What really is the relationship between folklore and literature? How can its precise nature be determined? Such questions need immediate attention because the author's use of folkloric material as a literary tool and its effect on this relationship has not been adequately studied. When a folkloric item is identified in a novel, we must also consider how the item has traveled from the world of the folk into the world of the literary product. The formation and constitution of the folklore-literature relationship must be understood in order to realize the binding nature of the force connecting two areas of human experience: folklore and literature.

As long ago as 1962, Alan Dundes mentioned the possibility of the folklorist using certain definite units of measurement as tools in his research. Like the chemist, the physicist, and the linguist, the folklorist also can analyze his material by examining its basic constituents. The growing demands of an exacting social science like folklore must be met with precision and, if possible, with mathematical accuracy. In this essay, I propose a model which will isolate and describe those constituents which shape the relationship between an author's knowledge of a body of folkloric material and his adoption of it in his literary work.

In their search for an effective method of teaching a second language, second-language course programmers have attempted to identify the differences between a native language and a target language. These linguists have relied on a theory called the contrastive analysis hypothesis, which emphasizes the differences between the two languages. My use of the contrastive analysis
hypothesis in this discussion is an extension of their work. The contrastive analysts contend that the linguistic differences can be bridged through intermediate stages of transferring one's abilities from knowing a native language to learning another language. A similar process of transfer is involved when an author's knowledge of certain folkloric material is transferred into the performance of his literary skill. The transfer phenomenon can be described by identifying the intermediate stages and isolating the individual constituents that make up the transfer structure. But in order to have a comprehensive picture of the transfer structure we must first thoroughly examine the individual constituents, their precise nature and position, their role as single units, their function in terms of their interaction with each other, and how they are held together to form the whole or the folklore-literature relationship. We must be as accurate as possible in describing this transfer, since it is a significant factor in an author's use of folklore.

The work of an Indian writer of English, R. K. Narayan (born in Madras in 1907), illustrates the transfer process. Two prominent traditions of south India are represented in the two main characters of Narayan's eighth novel, The Guide (1958). One is the occupation of a temple dancer called the devadasi and the other an equally traditional image of the guru or the ascetic.

The presence of folklore material such as myths, legends, tales, street and temple entertainment, beliefs, and customs as authentic folk stuff in Narayan's novels can be tested by the Dorson method of checking internal, biographical, and corroborative evidence. Additionally, we may say that the knowledge of regional traditions would help us better understand and appreciate Narayan. The folkloric content of Narayan's fiction can be traced through biographical information to his own involvement in the folk milieu of Indian society. When I interviewed Narayan at his home in Mysore on 7 April 1976, he told me that, having lived in the southern region of Mysore and Madras, it was almost "inevitable" for him to incorporate what he termed "the cultural traditions"
in his writing. Another significant comment which Narayan made on that day was in response to the question of what he would have done in life had he not taken to writing. He said, "I would most probably have been a storyteller; I just love to tell stories." His exposure to the tradition of storytelling was strong enough for us to assume that he would have carried this tradition in its oral form if he had not taken to literary writing.

As both novelist and active tradition-bearer, Narayan is also the agent who causes the transference of a folk item from one situation to another. Narayan's novels and short stories, which may be called "folk fiction," have imbedded within them certain cultural constituents similar to the "folk ideas" which Dundes has called the basic units of cultural worldview. Folk culture is lifted out of its context and placed in a literary environment; the folk culture and the folk fiction have not ceased to exist, but have been transferred from one level to another. Narayan's use of certain aspects of the local belief system is analogous to what Dorson has said about the folklorist's use of printed sources: "The narrator, the singer, and the craftsman keep on in their traditional ways whether or not their words and their works have been brought to the attention of sophisticated audiences." Although Dorson stresses the retention of folk qualities of material, irrespective of its exposure to the nonfolk world, his comment is helpful in pointing out Narayan's role as an intermediary between the folk world and that of his sophisticated audience. The literary work takes on the qualities of a folk medium and thereby becomes another means of transmission. The change in the folkloric item by the writer's use of folklore is emphasized by the example of the chemical fact that two atoms of hydrogen (H₂) mixed with one atom of oxygen (O) produce one molecule of water (H₂O). We cannot have water without the correct combination of the specific components, and the atoms of hydrogen and oxygen do not retain their same properties after being mixed to form the water molecule. Similarly, folklore is merged with the individual's literary skill to form folk fiction.
The notion of contrast becomes important to the idea of transfer in the literary use of folklore. Not many years ago, Henry Glassie pointed out how a definite sense of contrast between two cultural extremes forms the basis for the use of folklore. Glassie used as an example the American novel, Edward Westcott's David Harum (1899). The juxtaposition is between two different characters, Harum and Lenox, in terms of their background, training, attitudes, and speech, which the novelist uses as a literary device to shape the plot, develop the characters, and provide a definite setting for the action. The "ole sayings" and "figuss o' speech" which Harum uses intensify local color; and Glassie comments that the folk speech helps the writer "emphasize the difference between Harum and Lenox."

Closer scrutiny will show that within this outer frame of folk-urban contrast an additional difference and contrast between Harum and his real-world counterpart (a well-known horse trader of Cortland County, New York) exists. The fictional character of Harum may be identified with the Harum of real life, but they are not the same. The character of Harum has been transferred from one level to another by being lifted out of the original context and placed into a new setting. There are three specific areas where we can discern the transfer process in effect. The first is the path of transfer; the second, the process of transfer; and the third, the relationship between the contrasting aspects of the item in transfer.

The Path of Transfer

Continuing with the discussion of the Westcott novel, we know that Lenox is representative of the urban world in contrast with the folk world, which is personified in Harum. We know that Harum's very presence provides the local color; but we must also realize that the "folkness" of Harum would not be striking if Lenox were not present. Therefore, we may assume that Lenox's presence is required as much as Harum's to intensify the local color through a process that has been recognized as contrast. We may then decipher the contrasting units, not only in the Harum-Lenox disparity but, more importantly, in the framework of the Harum-Harum contrast.
The transfer of the folk element or item (FI) can be seen in the transformation of the personality of Harum from the real world to the fictional one. There are two distinct stages along the path of transfer: Stage a is the level of reduction or observation or performance, and stage b is the conceptualization or formulation. If (FI) is the original item in its folk context, (FIa) is that same item as observed by the novelist. This is the first stage of transfer. The folk item is undergoing a steady change as it moves from position (FI) to state (FIa), while an elemental difference is brought about between the stages. The disparity becomes more apparent at the next stage, when the item is being conceptualized for literary rendition. The second stage can be denoted by the symbol (FIb). (FI) passes through stages (FIa) and (FIb); however, the item undergoes great change and no longer has its original form: (FI) has become (FIab). The path of transfer is shown in the diagram below.

Folk Existence

\[ FI \rightarrow FIa \rightarrow FIb \rightarrow FIab \]

Observation or Performance or Reduction

Observation or Conceptualization or Formulation

Literary Rendition

FI=Folk Item

Figure 1

If an item should find its way from the literary work into the culture's oral or material traditions, the transfer process would be similar; however, the movement would be in the opposite direction. We would then be considering the community mind on a par with that of the author's.

The Process of Transfer

In its barest sense, the transfer theory means that the practice of one task influences the
performance of another. Robert M. W. Travers has defined transfer in linguistic terms: "Transfer of training occurs whenever the existence of a previously established habit has an influence upon the acquisition, performance, or relearning of a second habit." Since we are not concerned here with the linguistic sense of the term "habit," let us consider "habit" as a cultural trait which a novelist might have practiced or observed being practiced Consequently, the cultural item influences the author's literary presentation of it. Canadian psychologist George A. Ferguson stated that "any covariation which can be identified between any two or more forms of performance is conceptualized as a transfer function." The contrastive analysts have identified five main features or elements in a transfer: element x; element y; the performance or observation of element x; the conceptualization or formulation of y; and the relationship between x and y. The above statements can be meaningful when applied to folkloric material; in fact, such an application could solve the major problem of learning the exact structure of the folklore-literature relationship.

The transfer function phenomenon can be applied in the following manner to demonstrate its usefulness in understanding the transfer of folkloric material.

An example of folk item (FI) being transferred to (FIab): V462.2.3 "Death from ascetic devotions" (Thompson and Balys, The Oral Tales of India (1958)).

(FI) will be called X.
(FIab) will be called Y.

X and Y are in contrast as two dissimilar elements of the same item.
The performance or observation of X is written X_p.
The conceptualization or formulation of Y is written as Y_c.
The relationship between X and Y is written as R_x - Y.
Formula deduced: T_y = f (X_p, Y_c, R_x - Y)
where: T_y = target element or item in its transferred state
Thus, we have a working formula which can focus the position of the four components, $X$, $X_p$, $Y_c$, and $Y$, which also mark the four stages of transfer from beginning to end. The difference within the folk item is also recognized as an existing entity, which leads us to consider the role of the components that mark the third aspect of the transfer.

The Relationship between the Contrasting Features of the Item in Transfer

The diagram below shows how the $X-Y$ relationship is shaped:

The Path of Transfer

Figure 2

The contrast of dissimilarity is greatest between $X$ and $Y$; and starting from $X$ we see that its farthest point before $Y$ is $Y_c$. The other two points, $X_p$ and $Y$, are at the same distance and therefore are in the same degree of contrast as $X$ and $Y_c$. By establishing the $X-Y_c$...
contrast we arrive at the midpoint $X$; the other midpoint is similarly derived by recognizing the disparity between $X$ and $Y$. Two points in opposition generate the intermediate stages, $X$ and $Y$, which reduce the distance between $X$ and $Y$ and thus regulate the $X$-$Y$ connection. The dynamics of the whole contrast can be reduced to the following statement:

\[
\text{Formula 2) } R_{X-Y} = f(R_{X-Y}, R_{X-Y}, \frac{R_{X-Y}}{p_{c}})
\]

\[
\text{Formula 2a) } X_p = f(X, Y_c, R_{X-Y})
\]

\[
\text{Formula 2b) } Y_c = f(X_p, Y, R_{X-Y})
\]

\[
\text{Formula 2c) } R_{X-Y_c} = f(X_p, Y_c)
\]

Formula 2 explains how the $X$-$Y$ dissimilarity can be perceived; the subsidiary Formulas 2a and 2b indicate how midpoints are derived; Formula 2c shows the required presence of the midpoints $X_p$ and $Y_c$ along the path of transfer.

In his theoretical analysis of the transfer theory in second-language learning, Leon A. Jakobovits has cautioned us to look for the kind of transfer taking place. Transfers can be positive or negative. For our purposes, the negative transfer can be characterized by the author’s expression of negative attitudes of mistrust and/or disgust toward the folkloric item in transfer. The case of V. S. Naipaul, a contemporary novelist from Trinidad, will demonstrate the nature of the negative transfer.

Born in Trinidad in 1932, V. S. Naipaul was never happy with the Hindu way of life brought over by his ancestors. His novel, *An Area of Darkness* (1964), describes Naipaul’s first visit to India during 1962-63. Chapter seven, called "Pilgrimage," deals with his joining the pilgrims’ trek up to the Shiva temple at
Amarnath in the Kashmir region of the Himalayas. God Shiva's symbol is the phallus, called lingam. The formation of an ice image in the shape of a phallus attracts devotees from all over India during the summer months. Naipaul states the facts about the shrine and the pilgrimage, but his participation in the event takes a negative turn. Halfway along the path to the shrine, disgusted, he gives up his attempt to mingle with the crowd. Watching the pilgrims, he notices

... a sadhu, wearing only leopard skin, walking barefooted on the Himalayan snow, almost in sight of the god he sought. He held his trident like a spear ... Some days before the pilgrimage I had seen him in Srinagar, resting in the shade, his languid genitals arrogantly exposed.

All the sacredness of belief and worship of lingam is ridiculed and reduced to a grotesque image of the "languid genitals." Soon, Naipaul is informed by the guide who earlier had walked up the mountain that the ice lingam had already melted:

... there was no "lingam" ... but the pilgrims streaming through the exit were as ecstatic as any we had met on the morning's march: "You don't come for the lingam," one man said. "It's the spirit of the thing." ... A physical growth, because it was extra-ordinary, was a spiritual symbol.

You may ask, what is the folk tradition here? The transmission of the lingam legend has been traced by W. J. Wilkins in Hindu Mythology. All of the variants have some common castration motif, such as B176.10.1 "Castration as mutilation"; K1558.1 "Castration of paramour by husband"; and Q451.10.1 "Castration as punishment." No matter how profane the whole legend may look to the outsider (and Naipaul is an outsider), the pilgrims believe that it is the spirit of the occasion that matters. Naipaul's narration is as colored by his negative impressions as is the positive assertion by the anonymous
pilgrim that belief and faith are the greater forces
drawing the masses to the shrine. In this case, the
negative transfer can be stated in another workable
formula:

Formula 3) \( T_Y = f(X_p, Y_c, R_{+X - Y}) \)

where: \( T_Y \) = target element or the item in its
transferred state

\( X_p, Y_c, \) and \( R_{+X - Y} \) are as in
Formula 1 stated earlier except
that \( X \) carries the positive qualities
while \( Y \) has negative implications

The negative transfer may also take place in reverse--
that is, when a tradition negatively viewed by the culture
is given positive qualities by the author. This may
occur as follows:

Formulas 3a) \( T_Y = f(X_p, Y_c, R_{-X + Y}) \)

where: All the symbols denote the same as in
Formula 3 above, but here the negative
features are attributed to \( X \)

Formulas 3 and 3a will therefore tell us what happens
when the transfer is negative.

Once the complete process of transfer is made clear, we
can see that folklore does not remain folklore, but has
the appearance of its original folk actuality. This
transfer process must be recognized as a distinct phe-
nomenon implicit in the use of folklore by a literary
artist. The formulas show the precise nature and inter-
action of the constituents that make up the transfer
process as a structural entity: a group of laws
regulating the literary adoption of folklore. These
laws (Formulas 1 through 3a) can aid both the literary
critic and the folklorist in their evaluation of the
folklore-literature relationship. However, we need to
gather the internal and external evidence, before
applying the laws. Consequently, this transfer model
will show the change being affected by the writer in his
use of folklore. Thus, we can precisely describe the
relationship between folklore and literature without resorting to unqualified general assertions and elusive statements regarding the relationship between an author's work and the folklore he has used. Hopefully, the application of the laws will prove that they can be used as guidelines in the study of folklore and literature.

I have already mentioned the applicability of this model to the case of R. K. Narayan, the Indian novelist. Narayan has created a fictitious little town called Malgudi—a world of "Krishna, Ganesha, Hanuman, astrologers, snake charmers, pundits, devadasis, ghosts, demons, and such other spirits." When he depicted the life of the tradition-bound south Indians, he managed to accomplish more than the invention of a literary place; he offers a portrayal of a folk culture.

By the time of his third novel, The Dark Room (1938), Narayan had gained some recognition at home. As a result, the Mysore government commissioned him to write a travel book on the state, a vast area "rich in temples, monuments, and battle-scarred fortresses and ruins." Narayan writes:

By bus and train, I explored every nook and corner, listened attentively to the claims of the local enthusiasts... that those footprints on a forest tract were Rama's or that the golden tint to the lily pond was imparted by Sita when she plunged in for a cool bath. In every place every one found token of a legendary hero or mark left by the gods during a brief sojourn. At the age of four, Narayan, under the care of his grandmother, became a keen listener to stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharatha which his grandmother told him almost every evening. Narayan used a particular event of an incident for the material for The Guide (1958). In his autobiographical work My Days (1973) he writes:

...I had been thinking of a subject for a novel: a novel about someone suffering enforced sainthood. A recent situation in
Mysore offered a setting for such a story. A severe drought has dried up all the rivers and tanks. . . . As a desperate measure the municipal council organised a prayer for rains. A group of Brahmans stood knee deep in water, procured at great cost, on the dry bed of Kaveri, fasted, prayed, and chanted certain mantras continuously for eleven days. On the twelfth day it rained. . . .

With this central theme, Narayan builds the plot of the novel. Marco, a professor of archaeology, comes to Malgudi with Rosie, his young and beautiful, but neglected wife, to study the temple architecture. Raju, the resourceful guide at Malgudi, does not take too much time to safely lodge the scholar-husband in a hill-top bungalow, so that he may escort Rosie back to her hotel room and close "the door on the world." Marco leaves Malgudi, and Rosie begins to live with Raju. Although her mother was a temple dancer, and she herself was well trained in the traditional dance form called Bharatha Natyam, Rosie had lost interest in the traditional art during her marriage to the college professor. Now being encouraged by Raju, Rosie returns to her dancing career, with Raju as her manager. Within a few months, however, Raju is accused of forging Rosie's signature, for which he spends two years in jail.

After his release, Raju walks into a village where he is mistaken for a saint and an ascetic, well versed in the scriptures, and whose very presence in the village would bring prosperity and happiness to the community. As his fame spreads, more and more villagers begin to pay him the ritualistic visit every evening to listen to his wise discourses on how to live a pious, God-fearing life. Day after day the villagers tell each other how the blessings from the "yogi" have worked miracles. A sick child is cured by the mere touch of his palm, and family quarrels have ceased to plague some of the villagers, thanks to the blessings from the "swami." But soon, Raju realizes the gravity of the responsibilities he has assumed. The monsoon fails and the people turn to him. He finds himself obliged to undertake a fast unto death as a means of propitiating the rain gods. He manages to perform all the prescribed rituals of the fast for ten days; but on the eleventh day, Raju--the guide, the showman, and now the saint--dies.
Let us first examine the traditional occupation of the temple dancer, who is also called devadasi or dasi. The dasi tradition has had a long and varied past in Indian culture and is considered to be a significant part of the social structure. The Penzer edition of The Ocean of Story (1923) says that the dasis belong to a tradition of sacred prostitution.22 Balwant Gargi describes the devadasis in his Theatre in India (1962) as "devotees of the god, dedicated to the temple."23 Anantha Krishna Iyer stated in the Indian anthropological journal Man in India (1927) that the "dasis or devadasis are dancing girls attached to the temple in the Tamil districts," and that "their duties at present are to fan the idol, .... carry the light called Kumbarti, and to sing and dance before the god when he is carried in procession."24 During my fieldwork in India, I was able to locate an old dasi in a small town called Kancheevaram, which is about forty miles southwest of the city of Madras. This seventy year old woman told me how she had been a temple dancer and played an active role in all of the temple processions. Today, however, the practice of dedicating young girls to the service of the temple is banned nationally by law. But for us it is important to remember that Narayan modeled the character of Rosie upon a genuine folk tradition.

Turning to folkloristic terminology, the relevant motifs of the tradition according to the Thompson Index are A166 "Dancers of the gods" and V93 "Religious dancing." More than the recognition of identifiable motifs is the notion of group participation in relation to a body of shared common knowledge that qualifies the devadasi tradition in the novel as folkloric. According to the available corroborative evidence, devadasis generally are women of loose character, no matter how dedicated exponents of Bharata Natyam they may be.

Narayan's statements regarding the composition of the novel may be offered as additional evidence to establish his roots in the society, part of which he delineates. In an interview Narayan granted to Ved Mehta, an Indian writer,
"I have been talking to you like Railway Raju, ... I sometimes feel like him. ..."

He added that some family incidence and his own character gave him the conception of Raju ... and that Rosie had a similar genesis.25

Although it is not clear which specific "family incidence" Narayan had in mind with regard to Rosie's character, he may be referring to his younger brother's first marriage to a popular dancer in Madras who was supposedly born into a devadasi family. We may propose that Narayan is portraying a dancer who was born into the tradition and who has lived according to it despite her marriage to an outsider.

The textual data now can be scrutinized by applying the formulas. Wanting to be frank about her true identity in society, Rosie explains her background to Raju:

"Can you guess to what class I belong?" ... "I belong to a family traditionally dedicated to the temples as dancers; my mother, grandmother, and before her, her mother. Even as a young girl, I danced in the temple. You know how our caste is viewed?" ... "We are viewed as public women," ... "We are not considered respectable; we are not considered civilized." ... "The question was whether it would be good to marry so much above our wealth and class. But all the women in our family were impressed, ... and it was decided that if it was necessary to give up our traditional art it was worth the sacrifice."26

Rosie belongs to a tradition, and as a bearer of tradition she is not respected, which seems to be the same statement Narayan is making. Once the authenticity of the tradition is proven, we can study the juxtaposition of the trait in two contexts—real and fictional. The two distinguishable forms of the tradition are explained by the application of Formula 1:
\[ T_D = f(D_f, R_c, R_{D-R}) \]

where: 

- \( T_D \) = target devadasi, or the devadasi tradition in its transferred state
- \( D_f \) = familiarity with the tradition and acquaintance with a devadasi
- \( R_c \) = Rosie, the character, conceptualized or formulated
- \( R_{D-R} \) = relationship between the devadasi of tradition and Rosie of the novel

With the help of Figure 2 and by applying Formulas 2, 2a, 2b, and 2c, we can further show the exact relationship between the temple dancer of tradition and Rosie of the novel, and demonstrate how this relationship \( R_{D-R} \) evolves.

Asceticism is the other tradition that becomes the theme for the second part of the novel. Asceticism may also be traced to its authenticity. Stephen A. Tyler states in *India: An Anthropological Perspective* (1973) that, "... it is commonly believed that the ascetic has acquired enormous holy powers through meditation, and that one acquires merit merely from beholding a holy man."27 The incorporation of this socio-religious tradition in the novel gives us the following folklore motifs: V221 "Miraculous healing by saints," V462 "Asceticism," V462.2 "Ascetic fasting" (cf. F561.0.1), V462.2.3 "Death from ascetic devotions" (Thompson and Balys, *The Oral Tales of India* /1958/).

The belief that a holy man can work miracles and that his presence can purge the village of all evils is strong in the novel. Raju overhears the following bit of conversation between two villagers who had come to see him:
"Oh, you don't know. He has renounced the world; he does nothing but meditate. . . ."
"Just sitting there for a few minutes with him—ah, what a change it has brought about in our household! Do you know that cousin of mine came around last night and gave back the promissory note. . . ."
"We don't have to fear anything more; it is our good fortune that the great soul should have to come to live in our midst."28

Raju's ascetic powers are put to test at a time of crisis:

Velan gave a very clear account of what the saviour was expected to do—stand in knee deep water, look to the skies, and utter the prayer lines for two weeks, completely fasting during the period—and lo, the rains would come down. . . ."

He (Raju) remembered that not long ago he had spoken to them of such a penance, its value and technique. He had described it partly out of his head and partly out of traditional accounts he had heard his mother narrate.29

As we have seen earlier, Narayan had in mind a specific event of social history for tackling the holy man's role in the belief system governing a small village community. The rainmaking ritual was practiced by the Brahmins of Mysore at a time of severe drought. The sacredness of the belief is emphasized by the introduction of the protagonist and modelled upon the equally accepted and interrelated theme of asceticism. Tradition in the society has helped the author portray a carrier of the tradition without failing to convey the folk realism of the tradition itself. Therefore, the transfer is not negative. Since the rainmaking ritual is undoubtedly a part of the belief system of the village culture, and since the author does not indulge in any kind of expression of sarcasm or disgust, we can assume that the transfer is positive. Once again, the crux of the whole process can be reduced to a formulaic statement:
\[ T_A = f(A_f, R_c, R_{A-R}) \]

where: \( T_A \) = target ascetic or asceticism concept to be transferred
\( A_f \) = familiarity with the ascetic tradition and the knowledge of a related event
\( R_c \) = the ascetic figure conceptualized in Raju
\( R_{A-R} \) = relationship between asceticism of tradition and the character of Raju

Figure 2 and its concomitant Formulas 2 through 2c would also reveal the inner framework controlling the contrast of the ascetic of the tradition with Raju of the novel \( R_{A-R} \).

Axel Olrik's essay, "The Epic Laws of Folk Narrative" (1919), and more recently, Milman Parry and Albert Lord's formulas of oral composition have shown us the presence of unwritten rules of narration in the mind of the folk artist. The laws I have been able to detect hopefully will unravel the mystery of the literary composition of folk material.

NOTES

9. George A. Ferguson, "On Transfer and the Abilities of Man," Canadian Journal of Psychology 10:3 (1956): 126. This was his presidential address to the annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Ottawa, 8 June 1956.

10. To suit our needs I have made some changes in the formula as derived by Gradman from his statement of the five features. The formula he has used is as follows:

$$A_y = f(A_x, L_y, R_{xy})$$

Where: $A_y$ = Acquired feature $y$
$A_x$ = Acquired feature $x$
$L_y$ = Training (or practice) in (or exposure to) feature $y$
$R_{xy}$ = Relation between $x$ and $y$


12. William Walsh has said that Naipaul "was an agnostic almost as a child in a devout, orthodox family" in his V. S. Naipaul (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1973), p. 1.

13. "Linga—this word is of Austeric origin, meaning a digging stick or primitive plough. Since both the plough and the phallus prepare the way for insemination, the term is also applied to the phallus, and to the regenerative religious symbol, particularly the phallic emblem of the god Shiva... The immigrant Aryans referred with contempt to the Sinsadevata, 'penis-god' worshippers they found in India, and for long prohibited all contact with them... The Amarnath Shrine in Kashmir: Here a linga-shaped ice block has been formed in a cave by water dripping from the roof; it is believed that the ice image grows every lunar month in the bright half, and partly melts away in the dark half," From Benjamin Walker, The Hindu World: An Encyclopaedic Survey of Hinduism, vol. 1 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 594-598. Other books dealing with this subject are: Ben Zion Goldberg, Sacred Fire: The Study of Sex in Religion (London: Garden City Publishing Co., 1931) and Arthur Miles, Land of the Lingas (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1933).


16. One of the variants of the lingam legend as given by W. J. Wilkins in his Hindu Mythology (London: W. Thacker, 1913), p. 288, is as follows: "The Padma Purana teaches that it was the result of a curse pronounced by Bhrigu, when the sage was sent to discover which of the three gods was the greatest. He came to Shiva's abode, but was prevented from entering... a door-keeper informed him that his master was with Devi, his wife. Afte waiting for sometime, Bhrigu's patience being exhausted, he said, 'Since thou, O Shankara hast treated me with contempt on preferring the embraces of Parvathi, your forms of worship shall be the Linga and the yoni.' "Yoni" is the symbol for vagina.

17. Ved Mehta, "The Train had just Arrived at Malgudi Station," The New Yorker 15 September 1962, p. 54.


21. More information on "bharathab natyam" as a traditional form of dance may be found in Balwant Gargi, Theatre in India (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1962).


27. Stephen A. Tyler, *India: An Anthropological Perspective* (Pacific Palisades, Calif.: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 201-203. According to Tyler, "A holy man communicates power not only by sight (darshan), but equally by touch and anything that has come into contact with the holy man becomes prasad, a divine gift imbued with holiness. In addition to darshan and prasad, a holy man also communicates directly with the laity through instruction (upades). . . . He can be called on for both spiritual and secular advice. . . . An ascetic has certain signs; he seldom smiles, eats little, is celibate, and always speaks the truth. . . . The mendicant aspect of the ascetic's life constitutes a mission, the transmission of spiritual values to villagers, and is one of the main links between the great tradition of Hinduism and village Hinduism. . . . Modern Indian intellectuals are divided in their attitude toward ascetics. Some, like Nehru argue that the ascetic has had his day; his ideas are outdated. The ascetic is a parasite who makes no contribution to social and economic change, but instead opposes it. Others feels that the ascetic is the truest expression of India's spiritualism and that he represents a tradition worthy of emulation."
