East-West Dance Encounters

Sunil Kothari

AT THE INAUGURATION of the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. at Lenin Stadium on 3 July 1987 the Indian Prime Minister mentioned that India and the Soviet Union had close links in dance as one of the pioneers among our dancers, Rukmini Devi Arundale, had studied classical ballet from the legendary Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova. It was Anna Pavlova who insisted that Rukmini Devi should study classical Indian dance traditions; during her tours in India Anna Pavlova herself had attempted to learn Indian dance forms—she knew about the bayadères¹, devadasis, in the temples.

At the turn of the century and during alien rule, classical and other forms of dance in India were eclipsed for various social, political and economic reasons. The temple dancer or *devadasi* became a mere entertainer, and with the passage of time her status as a handmaiden of God reduced to that of a woman of easy virtue. Dance, which was once worship and had a definite place in temple ritual, came to be considered a lewd art. On account of the stigma, dancers were also looked down upon. No woman from a decent family was willing to learn dance.

Before Rukmini Devi had begun her career, it was Uday Shankar who accidentally took to dance thanks to Anna Pavlova's interest in Indian themes and her desire to choreograph ballets based on them. While in London she learnt of an Indian student who was studying painting at the Royal College of Art and who knew dancing. Through a common friend at Ivy House2, where Anna Pavlova was staying, they met. This meeting changed the course of Uday Shankar's life and gave an impetus to Indian dance-almost in a moribund state in the first quarter of the century. Uday Shankar choreographed for Pavlova two ballets, A Hindu Wedding and Krishna and Radha. These were presented from 13 September 1923 at Convent Garden in London during the Pavlova Season. Uday Shankar was a regular member of Anna Pavlova's troupe and joined her tour of America from October 1923 under the management of Sol Hurok, impresario for nine months. During this period he observed Pavlova and her company at close quarters and imbibed the art of presentation which later-when he had parted company with Pavlova and formed his own troupe-placed Indian dance on the world map.

Pavlova also dissuaded Uday Shankar from studying ballet and insisted that he look homeward and study Indian dance traditions. Another Indian dancer Pavlova inspired and helped in finding her roots was Madame Menaka, an exponent of Kathak. She too took some lessons from Pavlova¹ during the latter's visit to Bombay. Pavlova had a season at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay in January 1929⁵. Her partner in place of Uday Shankar was H. Algernoff who in his book My Years with Pavlova has given a good account of Pavlova's search for Indian dance; he has also shown how she persuaded various dancers to study Indian dance. In short, if any one person exercised a great and wholesome influence on the pioneers of dance in modern India, it was Pavlova. She was indirectly responsible for the revival of Indian dance. Pavlova was a legend in her lifetime and her advice meant a lot to Indian dancers⁵.

But even before this association of Indian dancers with Pavlova, Indian themes had attracted choreographers and dancers in the West. If we were to chronologically list the various ballets with Indian themes the first would be *Le Dieu et la Bayadère*? (The God and the Dancing Girl). It was choreographed by Filippo Taglioni, father of the great ballerina Marie Taglioni, and first presented in Paris in October 1830, some 158 years ago. In 1833 the same ballet—renamed *The Maid of Cashmere*—was presented in London.

Of course the technique of the ballet remained Western, including the orchestra. In decor, costume and design there was an Indian element as the designers studied Indian paintings or consulted someone who knew about India. Mostly, though, the treatment was imaginative. However, it is heartening to know that well-known choreographers, dancers, designers and composers got involved with ballets with Indian themes and thus paved the way for an understanding of India and its culture. Looking back, though, it must be conceded that these ballets were merely exotic.

In 1846 in London a second ballet with an Indian/oriental theme was produced—Lalla Rookh⁸. It was also called The Rose of Lahore. Based on an oriental romance in a work by Thomas Moore, it was choreographed by Jules Perrot⁹ and consisted of a series of dances which press notices of the time described as "entirely Indian in character". That also speaks of the plight of the reviewers when called upon to review a production bearing on a culture other than Western. After 12 years, in 1858, Kalidasa's Shakuntala was produced in a ballet version.

We will later come to the Russian version of Shakuntala produced on 1 January 1964 at Riga 10. Based on a book by Theophile Gautier, the earlier version was choreographed by Lucien Petipa, brother of the famous Marius Petipa. Lucien himself took the role of Dushyanta and Amalia Farraris, the Italian ballerina, that of Shakuntala. In 1877, when Marius Petipa was well established in St Petersburg, he choreographed a ballet called La Bayadere 11. It was presented at Marinsky Theatre. Anna Pavlova also featured in La Bayadere. This ballet is still

in the repertoire of the Marinsky Theatre and has been revived in the United States and Europe by Natalia Makarova and Rudolph Nureyev. For the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R. Mrinalini Sarabhai, the well-known dancer and choreographer, has choreographed an Indian version as a tribute to Marius Petipa.

In 1899 Marius Petipa produced one more ballet based on an Indian theme; this was a fantastic story of his own called *The Talisman*. To an Indian it would appear a complete *mėlange* of the historical and the mythological. Reading the libretto and the original programme sheet, we come across Akdar (Akbar), King of Delhi; Damayanti, the King's daughter; Noureddin, Maharajah of Lahore; and Amaravati, Goddess of the Heavenly Spirits¹².

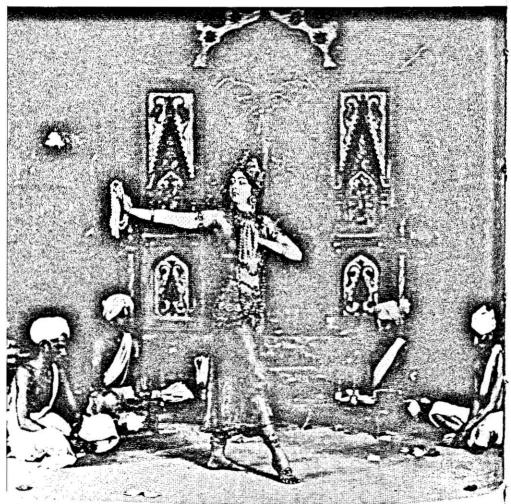
In 1910 the ballet Scheherazade—choreographed by Fokine to music by Rimsky-Korsakov, decor by Leon Bakst, the principal roles by Ida Rubinstein and Vaslav Nijinsky—opened at the Theatre National in Paris. It was based on a tale from The Thousand and One Nights and was thus inspired not by an Indian but an oriental theme. An excerpt from it was recently seen at the Calcutta opening of the Festival of the U.S.S.R. in India. But what is of interest is the ballet Le Dieu Bleu (The Blue God)¹³. Nijinsky played the role of Krishna in this ballet and Tamara Karsavina his consort. The ballet was produced and choreographed by the two dancers themselves.

Krishna and Radha have fascinated dancers and choreographers in the West. If it was the Russian Anna Pavlova who played Radha in Krishna and Radha choreographed by Uday Shankar, it was the American Ruth St Denis who based her solo dance number on the theme. She was a ballet dancer and had seen in New York, way back in 1900, a diversion in an amusement park called The Streets of Delhi. It had Indian bazaar scenes, snake charmers, fakirs. She was drawn to Indian themes also out of necessity when she found that what she really wanted to produce would be prohibitive in terms of costs14. She opened her Radha number at Hudson Theatre in New York in 1904, appearing as a Hindu Temple Goddess. She was assisted by five other persons representing temple priests and servants. The music was borrowed from the opera Lakme. Though the production was not an immediate success, it was later a hit. Ruth St Denis gave more than 1500 shows, touring England, Germany, and all of Euorpe, adding four more Indian numbers to her repertoire: The Cobras, The Nautch, The Incense and The Yogi. Returning to America she produced The Lotus Pond, with a scene in a garden in Kashmir. She married Ted Shawn in 1914 and their well-documented account of the Denishawn company may be perused in An Unfinished Life and Thousand Night Stands, written by her and Ted Shawn respectively15.

In 1915 Ruth St Denis produced Bakawali: A Hindu Love Tale, adapted from a story of that name in Lafcadio Hearn's Stray Leaves from Strange Literature. Followed Garden of Kama, based on a poem in Lawrence Hope's Indian Love Lyrics, and The Peacock, an imagin-



Ruth St Denis as Radha. Courtesy: USIS, New Delhi, and Dance Collection, New York.



Ruth St Denis as Radha. Courtesy: USIS, New Delhi, and Dance Collection, New York.



Ted Shawn as Lord Shiva. Courtesy: USIS, New Delhi, and Dance Collection, New York.



Uday Shankar and Anna Pavlova in the ballet Krishna and Radha choreographed by Uday Shankar. Courtesy: Uday Shankar Festival '83 and Pandit Ravi Shankar.

EXCELSIOR THEATRE



ANNA PAVLOVA D

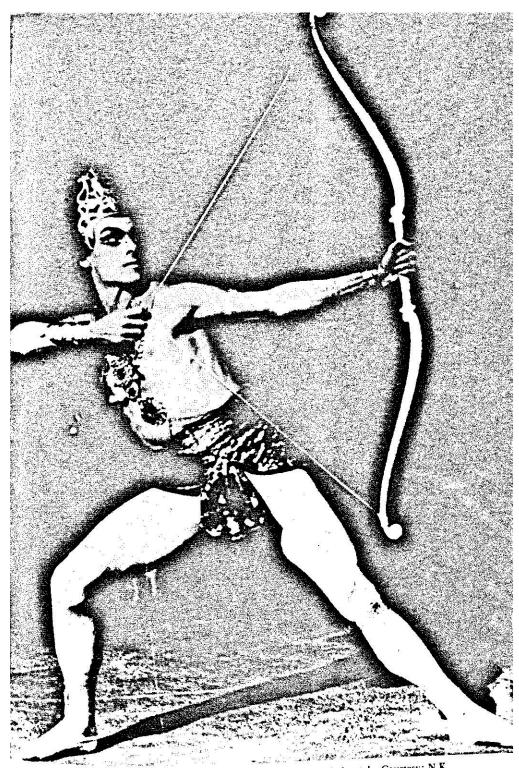
Cover of a programme book for Anna Pavlova during a season of her ballets at Excelsion Theatre, Bombay. Collection: Sunil Kothari.



Madame Menaka with Ram Narayan. Courtesy: Pandit Gauri Shankar.



Ram Gopal and Alicia Markova in Krishna and Radha, originally choreographed by Uday Shankar for Anna Pavlova. Courtesy: Ram Gopal.



A Soviet ballet dancer in the role of Dushyanta in Shakuntala. Courtesy: N.K. Sivasankaran.



Kama Dev in Nijinsky's original costume for Krishna in *Le Dieu Bleu*. Courtesy: Kama Dev.



Astad Deboo with Maya Plisetskaya. Courtesy: Henri Soumireu-Lartigue, Paris.

ative piece about a beautiful princess who dies and is reborn a bird. In 1916 Ruth St Denis produced A Dance Pageant of Egypt, Greece and India, using over a hundred dancers. She devised three different sequences and has given a humorous account of the backstage confusion in her autobiography. The Indian sequence had dances by fakirs, fortunate-tellers, jugglers, snake charmers, nautch girls, devadasis and yogis. In 1918 Ruth St Denis produced Sir Edwin Arnold's The Light of Asia. Together with Shawn, she toured India with their company in 1925-26; Shawn choreographed around this time the Dance of Shiva number inspired by the bronze statue of Nataraja 16.

After Ruth St Denis another American dancer, La Meri, took to dancing Indian themes and with Ruth St Denis's support also founded a school called Natya in New York in 1940. Before opening her school she toured India in 1936 and 1937 and studied Bharatanatyam from Papanasam Vadivelu Pillai and Mylapore Gowri Amma. She also studied Kathak from Ram Dutt Misra¹⁷. Through a theatre manager in Bangalore La Meri met Ram Gopal, the renowned Bharatanatyam dancer, whom she invited as her partner. She took him on her world tours and, as Anna Pavlova launched Uday Shankar, she launched Ram Gopal on a successful career. Ram Gopal was the first male dancer to present Bharatanatyam outside India and contributed much to popularize Indian classical dance.

La Meri had 25 Indian themes and dance numbers in her repertoire. Devi Murti, Drishyakavya, Krishna Gopala, Gauba's Journey to Paradise, Riguedic Hymns, Chidambaram Karanas, Gandharvas and Apsaras, and Episodes in the Life of Buddha are some of these. She also produced three Indian ballets: Swan Lake, Scheherazade, and the Bach-Bharata Natyam Suite. In her own words¹⁸, she attempted a fusion of East and West.

La Meri was different from the other dancers we have referred to. She chose themes from the repertoire of Western ballet and presented them in an Indian idiom of her own making. She used Indian costume and decor, but retained the original music. In Swan Lake, for instance, she fully retained the music of Tchaikovsky; in Scheherazade she did the same with Rimsky-Korsakov; in the Bach-Bharata Natyam Suite, she chose five excerpts from Bach and interpreted the mood and pattern of each through the movements and poses of Bharatanatyam. It would be interesting to mention that during the Festival of India in the U.S.S.R., the well-known Bharatanatyam dancer Padma Subrahmanyam also attempted this fusion. To the music of Tchaikovsky from Romeo and Juliet she did an abhinaya number from the Ramayana—Jatayuvadha, the Killing of Jatayu¹⁹. Not that it received approval from audiences in India or the critics.

Among American dancers who seriously studied classical Indian dance in the early 30s and whose contribution could be considered significant is Ragini Devi. Her real name was Esther Sherman. She married an Indian officer in the Consulate in New York, MrBajpai, and came to India to study Indian dances. Their daughter is the

celebrated dancer Indrani Rehman. Ragini Devi studied Kathakali at Kerala Kalamandalam in 1932 20 and danced with Guru Gopinath all over India, making Kathakali popular among the intelligentsia. Before settling in India in 1948, she used to conduct a dance school in New York called the School of Hindu Dance. She also studied dance, drama and music manuals and wrote a book on *Indian Dance Dialects* 21. Ragini Devi devoted her life to the study and propagation of Indian classical dances and has found a place in the history of Indian dance as a major non-Indian dancer.

There were also other non-Indian dancers who studied Indian dances seriously and, performing in their own countries, provided a glimpse of the cultural heritage of India. Cultural Exchange Programmes were initiated after independence, making interaction much easier, with troupes of dancers from abroad visiting India and Indian dancers visiting other countries. Dancers from abroad also came to study at institutions like Kalakshetra and Kerala Kalamandalam, Siddhendra Kalakshetra at Kuchipudi, Kathak Kendra in Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Manipur Dance Academy in Manipur, Santiniketan, and the various dance departments of Indian universities. The world has now shrunk and there is much wider exposure all round to arts from other lands. The Festivals of India have made possible expositions on a scale inconceivable for impresarios of the past. Festival of India shows have been presented not only in the major capitals of the world but also in remote villages and districts. The electronic media and the printed word have also worked wonders. One was able to see on television, lately, the inaugural dance performances at Kremlin and Lenin Stadium on 3 July 1987. More recently, we watched the Festival of India inauguration in Japan on 15 April 1988.

There are important landmarks like Martha Graham presenting Three Gopi Maidens and Ram Gopal recreating Krishna and Radha in 1960 along with Alicia Markova. Or Ernest Berk, a ballet dancer, producing Shakuntala in Indian style in London for which Dr V.K. Narayana Menon wrote the music. In Moscow in 1961 two Indian ballets were premiered: Nala Damayanti produced by ballet dancer Mikhail Berkut and Ramayana by the ethnologist Natalia Gusseva. Also Shakuntala to music by Balasanyan, which we have referred to earlier. Two Indian dancers, N.K. Sivasankaran and Maya Rao, one a Kathakali exponent and the other Kathak, were given three-year scholarships to study ballet, folk dance, Russian dances, choreography, etc. at the Moscow State Institute of Theatre Arts under the Cultural Exchange Programme between the Governments of India and the Soviet Union. They also helped the head ballet master of the Riga Opera and Ballet Theatre, Yelena Tangieva Birzniek, in many aspects of production. This was another landmark22.

In Europe Maurice Bejart choreographed Bhakti²³ for his 20th Century Ballet Company, presented at the Avignon Festival in France. It was a runaway success, but raised many important questions: whether the spirit of bhakti had been assimilated, whether the movements and

the written traditional music of alarippu—to which the movements were choreographed—were employed with discretion, the resultant impact and response, how far such cross-cultural experiments succeeded in bringing about a fusion, etc. Bhakti remained controversial but surprisingly, was accepted by audiences in India when presented in 1985. This despite the fact that a number of Europeans and Indian experts in Europe had found the ballet violative of the Indian spirit.

Mrinalini Sarabhai choreographed Shakuntala²⁴ to the music of Schubert. The production has been filmed and offers new interpretations, musical and visual, juxtaposed in an Indian ambience. In Italy she also attempted Beethoven's *The Creatures of Prometheus* with ballet dancer Milord Miskovitch.

With Uday Shankar, what is generally understood as ballet in the West-a production with choreography, music, decor and a story line-in a style which for want of an appropriate appellation Mohan Khokar calls free dance came into being. A number of Indian dancers produced ballets and operatic ballets where songs were used. Ram Gopal choreographed Dharini, Sadhana Bose Bhookh based on the Bengal famine of 1941, Zohra Sehgal with her husband Kameshwar Sehgal The Reptile on the divide-and-rule policy of the Britishpaving the way for contemporary themes in dance. Uday Shankar under the influence of Kurt Jooss, a German dancer-a disciple of Rudolf van Laban and an upholder of 'free dance'-choreographed expressionist ballets like Rhythm of Life and Labour and Machinery. In 1942 groups like the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association (IPTA), Indian National Theatre (INT), and Indian Renaissance Artists came into being, producing ballets like The Spirit of India, India Immortal, The Discovery of India and Rhythm of Culture.

However, another phenomenon was simultaneous. Classical dances gained popularity and Uday Shankar and others who employed more of free dance became less popular. As India enjoyed an ancient dance tradition this was bound to happen, especially in our quest for a national identity. Besides the oral tradition, one realized, there were texts and manuals; one studied them, related theory to practice. Dancers also studied the texts to understand the spirit of the tradition. Thus Indian classical dance in this era received a strong impetus.

In the villages, unknown to urban cognoscenti, there were night-long dance-dramas like Bhagavata-mela Natakam, Kuchipudi or Kura-vanji²⁵ in the South, Sattriya dances in Assam, Raslila in Manipur and Vrindavan. When Rukmini Devi launched her institution Kalakshetra she visited villages and saw these dance-dramas for herself. She revived some of the dance-dramas and choreographed a number of them at her institution. Other dancers followed suit and a genre of dance-drama with mythological themes came into existence; this has since become a part of the Indian dance scene. In Bengal Rabindranath Tagore introduced classical dance forms like Manipuri and Kathakali at Santiniketan. He also wrote dance-dramas in which both dance forms were used. A distinct style thus evolved at Santiniketan, which today has absorbed

elements from other classical dances as well: Bharatanatyam, Kathak, Kuchipudi, Odissi, etc. In Tagore's school of dance—as it is known in some quarters—all these forms are employed to present dances and narratives and stories. Tagore also experimented with music and in his play Valmiki Pratibha used principles of harmony from Western music.

One more example of a dance-drama from the South is Chavittuna-takam of Kerala which has biblical and historical characters like Charlemagne, Catherine and St David, and themes like the crusades of medieval history. The technique employed is part Kathakali and the martial arts of Kerala. The language of the plays is a mix of Malayalam Tamil and Sanskrit. It is exclusively performed by the Syrian Christians of Kerala during Easter and Christmas. Again, Mary Magdalene and Faust are now played in Kathakali using the classical technique. Only the themes are Western. Mrinalini Sarabhai's ballet Matsyakanya has been described as "first cousin to Swan Lake", the famous Russian ballet choreographed by Marius Petipa.

Television, video recordings, international travel and exposure to the performing arts of other nations have made it possible for artistes around the world to interact. At a recent East-West Dance Encounter in Bombay26 an attempt was made to see how the fusion worked. It brought into focus aspects of different cultures and dance forms-how the West looks at dance and how the East regards it. Is fusion possible? Successful? Desirable? There are young dancers like Uttara Asha Coorlawala who, having studied with Martha Graham and other exponents of modern dance, are learning Indian classical dances as well. Uttara has attempted a fusion of East and West in choreographic works like Yakshi to the music of Ananda Shankar, son of Uday Shankar. Also to specially composed music by Igor Wakhevitch she has choreographed The Winds of Shiva, using Indian and Western dance techniques. Her latest work is on the basic dance units of Bharatanatyam, the adavus. Not in the same spirit but to explore the form, Chandralekha in her Angamandala has used the adavus of Bharatanatyam; this work is in madhya laya, the middle tempo. Here, for the first time, serious attention was paid to floor patterns. Movements and postures of groups of four and more dancers were sensitively conceived for visual counterpoint-fluid transitions, symmetric and asymmetric groupings. From the point of view of Western dance this was, of course, elementary. But such elementary innovations suggest that a creative mind is imaginatively exploring the classical forms27.

Kumudini Lakhia, the well-known Kathak exponent, has induced a sea change in Kathak by imaginative group choreography²⁸. Mrinalini Sarabhai in an earlier work, *Manushya*, dispensed with cumbersome Kathakali costumes and told a humanistic story with simplicity and bold imagination. Manipuri dance lends itself to group choreography and a recent experiment by Chaotombi Singh, *Keibul Lamjao*, has made waves²⁹; this dance-drama is on the theme of wildlife preservation. *Angika* by Chandralekha has explored the relation between the

martial arts of India and Bharatanatyam, emphasizing the common energy principle and including a critique of the Indian dance situation as well. *Angika* also has social criticism: how women have been looked upon in our culture despite all tenets of Indian philosophy.

We also have artistes like Astad Deboo and Uttara Asha Coorlawala who are pioneers of modern dance. Deboo's dance also "absorbs elements from tradition in a new synthesis. In Ritual, he manages something of the intense absorption of Martha Graham's Adorations, with impressive use of a miniature Stonehenge of candles and some acrobatics in air, suspended on ropes, a feature adapted from some traditional South Indian rituals. In Duel, to Moussorgsky's music of the revel of demoniac spirits on Walpurgis night, Deboo plays both roles in the conflict of Good and Evil, moving through the heavy shadows between spotlit areas for the transitions. Bathed in red light, Evil is a truly demoniac character and Astad Deboo brilliantly integrates Kathakali, including even the terrible sequence in the Slaying of Dussasana where Bhima tears open the chest of Dussasana and drinks his blood"50. · Deboo was commissioned to choreograph a dance for Maya Plisetskaya which was premièred in Paris at Espace Cardin with considerable success.

Such encounters are not always successful. But they indicate a desire on the part of creative dancers and musicians to fuse various dance traditions, techniques and forms. Unless the artistes know the cultures, forms and techniques they are dealing with and have a creative approach, the results are often disastrous. For a wrong interpretation may offend people and bruise sentiments. When the components are handled with respect and care, an experimental work may turn out to be an outstanding artistic success. Superficial tinkering with 'spare parts' from other cultures must not be accepted as experiment. It is advisable to leave the arts alone unless one understands the spirit of an art or culture and has the ability to render a work responsibly. This is a demanding task and can have few takers. However, without betraying tradition, artistes can explore the arts, innovating in accordance with changing times and sensibilities

NOTES AND REFERENCES

In a biography of Anna Pavlova by her husband Victor Dandre, an account is given
of how Pavlova used to enquire about the dances of devadasis during their visits to
India. Rukmini Devi has spoken of her encounter with Pavlova in various interviews. For details see Rukmini Devi and Kalakshetra by Sarada, published by Kala
Mandir Trust, Madras.

In an interview published in the weekly Desh (Bengali) in January 1960. Also see
the chapter 'Switchover' in His Dance, His Life: A Portrait of Uday Shankar by

Mohan Khokar: Himalaya Books, Delhi, 1983.

 A Photo-biography of Uday Shankar published on the occasion of his 83rd birth celebrations in Delhi in December 1983 by Pandit Ravi Shankar, edited by Sunil Kothari and Mohan Khokar: Rimpa Publications, Varanasi

H. Algernoff: My Years With Pavlova. See Chapter 6, 'Oriental Impressions , pp. 85-102. William Heinemann, London, 1957.

- 5. A programme book published on the occasion, in the possession of the author.
- 6. Ibid
- Cyril Beaumont: A Complete Book of Ballet. The book contains the synopses of all
 major ballets with historical notes. A must for all ballet lovers and compulsory
 reading for students of ballet. Putnam, London.
- 8 Ihid
- Lincoln Kirstein: Dance: A Short History of Classic Theatrical Dancing. See the chapter on 'The Early Twentieth Century', pp.280-281.
- 10. See 'Shakuntala Conquers Riga' by A. Bakalov in Soviet Land, May 1960. My colleague N.K. Sivasankaran of Rabindra Bharati University and Kathak dancer Maya Rao were recipients of a three-year Soviet scholarship to study ballet, choreography and folk dances in the Soviet Union. Both assisted the ballet master in producing Shakuntala in Riga.
- 11. Dance Magazine, New York, November 1975. This issue has excellent colour photographs of La Bayadere. In an interview on Delhi Doordarshan on 31 December 1985 during the Paris Opera Ballet's tour of India, Rudolf Nureyev spoke to the author about his version of La Bayadere. The interview is in the permanent collection of the Delhi Doordarshan Archive.
- The programme book is in the Leningrad Ballet Museum at Vaganova School. The author saw it on his visit to the Museum in June 1973.
- 13. Tamara Karsavina: The Theatre Street. This is an account of the early times of ballet in St Petersburg by the legendary ballerina who partnered Nijinsky. Nijinsky played the role of Krishna in Le Dieu Bleu. See the article 'To Russia with Love' by the author in The Illustrated Weekly of India, 4 July 1987.
- Ruth St Denis: An Unfinished Life, an autobiography. Also see The Dance in America by Walter Terry: Harper and Row, New York, 1956.
- 15. Ibid
- 16. Tedd Shawn: Thousand Night Stands, an account of his work and tours of the Orient and India. In the dance collection of the New York Public Library some film excerpts and rare photographs are preserved.
- 17. See Dance Index for a biographical account of La Meri. The renowned Bharatanatyam exponent Ram Gopal told the author in a taped interview about his early association with La Meri. In one of her books on Indian dance and experiments she has published photographs of Swan Lake as she had visualized it. She has also mentioned her early training and attempts to understand the karana sculptures of Chidambaram.
- 18. Ibid.
- 19. The author saw the performance of 1 January 1988 at Krishna Gana Sabha in Madras.
- 20. Ragini Devi: Dance Dialects of India. See the introduction for a biographical account of her life and early attempts to study Kathakali; also see the last chapter where she has listed the dance numbers with details. The book has photographs of her and Guru Gopinath.
- The book was published by Vikas, Delhi; it is being reprinted by Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi.
- 22. See note 10.
- The author saw this first at the Avignon Dance Festival in August 1969, where he
 was invited by the choreographer Maurice Bejart.
- The 16-mm film is with Mrinalini Sarabhai in the dance archive of Darpana Dance Academy, Ahmedabad.
- Sunil Kothari: 'The Dance-drama Traditions of Kuchipudi, Bhagavata Mela Nataka and Kuravanji, with Special Reference to the Rasa Theory as Expounded in Bharata's Natyashastra', Ph.D. thesis in dance submitted to M.S. University, Baroda. Part of the thesis is published in the author's book Bharatanatyam, Marg Publications, Bornbay, 1989.

- 26. The National Centre for the Performing Arts and Max Mueller Bhavan, Bombay, organized the first dance encounter of the kind in January 1985 at NCPA's Tata Theatre in Bombay. The NCPA Quarterly Journal of December 1985 is devoted to the subject.
- See 'Indian Dance: Naive Longings for Winds of Change', an article by Krishna Chaitanya in Sangeet Natak No. 83, January-March 1987.
- In particular Kumudini Lakhia's choreography of Dhabkar, Yugal Ntitya (duet), and Atah Kim are noteworthy examples. Kumudini Lakhia also took part in the seminar occasioning this paper.
- 29. In the course of Nritya-Natika, an all-India dance-drama festival organized by Sangeet Natak Akademi in November 1985 in Delhi, Jawaharlal Nehru Manipur Dance Academy presented the dance-drama Keibul Lamjao. In 1987 the Akademi produced a film based on the dance-drama, titled Sangai: Dancing Deer of Manipur, directed by Aribam Syam Sharma.
- 30. See note 27.