compositions of 13th to 16th century musicians. This is true not only of the classical themes of the Kathakali dance drama but also of the other dance forms, ritualistic, martial and social, which are found in Malabar. ‘Pana’, Paṭṭu and Muttyettu are all musical compositions describing the worship of Kalī which are danced in groups and combinations. The Pavakkuṭṭu type of performance is akin to the Kathakali dramatisation even though fundamentally it is a type of ritual; similarly the tivayattu and Ayyappan pattu are both dance forms as also verse forms in music. In Kerala the art of pantomime, both in ritual and in artistic performance is supreme; this is true of all forms, such as tulāḷ paṭṭu and attam and kali, the first, third and fourth indicate rhythmical movements and drama, the second suggests the idea of a song. In the Kṛśnaṭam, Aṣṭapadiṭṭam, the slokas are set to music and then enacted; the first name indicates the theme or the sāhitya source of the drama; attam of Kṛśna indicates the drama relating the themes of Kṛṣṇa and the Aṣṭapadiṭṭam refers generally to the singing of the Gita Govinda itself.

In Kathakali proper, the verses and composition are more formalised both in respect of sāhitya and in respect of musical composition, than some other forms found in Kerala. Plays such as Kīchakavadha, Kalvīṇasaugandikam and Nala-charitam are well known compositions in literature by Unnayi Varṣayar. Even before the introduction of Gita Govinda in the 14th and 15th centuries and the composition of padam that it gave rise to, Malabar had precursors like Vira Kerala Varma in this type of music. His compositions were embedded into Kathakali when Raja of Koṭtarakkara gave it form and sophistication. The aṣṭapadi composition is characteristic of these creations, also: the other composers of the Kathakali sāhitya need only be mentioned here: the great Karthika Thrirunal Maharaja composed the famous compositions, ‘Subhadrāharāgam’, ‘Gandharv Vilavam’, ‘Pāṇchālīsvayambhara’, etc., (1758-1798). The compositions are enacted even today. It is obvious that the main concern of these composers is with the purānic stories of the Rāmagūnda and the Mahābhīrata. These compositions have a set musical pattern: melody follows a distinct musical technique which is characterised by a natural flow blended with largeness of execution. There is perhaps a certain roughness in the rhythms and melody type of these compositions, but in range, magnitude, depth of thought and an elemental sense of beauty these compositions are a class by themselves.
We can easily conclude from this survey that the Kathakali dance drama takes for its themes, for its music and for its musical instruments and rhythm a different type of sāhitya and saṅgīta than Bharatanatyam. The evocation of rasa is still the aim, but the themes do create an atmosphere of the gigantic, mysterious splendour of a world of myth and legend: the spectacle too is impressive, awe-inspiring and fearful, but not delicately beautiful and chiselled as Bharatanatyam. The largeness, the openness of the sounds of rhythmical instruments used and the epic narrative method of the song composition are most appropriate for the creation of the effect of epic grandeur and magnitude. A more technical study of the sāhitya, saṅgīta, tāla of each of these dramas would easily lead to the conclusion that the musical composition was directly determined by the function it had to serve for dance drama; the dance style in turn is the visual, kinetic manifestation of the different aspects of theme, music and rhythm. It would not be easy, for example, to set Kathakali hand gestures and movements to a lyrical padam of Bharatanatyam: the language of physical movement, the music and the tāla of each style cannot be transplanted to the other, for the result is an incongruous composition of dance which lacks integrity. The content, the themes and the musical composition have been so dexterously woven into the fabric of what is known as dance in each of the regional styles that it is no longer possible to separate one single element. Without the music, the dance lacks character and meaning; without an awareness of the dance, the music ceases to have significance. Through constant use and chiselling a definite personality has emerged, a personality which is not an aggregate of many varied elements but a homogenous conglomeration. This explains the failures of attempts at mixing styles or transplanting the musical content of one to the other. Indeed, the methodology and technique has been so perfected that there is no scope here for expression of subjective emotion: the performer is only an instrument of presenting and communicating an impersonal emotion, soul's state, and this one can do only through completely transcending and annihilating the personal self rather than through an expression of it.

The principles which guide Bharatanatyam and Kathakali also guide the other dance styles of India, specially Kuchipudi, Orissi, Manipuri and Kathak. In Manipuri we find that the dancer performs the nṛtta portions to the accompaniment only of the khol called puṅg, and the mañjirā. Occasionally a melodic line on the flute is played, but this is a repetitive line and only provides a stable background to the changing patterns of the rhythm and dance movements. In the abhinaya and the nṛtya portions the musical composition is all important because in these portions the dancer once again is an illustrator of the musical word. We may take only a few examples of the simplest compositions of Manipuri to see how the music and literature of the area influence on the dance. The playing on the drum (puṅg) is the customary invocation before all performances; various rhythms are exhibited. This is followed sometimes by the vandanā nṛtta which is a homage to Sarasvati for her blessings. The invocatory section is concluded by the presentation of some pieces
from Jayadeva’s Gita Govinda. In the different types of Bhāngī pareṅga known to Manipuri, although the emphasis is on pure nṛtta there are musical passages which are interspersed with pure metrical passages. From this point of view the musical compositions of rāsa dances are most significant. Each of the rāsa dances can be broken up into the sāhitya, the svara passages and the pure rhythmic passages played only on the puṅg. A definite pattern of lyrical composition is followed in each of the rāsa dances.

In the Mahārāṣṭra, as also other rāsa, the invocatory kīrtan (to which slow movements are performed) is followed by Krishna Abhisāra: the Gopi and Radha abhisāra follows. The mood of mutual search of yearning is built: Krishna and Radha meet and this provides scope for a pas de deux; and then there is again separation and the dance ends in a final unity of the two elements. Highly emotionally charged lyrics are sung to represent the mood of Radha and Krishna, and even if the abhinaya deliberately avoids explicit expression, it is highly communicative: the lyrics are interspersed with portions of intricate sequences of pure dancing, which provides the dancer scope to perform pure nṛtta sequences from the Achauba Bhāngī Pareṅga and Brindāban Bhāngī Pareṅga. Thus, while the differences with Bharatanatyam and Kathakali are marked, the basic approach is similar. To the sung lyric the abhinaya is performed, and the movement is vitally linked to the sung word, in the nṛtta portions, the percussion instrument becomes all important and tāla assumes a predominant role; unlike most nṛtta numbers in Bharatanatyam, the pure nṛtta depends only on the metrical cycle (the tālu) and not even on the melodic line.

Manipuri or Meitei Jagoi music presents a fascinating picture of the distinctive genius of the Manipuri people which has been able to absorb influences of Hindustani music into an already flourishing local tradition. Although Rāga names are similar to Hindustani music such as Basant, Todi, Pīlu, etc., the melodic patterns are totally different. For instance, the Rāga Todi of Manipuri is closer to Bilawal of Hindustani music. Also, in the abhinaya portions there is rarely a repetitive refrain: instead, the dancer presents naturally the sung poem sequentially without too much Saṅcāri.

The treatment of the musical sound and the methods of voice production make Manipuri singing unique with its emphasis on singing in the third octave, tremalo or Kampan (sometimes a higher or lower note is used to give a gamuka effect) and its complex metrical patterns.

The Tālu system of Manipur both in the Saṅkīrtana and the Rāsas is easily the most complex and intricate amongst the various tāla systems of India. There are at least 60 basic metrical patterns (tālas) and they range from a simple four beat pattern to others which follow a pattern of over 100 or 200 beats. The Saṅkīrtana
traditions provide scope for the dancer to improvise in the pure dance (nrīta) sections to these tālas. Symmetrical, asymmetrical patterns are common, but all are fluid and liquid specially in the lāṣya. The range of the sound of the puṅg and its expressive potentialities contribute significantly to the execution of movement. The softer smaller sounds are conducive to the presentation of lāṣya type of dancing with its circular figure of eight and curvilinear movements: the stronger larger sounds provide the essential background for the more vigorous open large movements of the man in the tāṇḍava portions.

The above is by no means a comprehensive or even fully illustrative account of the rich and varied repertoire of Manipuri dance. Our purpose here is only to point at the identity of approach in the musical styles of different parts of India. The character of the dance is determined by the musical and metrical content distinctive to the region. A more detailed technical study of the musical material of Manipur will undoubtedly make clear the integrated approach of the dance style where music plays an indispensable role.

Apart from the repertoire of the dances from Manipur proper there is the vast collection of operatic compositions known to neighbouring areas in East India. Of these, the sattariya dances of Assam and the various types of ānkiā naṭa are the most significant. They present a rich and formalised tradition of music and dance of the region. The conception of ānkiā naṭa in particular follows the strict dramatic tradition of the Nāṭyaśāstra: the sūtradhāra, the naṭa and largely naṭi are important carry overs from the ancient Sanskrit dramatic tradition.

In the ojāpali, the play begins with the presentation of rāga. This is presented with all its elaboration both in sāhitya and svara. The dancer illustrates these through appropriate hastābhинaya. The ojā, the leader, serves the purpose of chorus, a musician, an interpreter and dancer all combined: the subordinate roles of DhAMA and Pali (right and left) members of the dance group provide the necessary support to the main dancer who attempts to evoke a particular bhāva. As in the other dance styles of India, the Daśāvatāra and the Gita Govinda are favourites. A line of poetry is sung by one singer and then is repeated by a row of singers in the background. The repetitive musical line once again provides scope for interpretation of the daśāvatāras of Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note that the dance is performed to two types of sāhitya here. There is the pada form, the poetic line and there is the prose order of the recitation type called the katham: it follows a method of recitation which is similar to the recitation method in Kathakali. There is a progressive development here from the bāna to the updeśa and the performance presents different stages of theme through a variety of musical compositions. The changes of mood are depicted through the song, music and rhythm, all of which the dancer interprets through gestures.
Orissi music has a distinctive character which is a happy blend of Hindustani and Karnatic schools of music. Like Manipuri it seems to have developed its own rāga and tāla system fairly early. Perhaps Jayadeva’s Gīta-Govinda followed an already existing system or at least gave it a creative imprint which has been continued by later composers. Contemporary Orissi dance utilizes the musical compositions of Oriya poets and musicians. The treatment of the musical sound (svara) and treatment of voice production however is distinctive although reminiscent of both Hindustani and Karnatic rāgas. Rāgas like Karnāṭa, Deshabaradi, Drabida (Drāvida), Todiparaja are characteristic, so also are tālas like Aṭhatāli, Nihsare, Surimana, Jati and Padi. The structure of the rāgas is similar to the pallavi anupallavi and the Carnam of Karnatic music, although the treatment is unmistakably Oriya.

The musical compositions which guide the Orissi dancer, both in the nṛtta numbers and in the abhinaya numbers could also be analysed in detail to demonstrate the same principle. The patterns are reminiscent of Bharatanatyam. There are numbers like the Bāṭu nṛtya which are danced only to the rhythmic accompaniment of mṛdaṅga. There are others such as the svara pallavi in which svara passages are sung and nṛtta is performed; then there are the aṣṭapadis of Jayadeva and innumerable lyrics of Oriya poets and composers which are sung and to which abhinaya is performed. The dance recital concludes with Mokṣhya again an abstract music composition and dance. As in Bharatanatyam, Kathakali and Manipuri a rich musico-poetic tradition provides the basis for interpretation through pose, gesture and movement.

Kathak utilises a considerable body of compositions of Hindustani music which was exclusively created for the dance. Taranā, an abstract musical piece is utilised for the nṛtta portions of Kathak dance. The thumari, the dhummār, the bhajan, the tappā, the dadrā are compositions that give immense scope for the dancer to present saṅcārī bhāva. Some of the thumaris and bhajans were composed for particular dancers and here as in Bharatanatyam there is sometimes a note to note, a word to word and a phrase to phrase synchronisation between the musician and the dancer. In the nṛtta portions the dancer weaves permutations and combinations on a given metrical cycle. In the abhinaya portions the dancer illustrates the musical phrase and elaborates on it.

From the above survey, general and elementary as it is, the principles underlying the compositional aspects of Indian classical dance are clear. The Indian classical dance invariably is guided by the musical structure. The division of dance into nṛtta and nṛtya or abhinaya is conditioned by the nature of musical composition which has sāhitya and svara. The structure of the musical composition, whether it is a varṇa or a pada or a gīta or a bhajan or a thumari, condition the abhinaya of the dancer. Improvisation, interpretations familiar to us as the aesthetic principle of saṅcārī bhāva is used to the full in both the arts, singly and in combination.
Phrasing, elaborations, presentation of suitable shades of emotion is the essence; rigorous grammatical rules with a definite pattern guide both the singer and the dancer; at the finest moments neither the dancer remains a mere illustrator nor the musician a mere accompanist. The range of joint participation is staggering; it can restrict itself to the syllable synchronisation between the sung word and the movement or give each artist the freedom to interpret a single line passage verse or segment. Overlaying multiple simultaneous levelling of rhythmic patterns is the essence of the performance. The singer and the dancer are indeed then two limbs of the same human being, moving together or differently, symmetrically or asymmetrically only with the single purpose of expressing the same self, communicating the same state, and mood.

The musical structure in the abstract portions, whether it is the jatisvara or the tillānā or the svara pallāvī, determines the nature of the dance pose and the dance movement in the nṛtta portions. The sculpturesque pose so characteristic of these dance styles is attained at a moment of perfect synchronisation of a particular note of the melodic line, the sama of the metrical cycle and finale of a definite dance sequence, whether it is the ṭukrā or parana, or the tīrāmānam arasā or kalāsam. It is on account of this self-imposed limitation of the metrical cycle, the melodic line and the dance movement that each cadence of dance remains a single entity and one cadence does not flow into the other. Some sequences in Manipuri are solitary exceptions to this rule. The concept of the tīrāmānum arasā, the ṭukrā, the kalāsam is the direct result of these basic concepts. Their origins can be traced back to Bharata's concepts of the kāraṇa, the aṇgahāra, the maṇḍala etc.¹

What is left of the magnificent dramatic technique of Bharata is indeed fragmentary. Nonetheless from these fragments we can have some idea of the totality of a tradition which conceived of all the arts as interlinked and utilised the technique of one art in the other. The aesthetic experience provided by traditional Indian music and dance is perhaps the only survivor of the Indian aesthetic theory in practice. The theory was conceived initially in relation to Indian drama (inclusive of literature, dance and music), was extended to sculpture, painting, architecture: after two thousand years, while the tradition has been lost in practice to the more permanent arts such as sculpture, painting and literature, this continuity of tradition can be witnessed in the arts of music and dance. The word set to music, danced through sculpturesque poses which seeks to evoke a particular state of being provides to the performer and the spectator a heightened experience appropriately called Brahmānand Sahodara.

And yet all these forms of classical music and dance are but fragments of an integrated whole, comparable to detached pieces of beautiful sculpture from a magnificent temple. While the single pieces have an identity and a completeness, they belong to a mighty architectural edifice of the theatre arts, where each played a significant part in the total conception.
Through them one can visualize the temple of the theatre arts that was but that is NOT.

Note
1. It must be clarified that the music of Dance is a subject unto itself. There is no attempt here to present the evolution of this music in either its historical perspective or its technical structuring. The author's attempt is only to illustrate through select examples the fundamental unity of all dance styles in India and to draw attention to the nature of the relationship of music and dance. Besides, the subject has been dealt with, in the author's book, 'Indian Classical Dances' published by the Publication Division.

For the same reason, the author has with purpose avoided listing musical texts or critical works on music. The subject has been exhaustively and adequately covered by musicologists both Indian and foreign.
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