

COFFEE BREAK CONFERENCE 5

Space, Culture, Language and Politics in
South Asia: Common Patterns and Local
Distinctions

Book of abstracts

ISTITUTO ITALIANO DI STUDI ORIENTALI



SAPIENZA
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COFFEE BREAK CONFERENCE 5

**SPACE, CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND
POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA: COMMON
PATTERNS AND LOCAL DISTINCTIONS**

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**TOWARDS BRANCH-CROSSING
ISOGLOSSES IN INDO-EUROPEAN**

Initial **r*- constraint in the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor and the Caucasus

PETR KOCHAROV *and* ANDREY SHATSKOV

1. Introductory remarks

Since Hrozný (1917: 1886), it has been noted that there are no words starting with *r*- in Hittite, and he also mentioned Lydian, Turkish, Greek and Basque as areal or typological parallels. It has been argued that the initial *r*- was missing already in PIE, and that /Vr-/ clusters in Anatolian, Greek, and Armenian words of Indo-European origin in fact reflect PIE /Hr-/ (Beekes 1988: 60); therefore the vowel must have resulted from the vocalization of the laryngeal in such words. However, the evidence of non-Indo-European languages, Hattic and Hurro-Urartian, suggests that there was an areal initial rhotic constraint (Sommer 1947: 71, 81, 98f.), henceforth IRC, regardless of the PIE reconstructions. Some scholars extend the isogloss to the North-East Caucasian languages in the east and Greek in the west (recently Kassian 2010: 400). So, within the maximalist approach, IRC persisted on a waste territory from the 2nd millennium BC until the 1st or even 2nd millennium AD.

The aim of the present paper is to establish whether IRC was inherited by certain daughter languages from PIE, or we are dealing here with several unrelated and typologically common phenomena, or finally it was an isogloss common for several unrelated

languages in Anatolia and the Caucasus. In the latter case it is also desirable to establish the ICR chronology.

Note on general phonology: Cross-linguistic studies have shown that rhotic sounds are very sensitive to phonetic environment (cf. Bhat 1974). According to a widespread pattern, rolled (vibrant) [r] often occurs next to a consonant or a pause (including the word initial position), while flaps [ɾ] are common in intervocalic position. IRC is thus predictable for languages without rolled [r]. The rolled [r] has a difficult articulation and is often a persistent marker of sub- or adstrates.

2. Overview of the evidence

Hattic is still poorly known, including its phonology, however no words beginning with /r/ are attested (cf. Soysal 2004).

As for Hurrian and Urartian, these indigenous languages of Anatolia had very few words with the initial /l/ and even less or no words with the initial /r/ (Speiser 1940 27f.; Hazenbos 2005: 138; Wilhelm 2008a: 85, 2008b: 108). Moreover, loanwords from Semitic (*Rešep* > *Iršappa*, *rebûtu* ‘quarter’ > *irbute*, see Diakonoff 1971: 55, Laroche 1980: 209) and Mittani Indo-Aryan (*urukmannu* beside Ved. *rukma-* ‘adornment’, see Mayrhofer 1959: 88f.; *aratijanni* beside Ved. *ráthya-* ‘belonging to vehicle’, see Mayrhofer 1960: 144f. with a suggestion that the colour of the prothetic vowel depended on the vowel following the initial *r-*) developed a prothetic vowel in front of the initial *r-* in Hurrian. It is not clear whether the geminate spelling of Hurrian *rr* as well as *ll*, *mm*, *nn* and *ww* denoted distinct series of sonorants or bi-phonemic clusters resulting from assimilation (cf. Wegner 2000: 41); hence we cannot confidently postulate a phonological opposition of flap vs. trill in Hurrian.

Among the Caucasian languages, the initial rhotic constraint may be postulated for Proto-North-Caucasian on the ground

of Proto-Nakh and Proto-Dargwa sound change **r- > *d-* and Proto-Lezgian change **r- > *j-*, see Diakonoff & Starostin (1986: 10); Nikolaev & Starostin (1994: 44).

The Anatolian languages show a similar picture where the lack of word-initial /r/ is a well-known feature (see Melchert 1994: 67). It should be noted that Hittite did not inherit any PIE roots with anlaut **r*, and the initial sequence *ar-* seems to reflect **h₁(a)r-*, cf. Tischler (1972), Kimball (1999: 340f). As in the case of Hurro-Urartian languages, the phonological status of intervocalic /rr/ is phonologically ambiguous. It resulted either from assimilation or Middle/New Hittite gemination; synchronically, however, there seems to be a phonological opposition between /r/ and /rr/ in Hittite, cf. *a-a-ri* 'comes' vs. *a-ar-ri* 'washes'. This fact is relevant for the comparison with the Proto-Armenian rise of the flap-trill phonemic contrast.

In late Hieroglyphic Luvian texts as well as in Lycian and Lydian, there are a few words with a secondary initial /r/ resulting from consonant cluster simplifications that do not show prothesis, cf. HLuv. *ruwan* 'formerly' beside Hitt. *karū* 'id.' (Melchert 1994: 256, 297, 377f.). Therefore it may well be that IRC was declining in the 8th century Luvian, Lydian, and Lycian. Needless to say that we have a very limited knowledge of the vocabulary of these languages.

According to a wide-spread opinion, the Armenian language was brought to the Armenian plateau from the West via Anatolia in the late 2nd – early 1st millennium BC.

Some Armenian words beginning with /VR-/ clearly continue PIE words with anlaut laryngeals, cf. CArm. *arawr*, Gk. ἄροτρον, OIr. *arathar*, etc. from PIE **h₂erh₃-tro-* 'plow'. In words that have Greek cognates with prothesis, if there is no extra support for a laryngeal reconstruction, the interpretation of the initial vowel depends on the acceptance of IRC as an areal feature (cf. CArm.

erek ‘evening’, Gk. ἔρεβος ‘the dark of the underworld’, Skt. *rájas-* ‘dust’ from PIE **(h₁)reg^w-os-*), especially when the vowel colour is aberrant (cf. CArm. *orcam*, Gk. ἐρεύγομαι, Lith. *riáugmi* from PIE **(H)reug-* ‘to belch’). The same holds true for the Armenian words without Greek correspondences, cf. CArm. *arew*, Skt. *raviḥ* from PIE **(H)rew-i-* ‘Sun’.

Importantly, a prothetic vowel could be added to words with a secondary initial /r-/, cf. CArm. *erek*‘ from PIE **treyes* ‘3’ (Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. τρεῖς, etc.) as well as to the older layer of the Middle Iranian borrowings, cf. CArm. *eraz* ‘dream’ beside MP *l’c*, ManMP, MParth *r’z* (the later Middle Iranian, Syriac, and Greek loanwords received initial rolled /r̄-/, cf. CArm. *řočik* ‘ration’ beside MP *lwcyk*‘ ‘daily bread’, CArm. *Řaşayenay* beside Syr. *Rěš’ainā*, and CArm. *řetin* ‘resin’ beside Gk. ῥητίνη). Phonotactic prothesis operated after the Armenian consonant shift and probably lasted until at least the 3rd c. BC.

The Proto-Armenian vowel prothesis in front of the initial /r-/ overlapped with the rise of phonological opposition between flap /r/ [r] and trill /r̄/ [r̄]. The phonological split of Proto-Armenian [r̄/r] to [r̄] and [r] was determined by the following sound changes: (1) PIE **sr* > PArm. **hr* > **hř*; (2) PArm. **hř* > CArm. *ř*; (3) PIE **rs* > PArm. **rř* (RUKI variant, see Meillet 1936: 39)/**řh* > CArm. *rř/ř*. The simplification of PArm. **t^hr-* (from PIE **tr-*) to **Vr-* and PArm. **hř-* (from PIE **sr-*) to **Vř-* should be integral parts of the same process, cf. CArm. *erek*‘ < PIE **treyes*, CArm. *ařu* ‘canal’, *ořoganem* ‘to irrigate’ < PIE **sreu-* (Skt. *srutiḥ*). Once established in the phonological system, trill /r̄/ was introduced to the word initial position by means of loanwords. It is disputed whether the initial ř was then pronounced with or without the initial schwa, cf. *y-řnguns* [jərnəgúnəs] ‘to the nostrils’ (*Gen.* 7, 22), see Clackson (1994: 176f). IRC was definitely abandoned by the 10th century, cf. *raxčan* ‘feast’

(Grigor Narekac'i, 10 c.) from CArm. *xraxčank'* 'id.' (Bible), and *Rahab* (*Koriwn*, the earliest manuscript is posterior to the 10th c.) beside biblical *Řaxab* (Ρααβ).

Another sound change that can be synchronized with both the pre-rhotic prothesis and the simplification of PArm. voiceless aspirated (from PIE voiceless) + /r/ clusters, is the metathesis of PArm. voiceless/voiced (from PIE voiced/voiced aspirated) + /r/, cf. CArm. *atbewr* 'spring' (**arbewr*) from PIE **b^hreh₁w₂* (Gk. φρέαρ).

These three interrelated processes (IRC, flap-trill contrast, metathesis) can be tentatively ascribed to the complex substrate influence. This influence occurred later than the laryngeal loss which makes ambiguous the Armenian data for the reconstruction of the initial laryngeals in front of **/r/*.

The Proto-Armenian IRC and metathesis of the initial consonant clusters with /r/ were compared to similar phenomena in Ossetic: **-Cr-* > *-rC-*, cf. PIE **sub^hro-* > Arm. *surb* 'saint', Ir. **udra-* > Oss. *wyrd* 'otter'; **#Cr-* > *VrC-*, cf. PIE **b^hreh₂tēr-* > Arm. *ełbayr*, Oss. *ärvad* 'brother'. These similarities were interpreted as an argument in favour of the hypothesis that Hurrian and Urartian belonged to the East-Caucasian group, which later influenced Scythian and Proto-Ossetic in a very similar way as Urartian influenced Proto-Armenian (Diakonoff & Starostin 1986; Kassian & Yakubovich 2002: 46f.). However the Ossetic metathesis of the initial clusters stop + sonorant was not limited to rhotics, nor to liquids. It should be rather compared to later Armenian clusters /əRC-/ (R = /m/, /n/, /ł/) and /əSC-/ , where the prothetic vowel is /ə/ and not /e/, /a/, or /o/, cf. Arm. *ənkoyz* (Bible+), Oss. *ənguz* against Georg. *nigoz-* 'walnut' (Hübschmann 1897: 393; Abaev 1994: 489).

There is an important chronological and geographical gap between the Ossetic and the Proto-Armenian IRC; the ancestors of Ossets came to contact with the Northeast Caucasian languages

in the first centuries AD and were not exposed to the Hurro-Urartian influence directly. The Ossetic material requires further study that would take into account the joint evidence of the Eastern Iranian languages from Scythian inscriptions in the West that show /CR/ > /VRC/ metathesis already in the 2nd – 3rd cc. AD probably independently from the North East Caucasian influence (cf. Ἀρδονάγαρας, Oss. *ærdun-ægæx* ‘one with many bows’, Oss. *ærdun* ‘bow’ < Ir. **druna*, see Abaev 1979: 287) to the initial trill instantiated by Khotanese *rrūñū* beside Av. *raogna* ‘butter’, *rraštā* beside Av. *rašta* ‘first’, *rrā* beside Av. *rāy*- ‘wealth’ (Herzenberg 1965: 63).

In Classical Greek, PIE **(H)r-* yielded *ἀρ-*, *ἐρ-*, *ὀρ-*, whereas the secondary initial **/r-/* (PIE **sr-*, **wr-*) is regularly reflected as *ῥ-* (Lejeune 1955: 127). Although, Proto-Greek */Vr-/* is ambiguous in words lacking external support of the laryngeal reconstruction, it is not in itself a decisive argument for IRC in Proto-Greek.

3. Conclusions

Hattic, Hurro-Urartian, Anatolian, and Armenian show independent evidence for IRC. There was a gap of over one millennium between the arrival of Proto-Anatolians and Proto-Armenians to Asia Minor, yet both branches adopted that feature. The Anatolian languages began to abandon IRC by the 8th c. BC, while Armenian preserved it until the second half of the 1st millennium BC and replaced it with the initial flap constraint which was productive during the Classical Armenian period. Arguably, the same substrate influence was responsible for phonologisation of flap-trill opposition in Proto-Armenian, and perhaps also in Hittite.

Proto-Greek initial vowels thus remain the only reasonable evidence for the reconstruction of PIE **/#Hr-/* clusters.

Anlaut sound changes of Ossetic and North-East Caucasian are probably unrelated to IRC in Asia Minor.

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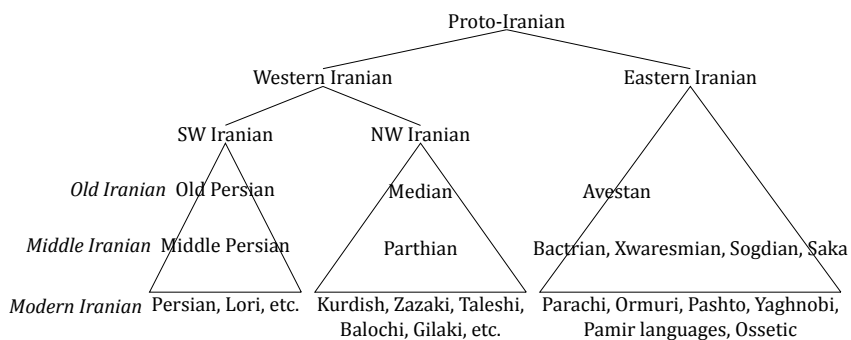
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In search for a new model: Iranian Isoglosses revisited

AGNES KORN

This paper looks at isoglosses transcending the traditional subdivisions of the Iranian branch of Indo-European. It will discuss how to account for the data uncovered by recent discoveries and research, and will look at the relation of inherited features and those caused by language contact.

The subdivisions of the Iranian branch of Indo-European (1) have been established roughly a century ago, at a time when many Middle and New Iranian were only fragmentarily documented, if at all.



(1): Family tree of Iranian languages (traditional picture; simplified)

A. The disappearance of intermediary protolanguages

This subdivision has become questionable by new data from Middle and New Iranian languages. First, Eastern Iranian has been shown not to be a genetic entity, and its ancestor language inexistent (2):

[...] it does not seem possible to regard the Eastern Iranian group as a whole — even disregarding Parachi and Ormuri — as a genetic grouping. Such a conception would imply the existence of an ancestral “proto-Eastern Iranian” intermediate between “common Iranian” and the attested Eastern Iranian languages; but if one reconstructs “proto-Eastern Iranian” in such a way as to account for all the features of the group, it proves to be identical to the “common Iranian” reconstructible as the ancestor of the whole Iranian family. (Sims-Williams 1996: 651b)

Similarly, the dichotomy of Western Iranian has proven untenable because the isoglosses do not yield a two-way distinction once one adds some data from New Iranian languages, cfr. (3) on the next page.

| PIr. | Av. | Parthian | Zazaki | Balochi | Kurdish | NP | MP | OP |
|------------------|----------------|-----------|----------|-------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| *ś | s | s | s | s | s | h | h | θ |
| *ž | z | z | z | z | z | d | d | d |
| *pas-ča 'behind' | pas-ča | paš | ? | paš | paš | pas | pas | pasā |
| *śu | sp | sp | sp | s(?) | s(?) | s | s | s |
| *θr | θr | hr | (h)r | s | s | s | s | ç |
| *č / V_V | č | ž | ǰ | č | ž | z | z | č |
| *ǰ | ǰ | ž | ǰ | ǰ | ž | z | z | ǰ |
| *rž | rz | rz | rz | rz | ? | l | l | rd |
| *rd | rd | rd | ř | rd | ? | l | l | rd |
| *du | duu | b | b | b(?) | d | d | d | duv |
| *hu- | x ^w | wx | w | w, h | xw | x^w | xw | uv |
| *θu | θβ | f | w | h? | h? | h | h | θuv |
| *u- | v | w | v | g(w) | b | g, b | g, w | g, d |

(3): Isoglosses of Western Iranian, arranged chronologically. Revised version of the table in Korn (2003: 52f.), using the isoglosses traditionally employed to subgroup Western Iranian.

B. Problematic isoglosses

In addition to new data that make subdivisions questionable, there are also methodological problems with the inventories of isoglosses used so far for the subgrouping of Iranian.

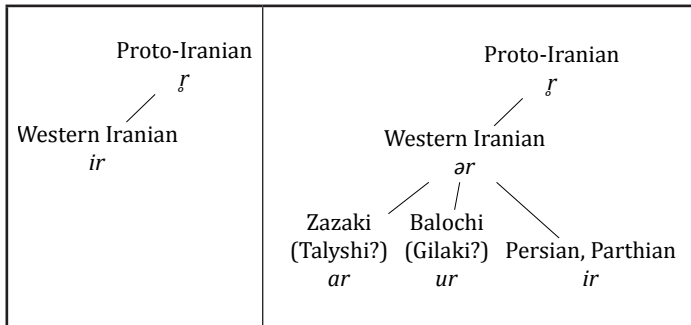
The subdivision of Western Iranian is based on Tedesco (1921), whose aim was to distinguish the “dialects” in the Middle Iranian Manichean texts found in Chinese Turkestan; his list of differences between what is now known as Middle Persian and Parthian continues to be used to distinguish a Northern and a Southern sub-branch of Western Iranian. This use of Tedesco’s isoglosses implies three misunderstandings:

- every difference between Persian and Parthian is good as an isogloss;

- features for which Persian and Parthian agree are *per definitionem* not an isogloss;
- agreement of Persian and Parthian is indicative for all of Western Iranian.

None of these premises is tenable. For instance, the development of Proto-Iranian vocalic r ($*r$) has not been used as an isogloss since Parthian and Middle Persian show the same result (*ir* in neutral context, e.g. *kird* ‘done’, *tirs* ‘fear’); this result has often been viewed as the result for all of Western Iranian.

However, New Iranian languages suggest otherwise: Balochi shows *kurt*, *turs* (and Gilaki might show the same result: *kud*), and Zazaki has /ar/ (written *er* in contemporary orthography: *kerd*, *ters*; data from Malmisanij 1992), similarly maybe also in (some varieties of?) Talyshi (*kard*; data from Miller 1953). This clearly excludes that the development seen in Middle Western Iranian applies to the whole group, cfr. (4).

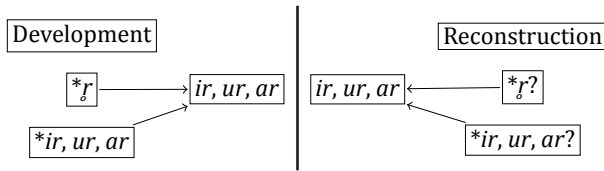


(4a) Reconstruction as suggested by attested Middle Iranian

(4b) reconstruction as suggested by contemporary languages

(4) Models for the development of Proto-Iranian $*r$

This difference, small though it may seem, appears to be an important isogloss: as soon as $*_r$ has yielded *ir, ur* or *ar*, this sequence is indistinguishable from old sequences of vowel plus *r* and the development is a “point of no return” in establishing a dialect group, dividing Middle Persian plus Parthian from other Western Iranian languages, cf. (5).



(5): Possible interpretations of output *i/u/ar* from $*_r$ or $*i/u/ar$

C. Morphological isoglosses

Another problem with Tedesco’s approach is that he considers shared innovations as less relevant because they “can always be independent of each other and only parallel” (Tedesco 1921: 246). Although an accidental parallel development is of course impossible to exclude, the probability of this being the case depends on whether or not it is a typologically marked development.

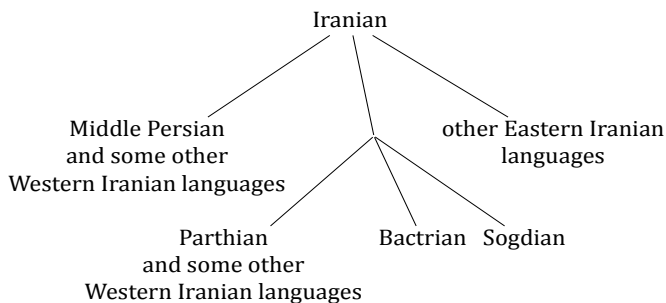
Indeed, shared morphological innovations are considered as particularly important by others: “It is now generally agreed among linguists that the most certain sub-groups are constructed on the basis of unique shared morphological innovations” (Clackson 2007: 5). According to this view, shared morphological innovations permit the establishment of a subbranch and the reconstruction of a common ancestor intermediate between the individual languages and the protolanguage (Clackson 2007: 5f).

This sheds an interesting light on Bactrian, which shares a number of features with Parthian, in spite of its being regarded as Eastern Iranian, cf. (6); data from Sims-Williams (2004). The most noteworthy of these are an optative 3pl composed of the 3pl indicative to which the 3sg optative ending is affixed and a imperfect in *-āz* the etymology of which is not clear, but it seems to be a combination of a fossilised verb form with a particle.

| | Bactrian | Other languages (selection) |
|---|-----------|---|
| suppletive paradigm 'see': <i>*waina-/dīta-</i> | οην-/λιδο | Parthian, Middle Persian <i>wēn-/dīd</i> |
| secondary past stem in <i>*-āt-</i> | -αδο | Parthian <i>-ād</i> , Zazaki, Semnani etc. <i>-ā</i> |
| optative 3pl = 3pl indicative + 3sg optative | -ινδηιο | Parthian <i>-ēndēh</i> |
| 3sg past from <i>*āha</i> + particle <i>zi</i> (?) | -αζο | Parthian, Sogdian <i>-āz</i> |

(6): Shared morphological innovations of Bactrian and Western Iranian

In view of Clackson's view cited above, this group of shared innovations (to which other shared features might be added) would permit the reconstruction of a subbranch containing at least Parthian and Bactrian (7).



(7) Preliminary conclusion from shared innovations of Bactrian and Parthian

D. Areal or genetic?

On the other hand, Bactrian also shares a number of features with other Eastern Iranian languages. The number of shared morphological innovations appears to be smaller than those shared with Parthian, but a noteworthy one is the pronoun of the 2PL, being composed of the 2SG pronoun to which the 1PL pronoun is suffixed (thus ‘youSG-we’), which Bactrian shares with some Pamir languages.

It seems impossible to include the Pamir languages (which are unlikely to be a genetic unity, see Wendtland 2009) in the same subbranch; that branch would also risk to cover all of Iranian. The question to be discussed is, thus, whether morphological innovations could also be the result of language contact. Indeed, Friedman (2000), reviewing the Balkan languages, the classical case of a linguistic area, maintains that grammatical features are “key to the concept of areal linguistics — as opposed to typological or genetic linguistics”.

I will argue that the relations among Iranian languages need to be reevaluated in the light of the interaction of inherited features and those caused by language contact. It needs to be investigated which features can possibly or plausibly be caused by language contact; at the same time, the features that are likely to be inherited need to be accommodated. Clearly, new models are needed to account for data not included in the classical studies on the subgroupings of Iranian.

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The Indo-European development $*d > *h_1$ and its chronology

ALEXANDER LUBOTSKY

It is well-known that Indo-European $*d$ can become $*h_1$ in several positions (within the glottalic interpretation, $*^?d > *^?ʔ$).

Before $*k̑$:

- Gr. ἑκατόν '100' < $*h_1k̑m̑tom$ < $*d̑k̑mtom$, πεντήκοντα '50' < $*penk^we-h_1k̑omt-$ < $*-d̑k̑omt-$, ἑβδομήκοντα < $*septm-h_1k̑omt-$ < $*-d̑k̑omt-$, etc. (Kortlandt 1982: 105–9);
- Skt. $dāśvāms-$ 'devout, pious', original pf. ptc. of the root $das-$ < $*de-d̑k̑-uós-$ (Klingenschmitt 1982: 129, fn. 4).

Before $*μ$, if the following syllable starts with a dental:

- Gr. εἴκοσι '20' < $*é̑f̑ikos̑i$ < $*h_1μ̑id̑k̑m̑ti$ < $*d̑uid̑k̑m̑ti$ (Kortlandt 1983);
- Skt. $ví$ < $*H̑μ̑i$ < $*d̑μ̑i$; cf. the long scansion of the augment in $ávidhat$ (10× in the RV) < $*Ha-Hui-d^hH-a-t$, the Skt. root \sqrt{vidh} -having arisen by univerbation of the preverb $ví$ and $dhā-$ (Lubotsky 1994).

Word-final. The PIE paradigm for the word for 'water' (nom.acc. $*uoh_1r$, oblique $*ud-en-$) suggests a rule $*-dr\# > *-h_1r\#$ (Lubotsky 2013).

Root-final. We frequently encounter root variants, ending in h_1 and in d . It seems probable that the variants in h_1 are due to the sound change $*d > *h_1$ in some contexts (for instance, before an obstruent), although these contexts are hard to determine. Here are a few examples of $*d / *h_1$ variation in verbal roots:

- $*h_2eh_1$ (Palaic *hāri*, *hānta* ‘to be hot’, Av. *āt(ə)r-* m. ‘fire’) ~ $*h_2ed$ (Hitt. *ḫāt-ⁱ* / *ḫat-* ‘to dry up, to become parched’, Gr. ἄζω ‘to dry up’).
- $*meh_1$ (Skt. *mā-* ‘to measure, measure out, assign’, Lat. *mētiōr* ‘to measure’, etc.) ~ $*med$ (OIr. *midithir* ‘to measure, judge’, YAv. *vī-mad-* ‘healer, physician’, Gr. μέδω ‘to rule’, Go. *mitan*, *miton* ‘to measure, consider’, etc.).
- $*(s)penh_1$ (Gr. πένομαι ‘to exert oneself, toil’, Lith. *pinti* ‘to twist’, OCS *pęti* ‘to stretch’, Arm. *henum* ‘to weave’, Go. *spinnan* ‘to spin’, etc.) ~ $*(s)pend$ (Lat. *pendō* ‘to weigh, pay’, Lith. *spęsti* ‘to set a trap’, OCS *pędb* ‘span’).
- $*temh_1$ (Gr. τάνω, Mir. *tamnaid* ‘to cut’, Lat. *temnō*, *-ere* ‘to scorn, despise’) ~ $*tend$ (Lat. *tondeō* ‘to cut the hair, shear’, Gr. τένδω ‘to gnaw at’), cf. Kümmel’s remark about the root $*tend$ in the LIV (p. 628): “Gilt als Erweiterung von $*temh_1$ ‘schneiden’, kann aber, da ohne $*h_1$, höchstens eine parallele Erweiterung $*tem-d$ neben $*temh_1$ sein oder auf einem d -Präsens zu unerweitertem $**tem$ beruhen”.
- $*terh_1$ (Lat. *terō* ‘to rub, grind’, *terebrā* ‘drill’; Gr. τρίρω ‘to oppress’, τρίρετρον ‘drill’, etc.) ~ $*terd$ (Skt. *tard-* ‘to split, pierce, open’, Lith. *trėndu* ‘to be eaten by moths or worms’).

The chronology of this development is not quite clear. The latter two categories seem to point to a PIE age, but the former two

rather speak in favor of “independent” sound changes in separate branches.

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Lexicalized reduplicated formations in Tocharian

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Tocharian has lost reduplication as a morphological device in many of its stem formations. Differently from languages such as Baltic or Slavic, however, the loss of the reduplication in Tocharian was a purely phonologically driven process constrained by sound law. In the former languages, in turn, the loss of the reduplication was not due to any sound changes but was rather abandoned as a morphological phenomenon (cf. remnants that were reanalyzed as non-reduplicated and therefore retained OCS 3sg.pres. *dastō* < *dōd-t-* and Lithuanian *duoda* (analyzed as *duo-d-a*).

This is different in Tocharian where the reduplication loss is dependent purely on sound laws and, hence, remains if — for certain reasons — the relevant sound laws cannot apply (cf., *inter alia*, Seržant 2014).

In the present paper I would like to present several archaic reduplicated stem formations of Tocharian that have been retained due to exactly the failure of the relevant sound law to apply.

TB *śak_vse* / *śakse* ‘Rauschtrank, Branntwein’ (cf. Couvreur 1954: 49), TB (*trikelyesa*) *śāk_vse* ‘strong drink (with intoxication)’ corresponds to Skt. *madya-* (Ogihara 2011: 135) from Proto-toch. **kʷakus-* from PIE **ǵeǵs-* ‘enjoy, consume’ (cf. pres. **ǵi-ǵéǵs-* / **ǵi-ǵus-* in Hit. *kukuszi* (KUB 10,99 i 29) ‘er kostet, schmeckt es’ in Watkins

2003, and Indo-Iranian *juṣ-/joṣ-* (suppletive to *har^(f)*), García Ramón 2009).

TA *kuk-āṃ*, TB *kuke-ne* (du. nom.) ‘Ferse’ stems from PIE **g^ue-g^uh₂-* (ved. *jígāti* ‘schreitet’, gr. hom. βίβας ‘einerschreitend’, s. LIV², 205)

TB *kuk²-* is possible a lexicalized reduplicated verbal stem **g^ue-g^uh₂-* from **g^ueh₂-* ‘den Fuß aufsetzen, treten’ if the meaning of this root is indeed ‘eine Bewegung nach unten ausführen’ (as per Winter 1984: 213), cf. Malzahn (2010: 597):

ś(e)śśuko(ś) in (82 a1 (Š)) *k_ace w[än]taresa kekamoṣ takās yt-
arintse ś(e)śśuko(ś)*

‘In welcher Angelegenheit seid ihr gekommen? Vom Weg er-
müdet (?)...’

(Schmidt 2001: 311).

A translation ‘vom Weg hierhergeführt [wörtl. kommen gelas-
sen]’ might be possible here.

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The plausibility of linguistic change as a “discrimen” between inheritance, borrowing, polygenesis of linguistic structures

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The present talk aims to discuss some theoretical models concerning the notions of continuity and of “plausibility” in linguistic development. The paper has a twofold purpose: firstly, it will focus on some proposals that, relying on such principles, have been conceived for the application to Indo-European reconstruction; such approaches provide tools to distinguish, within the diachronic evolution of languages, changes arising from contact and interference from the ones due to development of inherited “potentialities”; secondly, the research will examine two case studies drawn from Latin and Sabellic documentation (i.e. from the Italic branch) in the light of the methodological criteria mentioned above: in particular, I shall analyze a specific form of Latin subjunctive, whose morphological structure can be explained both starting from “Indo-European (or Proto-Italic?) assumptions” and postulating a contact phenomenon (morphologic borrowing from Sabellic languages): as we will see, an analysis conducted with proper methodological instruments, leads to prefer the latter solution. The second case study is represented from Latin Imperative mood and, more exactly, from a set of forms displaying strong analogies with the Vedic Imperative system; consequently, a question can be posed: are such formations inherited from Indo-European, or have

to be reconstructed parallel evolutions (a sort of polygenesis)? The hypothesis of polygenesis is encouraged from the examination of the system features, that allow to identify the “preconditions” (plausibility and “predictability” of a specific change) for similar but independent evolutions.

In further detail, analysis will be structured as follows.

1) As for methodologies and models: the notions of “plausibility” of linguistic change goes back to the theoretical reflections of Eugenio Coseriu. As is well known, Coseriu elaborated (e.g. 1958, 1983) an original conception of linguistic change; in his view, each historical language would be configured according to a norm, a system and a type; continuity and discontinuity in the diachronic change of languages would be explainable keeping into account such a tripartition: in particular, there would be change of norm within system continuity, and system change within type continuity: in short, the contrast between continuity and discontinuity could be interpreted by inserting change in a wider frame; a system change/discontinuity, for example, would lie on a continuity type. A relevant consequence arises from such a claim: a linguistic change is “plausible” if it responds to the possibilities of the system (and/or of the type). Besides, an “implausible diachronic change” (e.g. a grammatical change that seems to be in contrast with the system features) requires further analysis and stimulates to research a different explanation; in other words, such a change could be due to the contact with other languages: a process of interference could have interrupted/modified the diachronic transmission of structures.

2) Such a theoretical ground has been, during the last decades, rethought and refined in an applicative perspective; the described

conception has been developed by Belardi (e.g. 2002) who investigated etymology and the rules governing the transmission of linguistic signs; a meaningful application to the Indo-European field (in particular to Latin) is to be found in Mancini (2009); relevant to our perspective are the theoretical studies of Katičić (1970) and, above all, of Prosdocimi (1978, 2004); Prosdocimi explores continuity and discontinuity from the point of view of the Indo-European reconstruction; in this way, he formulates the notion of “system potentiality”, that results very fruitful in the analysis of Indo-European convergent isoglosses: some linguistic phenomena, displayed from several (but not from all) Indo-European branches, can be explained through the concept of system potentiality (e.g. genesis of new categories, phonological changes, category extensions, development of analogous morphological structures); on one hand such phenomena can not be defined as inherited from a common source *stricto sensu*; on the other hand, parallel evolutions can be satisfactorily interpreted by recognizing some common tendencies and principles: in a word, such processes would yield from inherited system potentialities. Lastly, it is needful to remember the recent works on the role displayed from linguistic contact in grammatical change (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005).

3) Starting from this theoretical basis, I shall briefly inspect the case studies sketched above; the first one concerns some Latin subjunctive forms, attested in an archaic inscription; such verbs do not fully respond to the morphologic features of Latin: they are not “plausible” within the Latin linguistic system; such structures can be analyzed by hypothesizing an interference between Latin and Sabellic morphology, rather than by invoking a common ancestor (such as Proto-Italic); historical and linguistic conditions for interference are, in this case, well documented. As for the sec-

ond case study, we will examine the relationship between Latin “future” Imperative and the Vedic one, paying attention to specific forms. I’ll try to show that: a) such developments result plausible both in the Indo-European context and within the respective historical linguistic systems; b) the structural similarities displayed from the two sets of forms can be seen as the outcome of a common system potentiality: analogies would be due to the semantic and morphologic properties of Imperative mood by itself; a polygenesis can consequently be hypothesized.

4) In conclusion, I shall shortly draw from the analysis some general reflections concerning the validity and applicability of the discussed models.

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**THEATRICAL AND RITUAL
BOUNDARIES IN SOUTH ASIA**

**“The Empire floats back”: Ariane Mnouchkine,
her *L’Indiade* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra***

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The theoretical underpinnings of the proposed conference-panel on “Theatrical and Ritual Boundaries in South Asia”, as implicit in its title, appear to foreground the contested and synergising spaces of dramaturgical exchanges, between European “national” cultures, often perceived to be in the “giving” mode, themselves and also them and the “receiving” cultures of Asia and Africa; after the socio-cultural and politico-economic upheavals and discoveries of early-modern Europe caused a noetic leap in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European national/imperial constellations established, with different degrees of success and longevity, their hegemonic political and cultural sway in large parts of the non-Europhone world. This led to not only the spatial expansion of Europhone societal and cultural normativities, but also to the crystallisation of various “Western” approximations of “Eastern” cultures; even without entering into the “Orientalism”-debate, as formulated by Edward Said, it is possible to critique stereotypical notions of static cultural identities that are either “active” or “passive”, “dynamic” or “stagnant”, and look at the transactional relationship between Europhone and, in the case of the proposed paper, Indophone cultural entities as being more hybridised, to use Homi Bhabha’s path-breaking theoretical configuration, and polycentric than was previously assumed to be the case. One of the

moot examples of this phenomenon of culturally-hybridised methodologies of intra- and inter-continental exchange is to be found in the domain of mid-twentieth century Euro-American explorations of classical Indic dramaturgical thought and praxis, nowhere better encapsulated than Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, an ancient Indian Sanskrit treatise on dramatic theories and performance, envisioning theatre, dance and music as constituting a harmonious composite upon the stage, an attempt at "360-degree-theatre"; the proposed paper seeks to explore the prescriptive theorisations of the above text, composed between 200 BCE and 200 CE in India, arguably configured from and/or through post-/Vedic ritual-practice, and link them with the often-radical directorial approaches and experiments in post-WW2 European dramaturgical practice, especially as seen in the work of the eminent French *metteur en scène*, Ariane Mnouchkine (1939-), who founded the *avant-garde* stage ensemble *Théâtre du Soleil* in 1964, in Paris. Mnouchkine's *L'Indiade ou L'Inde de leurs Rêves* ("The 'Indiade' or India of Their Dreams", 1987-1988) was an almost-ground-breaking exploration of Indic motifs and staging-configurations and appears to have been substantially influenced by, among others, the first modern impact of Indian dramaturgical forms and techniques through the Europe-tours of the "Uday Shankar Ballet Troupe" in the 1930s.

The proposed paper, which is based on work done in the course of my dissertation, will not only seek to revisit the theoretical postulates — with a special focus on their staging-related significance — discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, while presenting a brief cultural history of Indic dramaturgical thought, and attempt to investigate the range and depth of its influence upon the work of Ariane Mnouchkine, as represented through her theatrical adaptation of Hélène Cixous's *L'Indiade*, but also to trace an arc of symbiotic influence, through the various theoretical-practical turns in Indi-

an and European dramaturgy, to Mnouchkine and hopes to explore the mutually-enriching transactional encounters between Europe and India through attempts to evolve new paradigms of stage-performances. In the process, it will be necessary to revisit the cultural-political discourses of European, especially French, proto-/colonial interventions in the Indian Subcontinent, which, as the present work should be able to indicate, reflect certain constitutive tropes of contemporaneous European constructions of the Self; thus, one might justifiably argue that this early-colonial and also, within the Indian context, early modern European gaze — directed at India — was, among other things, a salient function of Europe’s search for an aesthetic “Theory of Everything”, which could have led to paradigmatic cultural formulations, later on in the nineteenth century, like that of Richard Wagner’s *Gesamtkunstwerk* ‘holistic/comprehensive work of art’. As shown by Küpper (2012: 133),

[u]nder th[e] auspices [of “a perspective informed by Christian concepts”,] Western art has evolved into a cultural practice that integrates “everything”, [...] and which has finally abandoned all normative conceptions of beauty and even appropriateness (*decorum*), albeit following a premise that still applies to the most radical experiments of modernist visual art: sensory perception is never enough in itself, but must strive towards sublimation within something “higher” and spiritual.

It appears that, through these normative evocations of stereotypical Indian sensory impressions, a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French dramatists — whom Binita Mehta studies, in her *Widows, Pariahs and Bayadères: India as Spectacle* (2002) — theatricalise a notional Francophone Indian Empire that

was to remain elusive for Paris; the palpable depth of the French attraction to these images and associations of and with India uncover these and other proto-/crypto-colonial references in contemporaneous French drama as being indicative of the constructed nature of the post-Enlightenment configuration of the French Self. In her work, Mehta focuses on the recycling, by a few generations of French playwrights, of certain Indian leitmotifs, somewhat negative or, at the very least, ambivalently stereotypical, like those of the widow burnt at her husband's pyre, the downtrodden "pariah" or untouchable, and the exotic-sensuous *bayadère* or temple-danseuse. It is possible to unpack the interstitial inter-relationships between these representational manoeuvres and their embedded political-aesthetic agendas, which were sought to be actualised through the staging of the concerned plays; thus, one may opine that the French engagement with India and her perplexing *imaginaire* seems to have been inversely proportional to the reduction of France's colonial manoeuvrability in the Subcontinent during the long eighteenth century: it was as if the perceptual structures of the British gazetteers were being embellished and further exoticised by the French dramatists. In the last chapter of her book, Mehta focuses on the two most influential and much-discussed plays, which dealt with India, to appear on the French stage in the last two decades of the twentieth century, namely, Carrière's *The Mahabharata*, as staged by Peter Brook, and Cixous's *Le Indiade ou l'Inde de leurs rêves* ("The Indiade or India of Their Dreams"), as staged by Ariane Mnouchkine; she does seem to accept that these two plays are nuanced by an augmented analytical objectivity, consciousness of the socio-cultural context(s) and sensitivity to the historical background, which were almost absent in the colonial plays, but notes the presence of some of the same exoticising and reductionist tendencies that essentialised and sentimental-

ised India in terms of mystical alterity. The present chapter will seek to revisit, in particular, the issue of whether these and similar metaphoric evocations of a dream(t)-India, with special reference to Cixous's and Mnouchkine's *L'Indiade*, do manage to avoid falling into the colonial trap of using these artistic engagements with the Other as "intercultural" smokescreens for venting a self-reflexive angst about the Self; it remains to be seen if the rarefied theoretical presumptions of cultural universalism may have, indeed, informed these *avant-garde* theatre-projects and, thus, undermined them in terms of interpretative objectivity.

Through the period of the last three decades, Ariane Mnouchkine's *Théâtre du Soleil* has evolved as one of the most renowned stage-collectives in Europe, and she has come to be acknowledged as a premier European stage-director in and beyond the Francophone space; along with the primarily post-Second-World-War *Regietheater* (meaning 'director/producer's theatre') in Germany, her theatre-movement sought and still seeks to engage with folk- and classical traditions from non-Europhone cultures, using cross-cultural translocations — in a sense close to the original geneticist meaning of the term, involving chromosomal dislocation and reattachment — of significant culturally-connotative themes, tropes, staging and musicological devices. The autonomy and overriding agency of the director/producer was central to the conception of the *Regietheater*, which makes it similar to Ariane Mnouchkine's own ideas of tight and all-pervasive directorial agency, even control, on a performance, independent of the spatio-temporal limitations of the text or narrational context; thus, she managed to bring together a wide range of theatrical and folk-performance motifs, from mainstream European, Indian and other Afro-Asian sources, while appearing to maintain an open-minded and balanced approach to the contemporary ideological and societal-cultural

debates. It is, especially, her nuanced but, through a reconfiguration of their theatrical connotations, decontextualised use of Indian dramaturgical devices, both from street-theatre to the classical Sanskritic forms, which were already quite popular amongst European theatre-audiences in the 1960s, that earns Mnouchkine a reprieve from the charge of having an Orientalist's reductionist gaze. Hers seems to be a "cultural mobility" that was and is based on a creative and problematising engagement with the hybrid and the non-rooted, which do seem to thrive in the complex "flows" of people, goods, money, and information across endlessly shifting social landscapes (Greenblatt et al 2010: 1). Thus, when she uses Indian dance-forms and theatregrams, both classical and street-theatre-oriented, she does it with a keen understanding of the cross-cultural *métissage* that characterises many of these apparently-autochthonous theatrical forms and tropes; thus, one may even presume to opine that she seems to understand the "unnatural acts... [of] colonization, exile, emigration, wandering, contamination, and unintended consequences" (Greenblatt et al 2010: 2), especially as they were reflected in the kinds of memory-narratives that have, in (post-)colonial India, constituted powerful narratives and counter-configurations of the Indic cultural Self. In fact, Mnouchkine appears to be imbued with the desire to engage, through her personal directorial interventions, with the project of what Stephen Greenblatt, in his influential essay "Racial Memory and Literary History", describes as "recovering the creative achievements of groups that the professional study of [cultural practices] had marginalized or ignored or simply absorbed into a larger, speciously undifferentiated unity" (Greenblatt 2001: 49).

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, one of the most renowned theoretical textual exports of the Indian Subcontinent and certainly its best-known dramaturgical one, seems to have been more of an encyclopaedic

commentary on extant knowledge of not only theatre and dramaturgy but also musicology, dance and the other arts; despite its focus on the performative rather than the plastic arts, it seems to be quite authoritative in its analytical discussions of both of these genres. It could even be so that this trans-disciplinary omniscience is the function of the compendium-aspect of the work, with the individual sections having been the outputs of different authors and/or periods and the juxtaposition merely symptomatic of eventual collation; it is worthwhile, however, to note that “it is the boast of the book that there is no knowledge, no craft, no lore, no art, no technique and no activity that you do not find in *Nāṭyaśāstra* (I, 116)” (Rangacharya 1998: 1–2). In its extant form, the work is divided into thirty-seven chapters, composed of 5569 metrical verses that dwell on “semantics, morphology, the various dialects and their phonology, play-writing, play-construction, production, rehearsal, acting, dramatic criticism, drama-audience, producer and many allied crafts” (Rangacharya 1998: 2); however, some parts of the text are in melodious prose, especially in the sections on *rasa*, *bhāva* and, last but not the least, music. In fact, in some extant manuscript-versions of the text, “at the end of the last (XXXVII) chapter, the colophon at the end says that the book is finished and then the name of the book is given as *Nandī Bharata Saṅgitapustakam* — the book on music by Nandī Bharata” (Rangacharya 1998: 82). This could be interpreted as proof of the book being more like a digest of art history and cultural theorisation, in terms of the German noetic-analytical trajectories of *Kunstgeschichte* and *Kulturwissenschaft*, than a unique generically-focussed work. However, it could also be that the ancient Indian theoretical conceptualisation of the relationship between the arts was one that came closer to the Wagnerian scheme of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and was viewed as a function of Indic cosmogony and the code of holistic naturalism that

Indic thought, metaphysical, theological, socio-cultural and artistic, has cultivated over the ages; from this perspective, one could actually attempt to contextualise the anecdotal narrative with which the thirty-seventh chapter, that “on the curse of the actors” (Rangacharya 1998: 82), of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ends. In a nutshell, the story has the hermit-audience of Bharat’s narration asking him to expand on the notion of drama being worldly but having descended from the celestial realms, through the episode of the latter’s descendants, namely, actors being cursed by the Gods; in verse 10, Bharata attempts to answer them: “Now, about *pūrvaraṅga*, I have already told you that it was there (not as part of any story) but to ward off obstacle [...] and because of the music and the flattery, the gods were extremely pleased with it [...]. In the course of time, however, it so happened that the artists, in vulgar taste, began lampooning the sages who consequently got angry and cursed the artists to a low and vulgar life” (Rangacharya 1998: 82–83). However, this maledictory setback was not able, even within the mythopoeic meta-structure, to censor or proscribe drama in any manner, with Bharata’s “sons”, the afore-mentioned actors, being advised by him to preserve drama, in an act of almost- promethean transcendence, by taking it with them to the mortal realms, where they would be born lowly; one would do well, at this point, to note that there seems to have been less of the promethean transgression in the Indic narrative: being cursed by sages and other (semi-)divine beings did not, necessarily, lead to just incremental suffering and continuing loss.

The present paper will seek to revisit, specifically, the issue of whether these and similar figurative templates of a dream(t)-India, especially in the context of Cixous’s and Mnouchkine’s *l’Indiade*, do manage to see through the colonial ruse of using these artistic engagements with the Other as “intercultural” safety-valves for

venting a self-reflexive angst regarding the Self; in doing this, one may need to interrogate the very essence of disciplinary strategies and noetic taxonomies that constitute what Carlo Ginzburg calls “the emphasis on the boundaries of a given discipline”, while remembering that “there is nothing intrinsically innovative or subversive in an interdisciplinary approach to knowledge” (Ginzburg et al 1995: 534). It remains to be seen if the rarefied theoretical presumptions of cultural universalism may have, indeed, informed these *avant-garde* theatre-projects, like those produced by Mnouchkine’s *Théâtre du Soleil*, and, thus, undermined them in terms of interpretative objectivity. As Ginzburg, who calls for the academic praxis of “connoisseurship”, writes,

[t]his interplay of vetoes and compatibilities, doubts and suggestions, seems to be a distinctive feature of what I would call “interdisciplinarity from within.” [...] It perhaps implies more, albeit silent, theory than the widespread, allegedly theoretical approach which [...] we may call “interdisciplinarity from without”: this is a safer activity, unchallenged by the objects it deals with, and understandably far more popular than the alternative. (Ginzburg et al 1995: 536)

The present paper will seek to attempt this “interdisciplinarity from without” and arrive at a possible approximate evaluation of the interstitial relationships built into the theatre-ritual spatio-temporal discourse/s in the Indian Subcontinent and the manner in which these have travelled.

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Possession, possessed and intangible heritage of humanity: notes on a spectacular performance of Kerala (South India) that does not accept to be domesticated

GIORGIO DE MARTINO

This paper seeks to analyze, by means of ethnoscenological analysis, some aspects of the threshold(s) between theater and ritual, through the vicissitudes experienced by the *Teyyam* (literally: 'dance of the god'). This is a quite lively trance-possession performance, owned and performed, during the centuries, by specific families of ex-untouchable castes of some districts of Kerala. *Teyyam* has been seen and judged in many contradictory ways. Since the beginning of the 19th century to nowadays, the performance has moved from the category of "devilish orgy" as it was seen by colonizers and missionaries, through the more acceptable hypothesis of an Indian folkloric artistic expression, and the one of an ancient heroes' cult (Kurup 1973) after India's independence, until the present-day official definition of ritual art of Kerala.

Introducing *Teyyam* seems not easy: when in June 2010 I had in Paris a quick private talk with the foremost specialist, Richard J. Freeman, I asked him why, after about thirty years of researches (1991, PhD thesis, unpublished), he still didn't publish a big book on this "performance". His honest answer was: "I am continuously discovering new elements". I can understand his preoccupations, as when I could met a younger Indian scholar, Dinesan Vadakkiniyil,

who discussed his PhD in 2009, he suggested I deeply study Malayalam (the language of Kerala), to detect the multiple thresholds of meaning in the vocabulary of *Teyyam*. Moreover, lexical items from several South Indian languages are mixed in the chants that introduce *Teyyam* deities. Since it is quite clear that the *Teyyam* we can see nowadays has moved through different sociocultural frames to survive, it seems thinkable that the language used by untouchables who were, and are, the owners of this popular cult, has mixed with other idioms. The two scholars' suggestions, linked to a statement, "Heroes don't like to be domesticated", an unknown person told me during a night of *Teyyam*, awakened me about the possible existence of multiple, unseen layers of meanings of this performance, usually seen as a ritual, or as a form of "theatre". *Teyyam* also underwent some attempts of "theatralization", which ended up in legal pursuits. This colorful and spectacular possession dance, makes us reflect upon an interesting conflict. On one hand, its specificities invite and suggest to develop new strategies to rethink the complicated, ambiguous, and sometimes dangerous relations between theater and ritual. On the other hand, owing probably to the same reasons, *Teyyam* has not been able to reach the privileged status of "intangible heritage of humanity". This series of events makes *Teyyam*, in my opinion, a particularly effective example to explore and discuss thresholds and links, attractions, repulsions and confusions that exist between theater and ritual. *Teyyam* can be seen as a ritual danced cult but during time his status has changed so many times. Now it presents itself as "artistic", a word chosen probably to introduce this complex performance to western eyes. Nevertheless, as far as I know, no affordable translation of the meaning that this performance has for Keralans is really satisfactory. The failed process of theatralization and patrimonialization shows that *Teyyam* seems unable or just cannot be framed into existing categorizations.

For this reason, even without being a professional ethnoscenologist, I have gazed at this elusive ritual trance-possession performance through the ethnoscenological eye-glasses, and with the help of my peripheral eyesight observation. In ethnoscenology (Pradier 1997) we are forbidden to designate any set of “organized human actions” if not by the name used by the people who have created this form. This made me continuously aware that I was looking at unknown actions we sometimes call “theatre”, rethinking continuously my sensations to banish the clichés. This fieldwork posture was not an option but a general rule suggested by the transdisciplinary ethnoscenological approach, linked to the idea of *incarnation de l’imaginaire* ‘embodiment of the imaginary’. Ethnoscenology is indebted with the works of the revolutionary boost received from the creators of “theatrical” avant-gardes (Grotowski, Barba), but also by unusual intellectuals like Georges Lapassade (Analyse Institutionnelle).

Personally I would like to add also anthropologists like Jeanne Favret-Saada (1977) and Bernard Delfendahl (1973). The latter elicited some bad academic reactions during the 70s. Delfendahl emphasized the importance of “amateur” fieldwork, the technical use of empathy, and acting to “put yourself in the shoes of the others”. During fieldwork we engage our identity, our bodies, and it is not a metaphor. Sometimes “it happens”, as anthropologist Arno Halloy (2006, 2009) has explained through his personal possession, after ten years of researches in Brazil. At the moment not only no western researcher has been able to participate, as performer, to a *Teyyam*, but as far as I know, none experienced some form of contagious trance-possession state, remembering that for *Teyyam*’s practitioners, such categories have no sense. We can only attentively listen to others’ experiences, trying to understand through our embodied boundaries.

Looking to boundaries, intrigued by the polarity of wild/domestic, I received a real help to frame *Teyyam* thanks to a personal research and practice of Kalarippayatt, the renowned martial art of Kerala, as many of the *Teyyam* performers were, or still are, *gurukkal*, that means accomplished martial art masters. I would also emphasize that *Teyyam*'s performances can last for days, and it seems not a hazard that some performer have a background in an ancient martial art practice like Kalarippayatt, integrated in western actors' training since almost thirty years (Zarrilli 1998). This element could be one of the important knots linked to the unachieved domestication of *Teyyam*, and in some way a password to further investigations. In fact one of the questions, in martial arts, is: where is the boundary between training combat play, and rude, dangerous fighting? And what happens when passing from one form of interaction to another? In some way this problem exists also in the actors' acting when interpreting a role: "Are you playing Hamlet, or are you Hamlet"? If the *Teyyam* trance-possession danced ritual universe, as I argue, refuses to be domesticated, even if often presented as an unusual indigenous amusement for tourists, this probably means that its unknown origins, lost in past centuries, contain hidden interactive qualities. One of the consequences is that this performance must be seen as a process, where a special space of knowledge and negotiation between castes, gods, humans and divinized beings is created. This new research object is not ritual, nor theatre.

If this idea has a sense, the groundwater unknown qualities are the treasure to save as "immaterial" patrimony. It is important to notice that it is said that the number of characters in *Teyyam*, the "possessors", was supposed, in the past, to be around 400, but now only less than 100 have been saved, and are practiced, during the performance calendar, but, surprisingly, after India's independence

we do not have any new character and new *Teyyam*. This black out happens when, in the meantime, the ritual dance begins his transformations from folk ritual to art form with ritual roots. *Teyyam*, as J. J. Pallath, who comes from a family converted to Christianity, explained in his thesis (1995), was also used to connect with the dead, the performer acting as a medium using his body as a bridge between worlds. In fact the castes of the untouchables, owners of *Teyyam*'s techniques, were also renowned for magic. The sacrifices of animals, in the past, were more important than nowadays, as witnessed by Wayne Ashley (unpublished thesis 1993), a scholar in performance studies who began his fieldwork on *Teyyam* in the 70s. Suggesting saving *Teyyam* as "intangible patrimony", with these premises, can be difficult. In the meantime are his "wild" aspects defending *Teyyam* from what has been called the "perverse effects" of intangible patrimony? (cf. *Les effets pervers. 7e Journée du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel dans le cadre du 14e Festival de l'Imaginaire*. Paris: Maison des Cultures du Monde, 2010). *Teyyam* looks very spectacular and this aspect can easily divert one's attention from what has been noticed by M. P. Damodaran (2005, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011), who point out that the ex devilish (theatrical) orgy, survived to so many drastic social changes and ambushes to transform it in a consumers' product, could be a "time machine". This author put an accent on an unexpected quality of *Teyyam* as a tool to reconstruct local history. In the meantime, probably owing to the close relations between *Teyyam* and the sacred grooves, it also has ecological values. His researches invite us to make a step forward, towards a new way to look at *Teyyam*. Last but not least, there is only one woman who practices a form of *Teyyam*, the Devakooth, in which the history of a celestial nymph is represented. Inquiring about this form showed me that its status is controversial, as sometimes it is said it is not a *Teyyam*, sometimes people told

me it is a media creation to sell it as a *Teyyam*. This notwithstanding, only a woman from specific families, owners of *Teyyam*'s techniques and traditions, can perform. Lost in our search for definitions, we can discover that, between ritual and theatre, also some forms of non-*Teyyam* exist.

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Theatricality and Performativity in the Vedic ritual: A methodological approach to an impressive display of power

MARIANNA FERRARA

“The most important aspect of theatre art is the performance”. With these words, at the beginning of the XX century Max Herrmann, one of the founding fathers of German theatre studies, called for a new discipline to be founded: a discipline which was devoted to performance. The specificity of this new academic discipline was supported by the idea that performance and text are irreducible. Along the decades beyond such a dichotomy provided the theoretical framework to support the differentiation between the textual cultures, mainly European and writing cultures, and the performative cultures, mainly non-Western and ethnographic cultures, for which the performance — theatrical and religious — was overemphasized and very impressive. Especially after the performative turn, the boundaries of such a split have been widely re-thought.

In the field of religious studies the categories such as “performance” and “performativity” came to be used to examine the agency and the efficacy behind symbols and words, while the Austinian notion of “performative speech act” influenced the methods of interpreting the religious texts. From the other side the reading of performances as texts enabled scholars to rethink the complex

interplay between the canon and the interpretation, the fixity and the activity, the authority and the allowable.

However, the debate on performance in religious studies stimulated another debate concerning the theatrical features of performance, I mean the dramatized and codified actions, dialogues, gestures etc. involved in any ritual performance. With regard to what is performance and what is theatre other boundaries should be, therefore, re-shaped.

Many scholars agree with the idea that ritual and theatre are not differentiated in ancient (and also in modern) South Asian traditions, while others hold the difference between the religious and the aesthetic (as equivalent of non-religious entertainment) to stress indeed the religious combination of theatre and ritual in South Asian religious tradition.

I intend to discuss these issues moving the investigation in the field of the Vedic ritual proscriptions to show how the categories of theatricality and performativity can be fitted with the ritual exhibition of a standard behaviour made of actions, gestures, sentences and dialogues, while both the presentational and representational aspects are involved as well. I shall try to consider how a survey of Vedic symbolical practices would modify the current theories on the boundaries between entertainment and ritual, performativity and sacredness.

Spontaneous Expression or Formalized Spectacle? Exploring Performance as an Interface Between Religion and Art in the Nāṭyaśāstra and Early Śaiva Sources

ELISA GANSER *and* NINA MIRNING

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a text on theatrical practice and theory composed some time between the second century BC and the fifth CE, prescribes that the performance of a play should be preceded by a preliminary phase, technically called *pūrvaraṅga*. According to the myth about the origins of Indian theatre contained in Bharata's treatise, even before the *pūrvaraṅga* is performed, a theatrical building has to be constructed, and the theatrical space needs to be consecrated through a *pūjā* in which the various deities allotted to the different parts of the auditorium are worshipped through offerings of various materials and substances, in order to protect the performance of the play from the hindering action of potential obstacles. This consecration ritual is defined as *raṅgadaivatapūjā* 'worship of the deities of the stage' and appears to be closely connected to the procedures employed when building of a new theatrical edifice, with the addition that it has a protective effect on the theatrical performance on the whole. Similar to the rite of consecrating the theatre building, the *pūrvaraṅga* is also called a *pūjā*, and it displays in its segments striking similarities with it. As already noted by other scholars (Bansat-Boudon 1992), the *pūrvaraṅga* represents a sort of scenic duplicate of the consecra-

tion ritual for the theatre building, although it introduces at the same time some of the elements which will form part of the theatrical performance (i.e. instrumental music, songs, dance, acting), and also anticipates the theme of the play.

Far from being just nominally treated as a *pūjā*, something which would not be totally unlikely considering the pervasiveness of the ritual paradigm in the Indic world, the *pūrvaraṅga* does not appear to merely metaphorically carry this status of a ritual, but rather contains all the characteristics proper to a *pūjā*. The word *pūjā* denotes, in the whole Indian subcontinent, a rite in which a deity often in the form of an idol is worshipped through a series of offerings including various operations (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994). On the theatrical stage described by Bharata there are no images, although various deities have been installed beforehand in the various parts of the stage. In front of them, songs and formulas are recited, accompanied by dance steps and salutations. Moreover, all the operations carried out in the different phases of the *pūrvaraṅga* are accompanied by instrumental and vocal music.

The fifth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is entirely devoted to laying down the complex procedure of the *pūrvaraṅga*. However, in order to have a complete picture of it, one needs to additionally consult other chapters of the treatise, where some of its elements are explained in details. The fourth chapter, for instance, introduces dance as an element of the *pūrvaraṅga*, while in the 31st chapter we find examples of the lyrics belonging to specific songs sung only in the *pūrvaraṅga*. It is by incorporating the information contained in these chapters that one can better seize the nature of the entire *pūrvaraṅga* as a *pūjā*. Besides the presence of a general terminology belonging to the ritual sphere in the description of the *pūrvaraṅga*, these chapters present some of the elements which form the core of the *pūrvaraṅga* as coated in Śaiva mythology.

First of all, dance is added to the *pūrvaraṅga* under the suggestion of Śiva, after he witnesses the performance of a play about one of his deeds, namely the *Tripuradāha* (“Burning of the three cities”), which is staged in his honour. In order to instruct Bharata in the art of dancing, Śiva resorts to one of his assistants, Taṇḍu, from which the name of the famous *tāṇḍava* dance is said to derive. In connection with this very episode, Śiva is evoked as dancing after the destruction of Dakṣa’s sacrifice, in the company of his consort Pārvatī and of his retinue of *gaṇas*. The musical accompaniment of the *tāṇḍava*, to be performed exclusively in the *pūrvaraṅga*, is later on explained in NŚ 31 through a reference to this very myth of Dakṣa. The lyrics intervening in the musical structure are then exemplified through hymns dedicated to Śiva, where various epithets of the god connected to his mythology are used.

This strong Śaiva connection also extends to the way in which the religious benefit of performing dance and music is conceptualized and expressed in the texts. Thus, the performers are said to be purified of all their sins and set to reach Śiva’s heaven:

NŚ 31.73cd

vardhamānaprayoktāro yāsyanti śivagocaram ||

‘The performers of the *vardhamāna* will reach the sphere of Śiva’.

And:

NŚ 4.319

maheśvarasya caritaṃ ya idaṃ samprajoyayet |

sarvāpāpaviśuddhātmā śivalokaṃ sa gacchati ||

‘He who properly performs this action of Maheśvara will reach, purified from all sins, the abode of Śiva’.

These formulations strongly call into mind textual sources from purāṇic literature and works dealing with Śaiva lay devotional practices. For instance, the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the earliest layer of the Śivadharma, a corpus of texts expounding on the performance and merits of devotional acts of lay devotees probably going back to sometime around the sixth century, ends its fifth chapter dedicated to the worship of Śiva through the *Śivaliṅga*, with the words:

ŚDhŚ 5.218

*iyam pūjāvidhiṃ puṇyaṃ yaḥ śṛṇoti sakṛn naraḥ |
sa muktaḥ sarvaḥpāpāis tu śivalokam avāpnuyāt ||*

‘The man who listens [even] once to [the instructions for the] meritorious rite of worship is liberated from all sins and obtains Śiva’s world’.

Aside from sharing the conceptualization that certain acts bring about the attainment of Śiva’s heaven, we also learn, in the same text, that these religious acts of worship can include also elements of performance such as song, music and dance.

ŚDhŚ 5.30–31

*yas tu naivedyacchatraiś ca dhvajādarśavitānakaiḥ |
ghaṇṭācāmaradānena alaṃkāraudanena vā ||
suarṇamaṇivastraiś ca gandhadūpopalepanaiḥ |
gītavāditranṛttaiś ca huḍuṃkarastavena ca ||*

‘He [worships Śiva] with food offerings and umbrellas, banners, mirrors, canopies, with offerings of bells and fly-whisks, or ornaments and milk-porridge, with gold, jewels, clothes, fragrances, incense, and by smearing, with songs, music and dance, and by making the ‘huduṃ’ sound and with hymns’.

What is more, we find in these religious sources that also the devotion itself has to be physically manifested in the devotee's body, and in this way visible to all:

ŚDhŚ 1.27

*svayaṃ me 'bhyarcanaṃ kuryāt mamārthe cāṅgaceṣṭitam |
matkathāśravaṇe bhaktiḥ svaranetrāṅgavikriyā ||*

‘[He should] himself worship me and use bodily movements for my sake, have devotion while telling (or listening?) stories about me [and show] modifications of the voice, eyes and limbs [out of devotion]’.

Thus, the importance of showing external physical signs that express ones moved emotional state is clearly considered a core element of devotion. When we turn to the more sectarian Śaiva religious world, namely that of the ascetic Śaiva Pāśupatas, we find that here too certain acts we may consider “performative” constitute a central role of their practice. The Śaiva Pāśupatas are an ascetic formation that has its roots in the early centuries AD and emerged as a clearly recognisable school sometime in the 4th century AD. These Pāśupata ascetics grew to become a noticeable feature in the socio-religious landscape of the early medieval Indic world, so much so that they also appear in plays and in even in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself (Acharya 2013: 103–104). Their practices, even though in many stages focused on severe yogic practices that would lead them to liberation, also contain dance and singing as acts of worship, as we can find in the *Paśupatasūtras*, the oldest extant authoritative text of that school:

Paśupatasūtra 8

hasitaḡāṅganṛttadumḡkāranamaskārajapyopahāreṅopatiṣṭhet ||

‘He should worship [Śiva] with offerings of laughter, song, dance, making the *ḍumḍum* sound, prostration, and muttering’.

But what is more, the Pāśupatas also included certain histrionic practices in their religious observances, namely that they would act out seemingly immoral and unorthodox behaviour, or act as if insane, in order to attract other people’s discrimination and abuse and thus trick them into losing their merit, which the Pāśupatas believed would then transfer to them and be exchanged for their own demerit (see, e.g. *Paśupatasūtra* 4.9 and Hara 2002: 105–138). Further, an important religious practice was also to imitate the behaviour of the bull (Acharya 2013), and act which was considered to please Śiva.

In these sources we see that elements that we may classify as “performance” (and that sometimes even require the presence of a public to be efficacious) are central to Śaiva religious practices of the mainstream as well as of the esoteric world. However, these performances are spontaneous in their nature rather than formalized and choreographed. The importance of this is even acknowledged in Kauṇḍinya’s commentary on the passage above from the *Paśupatasūtra*, in which he explicitly refers to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and thus makes a clear distinction between the two kinds of practices, the theatrical on the one hand, and the ritual on the other.

Pañcārthabhāṣya ad Paśupatasūtra 8

*gītam api gāndharvaśāstrasamayānabhiṣvaṅgeṇa [...] nṛttam
api nāṭyaśāstrasamayānabhiṣvaṅgena.*

‘Singing should not follow the Science of music (*gāndharvaśāstra*). [...] Dancing should not follow the Science of the-
atre (*nāṭyaśāstra*)’.

Such statements thus raise the question how in the theatrical world formalized acts of performance, as for example the strictly regulated dance choreographies and musical compositions we find in the *pūrvaraṅga*, are also explicitly conceptualized as acts of worship, and present us with an interesting avenue of investigation for how theatre tried to place itself in relation to the religious world, and *viceversa*, during this formative period of devotional practices in the early medieval Indic world. For instance, given the emphasis we find on spontaneous expressions in the sphere of Śaiva devotional acts, how much was a formalized spectacle accepted as a religious act of worship in this early period? And was the development of Śaiva devotional practices influenced by the emergence of formalized art?

By challenging the usual boundaries imposed on these textual sources by literary and disciplinary classifications we try to recover some aspects of the socioreligious world that inform both textual traditions, and hope to reshape in a more meaningful way the intersections between theatre and ritual in early medieval India.

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Dancing the ritual (*kriya*) in the *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* theatre

VIRGINIE JOHAN

Until the 1960s, the ancestral *Kutiyattam* theatre of Kerala was performed in the temples by an ensemble of three ritual performers (of high status): the *Cakyar* 'actor-master' accompanied by the *Nampyar* 'percussionist' and the *Nannyar* 'actress'. In these temples, *Kutiyattam*, which is *natyam* 'theatre', is considered as an offering of *nrttam* 'dance' to the main divinity. Furthermore, in each performative cycle (lasting from 5 to 16 nights for the *Ramayana* plays), the performer occasionally inserts ritual dances known as *kriyas*. *Kriyas* occur at the beginning and at the end of the cycles to ensure the transition between performance time and ordinary time. They also occasionally appear in specific dramatic contexts, at the mid-point of some cycles, during the drama proper. When? How? Why?

After a brief ethnography of the *Cakyar* 'dancers', I question the uses and roles of danced rituals, and their boundaries vis-à-vis the theatrical sphere. The study is based on practitioners' texts (in Sanskrit and Malayalam), charts, pictures, and films. The examples are taken from the performance of Act I of *Abhisekanatakam* of Bhasa (*Balivadham*), and the performance of Act VI of *Ascaryacudamani* of Saktibhadra (*Act of the Ring*).

Ritual performances in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*

THOMAS KINTAERT

The question as to whether the ancient Indian play as codified in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* can be considered a ritual can be unhesitatingly affirmed if the adopted definition of ritual is sufficiently broad. In this talk I will inquire whether the same answer can be obtained when choosing a more narrow definition. Besides more general criteria such as repetitiveness, this definition of a ritual performance includes its being directed towards one or more divine and/or other supernatural beings. The present investigation will proceed in three steps. First, based on the adopted narrow definition, several types of ritual will be identified in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, information on which are provided in the following contexts: (1) the narration of myths, (2) stanzas exemplifying certain prosodic meters, (3) the description of a series of preliminary rituals to be performed at different times before the staging of a play, and (4) the codification of theatrical representations of ritual acts. In a second step, a systematic overview of this data will be provided. It will name the ritual performers, their physical and mental requirements, the performed ritual acts, the items used in them and the expected results of their correct or incorrect performance. Finally, it will be examined to which extent the performance of a play as systematized in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* measures up to the stipulated criteria of a ritual performance and what the nature of the boundary and interrelations between ritual and theatrical performances is.

The ritual boundaries of Ancient Indian theatre

NATALIA LIDOVA

According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* — the oldest and the most authoritative of all available sources on the Ancient Indian drama — the theatre was born as a divine art that clarified and harmonized the world and provided it the opportunity to rise up towards the Infinite Unity and regularity of the Cosmos. This is why Indian theatre already in its cradle, at the very moment of its origin, was conceived as a Universal art, that reflected the idea of harmony and highest beauty of the multiple sides of existence and manifested itself in an effort to maintain a balance of the supreme equilibrium values of the Universe. It was a kind of activity that was destined to create a perfect time-space continuum, which would fit the ideal geography of *dvīpas* 'holy islands' and divine time consisting of four global epochs or *yugas* 'eras' that succeeded each other in the degrading and newly reviving Universe. Therefore, it is not surprising that a divine *maṇḍala*, the centre of which was identified with the supreme deity Brahmā, became the scene of this Universal theatre. The divine drama performed at this perfect stage involved, united and refined the entire Universe, establishing an eternal paradigm of its perpetual motion. Theatre was designed to run this movement and get the world to rotate in a perfect circle delineated around of three goals of life — *dharma*, *kāma* and *artha*. At the same time theatre was not an exclusively art, but the

highest wisdom and ultimate divine knowledge, accommodating all sciences, arts and crafts and intended to educate people and teach them in entertainment, thus creating a new type of man on the basis of noble goals of higher morality.

We learn more about it from the opening chapter of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, known as *Nāṭyotpatti-adhyāya* “The Origins of the Theatre”, which explicitly formulates the idea of its divine origin. The actual drama and knowledge of it were originally named *Nāṭyaveda*. *Nāṭyaśāstra* names Brahmā as its creator and emphasizes its divine descent. This is what the *Nāṭyaśāstra* says. There was no theatre in the world in the *Kṛtayuga* ‘Golden Age’. It appeared when the world was passing to the next, *Tretāyuga* ‘Silver Age’, with the moral fall of heaven and earth. Unable to cope on his own, Indra, the King of Gods appealed to Brahmā, asking him to make something for all *Varṇas* to see and hear, including *Śūdras*, who were not previously admitted to the Vedas. As he agreed to help, Brahmā chose the typical Brahmanic way — he created a new sacral knowledge. As he is making the Fifth Veda Brahmā is amply utilized there the most essential elements of four previous Vedas — such as recitation, the basis of *Ṛgveda*, and singing, the core of *Sāmaveda* (NŚ 1.16–18). An all-embracing doctrine emerged in *Nāṭyaveda* for, as he determines to “make a Fifth Veda, entitled *Nāṭya*” (NŚ 1.14), Brahmā proceeds from many great texts of the Vedic canon. Apart from the four Vedic *Samhitās*, he used the *vedopa-veda* ‘supplementary Vedas’, all *Śāstras* without exception, knowledge of the various arts and crafts, and an instruction of *dharma* and *artha*.

No doubt, the persistent desire of the author of *Nāṭyaśāstra* to present the treatise as part and parcel of the Vedic canon, and its continuation, did not arise by sheer chance. We ought not to take this presentation at its face value to regard this work as a Fifth Veda — yet this title ascribed to it is indicative in itself as an oblique evi-

dence to the time when the treatise took shape. A number of scholars — among them the authoritative M. Ghosh, to whom belongs an edition and translation of the treatise — date the oldest contentual stratum of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the 5th century BC. To all appearances, we can see it as the actual time when the *Nāṭyaveda* appeared. We cannot rule out that the very concept of a Fifth Veda emerged at that very time, the watershed between the late Vedic and early Epic eras. Earlier, in the Vedic time proper, the doctrine of three and later four Vedas was so important that the appearance of a considerable number of texts, each announcing itself as the fifth Veda, would be preposterous as breaking the available hierarchy of the Vedic monuments. Also, the later treatises, medieval among them, were so far separated in time from the Vedic era that they could aspire to the status of Vedic works only in a metaphorical sense, while the mid-1st millennium BC was an unique time so closely linked with the Vedic culture that the very title of Veda still fully retained its original sacral and semiotic message. On the other hand, that era was characteristic for crucial reforms in the world-view, which created the very possibility of unharassed extension of the Vedic canon.

The legend of *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the era when the *Nāṭyaveda* emerged as a time of trials and tribulations, when religious precepts were given up and sensual pleasures prevailed. More than that, the creation of a Fifth Veda was necessitated by this situation of declining piety. As *Nāṭyaśāstra* repeatedly emphasizes, Brahmā's work — this compendium of universal knowledge which laid open the heart of all crafts and all scholarly erudition — was able to improve man in his depravity and restore the shattered order of things. In the actual historical time, this situation, presented as the close of the *Ṛtayuga*, corresponded to a period known as the axis time of Indian civilization, when the pillars of the ancient Vedic religion — which had hitherto appeared eternal — were profound-

ly shaken. The esoteric quality of the Brāhmanic culture, with an ideal community of the twice-born as its supreme goal, evoked a chaos of the anti-Brāhmanic religious trends. Supposedly, the crisis of the Vedic ritualism — mainly the solemn *soma-yajña* rituals — predetermined the decline of the Brāhmanic tradition. Even though Brāhmanic theology insisted as before on their obligatory and regular performance, the actual status of the *Śrauta* rites had fallen far below these demands.

As we know, the reformatory spirit of that time gave rise to a wealth of religious trends. One of them, like Buddhism and Jainism, was destined to play a crucial part in Indian culture. Others were doomed to survive only as a distant, semi-legendary echo in the tradition. They all shared one vital duty: to offer alternative roads of further development — largely due to the necessity to reform the Brāhmanic ritual system. In particular, Buddhism and Jainism gave rise to relatively rare variants of extra-ritual religious movements, which gave up all pageantry in their sacral practices. As I see it, this was a response to the unpopular Vedic ritualism.

A doctrine which helped to introduce the *pūjā*, this new form of worship perceived by the Aryan community as utterly outlandish, appears to have proposed another way out of this problem. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* singles out none other than the *pūjā* as pivotal in the emergence of the theatrical tradition. On the divine commandment of Brahmā, creator of the knowledge of the *Nāṭyaveda*, every performance was to be preceded with a *pūjā*, which was treated as “similar to *yajña*” (NŚ 1.126). This testimony of *Nāṭyaśāstra* is of essential importance — first, because it refers to the *pūjā* as the pivotal ritual of *Nāṭyaveda* and, second, because it compares the *pūjā* to the *yajña* as two different rituals.

More than that, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* contains what may well be described as one of the first-ever detailed description of *pūjā*. This

makes it a unique ritualistic source essential to determine the correlation and differentiation between *yajña* and *pūjā* and, more than that, trace the origin of that ritualistic and mythological system of which *pūjā* was the pivotal ritual. The crisis of the Vedic ritualism in the middle of the 1st millennium BC — as I make bold to assume — was linked the closest with *Śrauta* rituals. We cannot rule out that the very idea to adapt the non-Vedic *pūjā* as a ritual totally new to the Aryan community was rooted in the necessity to offer an alternative to the solemn Vedic rituals which had gone out of practice in the post-Vedic period of Indian history. In this connection, it is important to touch on another question: which milieu promoted the adoption and dissemination of the *pūjā*. In particular, the legend of *Nāṭyaśāstra* says that the sacral knowledge of the *Nāṭyaveda* was created by Brahmā to be studied and used by the Brahmins (NŚ 1.23). At the bidding of the god, they are to perform the drama and the *pūjā*. We cannot rule out that this precept, too, reflected historical reality. So we shall be justified in assuming that the *pūjā* was adapted in the Brāhmaṇic milieu. According to the legend, the Brahmins who adopted the *Nāṭyaveda* doctrine had by that time acquired esoteric Vedic knowledge, which means that they had undergone special training required to become full-fledged members of the priestly *varṇa*. This information fits in with the fact that the *Naṭasūtras* mentioned by Pāṇini also emerged in Vedic schools, these seats of Brāhmaṇic learning.

In all probability the *pūjā* was adapted by the Brāhmaṇic strata, who could not perform the solemn *Śrauta* rituals and so were the less concerned about their survival. At the same time, they were more than the other *Varṇas* dedicated to ritualistic ideas and regular ritual practices. I think this was the key factor in the emergence of the idea to adapt and disseminate the *pūjā*. In seeking to consolidate this new type of sacrifice, this section of the Brahmins spared

no effort to emphasize their unseverable links with the Vedic tradition to which they had originally belonged. To all appearances, it was they who created the very idea of the Fifth Veda, and later — the one of those monuments from the middle of the 1st millennium BC which received the honourable status of Vedas, even though they reflected an essentially non-Vedic world-view as their authors aspired to continue and develop the Vedic canon. To all appearances the religious milieu that is conducive to adoption of *pūjā* and the use of drama as a specific kind of a religious sermon was the Brahmins of *Atharvaveda*, left us a legacy of the 72 *pariśiṣṭas*, presumably created in the *Śaunaka* school. Though the exact dating of these texts is unknown they can be considered along with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as an important source of information persevering the earliest available detailed descriptions of rituals of the *pūjā* cult and provides a unique records of its appearance and spreading. It is interesting enough that among these rituals we could find some rites that are quite close to the ritualistic system reflected in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. More than that one of the Atharvavedic ritual names *Brahmayāga* and known to us thanks to *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa* XIXb, describes a ceremony of Brahmā worship, that in fact is an analogue of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ritual of the consecration of a newly built theatre (ch.3). Despite the fact that the hypothesis that Atharvavedic priests were the creators of a new form of the ancient Indian culture art — the theatre — still require considerable efforts and a detailed study of the surviving textual sources, the closeness of these two rituals of Brahmā worship provides a reasonable basis for the quite plausible assumptions. And if one day this assumptions are confirmed, we learn more about the historical situation and ritual milieu, which created the divine acting of *Nāṭyaveda* and determine the ritual boundaries of ancient Indian theatre.

Blasphemy or artistic license? Re-interpreting sacred narratives in classical Indian poetic performance, with special reference to the belletristic legacy of the *Devīmāhātmya*

BIHANI SARKAR

This talk concerns the conditions and constraints in artistically interpreting the *Devīmāhātmya*, a popular Indian *kathā* ‘myth’ fulfilling a sacral function during calendrical ritual praxis. A Purāṇic legend, the *Devīmāhātmya* (“The Goddess’s Eulogy”, c. 8th century CE) tells the demon-slaying deeds of a tempestuous warrior goddess Caṇḍikā, and her encounter with Suratha, a king who has lost his kingdom. The work is one of the most important canonical sources for the goddess’s legend, forming a key element of the religious ceremonies of the annual autumnal rite honouring her known as the *Navarātra* ‘Nine Nights’. Apart from enlivening ritual, the myth also animated *kāvya* ‘ornate poetry’ in Sanskrit, one of the most sophisticated aspects of classical Indian culture, which, like music, was considered to be a performative art, meant to entertain all men and even gods with a highly developed and rich stylistic repertoire. In the sphere of *kāvya*, two epic retellings, the *Surathotsava* (“The Festival of Suratha”), a 13th century *mahākāvya* ‘epic poem’ by Someśvaradeva, active in the Caulukya court at Aṇahilvāḍ-Pāṭan, and the *Durgāvilāsa* (“The Diversion of Durgā”, from c. the 17th century CE, or earlier), a hitherto unknown and unpublished *mahākāvya*, by Rāmakṛṣṇa, draw their inspiration and materials from the narra-

tive-paradigm of the *Devīmāhātmya*. However, they reform the original tale of the goddess in a highly individualistic manner. By focusing on these two court epics, particularly on their representation of the king's legend which exhibits the greatest number of variations from the original story, we will examine strategies whereby mythic exemplars serving a role in religious ritual, such as the *Devīmāhātmya*, were freshly interpreted and recast in the classical Indian poetic tradition. We will assess how, in transforming *kathās*, *kavis* 'poets' of this tradition asserted their independence, and their own methods and questions, from canonical versions of their mythological sources. An inspection of samples from Indian aesthetical philosophy on the subject of poetic license and faithfulness concerning well-known narratives forms the contextual background to a close inspection of the tale of king Suratha contained in these two belletristic works and its divergences from the canonical *kathā* of Suratha in the *Devīmāhātmya*. Discussions by important Indian poeticians (such as Ānandavardhana, Bhoja, and Kuntaka) demonstrate that artistic innovations introduced to the structure of the original *kathā* were not considered to be simply arbitrary changes, but were to be regarded as purposeful, and vitally essential, as long as they enhanced a particular cognitive experience of central interest to Indian aesthetics: savouring *rasa*, the essence of emotion in art. This examination allows us to reflect deeply on a number of questions. How are these acts of liberty with a religious tale during poetic performance regarded by wider culture? Are they seen to constitute blasphemy? Or are they seen as poetic license, a fundamental right of the artist to recreate according to imaginative will? What kinds of changes did *kavis* make to their stories? What were the probable motivations? How are these motivations elaborated in the philosophy of making and experiencing poetry in medieval India, and what were the literary examples used to illustrate these motivations?

Kathās, tales and legends, are some of the most powerfully evocative artifacts of ancient Indian culture. It is through stories such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, and the myths contained in the corpus of the *Purāṇas*, that *itihāsa* ‘traditional history’; plot-paradigms and stock characters; ideal forms and their antitheses; instructions for suitable behavior and action; knowledge impacting the perfecting of artistic agency and thereby of what is called in aesthetics *pratibhā* ‘flash of imagination’; and conceptual and ethical issues inviting creative exploration are transmitted to later poets engaging with these mythological archetypes. The ritual function of the *Devīmāhātmya* makes it a special *kathā*, and this potentially complicates poetic engagement with such a source. The work is considered to be a sacred revelation of her deeds and powers by devotees of the goddess, called *Śāktas*. In fact the *Devīmāhātmya* ascribes to itself the status of scripture, particularly towards its end, during the *phalaśruti* ‘eulogy of magical benefits’ believed to take effect simply on hearing the tale. In this way it assumes an identity that is more than that of straightforward diegesis. This sacral role is reinforced, and made manifest — one can even say dramatized — in calendrical ritual. During the autumnal civic ceremony of the *Navarātra* (the *āśvinadurgāpūjā* in Bengal, the *Dasa* in Nepal etc.), the *Devīmāhātmya* is ritually recited for accumulating merits, and for apotropaic effects (such as protecting a kingdom from dangers and crisis) in a ritual known as the *caṇḍīpāṭha* ‘the recitation of the *Caṇḍī* (another name for the legend)’. The recitation is supposed to continue during the duration of the nine nights. This role is outlined in all the major medieval ritual guides to the goddess’ ceremony (such as the *Durgāpūjātattva* and the *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī*) and the practice continues today in modern day Bengal and Nepal. During the autumnal festival, reciting the

legend of the *Devīmāhātmya* forms the hymnal background to the sequence of rites empowering and honouring the goddess.

The textual transmission of the legend also indicates this process of ritualization. As it is circulated, the *Devīmāhātmya* is amalgamated with a group of additional texts describing ancillary ritual practice supposed to prepare the reciter in unleashing the full powers of the *kathā* during the course of recitation. These additional ritual texts, structuring and dignifying the recitation, are believed to increase the efficiency of the recitation of the *kathā* that contains the most potent virtuous power.

Apart from the recitation, there are other ways whereby the legend of the *Devīmāhātmya* is integrated with ritual-praxis during the *Navarātra*. During this time, the myth of the goddess, in fact her very nature, comes alive and is enacted at the dimension of mortal existence, as the deeds recounted in the *Caṇḍī* are commemorated by people and thanks are offered to her for protection. She is meant to descend on earth among men to slay evil at this time, just as she kills the demons of her myth, and her victory is said to occur on the *Daśamī* 'Tenth day'. The *mūrti* 'clay image' of the goddess ritually enlivened and worshipped from the *Saptamī* 'seventh day' visually evokes the second carita in the legend, the episode in which she kills the buffalo-demon Mahiṣa. It displays her spearing the demon with a trident astride a rampant lion, just as it is described in the narrative. In this way myth and the theatre of ritual fuse during the Nine Nights, and the sacral function of *Caṇḍikā's kathā* is expressed, embodied and made perceptible.

Now the question arises that, given this sacred status, any change introduced to the canonical sequence of its narrative by a poet might conceivably be seen as taking liberties that violated the sacred order and pattern of the story thought to generate the greatest merits for believers. In other words, toying with the

Devīmāhātmya could have potentially constituted a blasphemy (as in all probability it might in today's India). However, that at least two poems were written on its model, exhibiting several major instances of their writers actively engaging and re-shaping the Purāṇic story is evidence that poetic licence, even with a narrative considered scriptural revelation by some, was not seen to be blasphemous.

Furthermore, there are, in fact, detailed discussions in the Medieval Indian *alaṃkāraśāstra* 'philosophy of art' privileging the paratmouncy of aesthetic experience over that of the status and authority of a *kathā*. They show that in the learned discourse on literary composition, transformations to the known structures of *kathās*, even those of sacred status, were desirable, given they improved the canonical version by intensifying its *rasa* — the savoured emotion generated by good art — while a certain strand of poetics even supported a complete mutation of the *rasa* of the paradigm through substantially changing its plot, as long as the departure in *rasa* was restricted to a part of the literary work. The two *mahākāvyas* on the *Devīmāhātmya* can be placed within this wider aesthetic tradition of innovating upon the original tale — of making many myths — in order to heighten the pleasure of an audience in perceiving art in performance. In any case, the literary compositions themselves would not have been viewed as scripture: their function was different, and they were authored, when scriptures have a tendency to hide or multiply authorship in order to claim ultimate divine transmission. So at the fundamental level of identity itself there would have been no confusion.

In this way, when it comes to the *Devīmāhātmya*, the boundaries between the theatrical and the ritualistic coalesce. We have in this case, a work of demonstrable ritual significance, being performed in the sphere of a distinctive artistic-literary tradition with its

own criteria and conventions, and performed in a highly independent and free manner. The two kinds of performances, religious and “secular”, intertwine, for both are seen to have clearly defined functions and motivations, and not to encroach on the other.

Some points on ritual and theatrical elements in Kerala's *kaḷarippayarru*

LAURA SILVESTRI

Introduction

Kaḷarippayarru (from *kaḷari* 'battle/training ground', and *payarru* 'practice'; pronunciation: *kalarippayatt*) is a South-Indian martial art mostly practised in the state of Kerala, where it was systematised and codified in the 30s. Even without being a ritual, nor a dramatic form, *kaḷarippayarru* historically entertains deep links to both ritual and spectacular performances. One reason that makes the anthropological study of *kaḷarippayarru* particularly interesting is that, with its own specificities, these practice can contribute to the understanding of a wider phenomenon. Martial techniques from different parts of the world are more and more used as a training tool for performing artists, or even turn themselves into performing arts. Actually, this phenomenon is not completely new since, as we will see for the case of Kerala, the link between martial techniques, performing arts, and rituals has always been substantial. Nevertheless, the transnationalisation of a great number of body disciplines entails two main consequences.

1) An increased awareness among researchers, thanks to the multiplications of known instances, of the links between martial arts, ritual, and performing arts, including drama (see Jones 2002).

2) An increased circulation of martial arts themselves in show-business circuits.

Here, drawing on existing literature and on my own ethnographic work and practice, I will propose some synthetic notes on the evolving relation between *kaḷarippayarru*, performing arts, and rituals, in the hope to contribute with some further stimuli to the reflexion about the boundaries between theatre and ritual in India.

Martial activities and ritual.

We do not know much about the origin and the history of the techniques that constitute nowadays' *kaḷarippayarru*, but we do know that in the Malabar region, at least in the XVIth century, martial training at the village level was carried out in a building called *kaḷari*, whose functions included school-teaching and ritual activities. Even though the *kaḷari* system began to be marginalised with the introduction of European systems of warfare, and was totally dismissed at the beginning of the XIX century, some martial techniques were still transmitted and several *kaḷaris* were kept, often linked to cult functions. In many instances, the *kaḷari* was attached to a *nāyar* household, and in Gilles Tarabout's ethnography (1986) it appears to be still at the core of the ritual activities in some important religious festivals of the *nāyars*. These are a Hindu caste that was mostly devoted to warfare and combat. They are often said to have historically been the warrior caste of Kerala, which is only partially true (see Bayly 1989), but they certainly used to perform some ceremonies linked to their warrior duties. In his ethnography of the *nāyars* (1915), F. Fawcett describes a demonstration of what he calls the *nāyars'* "athletics", which reminds him of the "sword play" he has already seen during rituals executed by the members of this caste, in the occasion of marriages and other

celebrations. Almost a century later, Gilles Tarabout's ethnography of a number of festivals showed the importance of the spectacular element in *nāyar* rituals, several of which are linked to the *kaḷari* Goddess, whose presence is often symbolized by a sword. Moreover, some ritual events, as the *ōcciṛa kaḷi*, seem to be dramatisations of what in the past must have been real ritual battles.

Ritualized action in *kaḷarippayarru*.

There is a less evident, but even more pervasive, link between *kaḷarippayarru* and ritual activity. This discipline is mostly practiced in *kaḷaris*. Not only the cult function of the building is at least partially maintained but, as in many martial arts, daily training is articulated by ritualized actions. Each training session, and almost each exercise in the session, begins and finishes with some ceremonial gestures. First of all, while entering the *kaḷari*, practitioners salute the training ground. Then, they will salute the altar at the South-West corner. This, called the *pūttara*, often stands for the Goddess in Hindu *kaḷaris*, but it is very often present in Christian and Muslim *kaḷaris* too.

The exercises themselves are codified sequences of movements (armed, as well as empty-handed), that have to be repeated daily without variations. Moreover, two of the most important sequences, the *pūttaravandanam* and the *kaḷarivandanam*, that are usually executed at the beginning of the daily training, are meant as salutations to the *pūttara* and to the *kaḷari* itself, while also being important sets of preliminary stretching movements.

As noted by sociologists (Gaudin 2009, Bar-On Cohen 2009), opening and closing rituals in martial arts mark the entrance in a special space and in a special time, that are not regulated by the usual social rules, but by different ones. Ritualized action contributes to manage the violence that is implicit in martial training, since the

boundary between exercise and real violence can never be taken for granted. At the same time, as noted by Phillip Zarrilli (1990), it fosters the apprentices' dispositions of trust and respect towards their teachers. So, ritualized action and repeated action (that are not necessarily one and a same thing, but reinforce each other), also have a pedagogical importance in the acquisition of body knowledge.

***Kaḷarippayarru* as performance.**

When *kaḷarippayarru* was codified, in the 30s, demonstrations included especially weapon combats and some other highly spectacular items (Zarrilli 1998). *Kaḷarippayarru* came to be counted among the numerous Keralan performing arts (E.g. Raghavan 1947, Philomina 2009), and the spectacular element came to be more emphasized. In this frame, the learning of metal weapon sequences (or forms) for demonstrations was given a greater emphasis compared to the essential, preliminary body work (Sasidharan 2006). Metal weapons sequences, in effect, seem to be meant mostly for performance. According to some *gurukkaḷs*, they were not part of the anciently transmitted heritage, but were reconstructed when *kaḷarippayarru* was codified and popularised, in the first half of the XX century. Nowadays demonstrations, instead, besides metal weapons sequences, can include all kind of training sequences, including empty-handed forms. Not only, but in many cases the ritual aspect of the training is also performed in demonstrations, reproducing the *pūttara* in the performing space and executing the ritual salutations. This way, beside theatricalized duels, the whole training session comes to be represented on the scene.

***Kaḷarippayarru* and the other arts.**

While *kaḷari* training seems to have become itself a performance only in recent times, it is deemed to have provided some technical

basis for other Keralan spectacular and ritual arts. Some performers of teyyam, a dance possession ritual practised in North Malabar (the same region where *kaḷarippayarru* was codified), need to be trained in *kaḷarippayarru* in order to execute their roles, as will be seen in Giorgio De Martino's paper. Moreover, according to *kathakali* practitioners, their training is funded upon *kaḷarippayarru* exercises. Nowadays this transfer from *kaḷarippayarru* to other performing arts becomes more and more intense and involves not only traditional, but also contemporary art forms. Not only many dancers of Indian so-called classical styles introduce *kaḷari* techniques in their daily training, but *kaḷarippayarru* is becoming a complementary technique for theatre actors and contemporary dancers training. This evolution reflects a turn in contemporary theatre, that began in the 60s with the work of Jerzy Grotowski and Eugenio Barba. Their focus on the actor's physical actions on the scene and on actor's training brought them to take inspiration from Asiatic dramatic forms, which are often embedded in a ritualistic frames, and which include ritualized actions as part of their pedagogy.

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**TRACING LOCAL ELEMENTS
WITHIN CULTURAL PHENOMENA
IN SOUTH ASIA**

Diversity of the cult of Narasiṃha and the process of acculturation of Andhra

EWA DEBICKA-BOREK

The aim of this paper is an attempt to reconstruct various processes that contributed to the diversity of the Man-Lion's (Narasiṃha's) worship in Andhra.

In accordance with the concept of a "divine integrator" introduced by G.-D. Sontheimer in relation to the tradition of Śiva/Khaṇḍobā, also the Narasiṃha deity may reconcile two socially and spatially distant worlds: the so-called Great Tradition of Hinduism, in this case the South Indian Vaishnavism, with the ancient local streams of Narasiṃha cult. Coexistence of these two different worlds initiates the development of new and enriched forms of a religious and social life.

The mainstream studies on Narasiṃha myth have been usually focused on the interpretation of its pan-Indian Sanskrit version, according to which the Man-Lion, the fourth incarnation of the God Viṣṇu, came down to the Earth to kill the demon Hiranyakaśipu who threatened the world. Soon afterwards he disappeared.

In contrast to this version, undoubtedly extremely important for Vaishnava theology, variants of Narasiṃha cult that still exist in Vaishnava centers in Andhra present a very different picture of the deity. Depending on the center (and usually after killing the demon) Narasiṃha may traverse the forests or plains, marry the daughter of a local chieftain or decimate the flocks of sheep. He

may hunt, heal the sick, or provide an offspring. He happens to manifest himself in the form of a tiger. Almost always — despite the reluctance of Brahmin communities — he expects bloody sacrifices.

The research hypothesis presented in this paper assumes that the cult of Narasimha in Andhra is so much diverse, because it has been adapted to the local needs and expectations. This happened, in turn, in the result of a dynamic and multilevel (religious, ritualistic, social, political and economic) interaction between the Great Tradition and the local cults, associated originally with a hunter-gatherers' or herders' lifestyle and worshipping originally their own, dangerous and theriomorphic deities. Reconciling of these two spheres illustrate tribal and folk narratives in vernacular languages like Telugu and Tamil, but also a couple of Sanskrit texts as well as temple iconography. The persistence of local elements may be also observed in the current forms of religious and social life in the chosen centers of Narasimha worship in Andhra.

Tying the Knot with the Goddess Gender-Transformation between “Local” and “Global”

SARAH MERKLE

The paper focuses on *jogappas*, male born dedicated devotees, who in their devotion for the goddess Renuka-Ellamma primarily follow folk-religious beliefs and practises and, as a characteristic element, adopt a female role. They are solely bound to Renuka-Ellamma and her worship. Some people regard them as spouses of the goddess or even as divine. But notions of the *jogappas* differ widely: they are opposed by cultural agendas, such as of middle-class values and of religiously motivated arguments in favour of a Sanskritic “pure” form of worship. While their gendered performance obviously confronts the dominant, biologically based gender norm and is criticised as deviant, *jogappas* are drawn into urban debates on the rights of sexual minorities, which link them to a globally oriented Indian gender queer movement. These social and cultural developments, which follow trends of “sanskritization”, “modernization” and “globalization” and which are additionally pushed by legal developments, lead to a multilayered conglomerate of traditions and thereby challenge each *jogappa* to negotiate their individual position in the society. By untangling these traits within today’s traditions, the paper aims to trace elements which can be termed “local”. For this the discourses about gender-transformation are in the centre of the analyses and, referring to broader contexts, are localized in global, national or regional patterns of arguments. To

identify “the local” it is discussed how *bhakti* can be a promising concept. Due to a lack of sources the paper analyzes recent field data from Karnataka, South India, applying a discursive and comparative approach.

A world of many colours: *Yakṣagāna Rangabhūmi*

KATRIN BINDER

The *Yakṣagāna* dance-drama of coastal Karnataka is an example for one of the many local forms of performance found throughout India. Its colourful costuming, vibrant dancing, witty dialogues and distinct musical style continue to enthral audiences today. *Yakṣagāna* occupies an intermediate position between historical and descriptive categories such as folk/classical or religious/secular entertainment. I propose to show that *Yakṣagāna*'s place in a constantly changing cultural context reflects the creative tension between three different cultural spheres, namely those of Sanskrit, Kannada and Tulu. I further suggest "localization" as a characteristic of the vernacular literatures and traditions of performance that emerged within a Bhakti context. The Sanskritic influence can easily be traced in the adaptations of the Sanskrit epics as mediaeval Kannada epics and as *Yakṣagāna* episodes. The Sanskritic influence is mediated through the literary culture of Kannada and the Hinduism. But while comparative textual studies quickly reveal localization processes, these usually remain on a somewhat general level. In the present paper, I will thus focus on the less tangible influences of the local Tuluva culture with its performative rituals of local deities and the rich oral literature associated with these rituals on the *Yakṣagāna* theatre. This will contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between the cultural spheres as well as throwing light on the historical development of *Yakṣagāna*.

Braj poet in a foreign court. Power relations in the 17th-century North India and the career of a vernacular idiom

PIOTR BOREK

The dynamic rise to power of the Maratha kingdom in the 17th century is often perceived as a merit of a strong individual. Shivaji Bhonsle, despite his uncertain provenience, managed to astonish Hindu circles which must have felt endangered in the face of the new Mughal politics by Aurangzeb. Modern Indian nationalists created and support the ideal image of a strong hero successfully fighting the *mlecchas*. But the history of Shivaji's success is not a tale of miracles. It is underwritten by deliberate use of the complex power system that certainly functioned in and between the multiple North Indian realms at that time.

The institution of the court poet sponsored by ambitious rulers reveals that the literature was an important medium of that political pattern. The case of Bhushan Tripathi, a professional poet traveling to his new patron in Rāygaḍ, suggests that indeed some part of *rīti* literature played such a role. View historical and possibly propaganda function of some Sanskrit texts, a similar use of literature was nothing new in the early modern India. What strikes the literary historian of 17th-century is why an emerging regional political power should honor and sponsor the creation of an elaborate poetical treatise in the vernacular idiom of geographically remote kingdoms? Why Shivaji needed his praisal in Braj and not in

dominant court's Persian? Why couldn't he remain satisfied with local Marathi or Sanskrit already present in his court?

What is Local and Global in Kashmiri Islam?

MRINAL KAUL

The history of diverse religious traditions developing in Kashmir is quite unique. Under the reigns of Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim kings the religiosity of this land-locked country developed in many ways differently. So Kashmir is defined as a unique melting pot of varied races and distinct ideas. Here we focus on some key elements which help us in understanding the unique nature of Islamic culture in Kashmir. No religious culture can be global. It will always be influenced by the elements those are indigenous to a particular time and space. What is local about Islam in Kashmir? Many answers to this question lie in the advent and development of Islam on this land of “godly-men” (called either sufis or risis). What were the vital links between the Sheikh-Noor-ud-din-Noorani or Lalla Ded and the pre-Islamic tradition? And how did these links continue to be a part of Kashmiri society even until recently? There are often tensions between the popular Kashmiri Sufism and Scriptural Islam. How do we see such tensions? Such questions will be our focus and their answers should help us analysing the “Kashmiri” aspect of Islam.

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