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Pallabi Chakravorty. (2000). "From Interculturalism To Historicism: Reflections On Classical Indian Dance". Dance Research Journal. Volume 32, Issue 2. 108-119. DOI: 10.2307/1477983 https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-dance/16

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From Interculturalism to Historicism: Reflections on Classical Indian Dance

Pallabi Chakravorty

At the MTV awards show in September 1998, Madonna performed a spiritual song in a transparent white T-shirt with three Indian Odissi dancers in their classical regalia. Within two days of this event a representative of a Hindu religious sect, the Vaisnavs, condemned Madonna for debasing Hinduism and Indian women. A significant intercultural event, which had been generating pride for some sections of the Indian-American community, had once again exposed the lack of context and historicity in interculturalism. Odissi is not merely an aesthetically pleasing dance form from eastern India; its history is embedded in various ancient fertility cults tied to ritualistic Hindu temple worship by women dancers known as "mahari(s)." The dance was also performed by young male dancers known as "gotipua(s)," who performed outside the temple. Frederique Marglin traces Odissi to the powerful cult of Chaitanya (a Vaisnavite saint reformer) in the sixteenth century (1985). She explains that, like many indigenous dance forms, it was simply called nacha before its revival in the 1950s by dance scholars and male teachers. Thus, the dance is a product of a complex mix of Hindu nationalism, regional chauvinism, and national revivalism and is embedded in patriarchal views of the role and function of women in society. Madonna's commercial interculturalism failed to take note of this: By trying to glamorize an exotic tradition she, unsurprisingly, offended the self-appointed bearers of that tradition.¹

Interculturalism is an important concept for analyzing cultural systems in this time of cultural globalization. My intention here is to uproot interculturalism from its location in Euro-American metropolitan centers and restore it to historical specificity within the context of the formation of the Indian nation-state and national identity. Without question or scrutiny, Western dance and theater circuits have generally adopted and accepted the notion that Indian classical dances serve as quintessential representations of Indian authenticity. It is rarely acknowledged that the present representations of classical Indian dance are extensions of the nationalist discourse of postcolonial and colonial India. However, since the 1980s a steady stream of scholarship has shed new light on the traditional temple dancers of India, connecting their artistic practices to colonial and postcolonial Indian history.² Avanthi Meduri, for instance, has analyzed the complex intersection of national and international events that transformed "Sadir" dance to Bharatanatyam (1996). My argument (which draws on Meduri's work) emphasizes the intersection of "East" and "West" in the context of dance revival for refashioning a linear progressive history for the Indian nation-state.³ Thus, this essay will attempt to relocate interculturalism to the historical juncture of nationalist discourse in India; the purpose is to reflect on its implications for the postcolonial context of dance/performance as well as cultural and gender identity.

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Interrogating Interculturalism

Interculturalism is a hotly debated issue within the contemporary discourse on culture. The idea of interculturalism evokes its postmodern moorings, particularly its intimate association with the avant-garde in Euro-American culture. Commonly explained as cultural borrowing, interculturalism poses serious questions of cultural appropriation when located between unequal relations of power, such as between the Western nations of advanced capitalism and the developing world. To be more precise, as Andrée Grau notes:

It would be naive to see interculturalism as an overriding global phenomenon that transcends the differences of class, race and/or history. The implications for interculturalism are not the same for people in impoverished countries as for people in technologically advanced societies. (1992, 17)

India is well represented in writings on interculturalism, beginning with the early influence of Grotowski and later taken up by Eugenio Barba, Richard Schechner, Philip Glass and others.4 Marranca points out that despite having culture as its central ethos, interculturalism (in relation to performance and theater) emphasizes aesthetics of form rather than a sense of the "historical-cultural-social-religious" context of the performance traditions (1991, 21). In a similar vein Rustom Bharucha argues that interculturalism is an ahistorical appropriation of Indian cultural forms in the West, where the forms have been abstracted from their original context to be used as performance models in Euro-American cultural centers (1990). In his strident critique of interculturalism, Bharucha argues that Grotowski's version of interculturalism, reflected in his search for primal, precultural communion with human beings, ignores the specificities of history and cultural context. Similarly, he writes that Barba's "theatre anthropology," by focusing on scientific laws and principles in analyzing the body, celebrates transculturalism rather than specific histories (1990, 4). Bharucha contends that Glass's version of interculturalism reflected in the opera about Gandhi (Satyagraha) is "unrealistic" and "showy" and reveals more about American theatrical tradition than about Gandhi (1990, 93). His most fervent critique of interculturalism is aimed at Schechner, whose representation of religious festivals like Ramlila, within the postmodern categories of performance ritual, promotes "cultural tourism" by ignoring the socioeconomic reality of India (1990, 15-93). Articulated in this way, interculturalism appears to be subsumed under the master narrative of capitalism, to be showcased in the Western "metropolitan supermarket" (Ahmad 1992, 128). Perhaps the eclectic use of a variety of dance styles from different cultures (often associated with postmodern dance) highlights the availability of all cultures of the world for consumption under the same roof.5

In this essay I view interculturalism as the ideological starting point for a critical elaboration of classical Indian dance. I look at the historical emergence of interculturalism in the context of the unequal cultural exchange between the colonizer and colonized, in this case Britain and India. My point of view is one of location—from the periphery looking at the center—rather than the more standard opposite. I do not start from the view of interculturalism as an eclectic and progressive cross-cultural exchange or its ahistorical appropriation in Euro-American performance models; I look at it in the context of the Indian nation-state, not Euro-American centers. My objective is to historicize the process

of cultural production—in this case, the discourse on interculturalism—as it relates to the construction of national and gender identity, classical dance, history, and power. In short, I try to show, following Edward Said, that "every cultural document [here, classical Indian dance] contains within it a history of a contest of rulers and ruled, of leaders and led" (1987, 59).

Indian Classical Dance: A Product of East and West

Dance historian and theorist Uttara Coorlawala writes:

Say that Indian dance (classical) is an image reflected in two mirrors opposite each other—the "East" and "West." As the image multiplies into variations of itself, it becomes impossible to determine which mirror it is in. When one image is exclusively selected, it usually reflects the perspective and the image of the one who is looking. (1992, 147)

In many respects, my article is an extension of Coorlawala's view, only I contend that the "East" (in this case India) and the "West" (which includes the advanced industrialist nations in Europe and America) are connected by a history of power relations where the notion of "reflection" is subsumed under the larger discourse on imperialism.

One of the obvious examples of this unequal discursive formation is evident in the cultural appropriation of the "eternal" Orient as the repository of exotic customs and spiritual mysticism. Here, I have in mind (among other themes) the popularity of the Eastern dancing girl in Western ballets such as La Bayadère or Nautch Dance. The former, initially choreographed by the Italian master Filippo Taglioni, was taken up by the famous French choreographer and dancer Marius Petipa in 1877; great figures like Anna Pavlova, Tamara Karsavina, Rudolf Nureyev, and Margot Fonteyn appeared in this ballet.⁶ The Nautch Dance was choreographed by Ruth St. Denis, one of the pioneers of modern dance in America. She, along with Ted Shawn, created an entire spectrum of dance productions on Indian themes, from The Nautch, The Dance of the Black and Gold Sari, The Cobras, Yogi, and Radha, to Shawn's The Cosmic Dance of Shiva (Jowitt 1988; Coorlawala 1992; Khokar 1997b). In fact, according to Coorlawala, both Shawn and Walter Terry had remarked that Ruth St. Denis's visit to India in 1926 and her nonauthentic Indian dance were instrumental in reawakening interest among Indians in the 2,000-year-old heritage (1992, 123). Interestingly, in such dance creations India was repeatedly represented as a fantastic land of snake charmers, dancing girls, and spiritual mystique—a predominantly Hindu land with very little heterogeneity. But even more important, a rather complex result of intercultural contact (more appropriately termed colonial imposition, in the guise of European enlightenment) is evident in the production of an indigenous elite during nationalism. In an instance of true interculturalism, this elite group embraced the Western ideals of rationalism and historicism to define the incipient Indian nation state (Chatterjee 1986; Kaviraj 1994). This is a critical argument. The revivalist and reconstructive movement of Indian classical dance cannot be viewed outside the context of the formation of national ideology in India. The discourses on "East" and "West" interwove to form the national ideology of India, and Indian classical dance was an extension of the same discourse.

Construction of the Dancing Woman in Nationalist Thought

During the nationalist phase in the early twentieth century, the revival of Indian classical dance came to be associated intimately with the construction of India's national identity. The concept of a common heritage provided an umbrella under which all the different regional dance styles were assembled. The dances came to embody the "spiritual" roots of the past. A close parallel is the emergence of folklore in Europe in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries;⁷ Turner expresses a similar view in her discussion on Balinese dance (1995, 337-342). In Imagined Communities, Benedict Anderson (1983) argues that "nation" was not an essential concept but a historical construct. Partha Chatterjee (1986), in Nationalist Thought and Colonial World, illustrates the complex relationship between nationalist discourse and colonial domination in the formation of the Indian nation-state. Chatterjee shows how "nationalism" itself, being part and parcel of European discourse, was incorporated into the Third World struggle for self-determination. Thus, Indian leaders, after being exposed to Enlightenment philosophy (by virtue of an English education, which the colonizers saw as necessary for their own administrative purposes), appropriated the ideals of liberty and political equality to achieve independence. Moreover, through traditional cultural practice, such as dance and music, the nationalist discourse revived the essential spiritual identity of the East. The sole bearers of this spiritual identity, they proclaimed, were the (upper-middle-class, and upper-caste) Hindu women. Chatterjee explains:

The material/spiritual dichotomy to which the terms world and home correspond, had acquired . . . a very special significance, in the nationalist mind. The world was where European peoples, by virtue of its superior material culture, had subjugated them. But the nationalist asserted it had failed to colonize the inner essential identity of the East which lay in its superior culture. (1989, 624)

Thus, in addressing the "woman question" in nationalist thought, Chatterjee employs the dialectics of public/world and private/home to formulate his idea of material/spiritual dichotomy. He argues that the woman in the nationalist discourse represents India's inner spiritual identity, which, in the nationalist view, is an authentic classical identity. In this way women's identity becomes synonymous with Indian tradition and the sanskritized Hindu doctrines of ancient India. This ideology is crystallized in the writings of Ananda Coomaraswamy, a renowned art historian and aesthetician, whose books are still required reading in many courses on Indian culture in Western universities. As he has written:

Even in recent times, in families where the men have received an English education unrelated to Indian life and thought, the inheritance of Indian modes of thought and feelings rests in the main with women; for a definite philosophy of life is bound up with household ritual and traditional etiquette and finds expression equally in folktale and cradle-song and popular poetry, and in those Puranic and epic stories which contribute to the household Bible literature of India. Under these conditions it is often the case that Indian women, with all their faults of sentimentality and igno-

rance, have remained the guardians of a spiritual culture which is of greater worth than the efficiency and information of the educated. (1957, 100–101)

These sentiments are not very different from those expressed in 1882 by Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, another important intellectual figure, and a nationalist like Coomaraswamy:

It is human aversion to the purely animal trait that gives rise to virtues such as modesty [F]urther within the human species, women cultivate and cherish these Godlike qualities far more than men. Protected to a certain extent from the purely material pursuits of securing a livelihood in the external world, women express in their appearance and behavior the spiritual qualities that are characteristic of civilized and refined human society. (Quoted in Chatterjee 1997, 125)

Thus, in moving from the real to the discursive, Indian women became symbols of culture and tradition.⁸ The revival of classical Indian dance and the construction of Indian womanhood are both reflections of this essential Hindu identity. In the process, the dance itself was removed from its original practitioners like the devadasi and nautch dancers—who were not all Hindus and certainly belonged in the public domain.⁹

It is interesting to consider the example of Rukmini Devi Arundale, a key figure in reviving classical Indian dance; Meduri (1996) has documented her pioneering work in creating the modern national dance of Bharatanatyam. Rukmini Devi not only spearheaded the world mother movement launched by the Theosophists (such as Annie Besant) in 1925, but also was instrumental in making the revival of dance and the arts an integral part of the Theosophical agenda. She choreographed various dance dramas with Sanskrit mythological themes in order to highlight the spirituality of the dance form. In her words, this was a "novel way of bringing religion to people" (Kalakshetra Quarterly, quoted in Meduri 1996, 377). Rukmini Devi, then, represented the ideal confluence of the ritual traditions of ancient India and the emancipated sensibilities of a Western-educated, upper-middle-class woman. In fact, she was hailed as "world mother" in eulogies such as this: "the woman as she was in ancient India, not as she is today, the woman who was the warrior, the true mother, the priestess, the ideal for the world" (Ransom 1938, 486; quoted in Meduri 1996, 293). In her we see the idealized confluence of mother, goddess, and dancer, the complete Sanskrit Hindu woman.

Nationalist Discourse: History, Nation, and Dance

In the last section I explained how the "dancing woman" in classical Indian dance is a reflection of an essentialized identity of the Orient. I also explained how the dichotomous project (material/spiritual) in nationalist discourse helped to construct an ahistorical and orientalist view of Indian classical dance. Once again, I will refer to Chatterjee (1986) to demonstrate that the "object" in nationalist thought was consistent with the Western notion of Orientalism and followed the same objectifying procedures of knowledge constructed in the post-Enlightenment era of Western science. This is most evident, as Chatterjee illustrates, in the work of Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838–94), a Bengali novelist and

satirist. The latter, whom Chatterjee identifies as one of the key nationalist thinkers, situated his polemics in the essential spirituality of the East (represented by classical Brahminical India) as distinguished from the West (represented by the Enlightenment ideal of progress). Nationalists appropriated the privilege of writing history (all nations must have a history) for explaining social and cultural formations.

I argue that following the same logic of linear, progressive history, dance revivalists and historians, such as Krishna Iyer, Rukmini Devi Arundale, Ananda Coomaraswamy, and Kapila Vatsyayan, delved deep into India's past to invent an unbroken dance tradition. However, I should add here that Vatsyayan's more recent works (1989, 1995) have moved away from merely constructing linear histories and claiming pristine purity and antiquity for classical dance repertory. This is evident also in her historical analysis of Kathak dance, a classical dance form from North India, where she traces the dance to Sufi dervishes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, rather than to immutable Vedic sources of ancient India (1982, 89–90).

The rewriting of dance history by the nationalist elites and revivalists obliterated in one sweep the history of the devadasi and nautch dancers from the national history of India. This deliberate act of erasure is intricately connected to the social reform movements of the time. Specifically, it is a direct result of the antinautch movement of the 1890s, which began as a purity movement for national regeneration. English missionaries and Hindu social reformers led the crusade against the traditional dancers, which had a devastating effect on the nautch and devadasi institutions. They not only lost their traditional patrons, but the dancers were also ostracized from society with no alternative means of livelihood; many were driven to prostitution. The ideas of purification, reform, and national regeneration prompted the English-educated elite to hark back to the "spiritual roots" of the nation's past, which they argued resided in the traditions of arts, aesthetics, and culture of the Vedic times. Thus, while the devadasi and nautch dancers were condemned as "sinful," their artistic practices were revived as repositories of spirituality.

The revival of classical dance in the 1930s marked the historic moment when the Western-educated bourgeois elite appropriated the dances of traditional practitioners. The various regional dance styles began to be codified, textualized, and canonized as authoritative knowledge and were elevated to classical status. Consequently, the nationalists and dance revivalists presented to the world and to themselves a linear and continuous dance tradition uninterrupted by historical variations. Hence, the revivalism of classical Indian dance as an extension of the nationalist discourse indicated to the colonizing culture the independence and integrity of Indian culture, free from colonial encroachment, and at the same time gave the young nation historicity. Classical dance came to represent the authentic sanskritized Hindu spirit of India's past, one that had been maligned by colonial rule.

This image of the essentialized, spiritual Orient continues to inform classical Indian dance. To prove that the antiquity of classical dance forms a seamless history, scholars, dancers, and educators continue to refer to the "sacred" text of Natyasastra, which originated in Vedic times, and thereby to inscribe the classical dance genre with an unshakable Brahminical world view. This representation of the Orient is not only evident in the classical dance idiom, but also in its representation of the ideal Indian woman. The renowned dancer Chaki-Sirkar (1993) writes that even today, Indian classical dance resonates with patriarchal, Hindu themes in which sexually passive Radha longs for her be-

loved Krishna, who incessantly indulges in amorous and unfaithful adventures.

The iconization of Sanskrit heroines (navikas) and gods and goddesses such as Radha, Shakuntala, Nataraja, Shiva, Durga, Rama, Sita, and others continues to dominate the classical dance repertory. The formal presentation of the classical repertory includes invocations to Lords Krishna, Ganapati, and Vishnu or goddesses Saraswati, Durga, and others to inscribe the performance within the spiritual space of the temple.¹¹ In reality, the actual production space is the competitive market and the modern secular stage. Thus, this static, fossilized, and Orientalist view of Indian classical dance is not merely an ahistorical representation in the Euro-American centers of power, as one often finds under the rubric of interculturalism, but is dominant in the metropolitan centers in contemporary India. Bharucha (1990, 51) conceptualizes this phenomenon as "festival culture," which he equates with Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition." According to Bharucha, this practice of reifying Indian tradition that harkens back to Sanskrit sources to create an aura of antiquity and authenticity underscores a "system of power that promote(s) cultures on the basis of political exigencies, fashion and the demands of the international market" (1990, 10). The situation is eloquently summarized by Shobana Jeyasingh, a contemporary dancer based in London:

The fiction of "the Orient," so beloved in the West as a place of simple spiritual certainties, exotic maidens and colorful rituals, had to be reinforced once again to the viewers in their sitting rooms in London and New York. . . . This stifling, historically inaccurate and ultimately life denying concept of the East, is not an isolated example. It is very much a symptom of a more general, unequal power relationship between East and West. The West is the eternal anthropologist with the resources to observe, research and "explain" all those exotic cultures. It is a kind of colonization through categorization and as such an exercise of power. (1997, 31)

I should add, however, that in recent years a handful of dancers have continued to rearticulate Indian dance in contemporary terms. Dancers like Chandralekha, Kumudini Lakhia, Manjushree Chaki-Sirkar, and others have pioneered a nascent movement toward new directions in Indian dance.¹² Kumudini Lakhia was one of the earliest choreographers in India to reinvent Kathak as a dance vocabulary to be used in expressing contemporary thoughts.¹³ Her choreographic works have represented ordinary, everyday women, rather than the "ideal types" portrayed in classical dance forms. The clear straight lines of the Kathak idiom mark her compositions. She uses simple costumes and distinctive colors to create subtle yet dramatic shifts from the traditional ethos of Kathak. Her Sam Samvedan portrays a lone man's attempt to integrate with society, while Atah-Kim symbolically explores the drive for power and greed that forces man to compromise his values in life (Lakhia 1995).

Manjushree Chaki-Sirkar has reimagined the Indian dancing body as capable of creating versatile movements, thus breaking the rigid boundaries of classical vocabulary. Her works have been inspired by Tagore and his vision of dance as a vehicle for reflecting social concerns. Her dance style is called Nava Nritya, or new dance, and draws on classical dance and martial-art forms. In a work like *Tomari Matir Kanya* (Daughter of the

Earth), for instance, based on Tagore's "Chandalika," she addresses issues of women's human rights (Chaki-Sirkar 1994).

In her radical composition Angika, Chandralekha revamps the traditional technique of Bharatanatyam by presenting it as stark, geometric patterns in space, devoid of ornamentation. In this work she explores the origin of dance by demonstrating its cosmic, material, and martial energies. Her other works, such as Shree and Lilavati, are deliberately provocative and challenge the ideal feminine body in dance. There are many other dancers in India and elsewhere who are currently engaged in pushing the boundaries of the classical sensibility into exciting new territories. Although this new dance has yet to claim a collective political or ideological agenda, these dancers are united in disregarding the past patriarchal and feudal order, and to reclaim dance for their own individual self-expression. 15

Summary

As I have argued, the term "interculturalism" needs some reformulation in contemporary dance and theater studies. As voices from the margin (including my own as a "native" anthropologist) claim a hearing at the center, the center needs to be more self-conscious about the histories of power relations embedded in the margins. By locating the crosscultural exchange associated with (Indian) interculturalism outside the Western centers of power, this paper has historicized this exchange in the context of the formation of the Indian nation state. I have discussed and reviewed several arguments concerning how Indian womanhood became synonymous with Indian tradition and culture and how the revival of traditional cultural practices, such as dance, came to represent an authentic Indian identity, which resided in idealized Hindu gender identity. My central argument analyzes how the discourse of "East" and "West" fused to form both the dominant ideology of classical Indian dance and a nationalist reconstruction of a linear progressive history for the incipient Indian nation-state. The idea of an ahistorical, static Orient, and its ideal representative, the spiritual Hindu woman of the classical tradition, still captures the imagination of the West; Madonna at the MTV awards is its latest incarnation. With the increasing visibility of Indian exports to the West, such as classical music and dance, a more self-critical intercultural dialogue needs to be generated within the Western centers of knowledge production.

Notes

- 1. A modern, partisan Hindu group, a branch of an older sect called Vaisnavs, claimed the tradition of Odissi as their own for political purposes. Interestingly, the Vaisnava sect was tied to the Bhakti movement in the medieval period of Indian history; it was known for its progressive anticaste and anti-Brahminical position. The central tenet of Vaisnavism, which includes
- worshipping Vishnu and his popular incarnation Krishna, is based on the doctrine of Bhakti philosophy (see Tharu and Lalita 1991, 56-60).
- 2. See Marglin 1985; Srinivasan 1985; Kersenboom-Story 1987; Coorlawala 1992; Meduri 1996; Allen 1997; Iyer 1997; O'Shea 1998.

- 3. See Chakravorty 1998.
- 4. See Marranca, Robinson, and Chaudhuri 1991.
- 5. See Ahmad (1992) for an elaboration of this idea in his critique of cosmopolitan culture. Trinh Minh-ha, a Vietnamese American filmmaker, explains interculturalism as "sharing a field (that) belongs to no one, not even those who create it." She marks this process as "intercreation," where, she argues, the very notion of "artist" is a simplistic and reductive concept (quoted in Grau 1992, 18). It has been pointed out to me that the association of interculturalism with postmodern dance is mostly an American situation. In the U.K., for instance, postmodern dance is a "monocultural" discourse; the interest in bringing genres together has been initiated by Indian and African diasporas (see Iyer 1997 in this context, and also Jeyasingh 1995, 193-197).
- 6. See Khokar 1997a.
- 7. See Giurchescu 1990, and Giurchescu, Kaeppler, and Torp 1991.
- 8. For construction of Indian womanhood, see Chowdhuri 1998 (17–19) and Bagchi 1990.
- 9. In fact, the traditional temple dancers or the devadasis could belong to any caste and were symbolically married to the temple deity. This meant that they remained unmarried throughout their lives and often had multiple sexual partners (see Marglin 1985). Moreover, in northern and eastern India, many nautch dancers were Muslim girls, since Kathak was essentially a court dance patronized by the Mughal and Hindu royal

courts of North India.

- 10. For the effects of the antinautch campaign on the devadasi institution in South India, see Srinivasan 1984, 1985, and Meduri 1996. On nautch dancers of India, see Chakravorty 2000.
- 11. On the other hand, in other cultural spheres like theater, painting, and even music there are and have been radical departures from the so-called traditional scriptures of the past. During the revivalist phase, dancer Uday Shankar (a contemporary of and collaborator with Anna Pavlova) tried to bring modernism to Indian dance, but he failed to institutionalize or make permanent his brand of modernism. His disciple Narendra Sharma continues to produce the most radical experiments in the Indian dance scene (Nritya Natika or National Ballet Festival or Uday Shankar dance festival are some of the cultural festivals in India that include classical and contemporary choreographers). The attempt by Rabindranath Tagore to create a modern dance language by combining various classical and folk styles remains limited to Bengal. In fact, what we know today as "Rabindra nritya," or Tagore dance, is a hackneyed replication of Tagore's visionary creations.
- 12. The names on this list appeared in *The Telegraph*, the English daily newspaper in Calcutta (see Venkataraman 1990).
- 13. In 1971 she choreographed *Duvidha* in which she presented a woman torn between traditional and modern values.
- 14. See Bharucha 1997.
- 15. Here I am concerned only with urban India. In rural India, regional dances are per-

formed during seasonal and other auspicious occasions in noncommercial surroundings. There is a continuous effort to claim national-classical status for regional dance styles to keep them from dying out. For example, recently two regional dance forms from eastern India, Gaur dance and Chhau dance, have demanded classical status. In urban India, classical dance now works as sym-

bolic cultural capital for the lower-middle classes, who are being indoctrinated into the classical idiom through various state- supported programs, workshops, and television (see Chakravorty 2000). (For details on new dance, see Coorlawala, 1994; for an attempt at categorizing contemporary Indian dance, see Sirkar, 1997).

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