Social and Cultural Transition of Classical dance-with special reference to Kerala Performing Art Form (Mohiniyattam)

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ABSTRACT The paper is an attempt at understanding the specific features of Mohiniyattam, a desi lasya genre of the margi rendered in the Natyasastra, and an interpretation of their social origins. It traces the history of the desi lasya dance form from the times of old Tamil heroic poems and examines the subsequent changes in its rendition in alignment with the changing social system with the temple as the central institution. The Brahmin land lords and the temple that was also a big landed institution decided the character of the dance. How the women performers of devotional dances in the temple became temple courtesans and performers outside the temple for the gratification of the land lords and local rulers, are examined in the paper.

Keywords: Devadasi, Desi, Margi, Mohiniyattam, Natyasastra.

INTRODUCTION

Natyasastra, the very famous work in India is the basic reference text for classical performing arts. The performing art Mohiniyattam is choreographed and practiced on the basis of this text. Thamilakam is a unity in which many musical instruments and dance forms are choreographed in many ways. The dance forms based on this text is very lengthy and in series and there is a transmission through the ages which subsequently formed the art of Mohiniyattam. There are many dance forms practiced in ancient Kerala and Mohiniyattam was choreographed in the present style subsequently. It is indicated as ancient period, the period that of Pazham Tamil songs. In pazham Tamil songs especially in 'Pathittupathu’, the dancers, singers are described as Panar, Kuthar, Padini, Virali, Vairiyar. The dancers - female artists are mentioned virali in the period of Pazham Tamil songs. Their hands are adorned with bangles and they have beautiful eyes as like in pictures and their breasts are very beautiful as flowers. Likewise their hips are beautiful by using unique silk of Thamilakam and their hairs are attracting bees.” They are using gold ornaments and praising their Chieftain Cheralathan. In their songs they praised their king who provided very delicious food in various types and arranged newly composed music concert with Madhala and Veena.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are many Pazham Tamil songs describing the virali, their body structure, dance, art in which they were interested. These dances are mainly used to play for pleasing the village chieftains. They are Urkizhanmar, Malirmanan, Vendan. They had peculiar political structure for implementing their powers. “Very powerful chieftains were emerged through war affairs and competitions between gothras for money and other things. These chieftains were known as Muvendan. Such vendan is namely Cheran whose power was established in middle Kerala which was extending to Thrissinappilly. Other vendans included Pandya and Chola have collected wealth through war affairs. They are known as Velirkal. Their functions include the distribution of wealth of Maravar, Vettuvan and Panans who led with wars and sang songs praising the king” (Rajan Gurukkal 319). As earlier stated, the virali’s were interested in required to maintain their beauty of body structure and danced in presence of chieftains. The terms viral indicates the emotions which absorbed in mind and expressed thereby. The chieftains always were making wars for gaining Maruthu which included paddy field.

In Chilappathikaram, there is a description with respect to the dance of Madhavi and her Rangapravesam (Arangettukathai). That Madhavi used to dance for pleasing the king. There are two types of dance Desi koottu and Marga koottu. Madhavi was well expertised in 11 types of dance forms. In Chilappathikaram the dance is divided and called as ‘Eruvakaikoothu’. Smt. Nirmala Paniker (39) analysed these and divided as Margikoottu Desikoottu, Akakkoottu-Purakoottu, Kuravkoottu Varikoottu, Tamikoottu Aryakoottu, Santhikoottu Vinodakoottu, Vasaikoottu Avinayakoottu. Koottu, koodiyattam had been has given prominence to devotions. On the other hand Mohiniyattam choreographed on the basis of desi style. Smt. Nirmala Paniker described “the Mohiniyattam as a dance which was originated in ancient period of

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Kerala and influenced by deva dasis. In Thamil region devadasi system existed in the early centuries of AD. But in Kerala they reached only 7th or 8th century. Thamilakam is a region in which Kerala is included. The region in which Kerala not included is known as Tamilnadu. There is no sanskrit usage as ‘devadasis’ in Tamilnadu. The term ‘devadasi’ is used and spreaded in 6th or 8th century throughout Tamilnadu. But in Kerala there was no term used as devadas even in 8th and 9th century. The term Thevaradiyal was used in Kerala. The usage of devadasi was stated in later period.

Thevaradiyal is a term denoting devadasis who included Brahmin land lords. It is not proper to mix it up with the period of Pazhamtamil, the period of temple and other period relates to Manipravalam. The period of Pazhamtamil was followed by temples and Manipravalam period. It is a question when the term Mohiniyattam is used first. The earlier form of dance cannot be called as Mohiniyattam. In Tamil Nadu there were a group of Thevaradiyar who believed on Saiwa culture and used to worship Shiva. So they absorbed the energy of Thandavam and choreographed very rhythmical speedy steps, actions in Bharathanatyam. Thevar as earlier stated Brahmin land lord and the ‘Adiyar’ of temple god were women who performed dance in later period which at brahmin Illam (House) theaters. The women were restricted to enter here. But some dancers who performed dance in these theaters had gained dignity, power, positions through the wealth gifted by the Naduvazhi’s (Land Lords).

It is said that Pulavar were academicians. They included Brahmins, Jainer, Budhist. Subsequently, the group of Brahmins were enhanced in numbers and started to cultivate the gifted land and they raised their positions to the level of king in parallel to the structure of powers existed then. In “Manimekhal” which was written in continuation of Chilappathikaram included some Budha religious principles. “Manimekhal” who is the daughter of the dancer Madhavi and Kovalan. She did not belong to the noble caste. Manimekhal is a ganika who expressed her beauty through dance and songs. The material fact is that the dancers expressed their beauties and performed their arts for pleasing the powerful land lords invokes sexual desires. In 8 to 10 centuries the Brahmins reached in higher level of position and oriented to the temple. They had given prominence to devotion and encouraged the temple arts Koothu, Koodiyattam. At the same time these Brahmins, land lord and their feudals were used to get together and arranged the performance of other type of dance. Other temple arts except Mohiniyattam composed and choreographed through Margi style giving prominence to Bhakthi and Mohiniyattam was choreographed in a way to express sringara on desiy style. There was no spiritual element and beauty in that dance and they only interested to achieve wealth. The dance changed the social structure in later period and it was performed for land lords other than the lord of temple. Subsequently the social structure was changed and devotion(bhakthi) was created by then social structure.

“There was literary creation centralising Thirumaruthoot Unniyachi, Unnichiruthevi of Srinkapuram, Unniyadi, Unnayachi, Cheriyachi, Mallinilavu. Many poetic works were written Suka Sandesam, Koka Sandesam, Uthara Chandrika, ShivaVilasam,Chindollavam, Unnichiruthevi Charitham. Where are the brides of god who adorning the position of Adiyar, Adikal, Adichikal and following the path of purity. Where are the bride who played dance invoking sexual desires of landlords and received the rewards like Manavimenaka, Manachemanthika Maralekha. What a pitiable degradation in misery”(Kalyanikutty Amma 66)

Mrs.Nirmala Panicker expressed her opinion that the art Mohiniyattam is a style followed by the tradition of temple dansaes. Actually it is an art which is not deviated from the tradition of pazhamtamil dancers in such a period. These dancers had pleased the land lords and rulers physically, mentally and attained wealth and they handled the powerful positions in that period.

It cannot be considered that dancers were following the devotional path in the history of cultural aspect of kerala and simply they pleased the rulers through their art. In the other aspect they pleased the rulers through choreography of dance in the bhava of ‘Sringara’ (Romance). In such a situation what is the meaning and relevance of jeevathma and paramathma relation? In other words the temples are the powerful centres of devotion. The drama theatres are called as ‘Koothambalam’ in which this art of mohiniyattam and dramas were performed. The dramas are originated and derived its style from koothu and koodiyattam performed in ’koothambalam’. The temple culture got access in the history of kerala after a long period in the luxurious life of landlord but the dancers have no access to the personal life of wealthy section. The Dravida culture accepted the consequential life styles of these artists and it was spreaded there. These dancers designed mohini attire and adapted the life style of dancers of earlier period. In other words they have not followed music like keerthans, vision of spiritual life and communciation to god. So that earlier Malayalam Poet Kunjan Nambiar expressed his opinion that, this art was pleasing some people only who had no serious outlook and inner vision. The main aim of dancers was only to invoke ‘kama’ in the actions of beauty and they used to play dance only for this purpose. That is why they followed ' Dravida
nrittham and 'bhasha'. In the subsequent stage of manipravala, it derived its base from 'mukthakas'. The main contents of mukthakas are related to kama rasa. In 1930's Rani regent had prohibited mohiniyattam when she ruled over Travancore. It can be understood that the position of these dancers were in a down trodden level.

Mohiniyattam is at present having very prominent place in cultural aspects of kerala history through Swathithirunal and Vallathol and also through Kalamandalam Kalyanikuttiyamma. But it is to be understood that even though this art form is transmitted through many changes, it is not deviated much from the social value of old dancers as devadasis. Before reaching the analysis of the term Devadasi it seeks more explanation. It is a sanskrit usage which originated in the subsequent period. In the natyasastra, the dancers are called as 'Vilasini' and 'Swamini'. Swamini used to perform dance for pleasing gods and the songs were composed in the format of keerthanam. In Natyasastra, there is no such term as Devadasi. But the terms Vilasini and Swamini are used instead of dancers. Vilasini performed dance for pleasing landlord and upper strata of society. Anyway Natyasastra expressed these two terms for denoting the dancers by attributing a special hallow and a very peculiar poetic style.

The seventh song on Nalam Pathu
The seventh song on Moonnam Pathu
The seventh song in Ancham Pathu
The seventh song on Aaram Pathu
The seventh song on Ettam Pathu
The First song on Ancham Pathu
The First song on Aram Pathu. All in these songs Koottar (Dancers) are mentioned.

In Pazhamtamil pattu, the terms used as 'Kondimakkar', 'Viralier', 'Parathiar', 'Kuthiar'. These artists used a special drum and hanged one musical instrument in the neck. From the Pazhamtamilpatitu, it can be noted that there are some sections such as 'Koottar' and 'Panar'. The dancers are also mentioned as 'Vayariyar', 'Viralil' and 'Padini'. In Pathittupathu the body structure of dancers was praised by then poets.

Devadasi traditions developed subsequently from the Ganika Sambradayam and later stage this culture was developed from gothra style to urban way of life with the spread of buddha religion. It is narrated in pali literature also. The archeology emphasized that urban culture established with the rise of third century BC.The wealthy class included Dhalapathy and Varthakapramanis and they protected those artists apart from king and queens. This culture later changed into a peculiar style considering the beauty of ladies as significant and accepted them as a public wealth. The impact of this attitude caused the origin of Ganikas. These Ganikas were very much knowledgeable persons in artistic cultural level and they were well trained in sexual play also. They led a life with the interest of upper caste and satisfied the desires of wealthy people. The wealthy people included the family members of royal class and Brahmins. They also included vysya community of that period and the pattern of life styles of Devadasis and Ganikas are graded up. The division of labour based on caste system and temple oriented administration are considered the kinetic channels of energy of this powerful class. The said temple later developed as centres of these powers and established their social religious supremacy with dancers and wealthy people. Their spiritual and devotional music are used only to carve out the religious consciousness and lastly Devadasi sambradayam developed (Rajan Gurukkal, 2009, 340)

In Chokkur inscription one Nangai is mentioned in AD 932. This was the first inscription mentioning about Devadasi. In Chitirar inscription some terms are used to denote Nangaiar as Thevadichi and Nangachi. In one inscription of 70th year Indu Kotha Varma, Nangacchi is mentioned as Menthelipurath Changaram Nangachi. In Nedumpuram Thali inscription AD 934, it is mentioned that Thiripura Mahadevi or Sreedhara Nangachi on 18th year of their reign of Baskara Ravi Varma donated landed property.

In Thiruvalluva temple Cheppedu (some terms are used Uppachiar (marar), Nangaiyamar (Thevadichimar) after the terms of Bhatta. In some inscription of temple there are terms with respect to Kantharipivar, Nattuvvar who used to play musical instruments and dance. The dancers performed arts for festival in temple and daily evening poojias. But they are considered as middle class and other working section in temple were belonging to lower class.

In Karnataka, Dasis are divided into four types. The person who played dance in temple are Devadasis who are well to do dasis and other division who played dance for marriage purpose are called as "Maledevaru" and Kazhakam people are considered as Ganikas and the lowest class is Sulayavaru.

As per the description of Cholas Sasana in Tamilnadu, the Siva temple divided this section of Devadasi as Devadasi dancers of palace and dancers for festival occasions. The dance is derived into many aspects based on Natyasastra and it is based on Bhava and Keerthana. In temple inscriptions of
Thrikkakara, it is seen that on Thiruvonam there is a ritual to perform Ten Koothu (dance) to Vyshnava\textsuperscript{16}. In Kollam Rameswarathkooyil temple, Thirukuthu and Kalyanam koothu were conducted. It is performed even at present by Chakyar on rohini day of Vrischika month. In 7\textsuperscript{th} Century, it is written by Dhandi a poet that a lady Kanthukavathi danced for getting a suitable husband rightly. The dance accepted the style of Mohiniyattam such as offering prayers to Bhagavathy and playing ball. In Kandiyur Subramanya temple the sculpture expressed the unique style of Karanas used by dancers in 11\textsuperscript{th} Century. In Kannada Taluk region, Devadasis are known as Basavi. The Grama in which the Devadasis are lived is known as Basendraru. It is a very ordinary ritual there to conduct marriage symbolically by giving the dancers and unmarried spinstersex to god. This is called Penkettu by Ilamkulam\textsuperscript{17}.

The culture of Devadasi system is known to us from Manipravala Kayyam of 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} century. Before that in the reign of perumakkan temples reached the zenith of its glory and upgraded to a social centre. The daughter of Kulasekharaperumal who wrote the Koodiyattam such as Thapathi samwarana and subhadra dhananjayam was a Thevadichi. From this, it can be understood 'Devadasi' system was in existence from 9-10- centuries onwards. From Thrikodithanam script, it is evident that there was a prominent place for dance, music, and musical instrument. It is mentioned in 'Oruvayil' that Panchamahasabdam (great sound of 5 instrument) was performed in Neerattupalli by Nanturai Natuvazhi. Likewise, in the script of Thirunelli, it is seen that there was an instruction from Naduvazhi to perform Panchamahasabdam with Sreebali which includes 4 drums, 1-Thimila, 1-Chengila, 1-Illathalam, and also performed by Kuzhal. Thevadichies are considered as part of temple culture. Manipravalam Krithi reflects the social atmosphere in the age of 13 and 14 centuries. Unniyachi, Unniyadi, Unnichirudevi etc., were the famous devadasies in that period. Kandiyoor Thovidichi Unnithirukootaththi was the wives of King. It is believed that the heroine UtharaChandrika in Manipravalam was a member of Chirava royal family.

The ancient form of Mohiniyattam is specially mentioned in the analyzing part of 'Vyavaharamala' which was written in 1704 probably. In the later period it can be seen in the 'Thullal Krithies' of Kunchan Nambiar\textsuperscript{18}. The origin of Mohiniyattam was closely communicated with the story of Vishnu, who impersonalized as Mohini at the time of 'Palazhi Madanan'.' The other story is of Parvathi Devi, who tried to invoke Shiva for the creation through the performance of Mohini Nadanam. Subsequently, Shiva was attracted and created universe. Parvathi is the first artist who performed Mohiniyattam in Kaisika Vrithi. Likewise, many stories are in existence with respect to the origin or Mohiniyattam. These stories indicate the devotional circumstances of Mohiniyattam and it sanctity.

Ilamkulam indicates in his works about 'Thevadichi Sthaanaam' in his work, which presented in Vadakumnathan Temple, Kandiyoor Mahadeva Temple and Suseendrha. These Devadasies got special nick name also Datha, Vikritha, Bhrithya, Bhaktha, Haritha, Alankara, Rudra Gathika and Gopika etc\textsuperscript{19}. These names are used to denote their position in the temple, and specifying their particular work in the temple. It is applicable to the Thevadichies of Ker ala. It is obviously clear that these Devadasies were in existence before 50 years back in Kochi and Travancore and it is known as Thevadikal, Dosi and Kudikkal\textsuperscript{20}. These are two types of Devadasies in KeralaLapuram Temple. Usually, serving to God and offerings were performed by 'Murakhudi' section and special services were done in the festival times by Chirappukudi\textsuperscript{21}. Balarama Bhartham written by Karthika Thirunal Balaramavarma in 18th century is a book in which 'Mohininadanam' is mentioned. He also expressed his opinion about 'Lasya Thanthra'.

The origin of Mohiniyattam, its transitions were indicated in the above period. They have roots in Dravida region especially in the state of Kerala. The 'Virales followed the above mentioned art form of dance. This style was later developed as per the Margi style of 'Natyasastra', such Bharatha Muni divided all the actions, movements, expressions, their rendition in Margi style in his work 'Natyasastra'. The song of dance were mainly used to praise Hindu Gods and mainly narrated their stories.

The 'Virales were the first division of dance heritage of Dravida Kerala. Their style was developed later as per the Margi style of 'Natyasastra'. The style followed by 'Virales' was not having the peculiar structure. But, later the theories helped a lot to create a strong foundation and theoretical form to Mohiniyattam. The Lasya form of dance in Natyasastra was emerged without any change. The 'Rasa of Shringara' was an unavoidable element in 'Mohiniyattam' for its completion of work and perfection also. They tried to invoke 'Kama' esthetically in this art form and it was reflected in the Karana and the movement, which are used to support for the perfection of the beauty of lady dancers. The sculpture of Mohiniyattam be seen in Thrikaodithanam Temple and support this theory likewise, 'Karanam' were reflected in these sculpture and in the poses of dancers. There is a prominent place for these movements and expressions for fulfilling the perfection of aesthetic sense of society. That is why Mohiniyattam survives with the other form of dances in the aspect of beauty rendition and expression.
METHODOLOGY

The main issue which is to be analyzed in the context that all the forms of classical dance are choreographed and their structure is framed within the strict rules of rhythm, expression and its synchronization. There is a possibility when analyzing on historical aspect that the dance form is the natural reflection of human emotions then the technicalities and its essence are developed upon the physical actions linked with each other which varies with each region. The thought in that aspect based on the expressive implementations of language and its various methods. Then the method Desi is in existence throughout all the ages of the historical development of dance. That means Desi is only the deviating style of Margi. The dance form of India and its performing style are originated with deviation in each region varies with the language. Why it is told that the Natyasastra is the basic text of dance? The basic text of language would not be the reference text of Grammar.

FINDINGS

There is no dance form in India which can be called as Indian dance form. All the dance forms are framed within the structure of Desi style. Then the Natyasastra is the best reference text with respect to all the dance forms which follow different Desi styles. Certainly Desi is not a subsection of Margi. It is only the mixture of different Desies and finally called Margi. The origin and former form of Mohiniyattam is started from artistic performance of Virali. This performance of Virali is based on lasya bhava (the expression which is so subtle and soft with romantic attitude). It was performed in the economic system which absorbed the elements of agro pastoral society. The main aim was pleasing the royal category especially rulers.

Subsequently it was performed with the aim to please land lords and subordinates of kings or rulers. In the age of temple culture usually the lady artists performed the dance which related to devotion. At the same time, this dance form was performed in temple and side of temple for spiritual pleasures.

Kerala Kalamandalam at present the Deemed institution has provided authentic classic methods, practice, and theory for Mohiniyattam performance. This institution has refined and imparted refined style the costume, music, style of performance. The final output in the present style of Mohiniyattam

It is crystal clear that the transition stage of Mohiniyattam was highly influenced by the social, political structure of Kerala. The art form subjected to chance due to its feeble structure and application of misguided rules. The Mohiniyattam is even now being subjected to changes undoubtedly by the efforts and creativity of many artists.

CONCLUSION

Natyasastra is a prescriptive text and theory of all dances and dramatic performances. Based on the Natyasastra theory a Margi form has been conceived by many scholars. They identify dance forms in the regional culture as its desi form. Mohiniyattam as a desi form is expressive of contemporary social system, its passions and values. Dance became a rendition for the gratification the most influential in society. Their gratification became central. A classical dance thus got transformed into one that gave importance to gratifying body movements. It marked a shift from the genre of higher aesthetic performance to that of lasya and sensual gratification.

END NOTES


17. Parameswara Aiyer, Ulloor. Vyavaharamala. Govt. of Travancore,1925


19. Edgar Thuston and Rangachari, K.Castes and Tribes of South India, Madras,1909,pp125-153


22. Pure dance -There is no literature, swaram, geetham. Only 'chollu' are used according to rhythms and play by moving anga, upanga and Prathyanga beautifully. The examples are poorva...ranga. Of Kathakali in Koodiyattam.

a. Thala Vadya Ansari Nritham.-The swaras are taken by the dancer for singing in any raga (tune) and dancing according to the rhythm. Angakaries are used to express Nritham.

b. Jathi Swaram

c. Swara Jathi is example Leefkakathi, Abhinayathunka Nritham.

d. Much importance is given to Nritha- for that special 'chollu' are used in a systematic tune through classical form and choreographed including sahithya (lyrics) in the end. Thillana-Cholkettu Kalavijayan,M.Mohiniyatom Ariyendathellam,pp97-98

23. Vasakasajja- The heroine who is using wake-up with ornaments in the suitable day on which her hero is coming for attaining pleasure of sex.

a. Viraholkunditha-The heroine who is in many matters and becomes depressed due to the reason that her Nayaka is not coming to see her.

b. Swadheena Bharthruka-The Nayaka is residing with her. For the pleasure of foreplay and this Nayika enjoys the presence of Nayaka.

c. Kalahantharitha-The heroine become furious on the Nayaka is not coming near to her.

d. Khanditha-The Nayaka is more interested in other lady and not interested in coming near to the real heroine. So that heroine becomes sad.

e. Vipralambha-Who sent lady messenger and decided the place for union, but she was cheated as he has not arrived.

f. Proshitha Bharthruka-The hero is going to another places intending to do many matters. She has carelessly done the hair style and curbs.

g. Kala Vijayan-Mohiniyatom Ariyendathellam,pp298-300

24. Hamsa Padam- The foot of swan- The front portion of foot touches the floor very gently and after that whole portion of foot has to be pressed on the floor and moving forward through Hamsapada. It is to be repeated alternatively. When front portion of leg touches the floor the body is to be raised with the level of Kalmandalam. When the foot touches the floor body has to be lowerd to the level of aramandalam. With these movements the dancer has to inhale and exhale and move the body very softly. This step is used often in Mohiniyattom. Which is as like as the movement of swan

a. Mayoora Padam- The Foot of peacock- The front portion of foot has to touch on the floor and twisting the body speedily to the sides. It likes as the dance of peacock moving the feathers in rhythmic pattern.

b. Kukkuda Padam- The Foot of Cock- It almost like as the movement of cock in pattern of gentle rhythm and adavu(steps) used to move for this padam as 'thithithai'. When the (thithi) is used body moves forward and on the time of ‘thai’ body stop the rhythm in Sama (equalization)

c. Mandooka Padam- The Foot of Frog- One foot has to touch the floor gently and bending the body in a subtle form. Suddenly the same leg has to move forward and the body has to be straightening up. The other leg has to put in a equal position of the leg which is put forward earlier. This step is almost similar to the jumping pattern of frog.

d. Sarppa Padam- The foot of Serpentine- Using the thump of foot for picturing the half circles on the floor alternatively. With the movement of the foot the body and eyes are to be used in the same direction. it denotes the movement of serpentine.

e. Apart from these movements there are Gajagathi- imitating the walking style elephant, Mruga gathi-imitating the movements of deer. Khaga gathi- The flying style of birds. Malsya gathi- the swimming style of fish.


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