Clarifications on Lokadharmi and Nāṭyadharmi

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he concept of dharmis—lokadharmi and nāṭyadharmi—is peculiarly Indian and has no parallel in the dramaturgy of Aristotle. Dharmis are ways of manipulating dramatic production with respect to acting and the handling of the story. As Aristotle has said little about production modes, we do not know anything about the techniques which may have been used in Greek classical theatre. However, even though the dharmis are clearly defined in the Nāṭyaśāstra and the commentary of Abhinavagupta is sufficiently illuminating on them, still the dharmis have been subjected to the gravest misinterpretations by present-day exponents of Indian theatre. It is not the kind of error that results in clouding some marginally functional aspect of performance. The dharmis make up the overall approach to mimesis as envisaged by Bharata.

The three words loka, nātya and dharmi have to be viewed first as general Sanskrit words and then as definitive terms as given in the text. This shall emerge soon from the analysis of verses that I shall undertake. But first to the misunderstandings that prevail. There is first of all the modern Hindi meaning of loka which has caused a change of meaning by substituting the original Sanskrit intent. In Hindi, and a good many other modern Indian languages, loka has come to denote folk. Loka-kala, loka-sangeeta, etc. have come to mean folk art and folk music. Lokadharmi is thus taken to mean the folk mode (of theatre), and nātyadharmi is interpreted to denote classical theatre. To make matters worse, there is no dearth of Indian theorists who have accepted certain European and Orientalist classifications of Indian cultural and historical life into slots of binary opposites like folk versus classical, popular versus elitist, Aryan versus Dravidian, Brahmin versus unvedic, Great Tradition versus Low Tradition and so on, to which the addition of lokadharmi versus nātyadharmi is made by drama theorists. What is more, a set of medieval terms, margi and desi, used in a very different context in manuals on music and dance, have been interpreted to mean folk versus classical music, dance and culture1. In truth, such a division of art forms or culture could not have existed before the process of industrialization had come to create modern conditions. Was

Greek tragedy a classical art form with its poetry in choicest metric forms, or was it folk because a whole city watched it along with slaves? In ancient India too, there seems to have been no difference between the acting styles of the companies that performed in towns and those which played in the villages. As all performance in those days was a caste job, there is little possibility that there was one caste of rural actors and another of the urban. Neither the caste rules nor the ancient economy could have allowed it. Certainly the kuśilavas, bharatas, and naṭas must have had their schools (sampradāyas), but there could have been no classification along rural and urban lines.

There is the vast panorama of popular theatre in India which still retains much of its traditional character. That it has acquired a few things from cinema and westernized urban theatre can also be hardly denied. But still forms like Bhavai, Yakshagana, Jātrā, etc. have been able to retain an identity which can be safely called traditionally Indian. Nowadays, this kind of theatre is being called folk, hence lokadharmi, to distinguish it from astapadi dances like Odissi, Bharatanātyam, and the more dramatic ones, Kudiyattam and Kathakali, which were long ago christened classical. This spurious distinction has led many to believe that Jātrā, etc. are rustic art forms different sui generis from Kudivattam, etc. It is conveniently forgotten that these were not rustic till the industrial revolution in India made them so and till the urban middle class banished them from towns. In terms of performance technique and methodology there seems to be little difference between Jātrā and Kudiyattam. The elements of nātya such as Purana muthoi, abhinaya as codified gesture, stage conventions and typified characters, all of which are to be found in rural forms today, are to be found in astapadi dances as well as in the Natyasastra meant for ancient daśarūpakas. To call the rural forms of the present 'folk' and hence lokadharmi is not correct.

The other major misconception about lokadharmi is to interpret it as realistic histrionics. To the student of theatre history realistic acting is known as a European phenomenon appearing for the first time in the 18th century. Before that no theatre in the world had any place for it. The 20th century Indian theatre, revived and nurtured under the shadow of the Western stage and cinematic realism, has lost sight of its own non-realistic methodology and taken realism for its own inheritance. It has not been able to establish a link with the ancient Indian or the present-day traditional theatre, and it can simply not envisage a production in which dialogue-dominant verbosity does not throttle the inherited codes of āngikābhinaya or body language. The recent efforts of some modern Indian playwrights to include song and dance in plays have resulted in patchwork only. In their

productions, neither dance nor music reshapes or succeeds in modifying the realistic mode of acting but instead remain a forced insertion. Realism continues to dominate the vision of playwrights, audience and scholars alike. That is why even a profound scholar of the Nātyāśastra, M.M. Ghosh, translated lokadharmi as realistic in his English translation of the Nātyaśāstra. His translation, and the support of many others, has given a sanctioned accommodation to realism in our ancient dramaturgy. Even those who have recognized the non-realistic quality of ancient drama have defined the concept of lokadharmi as realism. In her Classical Indian Dance in Literature And Arts, Kapila Vatsyayan says: "The basic approach of this drama is 'idealistic': an elaborate stage convention (nātyadharmi), meticulous to the last detail, dispenses with the need of realistic presentation (lokadharmi) or portraiture" (p. 191). Whereas Vatsyayan has admitted that ancient Indian production was far from realistic, lokadharmi is all the same, for her, realistic rendering. Eugenio Barba has mistaken lokadharmi for something not even of the stage but of the world. He is unable to distinguish between lokadharma and lokadharmi: "We have two words, Sanjukta Panigrahi says to me, to describe a man's behaviour: one, lokadharmi, stands for the behaviour (dharmi) of man in daily life (loka); the other, nătyadharmi, for his behaviour in dance (nātya)" (pp. 5-32). Thus Barba calls all offstage behaviour lokadharmi and all stage activity nātyadharmi. But the NS has clearly laid down that both the dharmis exist in nātya, that is, in performance. Barba's use of lokadharmi and nātyadharmi is an obvious case of misinformation. Let me now turn to the text for the definitions given:

That which shows normal and abnormal behaviour of people rendering their actions as they have been narrated in the popular stories, without enacting on the stage any embellished movements of the body [is called lokadharmi]. That which seeks to render through acting [abhinaya] the usual ways of various kinds of men and women, such a nātya is called lokadharmi. Where speech, action, nature and expression are all exaggerated, where playfulness, embellished body movements [angahāras] are employed, techniques of drama are used [that is, nātyadharmi]. Where unusual characters are employed, embellished forms of svara [in song and speech] are used, such a drama is called nātyadharmi. When people [sitting or standing] close by cannot hear each other, but can hear words not spoken by anybody, that is nātyadharmi. When mountains, vehicles, air vehicles, skins, armour and flags are shown symbolically [as stage props] this is natyadharmi. Having acted one role, when an actor takes up another role, either because no other actor is available, or if one has the skill to do many roles, this [convention] is called nātyadharmi. When a [socially] uncohabitable woman is made into a cohabitable character or vice-versa, such a [dramatic freedom] is called nātyadharmi. When one walks dancingly, raising one's feet, employing embellished body movements, this is nātyadharmi. That which is the natural behaviour of people depicting their happy or sorrowful acts, and that which is expressed by intricate gestures, is natyadharmi.

Traditional stories [itihāsa] and the meaning of Vedas which has been spoken by Brat for the delight of men and gods is also nāṭyadharmī. Nāṭya should always be produced nāṭyadharmī—without body gestures [angābhinaya] there is no delight. The spontange expression of all [living things] and all acting [abhinaya] to express meaning three embellished body movements is called nāṭyadharmī. [NŚ 13: 7]-

First of all, it should be noted that there are only two verses about lokadharmi. The text gives the impression that it is something obvious. the other hand, it is natyadharmi which needs to be explained in detail Broadly speaking, the representation on stage of lokadharma or the use behaviour of the world on stage is lokadharmi. The dharma of the nata the actor, which is specifically stage behaviour, is natyadharmi. It may asked, why make a classification, when all activity in drama is on the sta and hence natyadharmi? It seems that a distinction has to be made primarily to show the difference between the simple and the embellished. It is like distinction between the raw and the cooked. The raw here is not it providing a realistic or naturalistic representation of worldly behaviour. it is the choice of keeping to the well known story, behaviour, characters tion and events as they have come down, without altering the roles through poetic imagination into udātta or lalita nāvaka, without embellishing story with fantastic events. The mode of acting even for lokadharmi cam be realistic. It would use angikābhinaya and śatvika and āhārya as well, k avoid the use of embellished movements that are expressive of intererotic feelings. Thus it is clear that lokadharmi has a specific use and rather limited one in ancient drama. It is also to be noted that no producit can be exclusively lokadharmi or nātyadharmi. Certain movements, so: characters and some situations, very often the low and the comic of would incline towards lokadharmi. But a good many situations, particular in the nātaka and prakarana, must follow nātvadharmi. Wherever there: room for kaiśiki vritti only the intense and fanciful world of natyadhar would suffice. Again, it is clear from the text that all stage conventions make-believe and the dharma of natya. Even pictures or models! mountains, air vehicles and the total paraphernalia of costume (āhāryā) theatrical fiction. To represent, thus, animals, furniture and buildings mi out of the usual material of gum, wax, cloth, etc. available to the ance producer was not a lokadharmi device, as some scholars have suggest but was a nāṭyadharmi way. It is the belief of some specialists that anythis placed on the stage is lokadharmi if inanimate and physical. For instance model of whatever kind, realistic or symbolic, of a chariot is lokadhan but if a chariot is suggested through hand gestures and body movement then the production would be called natyadharmi. The text, however, de not bear out this view. The verse quoted is explicit (78). A cardbo

mountain or other models are nātyadharmi. Such a model is not realistic but symbolic for Bharata. Stone is the dharma for a mountain and hence the piling of stones on stage could be called lokadharmi, but a cardboard mountain is nātvadharmi. In the Indian theory of drama, the unreality of the dramatic world is taken for granted. Here, there has been no need to first make things look real, and then to indulge in a willing suspension of disbelief. Nātya was meant to be a toy (kridanīyakam), which could not but be unreal. Hence, even lokadharmi cannot claim to be real or realistic; it is only a dramatic transmutation of worldly things and forces (lokadharma) into stage phenomenon. When put on stage only a fraction of the worldly (lokadharma) survives, the rest gets converted into lokadharmi (if it retains simplicity and similarity to the original) or into the dharma of nātya, nātyadharmī (if it is highly embellished and ornate). That is what Bharata implies in verse 81 when he says that the happy and sorrowful actions of men, when shown on stage through body movements of abhinaya, become nātyadharmi. It is the basis, the lokadharma, on which the edifice of embellishment is raised. Let us now turn to Abhinava for his analysis.

Although there is no dharma except that of the world (loka), for the sake of entertainment, when worldly actions are made to undergo exaggeration and embellishment by the poet and the actor, then they are called natyadharmi. Dharmi has been earlier defined as of two kinds. By 'earlier', the place indicated is the chapter on rasa and bhāvas. By saying svabhāvopagatam, it is meant that lokadharma is primary, that it is like the wall on which embellishment is done like carvings. Some dharmis are of the loka kind, some are of the nātya kind.

Whatever happens to be the svabhāva [natural habit], it should be made to reveal itself, sthāyī and vyabhicārī bhāvas included. What is the right way to include them? The right way is to include them by showing normal actions. Lokavārtā is the story that is well known. Now, when the actions of the story are represented in their purity, without change, and acted upon the stage thus, then it is called lokadharmi. Here no distinction should be made between nātya which is the dharma [of the stage] and dharmi [that which follows this dharma]. Embellished gestures should be avoided here. But even in lokadharmi, natural actions like falling, striking and quarreling, etc. should be shown by gestures like patāka. For feminine roles women should do the acting and for masculine, men only [in lokadharmi]. Thus, where there is no acting [of the opposite sex] through gestures acquired by training to express the opposite sex, but an expression of gestures natural to one's own sex, that mode is called lokadharmi.

All this means—if the poet only describes the story barely as it has come down [as myth] and the actor enacts it without embellishment according to his own imagination, then that $[NSAb, 13: 85]^3$ part of the play, being dependent upon loka, is lokadharmi.

The thrust of Abhinava's argument is that the unembellished stands for lokadharmi. The story, when left unaltered, acting when done by men for masculine roles and by women for feminine roles, when the poetic and histrionic imagination is given no scope or rein, the production is called lokadharmi. Moreover only that much of the play in which this occurs is called. Also, acting in lokadharmi cannot be done without the semiotic or

of nritta hastas like patāka, etc.

About nātyadharmi there is less of a debate. The problem here is not its definition but of its execution. It was easy for modern producers to a lokadharmi realism and follow the dictates of European practice, all t while believing that this had sāstric sanction. But once it is realized to nātyadharmi stands for all kinds of very intricate and embellished acting modern producer is faced with a nearly insoluble problem. Some of the conventions of the ancient stage like janantika are easy to recreate, nor is difficult to design ornate costume, but the total creation of a performan script in a non-realistic mode demands a knowledge of various body stant; (karaṇas), ways of walking, (cāris and gatipracāra), hand gestures (mi. hastas), speech inflexion (kāku), facial expressions (uttamānga abhinay) and finally, the most difficult to surmount, the problem of recreating the ancient system of music for the sake of dramatic songs (dhruvās) at instruments. The interrelatedness of all these elements in a performant was once a matter of living practice. But now the deep structure of the performance can only be theoretically reconstructed from the Natyasass Some of the surving traditional modes can provide a few clues. From astapadi dances we can take angikabhinaya of the various karanas, mit hastas, cāris and facial expressions. From theatres like Kudiyattam Yakshagana, some clues may be gathered about stage space (kali vidhānā).

Now, whereas nātyadharmi is artifact and improvization, stage convertion and exaggeration (atibhāvakam) of the given normal action is lokadharma, it is also true that this exaggeration comes most naturally the moments of erotic passion. This engenders in the body movements peculiar change which has been called angalīlā. The kaiśiki vritti is the expression of this. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to presume the nātyadharmi is made up of kaiśiki only. Exaggerated and imagination movements can also be in the service of sentiments other than śringara; they can be employed for the heroic, the terrible or the wondrous. Let us one more turn to Abhinavabharati for an elucidation of nātyadharmi. Commenting on the verse 72, it is said:

Now, nāṭyadharmī is defined as ativākyakriyepetam, that is, provided with exaggerati episodes. Vākya means the story that has come down to us; when the story is improvized the purpose of greater delight, this effort of changing is called kriyā. For instance, the part Rājasekhara has done the kriyā of adding to the episode of Rama's banishment a Raksi who takes the form of Dasaratha. Satva means normal behaviour and bhāva in this refinements normal feelings. These are here superimposed upon by the actions and feelings.

imagined by the poet [in nātyadharmi]. For instance, the normally fickle and shallow character of the vidūsaka has been turned into a serious and thoughtful counsellor, such as Vasantaka, in the play Tāpasavatsarāja and the normally Prākrita-speaking queen is also made to utter Sanskrit. [NS Ab. 13: 85]4

The inner wishes of characters are sometimes made to appear on the stage in personified forms (as described in the verse 75). Abhinava gives the example of "then enters the Curse of Brahmin" from the play Māyāpuspaka (yathā māyāpuspake tatah praviśati brahmaśāpa iti). This is a curious example of nātyadharmī.

At another place in Abhinavābharati, the great commentator has pointed out that both lokadharmi and nātyadharmi are of two kinds each. This division has not been stated by Bharata. But while analyzing the nature of abhinaya as representation of external objects and as expression of inner feelings, he says:

Abhinaya is to be performed in two ways, lokadharmi and nātyadharmi. The first is of two kinds, internal and external. There (in lokadharmi) the gestures expressive of mental states may be shown. For example, placing patāka hasta on the forehead shows inner pride. Or it can be an abhinaya of purely external nature, such as padmakosa hasta trying to denote an object. So is natvadharmi of two kinds. It can be for the purpose of employing the kaisiki vritti, which is instrumental in producing out of the world beauty in natya. This is done by using four kinds of karanas [dance stances] such as avestita, etc. The second kind of use of natyadharmi is by taking support of things which are to be found in the world. For example, by imitating the position of a hand engaged in painting. [NS Ab, 9: 2]

Here, by pressing the point that even nātyadharmī is of two kinds, Abhinava reveals that the truth about the process of dramatic mimesis is not so easy to grasp. He has made a fine point about the transition from reality to art. Of the two kinds of nātyadharmi, one is purely an artifact, alaukika, out of the world, not based upon an attempt to indicate anything of the world. It is angalila or fantasy, purely self-made. The other kind of nātyadharmi is that which draws upon worldly things and achieves ornate mimesis. The latter kind depends for its sustenance (upajivati) on lokadharma. The process here is the same as we had noticed earlier. Natyadharmi transforms the dharma of the world (loka) into the illusion of nātya. To summarize, the way of the world is lokadharma; this is the unembellished state of normal behaviour, normal action, and the prevalent story form makes up the material that theatre draws upon. When it is presented on stage as it is, the mode is called lokadharmi. But the production is neither realistic nor folk. It is achieved through the channels of nātya codes. As for nātyadharmi, it is the furthest take-off into imagination and adornment, expressed through intricate gestures to create for nātya a world of its own.

NOTES

 Mārgī and Deśi: Sangīta Ratnākara of Śārngadeva (circa 1265 A.D.) has been often quoted in support of the high-low categorization.

मार्गो देशोति तद्द्वेधा तत्र मार्ग स उच्यते। यो मार्मितो विरञ्च्याद्यैः प्रयुक्तो भरतादिभिः॥२२॥ देवस्य पुरतः शंभोर्नियताभ्युदयप्रदः। देशे देशे जनानां यदुच्या हृदयरञजकम्॥२३॥ गीतं च वादनं नृतं तद्देशीत्यभिधीयते। नृतं च वाद्यानुगं प्रोक्तं वाद्यं गीतानुवर्ति च॥२४॥

Kallinatha comments:

मार्गित्वान्मार्गं। मार्मितत्वं च विरञ्ज्याद्यैर्ब्रह्मादिभिः 'नाट्यसंज्ञमिदं वेदं सेतिहासं करोम्यहम्' इति प्रतिज्ञाय चर्तुं वेदेषविन्वध्य कृतत्वात्। मार्गित इति 'मार्ग अन्वेषणे' इत्यस्माद्धातोः कर्मणि निष्ठायां रूपम्। मार्ग इति तु तस्मादेव धातोः कर्मणि घञन्तम्। देशीति देश शब्देन तत्रत्या जना लक्ष्यन्ते। तैर्यथेच्छं क्रियमाणायां गीतादिकिः यायामाचार्यकृता संज्ञा। (p. 14 — 15)

Mārgī here is defined as music which has been set as an example (the way) by Bharata Muni and others. Mārgi music is performed before Siva for spiritual elevation. Deśi is the song, instrumentation and dance which is pleasing and in accordance with the taste of people in various regions. Kallinātha adds that music as envisaged by Bharata was the result of a search (anvesana) and it was enshrined in the Nātyaśāstra, the fifth Veda. From these definitions one gathers that margi is meant to indicate a rather archaic form of musical practice which was surviving in the 14th century, as songs of old repertoire meant for devotional practices. The dramatic employment of music as given in the Nātyasāstra had become, along with the total theatre, a thing of the past. Mārgī then, is nothing classical, nor elitist, nor something that widely entertains, but it is the music of a ritual for earning unseen benefit (adrista phala), as was samagana in the age of Bharata. Sărngadeva has made no attempt to categorize music as classical versus folk, that is, exclusive to the upper classes, as different from the music of the lower strata, even though he describes every kind of musical practice that he could set his ears and eyes on. By admitting music as of two kinds, he only indicates that one is archaic and the other widely contemporary.

2. The verses in the 13th Chapter are as follows:

धर्मी या ैद्विविधा प्रोक्ता म्या पूर्वं द्विजोत्तमाः ै। लौकिको नाट्यधर्मी च तयोर्वक्ष्यामि लक्षणम्।।७० ैस्वभावभावोपगतं शुद्धं तु विकृतं तथा १। लोकवार्ताक्रियोपेतमङ्गलीलाविवर्जितम् ।।७१ स्वभावाभिनयोपेतं वानास्त्रीपुरुषाश्रयम्। यदीदृशं भवेत्राट्यं लोकधर्मी तु सा स्मृता।।७२

 यद्यपि लोकिकधर्मव्यतिरेकेण नाट्ये न कश्चित् धर्मोऽस्ति, तथापि स यत्र लोकागतप्रक्रियाक्रमोरञ्जनाधिक्यप्राधान्य-मिधरोहियतुं कविनटव्यापारे वैचित्र्यं स्वीक्वेन् नाट्यधर्मीत्युच्यते।

तदेतदाह धर्मी या द्विविधेति। प्रोक्ता उद्दिष्टेल्थर्थः। पूर्विमिति 'रसा भावा' इत्यादिसंग्रहविभागावसरे (अ ६-१०) लौकिकस्य धर्मस्य मूलभूतत्वात्राट्यधर्म वैचिच्योल्लेख्यभित्तिस्थानत्वादिति लोकधर्मीमेव लक्षयित सभावभावोपगत-मित्यादि। काचित्तद्विपया धर्मी, काचित्रटविषया। यो यस्य स्वभावतो भावः स्यात् स्थायिव्यभिचार्यादिः तेनोपेतम। कथमिष्कृतत्वादित्याह (शुद्धमिति)। शुद्धत्वात् स्विविकत्पितेन व्यामिश्रत्वात् तथिति शुद्धं कृत्वा। लोकवार्ता लोकप्रसिद्धिः तस्यां या क्रिया व्यवहारो वृत्तान्तस्तया शुद्धमेव कृत्वा युक्तं यत्राद्रयं नटनीयं कार्य सा लोकधर्मी धर्म्यास्तद्वतश्चाभेदोपचारात्सामानाधिकरण्यम्। अङ्गलीलया वर्तनादिकया वर्जितं कृत्वा। स्वभाववलपतनप्रहारनादाव-सरविवादादाविव पताकादिना योऽभिनयस्तेनोपेतम्। नानात्वेन च स्वीपुंसोः स्वियां प्रयोज्यायां योषिदेव प्रयोक्ती पुरुषे तु

पुरुष इत्येवंभूतं यत्राभ्यस्तचेष्टितं सा लोकधर्मी तद्धर्मव्यपदेशात् यदि वा समुदायरूपस्य काव्यं ताभ्यां मनसो एकदेशभृता धर्मी!

एतदुक्तं भवति—यदा कविर्यथावृत्तवस्तुमात्रं वर्णयति नटश्च प्रयुङ्क्ते, न तु खबुद्धिकृतं रञ्जनावैचित्रं, तत्रानुप्रवेशयंस्तदा तावान् स काव्यभागः प्रयोगभागश्च लोकधर्माश्रयः तत्र धर्मी।

- 4. अथ नाट्यधर्मी लक्षयित अतिवाक्यिक्रयोपेतिमिति। इतिहासादि-वाक्यमितिक्रम्य या उचितरञ्जकेतिवृत्तकल्पनात्मिका क्रिया। राजशेखरेण रामिर्नवासना दशरथवेपराक्षसिवरिचततत्त्वकल्पना, तया यदुपेतं भावसत्त्वं स्वभावचित्तवृत्तिमित-क्रम्य यित्स्थतं कविकल्पितचित्तवृत्तयन्तरयुक्तमित्यर्थः। यथा स्वभावचपलिवदूषकचित्तवृत्त्यतिक्रमात् यथा वस्तराजेन मित्तसमुचितगाम्भीर्याविहित्थयोजनं वसन्तकस्य तथा, स्वभावभाषितमितिक्रम्य यित्स्थतं यथाराज्ज्ञ्याः संस्कृतम्*।
- 5. अभिनयस्य द्विविधा इतिकर्तव्यता लोकधर्मी नाट्यधर्मी च। आधा द्विविधा—चित्तवृत्त्यर्पकत्वेनानुभावस्य, यथा "गर्वेऽप्यहमिति तऽज्ञैर्ललाटदेन्योच्छित'" (9/19) इति। केवल बाह्यावयवरुपा वा, यथा-पद्मकोशस्य कर्माप निरुपणे। नाट्यधर्म्यापि द्विविधा—नाट्योपयोगमूलभूतकैशिकोसम्पादनोचितालौकिकशोभाहेतुः यथा-आवेष्टितादि चतुर्विधकरणरूपा। कचित्त्वंशेन लोकभुपजीविति, यथा-वर्णारत्त्रेण हस्तेन तत्र व्यवहितेन लोक उपजीव्यते।

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