

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, the Devadasis, and the Events that shaped Post-Colonial Bharatanatyam.

Bindu S. Rao

Abstract — Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy plays a very important role in the way Bharatanatyam was perceived post-independence, especially by many noted historians, columnists, researchers, academicians, and the general media responsible for bringing out everything about the re-christening of Bharatanatyam. Pre-Independence, dancing in private parties had become a form of entertainment, that most reformist had raised their voice against. Though this was not rampant, and almost exists even today in many ways, yet, temple dance tradition was getting maligned from the involvement of some devadasis due to their vulnerable background, and the control their patrons had over them. Temple dancing tradition, Private Nautch, devadasis, Bharatanatyam, Court dance, was a hotchpotch of misunderstood terminologies seemingly resembling and connecting each other, that would eventually lead to a mystery that remains unsolved even in the post-independence era for Bharatanatyam, and would worsen in the millennium era with many writers and researchers taking past references to create their own stories and interpretations. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's noble work of devadasi rehabilitation through devadasi abolition bill was misinterpreted by many, and opposed for being against the devadasis and their dance tradition. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy went ahead with her noble work of rehabilitation of vulnerable devadasis, and devoted her entire life for it. It was she, who removed the weeds and enabled Bharatanatyam to flourish, by being instrumental in banning the dedication of devadasis to the temples. If at all, She should be accredited the most for the real revival of Bharatanatyam and cleansing the society on all fronts.

Index Terms — Anti-Nautch movement, Devadasi Abolition Bill, Devadasis and temple dancing, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, History of Bharatanatyam, Temple Prostitution, Bharatanatyam after India Independence.

1. INTRODUCTION

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was a lady of many Firsts. She was the first woman medical graduate of Madras University in 1912 and became the first Indian woman member of a Legislative Council in 1927. She was the first female student in a Men's college. She became the first woman house surgeon in the Government Maternity and Ophthalmic Hospital, Madras. She was a pioneer in the fight for social and political upliftment of women in India, especially the legislation to abolish the now infamous devadasi system that was widely prevalent in parts of Tamil Nadu and other parts of South India. The Act to Prevent Cruelty to Children, the Immoral Traffic Control Act, raising the age of consent of girls for marriage and many other acts of social reform were enacted into laws, entirely due to her efforts. She founded the Cancer Relief Fund and the Adyar Cancer Institute in 1954, which today offers treatment to 80000 cancer patients per year.

2. DEVADASI ABOLITION BILL

The Madras Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act (also called the Tamil Nadu Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act or the Madras Devadasi Act) is a law that was enacted on 9 October 1947 just after India became independent from British rule. The law was passed in the Madras Presidency and gave devadasis the legal right to marry and made it illegal to dedicate girls to Hindu temples. The bill that became this act was the Devadasi Abolition Bill. Before the bill became law, devadasis were not allowed to marry due to

society taboo and were linked to Prostitution and immoral occupations by the society, though not necessarily true. As Mr. Braden writes, "One of the most anomalous of the religious phenomena to be found in India in this twentieth century is the institution of the Devadasis or Temple Prostitutes. It is this feature of Hinduism which, perhaps more than any other, shocks the moral sensibilities of the Westerner [1]".

The coining of word 'Temple Prostitution' is very serious and should not have been tolerated by the learned men of those times, as has been the term 'Saffron terrorism' coined today as an attempt to provide a religious colour to terrorism. Some other terms used are 'Sacred Prostitutes', 'Religious Prostitutes'[2] Devadasis were easy targets for such writers and historians, that made up good content for their literary

Fig 1 : Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, 1904. P.c Zubaan.



Vid. Bindu S. Rao, M.A - Dance (Performing & Fine Arts),
Doctoral Student of PhD Program in Dance, University of Mysore, India.
(Email : bindusrao@gmail.com)

ventures, who, instead of taking a studied approach, generalized all the devadasis as linked to immoral trade. Commercial prostitution has existed in India, and most parts of the world since ages, and it should not be linked to the group of devadasis, just because they appear to be similar in abject symbolism of a brothel. Devadasis were also known as *kalavanthalu*, meaning 'A Performing Artist'. There are no mentions of them being called prostitutes in any vernacular references. The literature in regional language knew the difference between a *kalavanthalu* and a *vesya* (a prostitute), but the English literature failed to distinguish between the two, just like the differentiation between a *Mangalsutra* and a Necklace.



Fig 2 : A troupe of devadasi performers. P.c Brother St. Denis, 1926

Devadasis and their families have always relied on hard work, rather than any shortcuts. The poverty of the devadasi community should not be mistaken for their vulnerability. The unfortunate, who fell into the shackles of the illicit should not be generalised, nor should be called as immoral, but rather have to be freed from the slavery. This noble work of liberation was done by Dr Muthulakshmi Reddy when others were busy calling the devadasis as 'Temple Prostitutes'.

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy [3] earlier proposed the devadasi abolition bill to the Madras Legislative Council in 1930. Some devadasis objected to the bill because they considered themselves learned artists rather than prostitutes. This objection itself was a clear evidence that not all devadasis existed as a vulnerable community, but had the privilege to be highly learned in their art forms.

Inversely, we can infer that many others existed that had no connection with Dance, or any Art form, but were in a pathetic condition of existence, the intention why Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy wanted the devadasi abolition bill for an upliftment of downtrodden women, who did not have access to their basic rights.

The objection to the Bill led to the establishment of connection between the devadasis and their dance (some calling it Sadir in the late 50s) by the learned and renowned ones, who would

now stand to lose all benefits from such a bill. The support of dance was their only hope to get their memorial noticed by the Legislative council. Dance was presented as an important aspect of Indian heritage, and devadasis were projected as the torch bearers of such an ancient Art. This Artform was claimed belonging to the devadasis as a part of temple tradition running since centuries, thus enabling them retain the emoluments they were offered over the years. This categorisation of being protectors of Art made them represent themselves into a single group of devadasi community, and all the different dance forms, irrespective of even being a nautch, into a single dance called devadasi dance, that they beg to be called Bharatanatyam today.

As Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy sent many of the sheltered women in Avvai home to Kalakshetra to learn dance from Rukminidevi [4], It should be clearly understood that the fight of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was not against Bharatanatyam or with the elite devadasis, but she was more concerned for those downtrodden ones, who had no homes, no hygiene, and no proper healthcare facilities due to their abject living standards. Thus, objecting to such a bill made no real sense, which was known by the elite devadasis. Yet, to safeguard themselves, they had to present themselves as the torchbearers of ancient Culture. This was the reference that most researches used, to connect Bharatanatyam to Devadasis, devadasis to Sadir, and hence, Bharatanatyam to Sadir, that became an underwritten statement for today's literature on Bharatanatyam.



Fig 3 : Dr. Reddy & Padma Vibushan Dr. V Shanta¹ with Mr. Kamaraj, then CM of Tamil Nadu, inaugurating the Research wing of the Cancer Institute at Adyar. P.c The Cancer Institute, Adyar, 1956.

¹ Dr V Shanta has devoted her entire life towards providing free or subsidized treatment to cancer patients from all parts of the country, irrespective of caste or status. Dr. V Shanta was awarded the Padmashri award in 1986, Padma Bhushan in 2005, Ramon Magsasay award in 2005, and Padma Vibhushan in 2016. At the age of 86, she still attends patients, performs surgeries, and is 24 hrs. available on call. She stays within the premises of Cancer Institute at Adyar. She got associated with Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy in 1955, after completing her Masters. The selfless service of Dr. V Shanta complements the foundation laid down by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy.

3. THE TRADITION OF TEMPLE DANCING

Nautch [5] was an entertainment common not only in South India, but throughout India, but was of only a visual appeal to most foreigners due to the native lyrics. His references to folksy *Tamasha* as a *nautch*, cannot be compared to a more classical Bharatanatyam or even a ritual temple dance, which also was categorized as *Nautch* by the foreign eye.

Devadasis, as mentioned here, mostly belonged to weaver tribes called *Kicolas*, who were appointed in service of Temples for many ritual tasks. It was a sort of safe career near the Temple premises, with fellow Devadasis present in a group to take care of each other, in a more caring eco-system, without having to worry about the uncertainties of the outer world. This was the basis for the parents, who were sure that their children were safe in the Temples, rather than at any rich man's servitude. These women were also instrumental in carrying out mundane tasks during the festive occasions. These devadasis, staying in communities, were offered shelter by the Temple administration, similar to a hostel facility, and they weren't brothels, as said by some writers having no limits to their excesses. They were paid, so that they could support a bit to their families, and had routine tasks to carry out in temples, which were mostly peripheral tasks of daily chore, along with the ritualistic tasks of waving the lamps, making garlands, oiling of the *diyas*, preparations for the *Pujas* and the *Aaratis*, clean-up activities, festival preparations etc. All this called for purity of Mind and Body, a basic requirement for hovering in temple premises, just like the way one bathes before going to the temple. Any offerings of purity and any prayers with pure intentions are considered dear to God. Till the devadasis remained unmarried, they were allowed to offer their services. Those devadasis who later married, also continued to be recognized as a pious one in the society, due to their earlier profession. Thus, the only condition for temple work was to carry a pure form. Those linked to temples were God-fearing and dared not to venture into anything different, nor had they any such intentions. One could imagine a Temple to be an important contributor towards the economy during those days, as festival times were also good times for trade and business, with lot of bustling and traffic from neighbourhood as well as from far states visiting important programs of religious fervour viz, the *Navratri*. This called for an army of workers, who could manage the daily and the sudden requirements of Service, mostly paid, and some in form of *Seva*.

Maligning temples and their rituals shouldn't be the approach of any writer, as he should possess a sense of balance and should not be judgmental to the extent of being partial. As these temples have remained unchanged in their rituals since centuries even till today, and not much has changed in their ways of working, one can safely assume that the temples were never a part of any ambiguous customary. What is today, also was there hundreds of years ago, hence, need not be imagined, or twisted into something else, that could create a

question mark, not only on the devadasis, but also the Temples system and their sanctity as a whole, which any person having common sense will disapprove, and for that matter, intensely oppose to the very thought of linking temple to prostitution, which not only is entirely absurd, but has baseless logic, amounting to an intentional agenda.

4. THE DECLINE OF THE TEMPLE DANCERS



Fig 4 : Dance performance by artists.

When some parts of this community living outside the temple started growing in size, and the eligibility conditions blurred, the devadasis became more accessible to the generic society, deviating from their temple service to make a much better living by performing in troupes on private invitations. Such troupes were sponsored by Patrons. With passing times, such patronage was lost, and the devadasis came to the streets, wherein they had to support themselves with whatever means possible, leading to a total deformity of cause for which they had started their career. These women, who were earlier offered to the temples, but had gone astray (not necessarily prostitution), had to be rehabilitated, and Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy had taken the initiative to restore such women and provide them proper shelter and a secure living in her '*Avvai Home*'.



Fig 5 : Muthulakshmi Reddy with the Staff of 'Avvai' home.

The uprising and the Freedom struggle, the times between 1857 to 1947, further aggravated the scenario, as the Britishers and the Kings had to face instability and upheaval, trickling

down to the society, where poverty exceeded further, replacing enriching entertainment by cheaper alternatives, and thus the prevalence of dancing troupes [6]. The conditions deteriorated further, and it was a cause of concern of many such enslaved women, whose plight Dr Muthulakshmi Reddy witnesses during her Medical career. The devadasis (the real underprivileged ones) suffered extinction, not because of the Anti-Nautch movement, but because of poverty, hygiene, and vulnerability of presence.

Apart from this, poverty-stricken people from famine and war, natural calamities etc. used to offer their children for money to patrons of immoral trade, pushing them further towards vulnerable exposure to misfortunes. This was that genre that Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was contributory towards rescue & upliftment and putting a further ban to offering such girls to the lesser known Temple administrations, where the eligibility of selection to service was either lenient or didn't exist.

The devadasi system, being women oriented, saw the families running mainly due to the incomes of a Woman of the family, that was responsible for the Matrilineal control and lineage. As the incomes started to dwindle from fewer temple earnings, and reduction of the kings to mere symbolic presence, a sense of insecurity started creeping within the families, and there was a need of a stronger male protection, both emotionally and financially.

This led to the devadasis becoming second wives to many rich landlords who had the capability to support them and stood unquestionable in the society. This marked an end to the journey of a devadasi, as well as her knowledge of Art. The lands attached to the devadasi would now be under the control of the Patron, as the temples were not strong enough to take it back from the devadasis. When the Anti-Nautch resolution was being moved in the Legislative council by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, the devadasis had to come together to question the Right of Property [7] granted to them since generations, as they had the fear of losing them in entirety.

Thus, any Art can propagate only in a secure environment with a higher level of consciousness, else the Society can fail to differentiate between the good and the bad, treating Art as Useless. This is what was the state of Bharatanatyam during the times of turmoil, when it had to be in a state of hibernation, within finite spaces of a home, temple or a *gurukula*, mostly located in villages, away from the happenings of the urban issues.

5. THE LINKING OF BHARATANATYAM WITH DEVADASIS

There existed a few privileged of the families, who were assigned properties by the then Kings. Now, the fear loomed large that these lands will be annexed back. This had to be somehow stopped. Many of those protesting against Muthulakshmi Reddy for abolishing the devadasi system, were having an identity of their own. We have talked about Vina Dhanammal and her family. Bangalore Nagaratnamma

too hailed from a family who performed in the Mysore Palace. Mylapore Gowriammal was an accomplished dancer and used to perform in Kapalishwara temple of Mylapore. Jeevaratnammal was one of the Kalyani Sisters. Hence, they could not be called as vulnerable devadasis, nor any of them performed *Sadir*, as all of them were accomplished dancers or musicians. Just because it was affecting the Devadasi community, and would have affected a lot of devadasis' livelihood, they could have represented themselves, by taking the support of Bharatanatyam dance and music. This stance carved the history of devadasis being the true torch bearers of dance, at the cost of Bharatanatyam itself.

6. DEVADASIS & MORAL VALUES

As per many available texts and general understanding of society, Devadasis were women dedicated to Temple worship, whose position later degraded in society due to loose morals. Does being a devadasi mean having loose morals? Or were Devadasis so vulnerable to social and financial pressures, that they had to compromise their morals?

Well, this seems to be a very immoral argument from the moral literates. A Woman with true self-esteem will choose hardships over shortcuts, and it is rather at the discretion of an individual to pursue a chosen career path, irrespective of social roles and responsibilities, until one is forced into something that is against his/her will.

We have many examples of Women who have fought for their honour, instead of making compromises. The life of Mylapore Gowri Ammal is a classic example of a Devadasi who fought against all odds to survive tough times when Anti-nautch laws clinched her livelihood of Temple worship, and she had to support herself by teaching Abhinaya to aspiring artists.

~~The Originally, the~~ concept of Devadasis arose as it was difficult for women committed to family to carry out the routine ~~softwork~~/rituals at temples. -This needed volunteers who could dedicate their lives to Temple worship, ~~administration, control and soft-work~~ like flower decorations, *Rangolis*, cooking & *Prasadam* preparations by maintaining chastity, *diya* lighting, general maintenance & cleanliness, conducting worships, meditation, *Aarathis*, Singing and Dancing, and many offerings in form of *Shodashopacharas* 2, which the men were not proficient with.

~~Thus, the job profile of a devadasi matched that of the temple Pujaris, 3 offering in form of Shodashopacharas 4. Their~~

² The 16 ways of worshipping the Lord. i.e *Dhyanaa* (Meditation, Prayer), *Avahanaa* (Invocation), *Aasana* (offering a place), *Padhya* (washing of feet), *Arghya* (washing of hands), *Achamnya* (offering water to drink), *Madhuparkha*, *Snana* (bathing with water or panchamruta), *Vastra* (New clothes and jewellery) *Yajnoupaveeta* (sacred thread), *Gandha* (sacred paste), *Pushpa* (flowers), *Dhoopa* (incense), *Deepa* (oil lamp), *Naivedya* (offering of specially prepared food), *Tamboola* (offering betel leaves and nuts), *Aarati*, *Mantrapushpa*, *Pradakshina*.

³ Annie Beasant's statement referred by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy in 'Why should the devadasi institution in the hindu temples be abolished', 1927.

profilsimilar to that of Catholic Nuns in the service of God at places of Worship. These Devadasis, like Nuns, lead a very pious and stringent life of Celibacy, hence were respected by the entire community. As the Temples were places of Positive energy, these Devadasis were symbol of Purity and devotion, rather than of beauty and attraction. They were more feared out of respect and their strict demeanour.

Dr. Kersenboom writes, *Devadasi temple repertoire is embedded in a larger matrix of ritual performance that forms the basis of South Indian Hindu cosmology and religio-cultural worldviews. Like the ritual repertoire of the devadasis, the basic function of the music is to generate auspiciousness, and thus it is also known as mangala-isai, or mangala-vadyam.*[8]

More than a profession, Devadasi custom was a voluntary dedicated Service to the Society and Culture. It has ~~to~~ also to be understood that not all Devadasis needed to be proficient in dance, or singing, but the motive was to be able to offer unconditional service towards temple, culture and society.

Being a devadasi was not easy, as it demanded sacrifice from worldly ties, more like an ascetic. Devadasi was not a caste, or a family inherited culture, but was a way of living. The moment these devadasis got married, or had a patronage of a specific person, they lost the status of devadasis, and got converted to common individuals.

With ref to the difficult life of the famous devadasi Mylapore Gowriammal, it can be concluded that it was at the sole discretion of the dancer to perform at private functions or be a Dancing Girl for the elite. We should not take a generalist view that every devadasi temple dancer was also a *Nautch* girl. Not every *Nautch* girl could be a Temple dancer or have the proficiencies in the rigorous *Nritta* and *Abhinaya*. What followed at elite parties can be thought of as something not of having a connoisseur value for appreciation of the art, but a mere pastime and entertainment.

Apart from dance being performed by the devadasis, Bharatanatyam was also a popular educational degree, with levels of expertise, examinations, and awards. There existed great stalwarts, both Viduans (men) and Vidushis (women), who were highly proficient in Bharatanatyam, and even taught the devadasis, the Rajadasis, the Ashthana-Vidushis (i.e the coveted and awarded stalwarts).

⁴ The 16 ways of worshipping the Lord. i.e Dhyanaa (Meditation, Prayer) Avahanaa (Invocation), Aasana(offering a place), Padhya(washing of feet), Arghya(washing of hands), Achamnya (offering water to drink), Madhuparkha, Snana (bathing with water or panchamruta), Vastra (New clothes and jewellery) Yajnoupaveeta(sacred thread), Gandha (sacred paste), Pushpa (flowers), Dhoopa (incense), Deepa(oil lamp), Naivedya (offering of specially prepared food), Tamboola (offering betel leaves and nuts, Aarati, Mantrapushpa, Pradakshina.

There existed singing and dancing competitions, won by both the common and the royal women. Kings married women who were highly proficient in dance and considered them capable of being queens due to their versatility and aura. Such women were not devadasis but came from a decent family background.

Davesh Soneji states : *“Devadasis performed in temples, royal courts, and at private soirees of the elite classes, often held on occasions such as marriages. Each of these contexts had its own set of dance and music compositions ⁵, though there was also a natural overlap, and technique and texts could sometimes be transferred from one context to another.*

The most artistically developed of dances were performed in the royal court and not in the temple.

The court or salon repertoire was variously known as chaduru or sadir (“performed before an audience”), melam (“troupe” or “band”), mejuvani (“entertainment for a host”), kaccheri (“concert”) and kelika (“play”) in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh.” [9]

The paragraph interprets, the court dances were more artistically developed than the temple dances. If both of dances were different from each other, were the styles different too? South India had witnessed in numerous dance forms, from folk to semi-classical, to ritual dance ⁶ to purely classical form, but converging them on a single platform of devadasi dance cries injustice to the entire genesis of the cultural rhythm that evolved and tuned itself to the different walks of living hood.

Thus, the above paragraph casts light on the difference in the Dance repertoire performed in temple and the court. This further suggest the levels of proficiency, wherein the dancers also must have been different for court and the temples. We can also infer that both sectors were career-driven, and not culturally driven, hence, were the offshoots of the original dance forms depicted and narrated in our temples and manuscripts or being performed within a guru-shishya tradition.

One can also to certain extent deduce that the court dancer were not Devadasis, or temple dancers, but had their own articulated ensemble to perform in the Courts. Hence, Sadir

⁵ Davesh Soneji mentions that the performances at temples, royal courts and private gatherings were not same, but had some overlaps. This literally means that the performers at these places must be mostly different. Eg a Temple dancer mostly did not perform at Royal court, or a Royal court dancer may not have performed at private gatherings.

⁶ “Even before the legal ban on devadasi ritual song, dance tradition had dwindled into a few, almost symbolic steps, gestures and tunes..... in all the samples of ritual devotional repertoire once performed by devadasis in Tamilnadu it is clear that their art was marked by a minimal attempt to achieve aesthetic effect. The songs and dances are extremely straightforward and simple. It is clear that they were considered a ritual task, one which had to be performed for the sake of its occurrence and not for the sake of its artistic form. The ritual songs are set to a rhythm and tempo that sometimes resemble a military quick march.” – The Character of the repertoire from the Traditional repertoire of the Tirrutani Temple dancers, Saskia C Kersenboom

was the product of the Court, and not from the temple, or the culturally stricter Bharatanatyam, that always existed, yet remained in Oblivion. Renaming all these court dance, temple dance, private party nautch, to a single set of Bhartanatyam is rather amusing and alarming.

Devadasis lost their respect due to various social reforms and were totally ostracized for their singlehood yet bonded status within a sovereign society. The forceful linking of Bharatanatyam was necessary to rescue the devadasi status. But a hard battle was lost, with Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy emerging victorious, based on the depth of her arguments, that carried a social responsibility, rather than a hollow cause. With the passing of the Devadasi abolition bill, devadasis were freed from the social bondage, and could lead a normal life. Bharatanatyam too was freed, as many earlier feared that they may be mistaken for devadasis, if they performed any sort of dance. There are no textual references of Sadir formed to prove that it really existed as a predecessor of Bharatanatyam.

7. CONCLUSION

Just like the various Bharatanatyam gurus like Jatti Thayamma, K. Muthukarama Pillai, Minakshisundaram pillai, Mylapore Gowri amma, Kitappa Pillai, Muguru Amruthappa, who existed pre-independence, propagating and teaching Bharatanatyam with selfless service irrespective of hostile times, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, a contemporary, too stood a class apart in the real revival and rehabilitation of devadasis and Bharatanatyam in a unique way. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy's efforts were a blessing in disguise, as

Bharatanatyam saw a sudden surge in performances and progress post-independence. She was the one who separated the weeds from the Plant, to enable it to flourish. Not only did Bharatanatyam flourish, but also did the devadasi, who had found a new ray of hope to live a free life. Else, even today, Bharatanatyam would have been a slave of a devadasi, and devadasi a slave of the society.

REFERENCES

- [1] Charles Samuel Braden, "Modern Tendencies in World Religions", 1933, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, Pg 78.
- [2] Prostitution in Ancient India, www.speakingtree.in
- [3] Frontline, Vol 25- Issue 11 -May 24 -June 6 , 2008 , India s national Magazine from the publishers of THE HINDU
- [4] Tulsi Badrinath, "Master of Arts-A Life in Dance", Introduction, Hachette, 2013
- [5] P Ragaviah Charry, "A Short account of the Dancing Girls, treating concisely on the general principles of Dancing and Singing, with the translations of two Hindoo Songs", 1806
- [6] Joep Bor , "Mamia, Ammani and other Bayaderes - Europe's portrayal of India's Temple Dancers", 1830
- [7] "The Humble memorial of devadasis of the Madras Presidency", Madras Devadasis Association, 1927, Point No. 12.
- [8] Saskia C Kersenboom, - "The Traditional Repertoire of the Tiruttani Temple Dancers" in 'Bharatanatyam-A Reader' compiled by Daves Soneji, 2010, Oxford University Press
- [9] Soneji, Daves. 2008. "Memory and the Recovery of Identity: Living Histories and the Kalavantulu of Coastal Andhra Pradesh." In *Performing Pasts: Reinventing the Arts in Modern South India*.