NOTES--CHAPTER I

1. The Nāṭyaśāstra, A Treatise on Ancient Indian Dramaturgy and Histrionics Ascribed to Bharata-Muni, tr. Manomohan Ghosh, Vol. I (Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya Private Limited, 1967), xvii-xviii. Ghosh has also translated Vol. II (Chapters XXVIII-XXXVI) in the series Bibliotheca Indica, No. 272 (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1961). Vol. I and Vol. II of his edition of the text have also been published by Manisha Granthalaya Private Limited in 1967 and 1956 respectively. The entire work with the commentary of Abhinavagupta has been edited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in four volumes in Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1926, 1936, 1954, 1964). Ghosh's introduction to the translation of Vol. I gives a good general introduction to the text, as does A.B. Keith in his sections "Dramatic Theory" and "Dramatic Practice" in The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory, and Practice (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp 290 ff. A more thorough explication of the text is given by Pramod Keshav Kale in The Theatric Universe (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1974). An earlier version of his book is available as The Natyasastra of Bharata: A Selective Critical Exposition for the Western Theatre Scholar (University of Wisconsin: Unpublished dissertation, 1967). I find Kale's discussions and translations overly technical and academic, and I have generally preferred Ghosh, in spite of some inaccuracies and confusing syntax.

2. Ghosh (NŚ), Vol. I, xlix-lxxxii. M. Christopher Byrski, Concept of Ancient Indian Theatre (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1974), 19-38.

3. Keith (SD), 292. S.K. De, History of Sanskrit Poetics (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1960), 31. See also Note 30.

4. Indu Shekhar, Sanskrit Drama: Its Origin and Decline (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960). Shekhar uses this fact to support his theory that the drama originated with the Dravidian peoples.

5. Sten Konow, The Indian Drama (The Sanskrit Drama), tr. S. N. Ghosal (Calcutta: General Printers & Publishers, 1969), 74.

6. Keith (SD), 12-13; Shekhar (SD), 33 ff.

7. Byrski (CAIT), 22 ff. and passim. He reviews the ancient and modern approaches to this issue in his first chapter.

8. Ghosh (NŚ), I, v. 6-15. Parantheses indicate Ghosh's interpolations, square brackets, mine.

9. Sitanshu Yashaschandra Mehta, "A Comparative Study in Indian and Western Aesthetic Theory: The Concept of Rasa-Dhvani in Abhinavagupta and the Kantian Theory of Taste," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Indiana University, 1977), 8.

10. The Āryans brought the Ṛgvedic hymns with them to India. The other three Vedas developed later. The Yajur Veda and the Sāma Veda were adapted from the text of the Rg Veda for use in the Vedic ritual. The Atharva Veda was a compendium of incantation and spells containing many non-Āryan elements.

11. Ghosh (NŚ) I, 21-22. This refusal of the gods to perform drama has received several interesting explanations. Abhinavagupta, in his tenth century commentary on NŚ, suggests that since the gods are incapable of sorrow and tears, it is inappropriate for them to act.

The expression of sorrow is essential for the drama. Byrski (CAID, 66) argues that since the drama is an offering or sacrifice to the gods, it is completely inappropriate that they take part in it. Shekhar (SD, 36) takes it as veiled history--the "gods" are the Āryans and Bharata the non-Āryan who has created the drama. The "gods" refuse to take part because they lack the traditions and the actors to stage a play.

12. Later, in Chapter VI "Descṙiption of the Class Dance," Brahmā and the actor go to Śiva to present plays about the churning of the ocean and the killing of the demon Tripura, both incidents that show Śiva's prowess. Śiva is so pleased at seeing them that he explains the 108 Karanas, combined movements of the hands and the feet, which are the basis of Bharatanāṭyam, the classical solo dance for women.

13. Ghosh (NŚ), I, 55-58.

14. Ibid., I, 66.

15. Ibid., I, 69-70.

16. Ibid., I, 106-121.

17. Ibid., XX.

18. See S. N. Ghosal's introduction to his translation of Konow (ID), xix.

19. Keith (SD), 15.

20. Keith summarizes and criticizes the views of von Schroeder and Hertel, who hold that the dialogue hymns were enacted, 16-22.

21. Gerald F. Else, The Origin and Early Form of Greek Tragedy (New York: Norton, 1972).

22. Keith (SD), 23.

23. The film is a record of what will probably be the last performance of this elaborate ritual. It took place in Kerala, the home of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, where the Vedic ritual traditions have been most completely preserved by the Nambūtiri Brāhmans.

24. Keith (SD), 25.

25. Konow (ID), 68.

26. Keith (SD), 32.

27. M. L. Varadpande, "Performing Arts and Kautiliya's Arthasastra," Sangeet Natak 41 (July-Sept., 1976), 48.

28. Ibid., 46.

29. Ibid., 51-2.

30. It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss at length the dating of Sanskrit dramatic texts, nor am I prepared to take sides in the controversy. Suffice it to point out that there are basically two widely divergent chronologies, both possible on the basis of present knowledge. The only dates that are fairly certain are those of Aśvaghoṣa and Harsa, who is one of the latest of the classical playwrights. The first, and most widely accepted sequence is by Keith (SD) who follows Konow (ID):

B.C. 400--Naṭasūtras (not referring to true drama)

A.D. 150--Aśvaghosa

200 (?)--Nāṭyaśāstra

200-300--Bhāsa and Arthaśāstra

350--Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā (Keith leaves this date uncertain, but after Bhāsa)

400--Kālidāsa

606-640--Harṣa

The other school of dating is represented by Ghosh (NŚ), Byrski (CAIT), and A. D. Pusalker, Bhāsa--A Study, Second Revised Edition (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968).

B.C. 500--Nāṭyotpatti and/or Nāṭyaśāstra

400--Naṭasūtras (referring to actors in drama)

300--Bhāsa, Arthaśāstra

200--Śūdraka

100--Kālidāsa

A.D. 150--Aśvaghoṣa

31. See Konow (ID), 78, and Keith (SD), 80-90, for a discussion of the contents of these early fragments. The Prākrits and the plot structure are, as far as can be determined, those prescribed by the NŚ. Also the Viḍūṣaka 'jester' is a significant character in the plays. Keith points out that his otherwise unlikely presence in the Buddhist drama is surely an indication that the Viḍūṣaka was a fixed character in the drama of this time for which the role was "far to firmly embedded to permit its omission." (82) Yet most of Bhāsa's dramas (9 of the 13) do not have a Viḍūṣaka, and Keith ascribes Bhāsa to a later date, so his argument is contradictory. It may be that the Viḍūṣaka, who was certainly a popular character, served perfectly the missionary function of Aśvaghoṣa's plays. A comic side-kick for the hero can throw the hero's struggles into relief and make the audience more sympathetic to him while amusing them with his antics. As we shall see, this is exactly the function of the Viḍūṣaka who appears in Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

32. One of the problems of dating the Sanskrit drama is that the plays have followed, for the most part, the rules laid down by the Nāṭyaśāstra. In fact the tradition continues to the present day. Mrs. Usha Satya Vrat has collected over 300 published Sanskrit dramas written in the 20th century, and although some are adaptations of western plays like Othello and Faust and quite a few treat modern themes, most still follow the formal structure specified by the Nāṭyaśāstra. See Dr. Mrs. Usha Satya Vrat, "Modern Sanskrit Dramas," Samskrita Ranga Annual VI (Madras, 1972), 135-144.

33. Śāstrī's assessment of the works appears in his introduction to Svapnavāsavadattā in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 15, 2nd ed. (Trivandrum: Travancore Government Press, 1915). The most thorough discussion of the Bhāsa controversy may be read in A.D. Pusalker's Bhāsa--A Study, 2nd. rev. ed. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968). He gives a complete bibliography (almost 400 items!). An excellent short introduction to the Bhāsa problem appears in J. L. Masson's introduction to his translation of one of Bhāsa's most interesting plays Avimāraka (Love's Enchanted World) (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, (1970).

34. I quote one of the more emotional outbursts against the "Chakyar theory" in order to show the extent to which certain Northern scholars went to deny Southern authorship of the plays:

> It is intolerable and unbearable to suppose even for a moment that the exceptionally beautiful plays like the Swapnavāsa-vadattam and the Pratimā unsurpassed and unparalleled in the whole range of the Sanskrit literature--should be the works of the plagiarists of Kerala. Plagiarism may have an expert hand at stealing but it is only the purest and the highest kind of genius that can conceive and create plays like the Swapnavāsa-vadattam and the Pratimā. The desecrating vandalism of the literary thieves of Kerala may certainly be able to mangle and

> mutilate old plays but they can never build up a new superstructure of the delicacy of a Swapnavāsavadattam or the grandeur of a Pratimā. It is simply inconceivable that renowned modern universities should ask their students to ponder over the confabulations of a Kerala actor or that scholars of ancient learning should be engaged in estimating the value of the stolen articles of a Kerala-Chākkyār. The kings of Kerala and their bards, their actors and their actresses were at perfect liberty to reform their stage but to reform it by thus deforming and desecrating works of high antiquity and higher excellence is a novel method of stage-reform for the safety and integrity of the Sanskrit classics. To attribute the authorship of the plays like the Swapnavāsavadattam and the Pratimā to the Chākkyārs of Kerala is simply atrocious. (S. M. Paranjape, quoted in The Swapnāvasavadattam attributed to Bhāsa, ed., trans., intro. by H. R. Karnik and V. D. Gangal (Dardar: New and Secondhand Book Stall, 1956), 33-34.

Scholars such as Paranjape who have never seen Kūṭiyāṭṭam and are especially protective of the "purity" of the Sanskrit drama tend to be the rule rather than the exception. Those few who have seen Kūṭiyāṭṭam, like Kunjunni Raja, V. Raghavan, and C. Byrski, invariably regard it and the Cākyārs, the only performers in India to have preserved a performing tradition of the Sanskrit drama, with great respect.

35. Pusalker (B), 63, has a list of scholars and dates.

36. See page 92-3 and n.196. Of the plays of Bhāsa, Act III of Pratijñā-yaughandharāyaṇa is also popular today. A portion of Svapnavāsavadattā and the one-act Dūtavākya were performed until very recently.

37. Two other scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa story, the disfigurement of Śūrpaṇakhā and the meeting between Hanūmān and Sītā, are represented in the Kūṭiyāṭṭam repertoire. These two scenes are drawn from the Āścaryacūdāmaṇi. Act V of Abhiṣeka is assigned a name by the Cākyārs, indicating that it was most likely a popular item until fairly recently. It is called Māyāśirasaṅka 'Act with the False Heads.'

The name refers to the incident in the act in which Rāvaṇa presents fake heads of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Sītā in order to convince her that her husband and brother-in-law have been slain. A portion of the last act of Pratimānāṭaka, the actual coronation of Rāma, can be seen in the film of Kūṭiyāṭṭam prepared by Clifford Jones. It is infrequently performed because of the large number of actors required. A portion of Toranayuddham is also acted in that film.

38. Ghosh (NŚ), XX, 10-12.

39. Keith (SD), 306; and see Ghosh (NŚ), vol. II, XXXIV, 18-19.

40. This has been an issue of some controversy. Some have said that the NŚ does not permit death on the stage, but it is only the death of the hero that is prohibited. Death is one of the secondary emotional states, and methods of acting it are listed according to the cause. For example, "in the case of snake-bite or taking poison (there is a gradual) development of symptoms which are eight in number, viz. thinness (of the body), tremor, burning sensation, hiccup, foam at the mouth, breaking of the neck, paralysis and death." (VII, 86.)

41. The traditional translation of niyatāpti as 'certainty of attainment' has been questioned by Byrski (CAIT). He argues that the negative meaning of niyatā should be taken so that the phrase would become the 'suppression (of the possibility) of attainment,' i.e., it would indicate that point in the action when the opposing forces appear to be winning. This interpretation seems very likely and would accord with Stanislavski's "obstacle." It makes sense for most of the Sanskrit drama, and Byrski analyzes several dramas with respect to these redefined stages. However, in Abhisekanāṭakam Rāma is never

uncertain of success; only secondary characters like Sītā, Vibhīṣaṇa, and Sugrīva struggle with doubt. Rāma does not appear in Acts II, III, and V which present the secondary episodes involving Rāvaṇa's advances to Sītā and Vibhīṣaṇa's defection. So in the course of the action there are scenes in which the outcome is uncertain, but Rāma himself never suffers any setback. He is an almost divine hero who surmounts obstacles with no difficulty. The play has been criticized because of its simple presentation of Rāma. In Bhāsa's version Rāma seems to know all along that he is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, while in the epic he does not know and so suffers as any human being would in his circumstances.

Actually, according to the Nāṭyaśāstra, it would be inappropriate in the drama for a hero of the stature of Rāma to feel pinched by the obstacles he encounters in his military exploits. The laments of Rāma found in the Rāmāyaṇa are de-emphasized by the dramatist because dramatic theory demands perfect heroes who for the most part are swayed only by the simultaneous demands of two women or of a woman and duty to country or religion.

42. Ghosh (NŚ), XXI, 14-15: "These are the five successive stages of every action begun by persons looking for results. In a play all these naturally different stages come together for the production of a result. This is conducive towards gaining the fruit."

43. See Ghosh (NŚ), XXI, 17-19 and Keith (SD), 297.

44. Rigveda Brahmanas, The Aitareya and Kausitaki Brahmanas of the Rigveda, tr. A. B. Keith, quoted in Byrski (CAID), 94.

45. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14.1.1.1. and 3 and 4 quoted ibid., 95-96.

46. Ibid., 96.

47. Ibid., 99.

48. Ghosh (NŚ), Chapter XVIII, gives the rules on the use of languages. Many of those called for in the NŚ do not appear in the extant dramas; some that do appear in the extant dramas are not listed in the NŚ. However the NŚ's rules for assigning certain characters Sanskrit and others Prākrit are generally followed.

49. The Sanskrit text is included in Bhāsanāṭakacakram: Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa, ed C. R. Devadhar, Poona Oriental Series, No. 54 (Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1951). Text and literal English translation: Abhiṣekanāṭakam, ed. and trans. by Vidyaratna S. Rangachar (Mysore: Samskrita Sahitya Sadana, 1966). Translations of all Bhāsa's plays are available as Thirteen Trivandrum Plays, trans. A. C. Woolner and L. Sarup, (London: OUP, 1930-31), 2 vols. My translations are adapted from Rangachar's.

50. This device of having the Sūtradhāra in the prologue hear and refer to off-stage voices of characters who are about to enter is frequently used by Bhāsa. It is called prayogātiśaya.

51. Śloka, or anuṣṭubh, is the most common Sanskrit meter. It is the basic verse form for the epics, and even the Nāṭyaśāstra is written primarily in śloka meter. It consists of four quarter verses of eight syllables each in the following pattern, where u = short syllable, _ = long syllable, and u indicates short or long syllable.

u u u u u _ _ u, u u u u u _ u u /

u u u u u _ _ u, u u u u u _ u u //

It is unrhymed. Most classical meters, unlike śloka meter, specify

the length of each syllable.

52. It is significant that this is exactly the way the Nāṭyaśāstra feels about the display of emotion appropriate for the actor. He should be mimicking the emotion for the sake of the audience and the other actors, not experiencing it while he is performing. We shall discuss this point when we explore the expression of emotion in Kūṭiyāṭṭam in Chapter II. This is one aspect of acting in which Kūṭiyāṭṭam departs from the tradition of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

53. The Ramayan of Valmiki, tr. Ralph T. H. Griffith, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series XXIX (Varansi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963), 347. This is a delightful translation in rhyming octo-syllabic couplets originally published in five volumes from 1870 to 1875.

54. C. Rajagopalachari, Ramayana (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1973), 189.

55. The Nāṭyaśāstra in Chapter II describes three types of playhouses--rectangular, square, and triangular. The rectangular playhouse is to be 96 feet by 48 feet and to hold 400 spectators. But the size of the stage is not specified for this shape playhouse. The stage of the smaller square theatre is to be only 12 feet by 12 feet.

56. The idea of the power possessed by a chaste woman seems to have its origin in Dravidian religious thinking rather than in the religion of the Āryans. Of course Rāvaṇa, a southerner, is certainly a Dravidian, and so he would understand this. But for Bhāsa to express such a sentiment argues for his familiarity with southern religious thinking. If Bhāsa is the author of this passage (and it is not a

later emendation) then he must be fairly late (after Aśvaghoṣa) or must have traveled to the South or otherwise apprehended southern thinking.

57. Music is discussed in Ghosh (NŚ), vol. II, chapters XXIII-XXXIII.

58. See Ghosh (NŚ), XXXII, 379-380.

59. The discussion of the emotional states is taken up in Chapter VII.

60. The most valuable book dealing with the culture of the classical Tamils is George L. Hart III, The Poems of Ancient Tamil (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1975). This is a brilliant work which reconsiders many of the issues discussed by previous writers, discovers new and convincing insights, and translates many of the poems. For other sensitive translations of Sangam poems, this time the love poems of one of the anthologies, and a brief but skillful discussion of their conventions see A. K. Ramanujan, The Interior Landscape (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1967). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has surveyed the works for information on society, culture, and politics in Sangam Literature: Its Cults and Cultures (Madras: Swathi Publications, n.d.). M. E. Manickavasagom Pillai in Culture of the Ancient Cheras (Kavilpatti: Manjula Publications, 1970) has examined the poems relating specifically to the Cēras of Kerala, but his analysis is very superficial. For a general account of the Sangam literature as well as later Tamil literature see Kamil Veith Zvelebil, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. X, Fasc, I: Tamil Literature (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974). K. Kailasapathy, Tamil Heroic Poetry (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968) also deals with the poems, but Hart refutes several of Kailasapathy's major premises and conclusions.

61. Hart (PAT), 8.

62. Ibid., 253.

63. Ibid., 157-158.

64. Ibid., 51.

65. M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1972), 1-2. Narayanan is the finest contemporary Kerala historian.

66. Hart (PAT), 55-56

67. Ibid., 165.

68. Ramanujan (IL), 105.

69. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, Studies in Kerala History (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1970), 15-16.

70. Ibid., 16. The planting of hero stones (vīRakkal or natukal) and the subsequent worship of them was common. "Women bathed the nadukal, put on the karantai garland, and danced the kuravai dance." This worship of hero stones has been connected by Dr. Kurup to the ritual dances of Teyyam still performed in Kerala which are often to honor a hero. See K. K. N. Kurup, The Cult of Teyyam and Hero Worship in Kerala (Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1973).

71. Kujan Pillai (SKH), 28.

72. Hart, 33.

73. Ibid., 45.

74. Sastri (SL), 78.

75. Hart, 248.

76. Ibid., 138-40, gives a detailed description of the Pāṇan's activities.

77. Ibid., 119-122.

78. Ibid., 31.

79. Sastri (SL), 79. These drums are described and several other types mentioned in a newer work by S. Vaithilingam, Fine Arts and Crafts in Pattu-p-pattu and Ettu-t-tokai (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1977), 13-26.

80. Hart (PAT), 32.

81. Ibid., 15-16. There is an echo here of a vision of after-life shared by the Tamils and the ancient Greeks. For both, fame (Greek arête) was the primary means of immortality. In South India, for those whose valor was worthy of such recognition, the hero stones set up on the battlefield were worshiped for generations. They were a visual sign of the hero's immortality. The name mulavu appearing in the poem apparently refers to a drum similar in shape to the modern mṛdaṅgam. This drum is not to be confused with the milāvu (mizhāvu), the drum used in Kerala for the Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The latter is a three-foot-high copper pot which resides permanently in the temple theatre in a slatted cubical box and is worshiped by the temple priests and the actors. In these respects it would seem more akin to the muracu 'king's drum' that is the object of worship in this poem. L. S. Rajagopalan in "Folk Musical Instruments of Kerala," Sangeet Natak 33 (July-Sept., 1974), 40-55, describes all the folk musical instruments currently in use in Kerala. He gives the following list of drums still in use which are mentioned in Cilappatikāram: "Etakka, Maddalam, Utukka, Timila, Mulavu, Para,

Tuti." (p. 40).

82. Ramanujan (IL), 112.

83. Zvelebil (TL), 43.

84. Ramanujan (IL), 113, gives the order in which his translated poems might be placed.

85. NaRRiṇai 160, trans. Ramanujan (IL), 112.

86. KuRuntokai 263, trans, Ramanujan (IL), 78.

87. Rites of exorcism are still common in South India, and animal sacrifices are a frequent part of dramatic ceremonies like Teyyam and Muṭiyeṭṭu. The interplay of the secular and the religious, the erotic and the ecstatic characterized by this poem is particularly prevalent in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, as we shall see.

88. Sten Konow (ID), 194.

89. K. Kunjunni Raja, "Viṭanidrā--Oldest South Indian Bhāṇa," Samskrita Ranga Annual VI (1972).

90. Hart (PAT), 68-9.

91. Ibid., 133-4.

92. Ibid., 135.

93. Loc. cit.

94. Ramanujan (IL), 19, 109.

95. Hart, 192.

96. Hart also notes the increase in the use of Āryā meter as the classical period of Sanskrit poetry progresses. Bhāsa has very few

verses in Āryā meter while Kālidāsa uses Āryā in more than a third of the verses of Mālavikāgnimitra. He shows the similarities between Āryā meter and other meters using syllabic instants in Sanskrit and the metrical system of Tamil poetry. This he claims is another example of the influence of Tamil poetry on Sanskrit poetry. See pp. 207 ff.

97. Two English translations are available: Śilappadikāram, The Lay of the Ankle Bracelet, tr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Madras: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1939) and Shilappadikaram (The Ankle Bracelet), tr. Alain Danielou. The latter is more poetic; the former more literate and more generous in footnotes and analytical material.

98. See Hart (PAT), 8-9. Zvelebil (TL), 132, suggests A.D. 450. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 125-135, analyzes data from Kerala history and concludes that the work cannot be placed before A.D. 800. M.G.S. Narayanan has analyzed inscriptional evidence from Tirukkunavayil, five miles north of Kodungallur (Cranganore) in central Kerala where the poet was to have taken up residence after he became a Jain. He did indeed find evidence of a Jain temple in that place which served as a model of other Jain temples of Kerala of the ninth through eleventh centuries. From the inscriptions, the founding of the temple can be placed no earlier than the middle of the eighth century A.D. He concludes that the poem, if written by an inmate of the monastary, could not be of an earlier date. See M.G.S. Narayanan, Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1972), 17-22. O. Govindan has recently dated the epic to the eleventh century. See his Cilappatikāram Patinōrām

NuRRantuk Kāppiyam referred to in "Talekattu Inscription of Rajasimha Perumal," Kerala Studies IV, 2 and 3 (June-Sept., 1977), 196.

99. See Hart, 93-119, for a full discussion of the occurrence of the theme of the chaste woman's power in Sangam literature.

100. Danielou, 49-50.

101. Dikshitar, 97-98.

102. Ghosh (NŚ), IX.

103. Danielou, 13.

104. Ghosh (NŚ), III, 11-13. Note that the thyrsus of Dionysus is associated with the Greek drama, and that the French begin traditional plays by knocking on the stage with a long staff.

105. Dikshitar, 104.

106. Ibid., 271.

107. Ghosh (NŚ), XXI, 40.

108. Ibid., XXI, 55, 56. See Kale (TU), 41, for a chart giving the characteristics of the four styles.

109. Other tempting information about the early South Indian theatrical tradition is given in the ancient commentaries on Cilappatikāram, but the dating of these commentaries is uncertain. See S. K. Govindaswami, "The Ancient Tamil Theatre," Journal of Annamalai University, I, 2 (Oct., 1932) and K. G. Sesha Iyer, ESQ, "The Ancient South Indian Theatre," The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore X, 3 (April, 1920), 205-8

110. Danielou, 181.

111. Danielou, 181.

112. Ibid., 182.

113. M. Raghava Aiyangar equates this place with modern Paravoor on the border of Travancore and Cochin states: Some Aspects of Kerala and Tamil Literature, tr. J. Parthasarathi (Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1973), 150.

114. Clifford Jones, "The Temple Theatre of Kerala, Its History and Description," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 14. Jones also has researched all other epigraphical references to the Cākyārs in the South, and it will not be necessary to review his excellent efforts (see pp. 10-22). However it is interesting that the Cākyārs seem to disappear from Tamilnad inscriptions by the twelfth century, while the earliest inscription in Kerala dates from the eleventh century, about the time that Kulaśēkhara wrote dramas that are the most performed in Kūṭiyāṭṭam today.

115. Narayanan (CSK), vii.

116. See P. J. Thomas, "Kerala in Early Days," Kerala Studies (Trivandrum, 1955), 28-43 and Narayanan (CSK), xiii.

117. Narayanan (CSK), viii

118. Ibid., xi.

119. Nilakantha Sastri, A History of South India (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 152.

120. Akam 65, quoted by Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 137. He describes each of the Cēra rulers referred to in the literature.

121. K. Sarkar, Monuments of Kerala (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1973), 3.

122. Sastri (HSI).

123. Krishna Chaitanya, A History of Malayalam Literature (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1971), 9. The Āryans divided their population into four classes they called varṇa 'color': the priests (brāhmaṇa), warriors (kṣatriya), merchants (vaiśya), and serfs (śūdra). These classifications were being defined in the Vedic period, and they survive in the present day. The tribes, clans, or family groups were known as jāti 'caste,' but this is rarely referred to in ancient literature while varṇa is frequently mentioned. When the Portuguese came to India in the sixteenth century, they found the society divided into many groups which they called castas, and the word caste has since been applied to both varṇa and jāti. See A.L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India (N.Y. Grove Press, 1959), 137 ff

124. Twenty-three of these settlements survive today and others have been identified by inscriptional evidence. See Veluthat Kesavan, "Aryan Brahmin Settlements of Ancient Kerala," Historical Studies in Kerala (University of Calicut, 1976), 26, and his more recent book Brahman Settlements in Kerala (Calicut: Sandhya Publications, 1978).

125. See Chaitanya (HML), 8-9, and Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 145 n. 1. Kunjan Pillai assumes that both the legend of Paraśurāma and the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa, which relates the myth, came first. There is another possible reference to Paraśurāma in the Centamil literature in AkanāṉuRu 220 "where the breasts of the heroine are said to be as hard to get to see 'as the well guarded tall post, its middle tied

with a rope, of the sacrifice completed in Cellūr, a place of undying sacrificial fires, by the one with an axe, who, striving, cut down the race of warriors.'" (Hart (PAT), 59). Cellūr is a place in Tulunad, just north of Kerala. Hart notes that this passage suggests that orthodox, sacrificial Brāhmans had established themselves on the west coast to the extent that they would not allow the presence of non-Brāhmans at their sacrifice. Tulunad was the home of the Mauryan armies when they invaded Tamilnad.

126. Narayanan (CSK), 2-3.

127. Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 222.

128. M.G.S. Narayanan, "The Ceraman Perumals of Kerala," Historical Studies in Kerala (University of Calicut, 1976), 29. Elamkulam places Kulaśēkhara as the first of the second Cēras (SKH, 217), but this view has been refuted by Narayanan.

129. Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 223.

130. See ibid., 218. Naryanan (CPK), 34, seems to follow Kunjan Pillai without questioning his results.

131. Ibid., 227.

132. See his The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 23 (University of Madras, 1958), 8-24.

133. M.G.S. Narayanan (CSK), xi.

134. Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 244.

135. Narayanan (CPK), 30.

136. Quoted in N.P. Unni, Sanskrit Dramas of Kulaśekhara: A Study (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1977), 33.

137. M.G.S. Narayanan, "Political and Social Constitutions of Kerala Under the Kulasekhara Empire (C. 800 A.D. to 1124 A.D.)," Ph.D. Dissertation (Trivandrum: University of Kerala, 1972), 230, quoted in Phillip Barry Zarrilli, "Kaḷarippayaṭṭ and the Performing Artist East and West, Past, Present, Future," Ph.D. thesis (University of Minnesota, 1978), 18-19.

138. Unni (SKD), 40. He notices a reference to Bhoja in the commentary on the dramas. This commentary he regards as contemporary to the dramatist, so he places the king's dates after those of Bhoja, which are known. The first work to quote Kulaśēkhara is the Tīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda, known to be composed in 1159. This places the upward limit on the writing.

139. Ibid., 18.

140. M.G.S. Narayanan, Aspects of Aryanization in Kerala (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1973, 39. He disagrees with Shah and Upadhye, who give an account of this work (see next note) and place it in Kerala.

141. Ibid., 26-27. See also Umakant P. Shah "Caṭṭānām Maḍham: A Gleaning from the Kuvalayamāla Katha," and A. N. Upadhye, "The Kuvalayamāla Katha of Ratnaprabhāsūri," Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Golden Jubilee Volume, Poona (1968), 63-70, 247-52.

142. Loc. cit.

143. V. Raghavan, "Uparupakas and Nritya-Prabandhas," Sangeet Natak IV, 12.

144. Zarrilli (K), 300, 312. He includes photographs of the poses.

145. J. F. Staal, Nambudiri Veda Recitation (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1961), 34.

146. Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 253. Veluthat Kesavan outlines the political structure of the temple villages in "Organisation and Administration of the Brahman Settlements in Kerala in the Later Cera Period A.D. 800-1100," Kerala Studies IV, 2 and 3 (June-Sept, 1977), 181-191.

147. Hart (PAT), 102.

148. Chaitanya (HML), 50.

149. Naryanan (AAK), 45.

150. Ibid., 44.

151. Ghosh (NS), XVIII, 40.

152. Kunjan Pillai (SKH), 281.

153. Ibid., 282. Chaitanya compares the "a-moralism' of this hedonistic, elegant stratum of society with the courts of Charles II of England and Louis XIV of France. HML, 50-51.

154. P.K. Parameswaran Nair, History of Malayalam Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1967), 5-6.

155. Kunjan Pillai (HSK), 282.

156. Parameswaran Nair (HML), 24.

157. Ibid., 27.

158. Chaitanya (HML), 49.

159. Ibid., 49.

160. Parameswaran Nair (HML), 29.

161. Uṇṇunīlisandeśa II, 94, quoted and translated in Unni (SKD), 189-90.

162. See K. Ramachandran Nair, Early Manipravalam: A Study (Trivandrum:

Anjali, 1971), 171.

163. Ibid., 172.

164. Chaitanya (HML), 67.

165. Parameswaran Nair (HML), 56.

166. K. Rama Pisharoti "Kerala Theatre," Journal of the Annamalai University, III, 2 (October, 1934), 104-5.

167. Jones (TTK), 18. I have heard of no recent performance of this Kūttu.

168. Mahendravikramavarman, Mattavilāsa Prahasana, ed. and trans. N.P. Unni (Trivandrum: College Book House, 1974), 10.

169. Mahendra-varman, The Farce of the Drunk Monk, tr. P. Lal (Calcutta: Writers' Workshop, 1968), 7. This translation captures the humor of the farce and unlike most of Lal's is quite playable.

170. Konow (ID), 186.

171. Keith (SD), 182-185.

172. Ghosh (NŚ), XX, 103-104.

173. Lal, 12.

174. Ibid., 20.

175. L. D. Barnett, quoted in Unni (M), 17.

176. Baudhāyana is the author mentioned in a commentary accompanying the play, but the authorship is often attributed to Mahendravikrama because its title appears together with Mattavilāsa in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of Mahendra Pallava. See T. N. Ramachandran, "The Royal Artist, Mahendravarman I," Journal of Oriental Research, Madras VII, Part III (July-Sept., 1933), 234, 236, 320-1 quoted in Jones

(TTK), 12. A playable translation of the play by J.A.B. van Buitenen and a brief account of a performance at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan in 1968 appears as "The Hermit and the Harlot" in MAHFIL (later Journal of South Asian Literature) VII, 3 and 4 (Fall-Winter, 1971), 145-166.

177. van Buitenen (HH), 150.

178. P. C. Krishanan Nambudripad, "Kutiyattam," unpublished thesis (University of Madras, 1962), chapter VIII. I have a typescript of this thesis for which I am indebted to L. S. Rajagopalan of Trichur.

179. There is an old and interesting Āṭṭaprākara for this play, though the play is no longer performed. The Buddhist presence near Kāñcī may have had an effect on the development of theatre there. In the North at Mathura professional actors were brought to Buddhist monasteries: "actors are hired to perform a play in which Śāriputra who was originally a Brahmin goes to Buddha to ask for ordination" (Fa-hsien, quoted in K. Kunjunni Raja, Kutiyattam, An Introduction (New Delhi: Sangeet Natak Akademi, 1964), 3.) Raja concludes: "that is evidently a reference to the staging of the Śāriputraprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa."

180. Jones (TTK), 12, and K. Rama Pisharoti, quoted in Unni (SDK), 35. Kunjunni Raja relates the story of Śaktibhadra and Śaṅkara in CKSL.

181. Kunjunni Raja (CKSL), 210.

182. Śaktibhadra, The Wonderful Crest Jewel, tr. C. Sankararamasastri Sri Balamanorama Series No. 10 (Madras: Sri Balamanorama Press, 1927). This passage is taken to be further proof that Bhāsa did not come from the South. See J. L. Masson's introduction to Bhāsa,

Avimāraka (Love's Enchanted World), tr. J. L. Masson and D. C. Kosambi (Delhi: Motilal Benarsidass, 1970), 16. Masson, however, thinks that the whole passage may be a joke. Certainly Mahendra's farce precedes this play, and since Daṇḍin of Kāñcī refers to scholars in Kerala, it is likely that the plays would be known there.

183. Unni (SDK), 47-48, argues that the lyric is indeed by the dramatist. He places the poem in the last year of the king's reign because of its tone: "It is a pity that people show eagerness to serve a man who is lord of a few villages and forget Puruṣottama, the lord of the three worlds, whom one can easily please and who is the bestower of his own status." (46).

184. Unni (SKD), 24-25. I do not know whether "professional actors" here translates Cākyār or simply some Sanskrit word for actor.

185. Kunjunni Raja (K), 2.

186. Ammaman Thampuran, Kūttum Kūṭiyāṭṭavum (Trichur: Mangalodayam Press, 1114 M.E. (1939)), 25-28, quoted and tr. Unni (SDK), 193-5.

187. Unni (SDK), 194.

188. Kunjunni Raja (K), 3-4.

189. N. V. Krishna Warrier, in an unpublished paper given at a conference on Kūṭiyāṭṭam in 1966 at the Kerala Kalamandalam organized by Clifford Jones, points out the following similarities:

1) Actors represent by aṅgikābhinaya not only the contents of the text but also allusions and suggestions;
2) the actors improvise their own lines;
3) gestures are excessively employed;
4) chāyaślokas are recited by the actors;
5) each sentence is repeated thrice;
6) three languages are employed--Sanskrit, Prākrit, and the regional language;

7) there are frequent dances;
8) vinoda puruṣartha is given
9) the Viḍūṣaka has a rolled betel leaf in his ear.

Though the poet implies that the performers take liberty with the text and are occasionally overwhelmed with the emotions of the role so that their gestures are most expressive, there is no indication in the work that the gestures are codified and elaborated as they are in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The actors in the play claim to be following the technique of Vatsaraja, or Vasva Dutta (v. 801), who seems to have composed emendations or extentions of the Nāṭyaśāstra. When the origin of drama is recounted, it is the account of the curse in the last chapter of Nāṭyaśāstra that is mentioned (v. 945). There is a translation of the Kuṭṭanīmata, The Art of the Temptress, by B.P.L. Bedi (Bombay: Pearl Publications Private Limited, 1968).

190. See Pisharoti (KT), III, 2, 154-156.

191. Betty True Jones, "Kūṭiyāṭṭam Sanskrit Drama: Changing Criteria of Excellence," Asian and Pacific Dance: Selected Papers from the 1974 CORD-SEM Conference, Dance Research Annual VIII (1977), 16, n. 8.

192. For most of the information on Āṭṭaprakāras and Kramadīpikas I am indebted to an unpublished article by K. P. Narayana Pisharoti presented at the conference on Kūṭiyāṭṭam at Kerala Kalamandalam in 1966. This and other articles presented at the conference are available at Kalamandalam, Cheruthuruthy.

193. (K), 35-38.

194. The material which follows has been gleaned primarily from four sources: Kunjunni Raja (K), Nambudripad (K), Unni (SDK), and my own observation of a performance in 1974 by Madhva Cākyār at the

temple in Trichur. Unfortunately, due to difficulties of entering the temple, I was not able to see a complete performance.

195. Kulaśēkhara Varma, The Subhadrādhanañjaya, ed, T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XIII (Trivandrum; Travancore Government Press, 1912), 14.

196. Loc. cit.

197. Ibid., 15-16.

198. Kunjunni Raja (K), 33, gives the śloka:

sarasavirasagehaṃ bhoktukāmo na gaccet
virasasarasagehaṃ kaṣṭapakṣe prayatu /
virasavirasagehaṃ mā kṣudhāpīḍito 'piṃ
sarasasarasagehaṃ yātu tāpopaśāntyau //

199. Nambudripad (K), Chapter III.

200. Kunjunni Raja (K), 34. Pisharoti (KT), 153, comments:

> The Cākyār ventilates the grievances of the ruled. He describes in pitiful terms the hard lot of the people in general and of the subordinate officers. The numerous sufferings, physical and mental, which these have to endure consequent upon the carelessness, inconsiderateness and indifference of the masters are portrayed in all but too vivid colours. Even the crowned and annointed chief is not exempt from the criticism of the Cākyār, and this is true even at the present day. His acts which are oppressive or obnoxious or unpopular are mercilessly exposed. His policy, when it is not conducive to the well-being of the people is criticised downright. In short, the Cākyār brings home to the ruler how the people view him and his acts.

201. Quoted from an unacknowledged source in Runjunni.Raja (K), 31.

202. Translated by Mrs. Fritz Staal and quoted in Masson (A), 23-24. I have slightly edited the translation.

203. Apparently this śloka does not appear in the text. See Nambudripad, Chapter III, Fourth Day. He does not quote the Sanskrit.

204. See Kunjunni Raja (K), 19-20, and below, Chapter II.

205. Unni (SDK), 187-188.

206. Ibid., 185. The original verse is

asti prastutatārunyā tatraivātyantasundarī /

baginī vāsubhadrasya subhadrā rāma kanyakā //

It is not found in the original text of the play; it has been added by the Cākyārs.

207. The Sanskrit is given by Kunjunni Raja (K), 17-18. The same verses are sung at the end of Nityakriyā.

NOTES--CHAPTER II

1. Constantin Stanislavski, An Actor Prepares (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1936), 30.

2. Compare Part III and Part I of Creating a Role (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1961.)

3. Constantin Stanislavski and Pavel Rumyantsev, Stanislavski on Opera, tr. and ed. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1975), 7.

4. At present Kūṭiyāṭṭam could not be performed by a Westerner. One Nambūtiri, who was an advanced student when I was in Kerala in 1974, may be allowed to perform in temples. An Unni, lower in the caste system, who was an excellent drummer, had not been allowed to accompany Kūṭiyāṭṭam or Kūttu in temples when I left.

5. Pisaroti (KT), 147-48, and Edgar Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India (Madras: Government Press, 1909), II, 9-10. The term has also been derived from śakyan 'a convert from Buddhism to the Vedic religion.'

6. II, 10.

7. Jones (TTK), 26.

8. Ibid., 27.

9. See ibid., 28-30, for an account of the families.

10. Ghosh (NŚ), XI, 95-100.

11. The Kerala martial arts training is fully discussed by Zarrilli (K). He analyzes the relationship between Kaḷarippayaṭṭ and the Kathakaḷi exercises on 152-162 and includes pictures.

12. For a description of the old traditional kaḷari, see Zarrilli, 220 ff.

13. To put on the kacca one end is held flat against the upper chest with the left hand, the rest of the cloth hanging down in front of the body. The right hand grasps the cloth from behind between the legs and the cloth is brought up, covering the genitals, and is pulled up between the buttocks. Then it is brought, bunched like a rope. around the right side of the body at the waist, taken by the left hand across the end of the cloth held against the chest (this end is allowed to drop down in front), continued around the waist, and taken under the turn the cloth makes just above the buttocks. Then the cloth is taken back to the left and wrapped around itself several times, finishing under the piece which hangs down in front. The cloth, when removed after massage, is very oily. It is usually kept in the kaḷari and washed only occasionally. The kacca is a modification of the dress that Brāhman boys traditionally wear during the years of their schooling in the Vedas. "They wear the kampīnam, a piece of cloth passing between the legs and...the mekhalā, a rope made of grass tied around the waist." Staal, The Four Vedas--page one of notes in the Folkways recording, ASCH Mankind Series Album No. AHM 4126 (New York: ASCH Records, n.d.)

14. Zarrilli (K), 255.

15. The kaḷari deities are described in Zarrilli (K), 225-7.

16. I am indebted to K.P. Kunhiraman, my Kathakali āśān, for this information.

17. Certainly a great deal is demanded of the Kathakaḷi students and yet, like most teen-aged students, they often do as little as they can get

away with under the circumstances. When the āśān is not in kaḷari the exercises are often performed with little energy or precision. But the few times a month the āśān is present the atmosphere is suddenly charged. Pliés that were half done before are suddenly deepened so that the legs are absolutely straight to the sides and the thighs parallel to the floor, the feet turned in so that the toes are pointing straight front. Feet are lifted to the knee with every movement. When the āśān is there, he beats time mercilessly with his stick against a block of wood while the students stamp. The āśān walks behind the students wielding his short stick, shouting at students who are lax. Occasionally instead he beats the leg of a student that is not performing up to his standard. At these moments one is reminded of the military origin of the Kathakaḷi technique. Kūṭiyāṭṭam actors, so far as I know, never receive this treatment. Rāman Cākyār could be very forceful, and one strong word of criticism was enough to deflate a student, but he never used physical violence in my presence. This is one of many factors which causes the Kūṭiyāṭṭam and Kathakaḷi actors to have different attitudes toward their respective arts.

18. See Jones (K) for a description of the tradition of Kathakaḷi at Kalamandalam, p. 93 ff. Beryl de Zoete, in The Other Mind: A Study of Dance in South India (London: Gollancz, 1953) 90-160, gives a most charming account of Kathakaḷi performances she witnessed during the early days of Kalamandalam.

19. For a picture of this exercise as well as number 8 and several photos of Kathakaḷi uzhiccil see K. Bharatha Iyer, Kathakali (London: Luzac, 1955), Plate II.

20. Called Malakkam MRayal and pictured in Zarrili (K), 158-159.

21. I would be very cautious about giving anyone these foot exercises without warm-up and uzhiccil. Otherwise the knees might very likely be injured. One of the things that one eventually discovers about Indian "traditions" is that elements of them cannot be taken out of context without misunderstanding and possible danger. Usually every step that is taken is an important one, and if any of the steps are left out then the full effect cannot be expected. The circumstances in which the traditions are placed are also often vital. Taking Kathakaḷi or Kūṭiyāṭṭam exercises out of context can completely subvert their purpose and even subject the participant to danger. The same is certainly true of the spiritual disciplines of the Hindus. Borrowings should only be done by a master.

22. (K), 354-375.

23. I hope it is obvious that these actions, which are designed to force the leg into a 180 degree turnout, must be done with great care and only with the supervision of an expert. If the hip joint is not ready for this excruciatingly painful treatment, great damage can result. Traditionally uzhiccil is begun when students are very young (8 years). Then it is most successful. Nārāyaṇa Cākyār, who at age 11 was taking his third year of uzhiccil when I was a student, could hold a perfect 180 degree second-position plié indefinitely without pain. Some of the Kathakaḷi students who had started at age 14 and who were not as naturally flexible suffered pain and had become quite sway-back as a result of this treatment. I have a good turnout in plié position, but at 28 I was obviously too old for the full treatment. Rāman Nambūtiri, the Kūṭiyāṭṭam student who gave me

uzhiccil was relatively gentle I think, but the process was still very painful. However I did gain increased flexibility and strength as well as turnout by going through the early morning exercise and massage, and my Kūṭiyāṭṭam form improved considerably as a result.

24. Pictured in Jones (K), 13.

25. Pictured in Iyer (K), Plate II, 1.

26. Ibid., Plate II, 2.

27. Ibid., Plate III, 1.

28. In my case there were only four students. Āśān lay on his cot on one side of the kalari. Though he usually seemed to be sleeping, I remember vividly one time when Nārāyaṇa and I both made an audible mistake. He was quick to shout out angrily the correct way of speaking. I kept on my toes after that.

29. In Kathakaḷi at Kalamandalam, the beginning student must hold his eyelids up with his index fingers while the thumbs rest on the top of the cheekbones holding the lower lid down. Barba, who spent three weeks at Kalamandalam (though no one seems to remember his visit) saw these exercises and showed them to Grotowski who adopted them for his training. There is a picture of one of his actors performing the exercises in Towards a Poor Theatre (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), 219, figure 83. Barba reported on his impressions of Kathakali in "The Kathakali Theatre," TDR, 11,4 (1967), 37-49. Zarrili wrote Barba concerning his use of Kathakali exercises and received an interesting reply. The con-

cluding remarks of his letter suggest Barba's dept to Kathakaḷi:

> ...what has remained within me is the sort of suggestive power which I felt the Kathakali actor had in spite of the conditions in which he was performing.... But of course, it could not be achieved by imitating or adapting the superficial outer layer of a technique which originated within a different cultural context, with a very different aesthetic from our European one. How could we Europeans--as actors--become as suggestive as the Kathakali or other oriental actors? ...the Kathakali actor stands for me as a distant, glittering star helping me to find my way to some other galaxy. (p. 588)

When I asked Cākyār Āśān about the possibility of holding the eyelids up (it is much more painful to do so), he said that there is no advantage to doing it, since you cannot hold your lids up in performance. Rather you should practice keeping the eyes wide open using the muscles of the lid.

30. This was very disconcerting to me, but it seemed not to bother the students. They could maintain the interval, making the necessary pitch changes, with considerable accuracy.

31. Kristin Linklater's Freeing the Natural Voice (New York: Drama Book Services, 1977) is the finest literary product of this movement.

32. See Staal (NVR), 41.

33. Ibid., 37.

34. Staal (FV), record 1, side 2, band 2. This is called the "new school" and is even known to Tamils as "the modern way." (Staal (NVR), 28).

35. E natural in the example given on record 2, side 2, band 1.

36. Staal (NVR), 84.

37. Loc. cit. I find it very hard to hear more than a minor second below.

38. Staal suggests that Nambūtiri recitation may be older than other forms of Vedic recitation in India.

39. The melodic patterns are called rāgas by most writers on Kūṭiyāṭṭam. RC used the term svara. Generally in Indian music svara refers to individual notes while rāga denotes a melodic pattern, or more specifically an ascending and descending scale with certain implied patterns and ornamentations built into it.

40. This list is taken from the article by L. S. Rajagopalan, "Music in Kootiyattam," Sangeet Natak 10 (Oct.-Dec., 1968), 14-15. He quotes the Malayāḷam verse giving the names (in Nagari script). His English script listing does not transliterate directly. The variants in parantheses are from Kunjunni Raja (K).

41. Dhīroddhata, one of the four classifications of heroes, NŚ, XXXIV, 17-21.

42. I have made recordings in the field of the three most prominent Cākyārs performing certain of the svaras: Rāma Cākyār: śrīkaṇṭhi, indalam, tarkkan, vīratarkkan, velādhūli, maddan, puranīr, duḥkagān-dhāram, cetipañcama, ārttan; Madhva Cākyār: indalam, muralīndalam, vīratarkkan, tarkkan; MaṇiMadhva Cākyār: indalam. Rajagopalan (MK) notes that several of these names are similar or identical to the names of rāgas in Karnatic music or the paṇs of the ancient Tamil works. However, there is no noted similarity between the Karnatic rāga and the Kūṭiyāṭṭam svara of the same name, and the melodies of the paṇs are not known. One might speculate that

Kūṭiyāṭṭam has, in part, preserved the traditional ancient pans, but at present there is no way of determining if this is in fact the case.

43. I found RC's delivery the most moving of the three, but of course since he was my teacher, I was a biased listener. RC was training more students than the other Cākyārs, and his students adopt his singing tone.

44. See Ghosh (NŚ), II, Introduction, p. 6-11 and XXXII, 364 ff.

45. Ibid., XIX, 37-38.

46. Ibid., XIX, 40-43.

47. I have also made 8 millimeter films of the rasas as performed by these two Cākyārs.

48. Photographs of the Kathakaḷi rasas appear in Marg XI, 1 and Jones (K), 80.

49. See NŚ, especially Chapters VI and VII, Kale (TTU), Chapter V, Keith (SD), 314 ff., etc.

50. Ghosh (NŚ), VI, 31 and VII, 7.

51. Ibid., VII, 27.

52. Ibid., VII, 21.

53. Ibid., VII, 94-106 gives the vibhāva and anubhāva for these six states.

54. Ibid., VII, 93.

55. Ibid., VII, 10.

56. Ibid., VII 7-8.

57. Jean Shelton, in class at her studio in Berkeley. However, affective memory is a very controversial technique among followers of Stanislavski. I recently attended a workshop with Stella Adler where affective memory was severely trounced: "Don't go to emotional memory. It's sick, not nice.... Unless you know now to use it! You can't be in two situations at once...the whole thing becomes pathological." She seems to be referring to affective memory as it was used by Lee Strasberg in the early days of the Actor's Studio. His actors discovered that it took two minutes to bring up an emotion through recall. So two minutes before an emotion was needed onstage in a particular situation they would begin to work on the appropriate affective memory. This practice divides the mind and takes the actor out of the play. It is not done today so far as I know. Jean sometimes asks a student to do an affective memory exercise at home. Then she monitors the student while he/she does it in class. She is primarily concerned with the care with which details are visualized rather than with emotional results. Sonia Moore reports that Stanislavski gave up emotional memory after some of his actors became mentally disturbed by overdoing it. One actor had to be committed to a mental institution as a result of his practice of it. She encourages the actor to get emotions from the given circumstances if possible. If he needs more, he should try to recall what <u>actions</u> he performed when in a strongly emotional state. In re-performing these actions the emotions will be likely to come up. (See <u>The Stanislavski System</u>, new revised ed. (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), 49 ff.) Kūṭiyāṭṭam also relies on the performance of action to release emotion.

58. In my fifth month of class, RC felt I was not showing enough anger in the role of Rāma in "Bālivadham." So he gave me a small bit of abhinaya from another part of the repertoire. I was to play Narasiṃha (the god Viṣṇu incarnated as a man-lion) emerging from a pillar to tear open the stomach of a non-believer and devour his blood and entrails. The actions were to be mimed quite realistically. Needless to say, such given circumstances involve the actor in strong emotions, especially if he is a Hundu for whom the story has intense religious associations.

59. I showed the pictures of MMC's rasas to RC and his students. They found them much too tense and exaggerated. There is considerable rivalry among the Cākyārs--they never perform together, and they are critical of each other's technique. MC started acting because he was jealous of RC's skill and wanted to better him. Rivalry is common in Indian art forms. The various schools of Kathakaḷi put each other down, and the two major schools of Bharatanāṭyam in Madras are quick to find major faults with each other's technique. Even, or especially, within such a highly stylized and codified form like Kūṭiyāṭṭam, differences exist between performers of the nature of those Stanislavski mentions in Chapter II of An Actor Prepares, between the actor who experiences the role as he performs it and the one who "represents" the role. There are also a few partially trained Cākyārs who might be placed in his category of "amateur" actors. Personally I have never seen in Kūṭiyāṭṭam that which he terms "mechanical" acting, acting which "makes use of worked-out stencils to replace real feelings" (p. 28), though it would seem that such a stylized form might usually produce actors of this type.

I have seen Kathakaḷi acting that I would call mechanical. In fact I find that Kathakaḷi is rarely able to transcend mechanical acting, although the occasional performer who in moments of inspiration can do so is truly a sight to behold. (I could apply this same comment to western ballet.) Perhaps I am prejudiced toward the art I studied, but it seems to be that the Kūṭiyāṭṭam actor is always filled with inner life, even though his technique might not be polished. I attribute this to the depth of his thinking about the roles he plays, his sense of devotion to his art, and the thoroughness of his physical training. In Kathakaḷi mental preparation is slighter, the physical demands greater.

60. I was fortunate to see Balasarasvati's last public Bharatanāṭyam performance in Madras at the Music Academy, 1973. She had this same miraculous quality in her padams. It was like riding a slow train and passing one emotional scene after another in rapid succession, each one as intense as the one before but totally distinct. Yet at the same time united in a whole by the lyric and its rasa--the train's destination.

61. This work has been recently edited by James W. Cleary and published by Southern Illinois University Press (Carbondale: 1974).

62. Ibid., introduction, ix.

63. Ibid., 170.

64. NŚ, VIII-XIII. The 108 karaṇas are described separately in Chapter IV. They are pictured in stone in the entrance arches of Cidambaram Temple in Tamilvadu. This temple is sacred to Śiva and it is here that Śiva is thought to perform his dance of creation and destruction.

Kapila Vatsyayan has done extensive research on the karaṇas as described and pictured in the arts. See her Indian Classical Dance (New Delhi: Government Press, 1974).

65. Ghosh (NŚ), XIX, 71.

66. Unfortunately no living tradition has retained much of this vocabulary. Certain Bharatanāṭyam dancers, notably Sundarani Raghupatty of Madras, have tried to reconstruct the gestures and movements as they are described in the NŚ and use them in their dance. The results are fascinating, but by no means is their accuracy assured.

67. It has been edited by T. Narayana Nambissan and published (Kozhikode: R. R. Brothers, 1958). The Kathakaḷi issue of Marg translates the names of all the signs and illustrates the Kathakaḷi manner of showing them.

68. Ghosh (NŚ), IX, 17.

69. Marg, XI, 1 (Dec., 1957) includes a glossary of the 501 Kathakaḷi hand gestures named in HLD. Each one is described and pictured in its most characteristic moment by a drawing. Although the Kūṭiyāṭṭam student generally learns the hastas as they are needed in the repertoire he is learning, I was taught all the gestures during my first classes of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, and I have recorded them in my own eclectic notation. To attempt a description of all the mudras is beyond the scope of this paper, and as they are very similar to those used in Kathakaḷi, it is not thought necessary to do so.

70. His article will appear in the upcoming Volume II of AGNI. J. F. Staal kindly lent me the article before its publication.

71. See Wayne Howard, Sāmavedic Chant (New Haven and London, 1977), 220-248.

72. In "The Technique of Abhinaya in Kūṭiyāṭṭam," an unpublished paper given at the conference on Kūṭiyāṭṭam at Kerala Kalamandalam in 1966. This paper and the others from the conference are available from Kerala Kalamandalam, Cheruthuruthy.

73. Ibid.

74. Stanislavski (SO), 12.

75. See L. S. Rajagopalan (MK), 18-19. This article gives the most complete description available of the music in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. He discusses all the svaras and tālas and their relationship to those of Karnatic music. See also Chapter II, "Voice."

76. Ibid., 21.

77. Loc. cit.

78. Rajagopalan (MK), 22-24.

79. I have experimented with the use of drumming to mark the beats (scenic units) of conventional plays. Choosing a rhythmic pattern and tempo which is characteristic of the scene and playing it on a drum with a sharp sound energizes actors and lets them be more expressive. The primitive quality of drumming tends to break down stereotyped behavior.

80. RC in his performances has eliminated the traditional third presentation of the verse in which the actor again uses gesture and speech together. This third repetition provides a review of the Sanskrit after the meaning of the verse has been presented in gesture alone.

Using it helps the audience learn the Sanskrit of the verse, but it further lengthens the performance time.

81. Though the meanings of the gestures in this pure dance section are not given to the student, certain of them correspond to those of the gesture language. I remember a very moving experience I had when I discovered that the simple gesture that I had been practicing without thought during the jumps, a half-circular movement with both hands in patāka hasta, meant the passing of the day. The whole of Nityakriyā began to take on inner life because of this one simple discovery. Inner life is never imposed on the student, but the meaningful patterns are there, and when the student is allowed to discover them on his own, as he is in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the results can be very significant for him, encouraging him to make more discoveries. Merce Cunningham uses a similar technique with his dancers. Though many of his movements are psychologically motivated, he never discusses motivations with the dancers or the audience. They must fill them with their own imaginary circumstances. Often it does not happen and the movement is performed coldly, the dancer concentrating on technical accuracy alone, but occasionally a very fine performer can get a handle on the inner life, and then the results can be fascinating. Kūṭiyāṭṭam technique gives the performer many more clues to the inner life than does modern dance.

82. From an interview with Rāman Cākyār.

83. The Sanskrit is given above, p. 152. The text differs in two places with that published by Devadhar (Bhāsanāṭakacakram: Plays Ascribed to Bhāsa, ed., C.R. Devadhar (Poona: Oriental Book

Agency, 2d ed., 1951), 322. Matsāyakābhihata is matsāyānnihata and tvayādya is tvayā ca. The Cākyārs have texts of many of Bhāsa's plays. A study of Bhāsa manuscripts has recently been published: N. P. Unni New Problems in Bhāsa Plays (Trivandrum: College Book House, 1978). It includes a lengthy chapter, "Bhāsa Plays on the Kerala Stage."

84. In the Āṭṭaprakāra the Sanskrit text of the ślokas is given separately and no source is indicated. I hand copied the text of the Āṭṭaprakāra from the notebooks of the student Kalamandalam Rāman Cākyār. The translations were prepared by me with the kind assistance of K. Vasudevan Nambudrippad and M.P. Sankaran Nambudri.

85. A play of this title was previously in the repertoire of Kūṭiyāṭṭam as well, and though I have not seen the Āṭṭaprakāra for it, it would seem likely that the description of the forest is part of that play as well. Such set pieces are as common in Kūṭiyāṭṭam as they are in Kathakaḷi.

86. Unni (SDK), 197.

87. Ibid., 200, 202.

88. Ibid., 202.

89. Ibid., 203.

90. calakuvalayadhāmnor añjanasnigdham akṣṇoḥ
bhayacaladhṛti yugmaṃ deyam ālolayantī /
mukhaparimalalobhād bṛṅgadattānuyātrā
śithilayati subhadrāmudritam mānasam me //

91. Kunjunni Raja (K), 20-1.

92. Ibid., 23.

93. Stanislavski, Building a Character (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1949), 108.

94. Loc. cit.

95. Nambudripad, Chapter V.

96. Ghosh (NS), Vol. II, XXXV, 79.

97. K. R. Pisharoti, "Kerala Theatre," Journal of the Annamalai University I, 1. (April, 1932), 101.

98. Chaitanya (HML), 90.

99. Ibid., 92.

100. Loc. cit.

101. K. Ramachandran Nair, 59.

102. K. Bharatha Iyer (K), 18.

103. Examples are given in Kunjunni Raja (K), 34-5.

104. Nair (EM), 63.

105. Ibid., 58. Moliere uses a French-Latin jumble in the epilogue to his La Malade Imaginaire.

106. Nambudripad (K), Chapter X.

107. In an interview.

108. In the same interview.

109. Maxine Kline, Time, Space, and Designs for Actors (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 196.

NOTES--CHAPTER III

1. Bharatha Iyer, 23-4.

2. Two accounts of this form of folk drama are found in Bharatha Iyer, 13-4, and Govind Vidyarthi, "Mudiettu, Rare Ritual Theatre of Kerala," Sangeet Natak 42 (Oct.-Dec., 1976), 51 ff. The latter article contains photographs and a description of the drama, but no history or analysis.

3. The 1980 film Manifestations of Shiva includes a series of scenes showing this ritual drawing of Bhadrakālī.

4. See Stella Kramrisch, "Dravida and Kerala," in The Arts and Crafts of Kerala (Cochin: Paico Publishing House, 1970), 1.

5. TTK, 63.

6. Donald Keene, No, The Classical Theatre of Japan (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1973 [1966]), 74.

7. J. L. Styan, Drama, Stage and Audience (Cambridge University Press, 1975), 35.

8. See Thomas J. Hopkins, The Hindu Religious Tradition (Encino, CA: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1971), 21-5, and Jones (TTK), 90. The square plan of the temple as a whole, which is echoed in the square stage canopy, is symbolic of the "recurrent cycles of time" and reflects the square Āhavanīya fire altar of the Vedic Śrauta (priestly) ritual. This altar was located at the easternmost side of the sacrificial plot. There offerings were consumed by Agni, the god of fire and messenger of the gods, and thus delivered to the appropriate deities. Of the other two fires on the sacri-

ficial grounds, one was round, representing the earth, used to prepare food for the sacrifice, and the other semicircular, the Dakṣina, representing the vaulted atmosphere between earth and sky. The Vedic "three worlds" were the earth, atmosphere and heavens, while the later tradition identified the three worlds as heaven, earth, and underworld. The last part of Nityakriyā pays obeisance to the creatures of each region. Within the square plan of the temple is constructed the body of the vāstu puruṣa:

> His head lies in the east, in the Maṇḍala of his square, the legs opposite; body and limbs fill the square. Now bricks are laid down which had been identified with the several parts of his body. The bricks are square; now squares are drawn, lines separate and connect those parts and limbs and are their points and vital parts. These must not be hurt. The lines too (nāḍī) belong to the anatomy of the subtle body of the Vāstu Puruṣa, they are channels of energy as the nerves are and the arteries in the gross body.... The spine (vaṃśa) of this Puruṣa of 64 squares is in the middle line of the plan of the temple, as it is of the altar." (Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple Vol. I (Calcutta, 1946), 31, quoted in Kale (TU), 20.)

The temple gateways open only in the directions that are protected--the cardinal points of the compass.

9. Ghosh, III, 23.

10. Jones (TTK), 91, from L. S. Ravi Varma, "Rituals of Worship," Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV. (Calcutta: Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1958), 450.

11. Ibid., 106. When there is no theatre in the temple, then another room is used for Kūṭiyāṭṭam performances. However, for this author, something important is lost when there is no kūttambalam for the performance. Rāman Cākyār and Maṇimadhva Cākyār and their students have performed selections of Kūṭiyāṭṭam plays outside the temple,

but Madhva Cākyār refuses to act outside the temple and insists on participating only in complete performances of Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

12. The Psychology of the Unconscious, quoted in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, The Dance of Shiva (New York: The Noonday Press, 1957), 29.

13. Constantin Stanislavski, My Life in Art, trans. J. J. Robbins (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956), 273.

14. Ibid., 274.

15. Ibid., 275-6. See also David Magarshack's Introduction to his translation of Stanislavski on the Art of the Stage (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), 21. It is an excellent overview of the historical development of the system.

16. Rāman Cākyār in an interview.

17. The traditional rice-paste beards are still used in Kṛṣṇāṭṭam, performed at Guruvayor temple. These beards are not as impressive as the paper ones and have an annoying tendency to break into pieces with the movements of the face. They have a different, softer effect which suits the tone of Kṛṣṇāṭṭam. The traditional beards are used occasionally by some Kūṭiyāṭṭam actors.

18. James Colbath, "The Japanese Noh Drama and Its Relation to Zen Buddhism," unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Western Reserve University, 1962), chapter 4.

19. This information came out in interviews with both Rāman Cākyār and Maṇimadhva Cākyār. Stanislavskiites might object to the idea of concentrating on the general emotion of the role, but the Kūṭiyāṭṭam actor knows the physical and emotional characteristics

of his role so well that allowing his mind to flow toward the rasa of the character naturally influences his actions during the day, allowing him to make discoveries about the character. I remember a bus ride when Rāman Cākyār was on his way to perform Viḍūṣaka at a small temple some distance from Kalamandalam. Cākyār's behavior changed significantly on the trip: he talked often of current events and became much more wry and animated than was usual for him.

20. See the section on drumming in Chapter II for a complete description of the Kūṭiyāṭṭam orchestra.

21. It is obvious that the make-up was designed with the flickering flame of the oil lamp in mind. When electric light is used, as it is in Kathakali performances today, the make-up is much less effective.

22. See Rajan Gurukkal, "Festivals in Kerala," Historical Studies in Kerala (Calicut: Department of History, 1976), 74. Cassia fistula is described in Charles McCann, 100 Beautiful Trees of India (Bombay: D.B. Taraparevala Sons and Co., Private, Ltd., 3d ed., 1966), 147.

23. The akkitta verses are quoted by K. Kunjunni Raja (K), 11-12.

24. See Chapter II, "Nityakriya"

25. Bharata Iyer (K), 24.

26. For example, the frescoes at the Matancceri Palace in Cochin.

27. Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat, Classical India, Vol. 3: Vedic India (Calcutta: S. Gupta, 1957), 100.

28. See J. C. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration

('S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957), 91-2.

29. The tārpya garment is also used in the horse sacrifice in order to cover the queen and the dead horse for their symbolic copulation. "We may interpret this as meaning that the horse, being immolated, is covered again with the embriyonic covers, and through his copulation with the mahiṣī 'queen' enters the womb again to be reborn." --Ibid., 97.

30. Ibid., 98.

31. Hopkins, 110.

32. K. R. Vaidyanathan, Sri Krishna: The Lord of Guruvayor (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1977), 66.

33. Renou, 94.

34. Hopkins, 27.

35. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi uses the first word of the Vedas to draw a long and fascinating correspondence between the creation itself and the human perception of it. In his parallel, the sound of agni represents the forces of creation, destruction, and continuance, the three gunas, as well as the experience of the seeker on the path to enlightenment who perceives his own progress in a series of starts, stops, and continuations reflecting the constant interplay of the absolute and the relative, the deep pure experience of reality in meditation alternating with the shadowed and sometimes uncertain experience of reality in the waking state. Maharishi's analysis of agni was formulated at a teacher-training course I attended in Colorado in 1970 and in a more refined, detailed form it appears on teacher-training tapes on the Vedas.

36. Hopkins, 29.

37. Ibid., 38.

38. Keith, (SD), 25.

39. Heesterman, 101.

40. Ibid., 103.