

**MAKE-UP AND COSTUME AS A SILENT TEXT:
EXPLORATIONS IN THE ART FORM OF CINDU MADIGAS**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
For the Award of the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that the work reported in this thesis has been carried out by me individually in the Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Sarojini Naidu School of Performing Arts, Fine Arts and Communication, University of Hyderabad, under the Supervision of Dr.Y.A. Sudhakar Reddy. I also declare that this work is original and is not submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, fellowship or associateship to any University or Institution.

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Certified that the work contained in the thesis entitled **"MAKE-UP AND COSTUMES AS A SILENT TEXT: EXPLORATIONS IN THE ART FORM OF CINDU MADIGAS"** has been carried out by **Mr. R.R. HARISCHANDRA** under my supervision and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for any degree.

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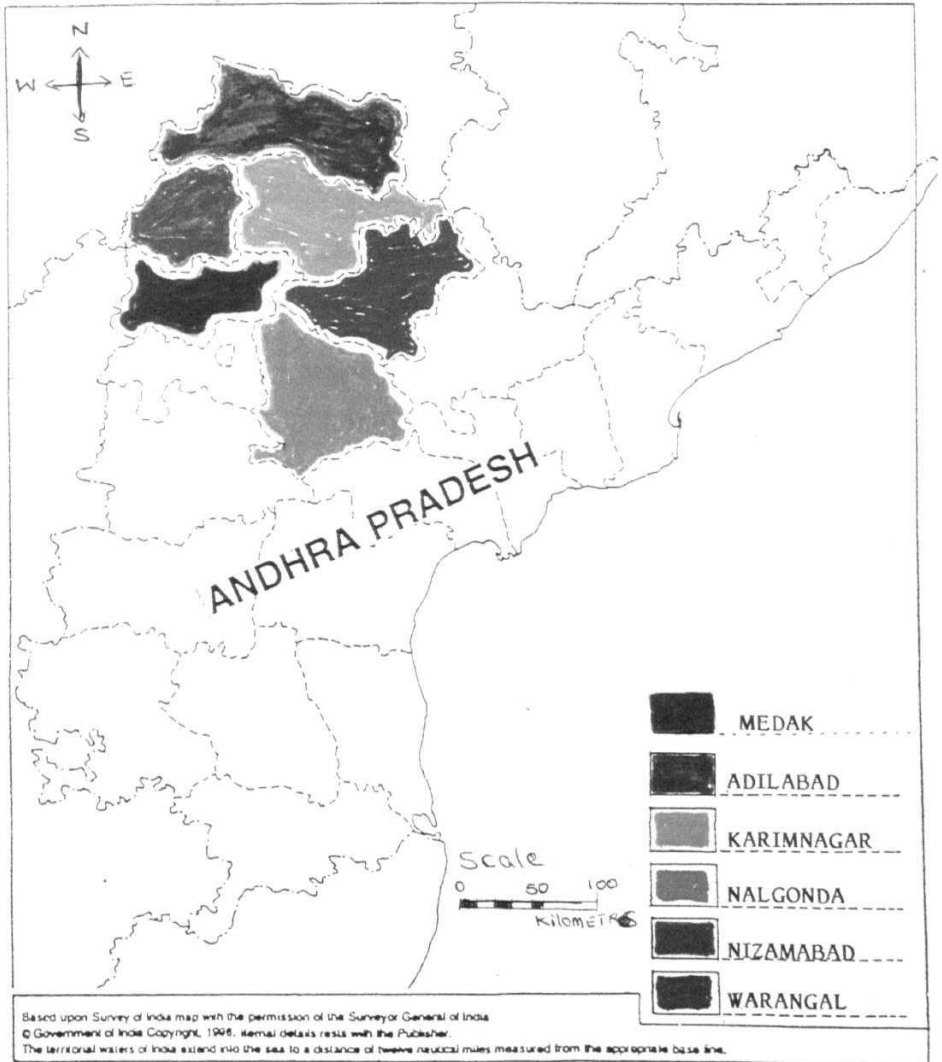
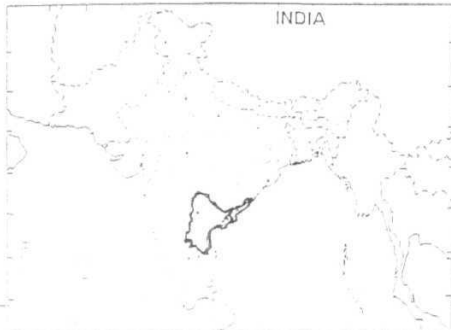
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MAP SHOWING AREA OF STUDY



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Make-up, Costume and Ornaments are important elements of theatre. Without make-up, costume and ornamentation, manifestation of the text of the play becomes non-dramatic, dull and devoid of visual effects. Make-up, costume and ornament therefore for any theatrical presentation is used to create signs not only to substantiate the textual features on stage while it is being played but also vividly used as a substitute to the portions of text itself which cannot otherwise effectively verbalised. Therefore, in the history of theatre make-up, costume and ornaments are used as a non-verbal text and forms the basis for stylistics. In theatre it is make-up, costume and ornaments that stylises the play and fixes genre as realistic or non-realistic. It is the make-up, costume and ornament that manifests the characters, their temperament, their age, and the locale (environment) in which they interact in a given events of the play. Any drama when produced as a theatrical piece manifests itself as a visual. This being the case the play producers ponder upon the issue of how best the visual could be presented. In negotiating with this issue the play producers inevitably resort to make-up, costume and ornament to visualise their drama with the help of other elements such as stage, light and sound etc,. Make-up,

costume and ornament being the visual component of the drama and the chief manifest of the characters, selection of colour becomes integral part of the play production. Make-up, costume and ornament therefore gets directly connected with colour. The semiotics working behind colour combination in presenting the characters through make-up, costume and ornament becomes the issue in play production and in fact communicate the audience much vigorously the message than the text itself. From a formalist perspective of literary criticism what makes theatre different from an ordinary speech act is, the presence of make-up, costume and ornament in theatre that characterizes the characters and make possible the formal speech acts between them through the events narrated in the drama. Without make-up, costume and ornament theatre becomes most informal and therefore do not distinguish itself from a normal speech acts between the individuals. The theatre practitioners as well as critics realising the importance of theatre did advocate for more technical training in make-up, costume and ornamentation. Those who emerged as specialists in make-up, costume and ornament further made the subject complicated through adopting lessons ranging from 'Anatomy' to 'Culture Studies'. As the subject grew complex each field in make-up, costume and ornament further got into specialisation and branched out as costume designers make up directors and set and lighting designers. All this suggest that make-up, costume and ornament are an important element in theatre but least regarded as a study material and analysed to critically evaluate the level of theatre itself.

Significance of the Study:

Considering the importance of the study of make-up, costume and ornaments in theatre, the present work tried to probe into the practice of it in folk theatre. The preliminary observations on folk theatre made to realise that make-up, costume and ornament survived more effectively and consistently through generations in folk theatre. The consistency of the make-up, costume and ornament is such that, it itself became the identity of folk theatre. It is because of make-up, costume and ornament that the audience identify the play to which genre it belongs to, such as, Kuchipudi **Yakshaganam**, Cindu **Yakshaganam**, Veedhi **Bhagavatam**, Melattoor **Bhagavatam**, etc., This observation being the driving force for the study of make-up, costume and ornament, Cindu **Bhagavatam** is taken as the subject matter for research in this thesis. The Cindu **Bhagavatam** is a theatrical form of the community of the Madigas and performed by the Cindus, a sub-sect within the Madigas. The tradition of Cindu **Bhagavatam** is quite popular in Teianganana and **Rayalaseema** regions and is said to be in vogue for the past several centuries. In order to understand the nuances of make-up, costume and ornament, in Cindu **Bhagavatam** the present work is carried out. A modest attempt has been done in this thesis to bring out various aspects of make-up, costume and ornament, and how they reflect the verbal and non-verbal text, which are owned by the community as exclusive right to perform.

Literature Survey

After having fixed the genre and the theme of the study, a number of works are consulted in order to comprehensively understand the theoretical as well as practical knowledge on make-up, costume and ornament. Though many works are referred in the process of writing the thesis, which are in any way listed in the bibliography, a few works are cited here as part of literature survey because of the fact that they deserve mentioning. The literature survey consists of two broad categories; one category of literature pertains to theoretical as well as practical knowledge on make-up, costume and ornament in general which is often used by the practitioners of mainstream theatre. These works are of course technical in nature because of the fact that they demand specialised skills as part of training program for those who wish to specialise in make-up, costume and ornament and may take up theatre as their profession.

In the literature survey of this kind it is observed that studies on costume preceded the studies on make-up. Most of the studies on costume are influenced mostly by historical studies and therefore categorized in terms of periodisation. Adolph Rosenberg's work ⁽¹⁾ on the Design and Development of Costume from Pre-historic Times up to the Twentieth century, published in five volumes in 1925 is an influential work on the history of costumes and dealt the subject purely from a historical perspective. The evidences are drawn mostly from the archaeological remains and relics such as paintings, sculptures, art and architecture etc.. It presented the material so

picturesquely that the reader can understand how the costume has undergone changes keeping in pace with cultural advancements.

The work, *Historic Costume*, A resume of style and fashion from remote times to the nineteen sixties, written by Katherine Morris Lester and Rose Metzorg Kerr ⁽²⁾ deals with costumes their mode of preparation and the style of wearing in different cultures. The Paradigm on which entire materials presented is "Civilization". The progression of civilizations is traced in the development of costumes and the material used for the costumes, ornaments, head dresses, shoes, lower and upper garments and other properties such as fans, arrows, sticks, weapons etc., are also discussed as part of costume in this work.

Blanche Payne's work ⁽³⁾ entitled *History of Costume. From the Ancient Egyptians to the Twentieth century*, covers costumes of both male and females through the ages. His work cling much towards materialistic interpretation of costume. The socio-economic milieu and politico cultural background is taken as the prime factors for generating different costumes of both the sexes. The main concern of the work is to view gender distinctions in the headgears, upper and lower garments, shoes, wigs etc., worn by males and females. At the end of the book as appendix costume patterns are graphically presented which are very useful for practitioners of costume designing.

Some works are also done on Indian Costumes from an historical perspective. Briz Bhushan's work ⁽⁴⁾ on Indian Jewellery, Ornaments and

Decorative Designs, depict the history of jewellery and ornaments through archaeological and architectural prospective. It is a highly descriptive yet informative work.

Govind Rai Chandra's studies in the development of ornaments and jewellery in proto-Historic India reconstructs the history of ornaments and jewellery from the archaeological sources. Both the Mohenjadaro and Harappan civilizations and the Aryan civilizations are covered in the study.⁽⁵⁾

Another exhaustive work on costume is done by Motichandra.⁽⁶⁾ His work entitled, *Costume, Textiles, Cosmetics and Coiftore in Ancient and_Mediaeval India*, comprehensively depict both the ancient and mediaeval periods from the perspective of fine arts. Archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic sources are widely quoted in this work.

Roshen Alkazi's, *Ancient Indian Costume*, presents the history of costumes under Mauryan, Satavahana, Kushana and Gupta periods. This work also graphically presents different styles of costumes of different persons in the social order.⁽⁷⁾

Several works done on Indian art and architecture also point out the costumes and ornaments as depicted in the icons and sculptures and paintings on the walls, palaces, temples etc,. All these works are descriptive and tried to relate costume and ornaments to the historical periods.

Works on make-up are influenced by theatre, cinema and other popular culture representations. Therefore, they are found much later than the works on costumes and ornaments. Most of the books on make-up referred in this

thesis deals with 'stage make-up' because the theme of the thesis deals with the folk theatrical form.

Richard Corson's work ⁽⁸⁾ on Stage Make-up is considered as highly influential and standard work on make-up and is followed from practical teaching point of view in the academic courses of theatre discipline. His work is divided into three parts dealing with basic principles planning and applying the make-up. He draws the scholars' attention from different angles such as anatomy colour pigmentation, designing of colours, light and shade that effects generally the make-up and thereby the presentation of character to the audience. What is important to note in this work is that his viewpoint that emphasises make-up not as an absolute entity but as a relativity. Only in relation to other frames such as character, casting, stage and the play that make-up should be viewed and practiced. This perspective has a phenomenal influence on the make-up artist to get specialised in the art of make-up.

The work *Stage make-up for men* ⁽⁹⁾ and *Stage make-up for women* ⁽¹⁰⁾ written by Douglas Young deals with make-up from a gender and regional perspective. Under make-up for men, Young argues in favour of make-up meant to represent character on one hand and on the other the region to which they belong such as Negro Oriental, Asiatic, and Indian etc,. He emphasises beards and moustache as a prominent place in make-up for men. In the work on make-up for women, 'hair styles' are dealt in detail. The important point in these two works is that the make-up artist should know the age and the region of the character in doing make-up.

Another important work in Telugu on make-up is written by V. Kumar entitled, *Make-up*.⁽¹¹⁾ He is also a practitioner, however most of his observations on make-up are done in the Indian theatre perspective and are useful for the make-up artist.

Both the works on costume and make-up reviewed as part of literature survey to observe make-up, costume and ornament of *Cindu Bhagavatam* from a theatrical perspective.

Another major category of books in literature survey pertains to 'Folk Arts of Andhra Pradesh' in general and '*Cindu Bhagavatam*' in particular. Two important works on Telugu Folk Art are reviewed. M. Radha Krishna Murthy's "*Telugu Van Janapada Kala Rupalu*" is one of the foremost compilations on Telugu Folk Arts.⁽¹²⁾ He discussed descriptively each art form without giving much emphasis on the performance aspect.

M.N.Sharma's work on *Folk Arts of Andhra Pradesh*, covers whole range of Folk arts in a brief manner from a performance perspective and to some extent analytical in nature. As the interest of the author is to give a bird's eye view on the Telugu Folk art forms, he did not probe in detail on any art form.⁽¹³⁾

Apart from these two works on Folk Art forms research done by Telugu literature scholars such as B.Rama Raju,⁽¹⁴⁾ R.V.S.Sundaram,⁽¹⁵⁾ N.Krishna Kumari⁽¹⁶⁾ etc., dealt elaborately on the Telugu folklore which includes folk arts. However, these works are from a folkloric perspective and therefore, devoid of theatrical sense.

The Cindu Madigas are bards to the madiga community and exercise exclusive right over the performance of the caste myths and also Cindu Yakshaganams. Yadagiri Sharma worked on "*Janapada Bikshaka Gayakulu*"⁽¹⁷⁾ covering several minstrel communities and their art forms. He considers them as begging communities. This is an unpublished Ph.D thesis submitted to Osmania University in 1986. However, it is the first time a comprehensive work on the minstrel communities of the Telugu land. Less importance is given to the life styles of the bards and their relationship with their art forms. Edgar Thurston's work⁽¹⁸⁾ on the *Caste and Tribes of Southern India* is a *magnum opus*. Though the work is from a Colonialistic perspective, it is a comprehensive work, which gives many details on the life styles of the communities and their rites and rituals. Under the Madigas, the author refers to several ethnographic notes of various scholars who observed the community in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

These two above mentioned works are referential to communities and their life styles as observed not from the community point of view but from the ethnographers' perspective.

S.V.Joga Rao's work on *Andhra Yakshagana Vangmaya Charitra*⁽¹⁹⁾ is a well researched one on the tradition of Yakshagana and its literary qualities are given much importance than to the performance of Yakshaganam in this work. However, it is one of the best quoted sources for Yakshaganam genre.

Proddutur Yellareddy's work *Telenganalo Yakshaganam Rachana Prayogam*,⁽²⁰⁾ is another interesting work on the narrative aspect of

Yakshaganam. He also listed several unpublished **Yakshaganams** as appendix. From a literary criticism point of view this work contributes much.

Bittu Venkateshwarulu and others published a performance text of *Jamba Puranam* ⁽²¹⁾ that is collected from the *Cindu Madigas*. For the first time a performance this group of scholars from Janapada **Kala** Vedika publishes text. It is an interesting text because it gives the performers perspective on the Cindu's, their origin and their worldview.

Nataraja Rama Krishna's work on *Cindu Jogula Nritya Reetulu*,⁽²²⁾ is only work which gives description of the dance styles of the Cindus and its relationship with *Jogini* system. However, this work is not a detailed one and gives a very brief note on their art form.

All the works do not speak on the make-up, costume and ornaments of the Cindu artists. The importance which has to be given to the make-up, costume and ornament and which forms basis for the existence of art form is undermined thus for; hence this study draws attention to this aspect.

Aims & Objectives

From the literature survey done, it is observed that no work has come out thus for exclusively on make-up, costume and ornament of *Cindu Bhagavatams*. Being myself a make-up artist of the main stream Telugu theatre, I developed keen observation on make-up, costume and ornament of other theatrical forms. This led me to the make-up, costume and ornaments of *Cindu Bhagavatam* which is in some way unique and prompted me to do research on this topic. The following are the aims and objectives of the study.

1. What is the role of make-up, costume and ornaments in do *Cindu Bhagavatam*?
2. Whether make-up, costume and ornament is limited only to characterization or does it go beyond it?
3. Whether make-up, costume and ornament is directed by any text or does it have a larger cultural text, which forms the basis of *cindu Madigas*?
4. Does make-up, costume and ornaments of *Cindu Bhagavatam* has any scenic sensitivity?
5. Is there any indigenous technique employed by the *Cindu Madigas* in their make-up, costume and ornament? and,
6. What is the colour symbolism in their make-up, costume and ornament?

Area of Study

To pursue above aims and objectives, after conducting several preliminary surveys, the area of study is fixed keeping in view the convenience and feasibility. The Telangana region wherein the Cindu Madigas are a predominant bard community to the Madigas is taken as the larger area of study. Within Telangana region three broad traditions are noticed among the Cindu Madigas; one is the Nizamabad tradition to which Adilabad and Karimnagar also belong; the second is Nalgonda tradition to which Warangal and Medak forms part; and the third tradition is found in Ranga Reddy and Hyderabad Districts. Of course the Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy district

have more urban influence in the process of make-up, costume and ornament. The influence of Telugu films is much recognised in this belt.

For study purpose, the first two traditions are given importance because they are closer to the older traditions and also the community attaches a sacral notion to make-up, costume and ornament. The field area covers Bodhan and Armoor in Nizamabad; Aleru and Janagam in Nalgonda districts.

Methodology

Basically two methods are employed in the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data. Since the theme is on make-up, costume and ornament of Cindu Bhagavatam of Cindu Madigas, it is imperative to understand the process of make-up, costume and ornament and its significant role in the performance. For this reason, observation method is primarily employed. This warrant for watching the performances of Yakshaganams and Caste myths in their performative context. The process of make-up of all characters is documented so as to understand their practices and the belief system behind the make-up, costume and ornamentation. After having observed, another method is employed which may be called as ethnographic method to understand the performers' images and their conceptual understanding of the characters based on their oral texts. To achieve this goal unstructured interviews are conducted with the performers as well as the audience with regard to the performances in general and the characters in specific. This method further led to the analysis of myths, which forms the basis for their images on gods and goddesses and constitute much in

translating the images of those in the performance. Their attitude towards colour and its ritual symbolism is also collected through discussions with the members of the community.

Sources of Study:

Major sources of study include:

- Various performances observed during the **fieldwork**.
- The materials used for make-up, costume and ornaments and their usage, and
- Oral traditions pertaining to the life styles, caste myths, legends, beliefs and rituals.

Brief Chapterisation:

The thesis consists of six chapters:

I. Introduction:

In this chapter, a brief introduction to the importance of make-up, costume and ornament in theatre in general and its significance in *Cindu Bhagavatam* in particular are discussed. This chapter also covers literature survey, aims **and** objectives, area of study, methodology, sources of study and brief write up on chapterisation. The main aim of this chapter is to express overtly from which perspective this thesis is written.

II. Make-up, Costumes and Ornaments: Some Theoretical Considerations:

This chapter deals with the general conceptual frame that works behind make-up, costume and ornament in play productions. The ideological conceptions which influence make-up, costume and ornament as realistic and non-realistic plays are dealt in order to support the view point that make-up, costume and ornament requires as much attention as any other element of theatre such as acting, direction etc. This chapter also discusses historical, sociological, religious and politico-economic forces, which influenced make-up, costume and ornament of people in non-theatrical context, which transpose to theatrical context.

III. Cultural Milieu of Cindu Madigas and their Bhagavatams:

The relationship between the community and their art form is the main concern of this chapter. The status of Madigas and Cindu Madigas in the Indian social order is discussed in order to portray how their art form is related to their self and the others in their neighbour hoods. The patron and client relationship that perpetuates the performance of Cindu Madigas is elaborately discussed not only from economic point of view but also from the ritual perspective. The Matangi or **Yellamma** tradition for which the Basavi or Jogin system form the basis is also discussed to bring out how the community of Cindu Madigas became as performers in the Cindu **Bhagavatam** tradition.

IV. Make-up, Costumes and Ornaments in the Performances of Caste

Myths:

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section-1 deals with Jamba Puranam and Section-2 deals with Yellamma Vesam. The concept of silent text is discussed in this chapter. As such the caste myths form the basis for make-up, costume and ornament of various characters in the caste myths. The symbolism behind make-up, costume and ornament itself constitute the silent text and reflect the images of their ancestral gods and goddesses. The process of make-up, the material used and their cultural significance to the entire community of Madigas is discussed in this chapter.

V. Make-up, Costumes and Ornaments in Cindu Bhagavatam:

The main concern of the chapter is to bring out the nuances of make-up, costume and ornament in Cindu Bhagavatam tradition. The process of make-up, colour pigmentation, then costume designing and ornamentation in Cindu Bhagavatams are discussed elaborately with the help of various tables and photographs in this chapter. Two case studies are done in order to bring out the influence of modernity on the Cindu Bhagavatam performance tradition in relation to make-up, costume and ornament is discussed in detail in this chapter.

VI. Conclusions:

Broad conclusions drawn from the study are given in this chapter. What makes folk theatre different from mainstream theatre, from make-

up, costume and ornament **viewpoint** taking the example of Cindu Bhagavatam, is brought forth as part of conclusions.

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CHAPTER II

**MAKE-UP, COSTUMES AND ORNAMENTS:
SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Make-up and costumes in theatrical productions form an important segment. The history of make-up and costumes in theatrical productions dates back to pre-Christian era¹. Almost all civilizations did recognize the importance of make-up and costumes, not only in their stage performances, but also imbibed them as a part of their life styles. Evidences from the historical sources such as art, architecture, sculpture, painting, manuscripts, reveal that civilizations throughout the world did adapt, in some form or the other make-up and costumes as part of their presentation either as a matter of routine or as a part of ritualistic behaviour. Some of the theorists hailing from performance discipline did argue that make-up and costume form an important segment in theatrical presentations because of the transformation quality that make-up and costume poses to transform an artist into character.

'The art of make-up is both corrective and creative. As a corrective art, it gives the complex on a surface both smooth in texture and even in tone. As a creative art, it gives the performer the capacity to play different characters"². For this reason make-up and costumes are widely accepted and adapted in the performances ranging from the classical plays to the realistic plays

including the *avant-garde* productions. They did insist on some sort of make-up and costumes to the actors, so as to make the play intelligible and presentable to the audience.

Parallel to narrative styles that different theatres followed, make-up and costume played a distinct feature in the play productions. In fact it is partly the make-up and costumes that have given distinct styles to the theatre itself, be it a proscenium play, folk play, or street play. Depending upon the subject, the stage setting, make-up and costumes varied to convey a narrative to audience. As specialization grew in the field of make-up and costumes, characters in plays began to emerge divergently keeping in view the context, content and tone of the performance. Of course the technological advancement did help theatre to achieve specialization in make-up and costumes to compete with the changing scenario of the place and time of the performances. One school of thought within the theatre argued for more formal application of make-up and costumes in presentation of the characters. For instance, the school of thought emerged out of Russian Formalism argued that the speech in theatre should be formal therefore distinct from the normal modes of speech and hence the character should also wear make-up and costumes distinctly from the regular way of presentations³. Bertold Brecht⁴, Jerzy Grotowsky⁵ and others who followed this school of thought adapted make-up and costumes to their characters in a way that is more formal. However the distinct characters, as argued by the Russian Formalists, should not be totally alien from the natural context but at the same

time should reflect the reality of the context. Basing on this logistics Brecht propounded the theory of alienation in theatrical studies⁶. Accordingly, the performers on the stage shift their guises between the realms of character and actor. In order to achieve this shift Brecht followed freezing of characters as technique in his plays⁷. However, for this school of thought make-up and costumes do not act as simply indicators of the characters, but exist as part of external representations of the characters.

Yet, another school of thought advocated for more informal presentation of make-up and costumes to the characters, since it believed in realistic plays, which necessarily be akin to the contemporary, temporalitis⁸. For them, the immediate audience is the most prime targets in the communication channel. The formal presentation of characters only creates distance between the performers and audience and therefore negates access to the message of the plays. According to them it is the content (Message), which is important than the way it is presented. In order to achieve a kind of synchrony the actors should remain as actors, and indicate their role through character but not step in themselves as characters⁹. From this view point the make-up and costumes act as only the indicators of the characters and remain outside the enactment of the characters. Part of the *avant-garde* movement, which craved for such philosophy of realism gave birth to plays of this kind. As Shakespeare said "world itself is a stage and every person is an actor"¹⁰. Therefore natural contexts are created purposefully with in the narrative events of the play and performed realistically, quite often than not shattering

the demarcation between the performers and the audience. Part of this consciousness emerged in the theatrical productions due to the observations made on the rituals of every day life. In other words, ritual itself is conceived as the theatrical production, wherein priests, devotees, and onlookers take-up different roles to accomplish the ritual performance. Most of the rituals have performance component in them and it is played out verbally and non-verbally between the traditional performance and the audience¹¹. Richard Schechner taking one such ritual performance from the parts of Kerala and applied it to his own performance and called it as "environmental theatre"¹². Natural contexts are created and pro-created within the narrative events in performance and performers mingle with the audience to accomplish the performance. Thus, realistic theatre though emphasized on make-up and costumes as an important segment within theatrical productions, yet did not give its due, role as a potential tool to transform the actor into the character. Both the schools of thought in theatre by and large emerged out of a philosophical discourse on a worldview' perception. The non-realistic plays predominantly rely on idealism. According to this school of thought, ideas shape the materialistic world through which self achieves gratification by organizing the material world¹³. Having this idea as premise, idealists conceived the plays as an outlet to the realities of misery and sorrow. For this reason fantasy and aesthetics are given much importance not only in narrating the play but also in the stage setting, make-up, and costumes to symbolically represent the events in the play and this style in theatre came to

be known broadly as non-realistic theatre. Overall theatre in idealism is viewed as an independent art, and true theatre artist combines action, words, line, colour and rhythm into a product. Therefore make-up and costumes become an integral part as artistic expression combining skills of craftsmen and artisans¹⁴.

The realistic plays contrary to above, follow the philosophical worldview of materialism. According to this argument 'matter' proceeds the 'idea'¹⁵. It is the material world that provokes ideas in the psyche and prompt them to organize better the world. It is the actual material relationship that exists in production process influences the worldview. In this sense theatre becomes an instrument of reflector of the material culture. All the realistic plays hence tried to project the reality of the existence of self in the material world with all its temporality i.e., time and space relationship. For this theatre the primary during force is narrative and make-up and costumes and stage setting are made to reflect the temporal phenomena in the play production. With this, much attention is drawn to the actual settings in the plays, including make-up and costumes, and properties etc. For instance, a play situated in medieval times advocated for recreating of the scenes through properties such as palaces, weapons, architecture, costumes, ornaments etc. After the industrial revolution when capitalism became the primary mode of production, the production relations are organized in terms of capitalists and working class (haves and have-nots). The plays connected with 'have-nots' in realistic theatre did not hesitate to reproduce on stage through set, make-up and

costumes, the misery and sorrow of the class and in the process, make-up and costumes also became simplistic and naturalistic in these plays¹⁶.

So, two schools of thought, be it idealism or materialism when applied to theatre tried to represent the worldview as seen by the self. The make-up and costumes either in idealism or in materialism did take clues from the actual experiences of the human beings. The idealists who experience fantasy as reality did organise in their theatrical productions, the make-up and costumes for self-gratification with the objective of representing better world. The materialists contrary to idealists by projecting the existing reality as reality, craved for better world by projecting make-up and costumes in theatrical productions as they are seen. For this reasons theatre enriched itself the Make-up and costumes, to project what it has seen as reality and what it wished as future reality. In both the cases the culture part of the communities and people is taken into cognizance in the play productions.

Once the cultural experiences of the past are taken as the foundation for theatre, the theorists of theatre (be it play wrights, directors, managers, etc.) look for alternative thoughts, which could enrich their perceptions. The general philosophical discourses of the contemporary times became the "idea bank" for the theatre practitioners to draw ideas from it and hence they became susceptible to take up monocular view, be it idealism or materialism. In this process make-up and costumes also started getting organized from the discoveries of historical, sociological, archeological, anthropological, physiological and anatomical studies¹⁷. Thus the discipline of theatre

emerged as an inter-disciplinary enterprise. The idea started premising from all these disciplines, when a play is getting organized as a production. The colour, race, social structure, economic organization, cultural identities etc, become the prime subjects for gathering sources to organize make-up and costumes in a given play production. The characters of the plays are studied in detail to organise to adapt make-up and costumes. No longer make-up and costumes survived as independent entities, but became an integral part of the play in terms of representation. The actor in relation to character is conceived as the crux of the play production. Make-up and costumes are viewed in relation to context of the play, text of the play and audience to the play. On one hand and cultural experience on the other hand. In the process several discoveries are made to design make-up and costumes in relation to political structure, economic organization, social formations, geographical locales and races. They are taken as the subject matter for transforming actors into characters in the plays of proscenium theatre, folk theatre, propaganda theatre etc.

Even in the Indian sub-continent, theatre did respond to the beckon call of times. It did take the clues from the historical process in organising make-up and costumes to know how people lived, what did they wear, how they appeared, how they communicated both in body language and spoken language are taken into cognizance in Indian theatre, ranging from the ancient to modern times.

Internalising factors that influence make-up and costumes became a crucial point to the play productions, be it thematically presenting idealism or materialism. Factors such as political setups, racial settings, social organisations, economic formations, religious behavioral patterns all are taken as the study material for designing make-up and costumes. The following are some of the examples to understand make-up and costumes in Sub-Continent. In pre-feudal monarchical political systems, where in the political power rested with kings, emperors, make-up and costumes become an integral part of the social order and used as an indicator of the existing hierarchies both in terms of status and power. Since the power flow is based on the maxim of delegation of power with the emergence of courts and other royal paraphernalia, make-up and costumes played an important role not only in distinguishing people of different order, but also an element by itself to show off the grandeur of the monarchies¹⁸. During the feudal regimes, make-up and costumes further became complex and acquired an element of sacrality. This is partly due to the very fact that the feudal systems survived with support of the religious institutions.

The basic dictum with which the feudal political formations survived is on decentralization of power among different feudal lords under a king¹⁹. The contenders or power remind the significant issue within the feudal polity. Since the feudal structure itself is designed as a pyramidal power structure at the apex, the king enjoys considerable power and controls the other segments of power. The feudal lords being the other segment of power, in

their own fiefs duplicated similar pyramidal power structure controlling the lesser lords within their own provinces²⁰. Thus the decentralized power structures always faced the threat of crossing the boundaries in sharing power. To mediate this situation parallel religious institutions also hierarchised in similar to that of pyramidal power structure so as to make it a model to follow by the political powers²¹. Monologs to king, feudal lord, lesser lords, down to the surfs, the deities are also placed having *moola virat* (presiding deity) at the apex and followed by concerts and other smaller deities designated variously as vehicles (*vimana*) gate keepers (*dwarapalaka*) etc²². According to status they are ornamented & costumed and presented to the devotees. The same manner under feudal system kings also imitated, devices similar to distinguish themselves with other power shareholders. Different occasions as in the case of fairs and festivals and holy days are contextualised by appropriately manipulating make-up, costumes and ornaments to the duties in the sacred complexes to present the duties to their devotees. Similarly, the kings imitated by creating different occasions to show off their power to the feudal lords and public at large²³. The make-up, costumes and ornaments are used as means during these occasions. As occasions get customized they become cyclically repetitive. Make-up, costumes and ornaments attained sacral status and therefore remain symbolic. In other words, make-up and costumes are used as expression of power and symbolically denote the power relation that the stagecraft wishes to order.

According to Clifford Geertz²⁴ charisma of the king symbolically represents cosmic order. It goes without saying that charisma depends much on royal insignia and paraphernalia. If make-up and costume is seen as part of expression of state operates, then it tantamount royal insignia, such as courts palaces etc., which symbolically but overtly express as the canthers of power. The shift in the idea seeing make-up and costumes as expression of power and power relations is drawn from the works of Geertz. In the scholastic work, Geertz symbolically projects the Indic cultural representations of classical Indonesia and conceives it as the theatre state of nineteenth century. The work of Geertz "on the Indic culture of classical Indonesia "the world was a less improvable place, and royal pageantry was hierarchical and mystical in spirit, not pious and didactic. Gods, kings, lords and commoners formed an unbroken chain of religious status stretching from Siva-Buddha -"Ruler over rulers of the world... spirit of the spiritual...Unconceivable of the unconceivable" down to ordinary peasant, barely able to look toward the light, the higher levels standing to the lower as greater realities to lesser"... The peasants honor the chiefs, a fourteenth - century clerical text reads, "the chiefs honor the lords, the lords honor the ministers, the ministers honor kings, the kings honor the priests, the priests honor the gods, the gods honor, the sacred powers the sacred power honor the Supreme Nothingness"²⁵.

In the process costumes and ornaments are exchanged as gifts to express honor to each other. They became, thus not an analogy but as analogous to express the power relations in the state.

Working from this, conceptual frame make-up and costumes become not simply as a theatrical device to transform performers into characters, but the very soul of structuring of society during the pre feudal and feudal ages. Coating extensively from fourteenth century text namely *Nagarakertagama* from Java, Geertz argue that the "basic principle of Indonesian statecraft is that court should be copy of the cosmos and the realm a copy of the court, with the king, liminally suspended between gods and men, the mediating image in both directions-is laid out in almost diagrammatic form. At the centre and apex, the king; around him, and his feet, the palace; around the palace, the capital, "reliable, submissive"; around the capital, the realm, "helpless, bowed, stooping, humble"; around the realm, "getting ready to show obedience", the outside world-all disposed in compass-point order, a configuration of nested circles that depicts not just the structure of society but, a political *mandala*, that of the universe as a whole. It is this structure, the deep geometry of the cosmos, which the poem celebrates and into which, half as rite and half as policy it fits the royal progress"²⁶. Thus, the above description of royalty and its associates of the medieval Javan Kingdom is conceived by Geertz as an indicator to the very social formation reflecting the power *per se*. Ornaments make-up and costumes and other royal paraphernalia such as physical structures like palaces, temples, courts and

so are the devices to establish and promote, a social setup which is incongruence with the political economy of the times. In this sense, make-up and costumes can be looked as non-theatrical and perhaps pre-theatrical indicators of the existing social reality.

From sociological perspective, irrespective of political power structures, the Indian society at large is divided into several social groupings based on factors such as caste, clan, endogamous and exogamous septs and religions sects. The groupings based on the above mentioned factors used make-up, costumes, and ornaments as indicators of their social identity. The tribal community used the exogamous and endogamous units, which are vitally kinship oriented, to reflect the tribal identity of the group.

The sign system in these groups largely worked out on totemic belief system. The totems get reflected not simply as objects of worships but permeate to several layers of identity. Quite often than not, they do become part of their ornamentation as well as tattoos on their bodies ²⁷.

For example; The Chakkiliyans are the leather-workers of the Tamil districts, corresponding to the Madigas of Telugu country. The Chakkiliyan men are tattooed not only forehead, but also with their name, conventional devices, dancing girls, etc., on the chest and upper extremities.

The belief as reflected in the cosmogony of totemic expressive tradition further implicitly interwoven in their life styles. The tribal communities mark certain days as auspicious and regulate their calendrical events. During such

cultural events the totemic belief system is overtly expressed through their dressing, make-up, costumes and ornaments.

For example,²⁸

The Savaras (Sawaras or Saoras) are an important hill-tribe in Ganjam and Visakhapatnam. Usually, the Savara's dress (his full dress) consists of a large bunch of feathers (generally white) stuck in his hair on the crown of his head, a coloured cloth round his head as a turban, and worn much on the back of the head, and folded tightly, so as to be a good protection to the head. When feathers are not worn, the hair is tied on the top of the head, or little at the side of it. A piece of flat brass is another head ornament. It is stuck in the hair, which is tied in a knot at the crown of the head, at an angle of about 40° from the perpendicular, and its waving up and down motion as a man walks has a curious effect. Another head ornament is a piece of wood, about 1/2 inch in diameter, with a flat button about two inches in diameter on the top, all covered with hair or coloured thread, and worn in the same position as the flat piece of brass. A Peacock's feather, or one or two of the tail feathers of the jungle cock, may be often seen stuck in cheroot or two, perhaps half smoked, may often be seen sticking in the hair of a man or women, to be used again when wanted. They also smoke pipes, and the old women seem particularly fond of them. Round the Savara's neck are brass and bead necklaces. A man will wear as many as thirty necklaces at a time, or rather necklaces of various lengths passed as the Savara's waist and under his fork, is tied a cloth with coloured ends hanging in front and behind.

When a cloth on the body is worn, it is usually worn crossed in front. The women wear necklaces like the men. Their hair is tied at the back of the head, and is sometimes confined with a fillet. They wear only one cloth, tied round the waist. During feasts, or when dancing, they generally wear a cloth over the shoulders. Every male wears a small ring, generally of silver, in the right nostril, and every female wears a similar ring in each nostril and in the septum. These rings are put in the nose on the eighth or tenth day after birth. Men and women often wear bangles. Women, too, sometimes wear anklets. Brass neck lets and many other ornaments are made in Savara hills by the Gangsis, a low tribe of workers in brass.

Similarly the tribal society reflect its ethos through a system of signs reflected in make-up, costumes and ornaments in their rights of passage such as birth, puberty, marriage, death and ceremonies.

For instance²⁹, Many of the Kuruba wear charms in the form of a string of black sheep's wool, or thread tied round the arm or neck, sometimes with sacred ashes wrapped inside, as a vow to some minor deity, or a four *anna* piece to a superior deity. A priest wore a neck let of *rudraksha* (*Elaocarpus Ganitrus*) beads, and a silver box, containing the material for making the sacred marks on the forehead, pendent from a loin string. His child wore a similar neck let, a copper ornament engraved with cabalistic devices, and silver plate bearing a figure of Hanumān, as all his other children had died, a piece of pierced pottery from the burial ground, to ward off whooping-cough, suspended round the neck. Their garments consisted of a tight fitting pair of

short drawers, white turban, and a black *kambali* (blanket), which does duty as overcoat, umbrella, and sack for bringing in grass from the outlying country.

The following account of the marriage ceremonial was recorded in Western Bellary. When a marriage has been settled between the parents of the young people, the two families exchange visits. On a fixed day, the contracting couple sit on a blanket at the bride's house, and fixed women throw rice over five parts of the body as at the menstrual ceremony. Betel leaves and areca nuts are placed before them, of which the first portion is set apart for the god Birappa, the second for the Gauda, another for the house god, and so on up to the tenth. A general distribution then takes place. The ceremony, which is called *sSkshi vilya* or witness betel-leaf, is brought to a conclusion by waving in front of the couple a brass vessel, over the mouth of which five betel leaves and a ball of ashes are placed. They then prostrate themselves before the guru. For the marriage ceremony, the services of the guru, a Jangam, or a Brahman priest, are called into requisition. Early on the wedding morning, the bridal couple are anointed and washed. Placing at the four corners a pot filled with water marks out a space, called the *irāni* square. Round each pot a cotton thread is wound five times. Similar thread is also tied to the milk-post of the marriage *pandal* (booth), which is made of *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) wood. Within the square a pestle, painted with red and white stripes, is placed, on which the bride and bridegroom, with two young girls, seat themselves. Rice is thrown over them, and they are anointed and

washed. To each a new cloth is given in which they dress themselves, and the wrist-thread (*kankanam*) is tied on all four. Presents are given by relations, and *ārathi* (red water) is waved round them. The bridegroom is decorated with a *bāshingam* (chaplet of flowers), and taken on a bull to a Hanumān shrine along with his best man. Cocoanuts, camphor, and betel are given to the priest as an offering to the god. According to another account, both bride and bridegroom go to the shrine, where a matron ties on their foreheads chaplets of flowers, pearls, etc. At the marriage house a dais has been erected close to the milk-post, and covered with a blanket, on which a mill-stone and basket filled with cholam (*Andropogon Sorghum*) are placed. The bridegroom, standing with a foot on the stone and the bride with a foot on the basket, the gold *tali*, after it has been touched by five marriage women, is tied round the bride's neck by the officiating priest, while those assembled as a screen, so that the bride and bridegroom cannot see each other. On the three following days, the newly married couple sit on the blanket, and rice is thrown over them. In Western Bellary, the bridegroom, on the third day, carries the bride on his waist to Hanumān temple, where married women throw rice over them. On the fifth morning, they are once more anointed and washed within the *irāni* square, and towards evening, the bride's father hands her over to her husband, saying "She was till this time a member of my sept and house. Now I hand her over to your sept and house." On the night of the sixth day, a ceremony called *booma idothu* (food placing) is performed. A large metal vessel (*gangSlam*) is filled with rice, ghT (clarified butter), curds,

and sugar. Round this some of the relations of the bride and bridegroom sit, and finish off the food. The number of those who partake thereof must be an odd one, and they must eat the food as quickly as possible. If anything goes wrong with them, while eating or afterwards, it is regarded as an omen of impending misfortune. Some even consider it as an indication of the bad character of the bride.

Both in the cultural events of the community as well as the auspicious days of the family, make-up and costumes and ornaments play a vital role as signifiers of the community at large. In this context make-up and costumes and ornaments, operate more of a signifier of the occasion in which the actual individual groups, take-up their roles in socialization process of the community itself than as mere entertainment device of theatrical production. Hence, make-up, costumes and ornaments are to be understood as a system of behavioral modes. Indispensable understanding of this dimension of make-up, costumes and ornaments is crucial to the present study, because of the fact that the make-up, ornament and costumes is potential of generating meanings to the cultural events and therefore the cultural events themselves become meaningful to the community.

In Indian scenario, the cultural events are knitted with caste and religion. Cultural events are those which pertain to groups / community to express their identity and solidarity³⁰. Hence, it is a communal activity be it religious or non-religious related to social belief system, has referential to caste and always get expressed in terms of identity pertaining to that caste. During

such cultural event make-up, ornaments and costumes also play a role in determining partly the level of cultural event itself. For instance in the rights of passage like birth, puberty, marriage and death ceremonies are intrinsically woven with certain make-up, ornaments and costume to express the cultural events themselves, where the entire community observes tradition which is inherently owned. For example, The caste group namely Gollas wear *Unnikankanam* (or) *Pattikankanam* [a wrist band made-up of a wool or cotton] to express their caste [*Jati* (sub-group)] identity³¹. Similarly, the Cindu Madigas grow long hair as an ethnic identity marker. Being performers such long hair would benefit them to avoid wigs while tying up their headgears. They also hardly wear trousers and bush shirts but prefer only an under garment known as *Pancha* or *Dhovathi*, and an Upper ornament known as *Jubba*. Within the community of Madigas these identify the costume of the Cindu Madigas³². Only the minstrel group like Cindu Madigas wear such costumes and grow long hairs within the larger community of Madigas. Generally, the Madigas who perform the duties of leather tanning and make leather goods and also when employed as landless labourers they do not grow long hair, but prefer to cut their hair short³³. So to say make-up costumes and ornaments are also used as expression of the community's identity.

In the religious sphere costume, make-up, ornament is symbolically used to identify the person/community to which religious sect he/she belongs. In India where multi-religious beliefs are followed, the follower usually wear

certain symbolic marks either as part of Make-up, ornaments and costumes or use certain vocabulary in their speech mode to express themselves that they belong to a particular sect/religion. Make-up, costumes and ornaments of Virasaiva and Vaisnava religious sects are concerned, certain signs such as *namas* (White strips on the forehead) *Sanku* and *Chakram* (wheel) etc., are used as distinct marks to identify their sect³⁴. During the medieval times especially in the South Indian soils *bhakthi* movement gained much popularity, and hence got royal patronage. In fact the *bhakthi* movement developed as a counter religion to orthodox Brahminism. It has started as discourse analysis on theosophy and propagated as philosophy in due course through sectarian religions namely Vaisnavism and Saivism. They gained popularity owing allegiance to Siva and Vishnu respectively. With the emergence of sectarian religions several rites and rituals associated with individual *via-a-via*, temple came into practice. In order to regulate the belief system of individuals/communities, intermediately group of mendicants are commissioned by the temple with the support of the royal patronage³⁵. The pilgrimage tradition also started concomitantly and attracted several donations both in the form of men and material. The temple acquired donations in the form of lands, agricultural products, construction works, gold and silver metals, ornaments, costumes, cows and buffaloes, sheep, goat etc.. As donations grew more in size, management of resource became an integral task of the temple. To meet this requirement, temple started employing people for various services ranging from protection to cleaning up

of the temple. Concomitant to this development the worship order also became complex and the god is regarded homologous to emperor and all the services that emperor would extract are also given to the god³⁶. The temple ritual therefore became highly structured and syntagmatically organized starting from *suprabhatha seva* (or) *melukolupu seva* (the ritual to wake up god) to *pavalimpu seva* (the ritual preparing god to go to sleep). These elaborate rituals require various services from different occupational "groups" such as musicians, dancing girls, *pandits*, priests and attendants etc. As the ritual became elaborate sharing of resources of the temple with the pilgrims was worked out through the *Prasada* concept³⁷. The concept of *prasada* is a symbolic expression of union with god by dining with god. As the ritual started growing in the temples, the temples adapted calendrical cycle to observe rituals especially honoring god. In the processes similar to rights of passage or observed even to gods, such as birthday of god, Marriage of god etc, what is interesting to note here is that those rituals observed as festivity prompted for organizing entertainment of course with devotion to attract and engage pilgrims. Devotional song recitations, various types of dances (Bharatha Natyam, Kuchipudi and other local forms), and performances based on episodes from the *puranas* are conducted during festive days in the temple towns. This further necessitated the usage of make-up, costumes and ornaments by entertainers. Temples being the sponsor and encouraged local talent for such occasions, they became not only centres of worship but also place for cultural activities. Some of pilgrim centres became so [prominent

that they started creating chairs for renowned musicians and performers as *asthana vidwans*. The tradition emerges in these centres remain today as models such as Melattur, Tanjore, Srirangam etc³⁸. With this kind of background one can argue that the performing arts and fine arts gained momentum due to the religious influence and temple became platform to promote these arts to the elite levels and thereby given classical tone to these arts.

In the economic sphere too certain factors caused the promotion of arts and got institutionalized them. One such major factor is the economic organisation of the medieval times itself, which necessitate the growth of institutions for performing arts and fine arts. The Indian feudal character of the medieval times by and large formulated socio-economic organizations based on agrarian relationship in which land became prime factor of power loci. The exchange relationship in the feudal economy was mostly confined to transfer of material within the rural populous³⁹. This was due to paucity of coinage in general and scarcity of precious metal in particular. In the urban centres, the trade and commerce therefore emerged as a group activity generally known as guilds⁴⁰. Various kinds of merchant guilds and craft guilds became operative in the feudal economy to serve the needs of urban centres. By and large three kinds of urban centres emerged in the medieval feudal India. They are "political centres, religious centres and trade centres"⁴¹. In all these centres mercantile activity based on guild systems survived. The mercantile groups played a prominent role as intermediary between

producers and consumers, and therefore formed as link between the urban and rural centres. The performing arts and fine arts owe their existence to some of these groups since they sponsored them. In the rural areas, however it is not mercantile community, which played prominent role in promoting arts, especially the folk arts. For the simple reason that the rural populous is not the main cliental to this community.

In fact most of the folk art forms developed in the rural scenario independent of the mercantile group. An interesting observation made on the development of folk art forms is that they developed concomitantly and on caste basis because of the economic compulsions. Therefore they are caste oriented or community oriented. This is so because of the relationship they developed within and outside the group. In the village community much depends on the land holding pattern. Since, the village consumed most of its products the exchange pattern did not grow to the extent of creating specialized groups involved in exchange relationships⁴². The groups themselves in rural areas sponsored the performing arts and fine arts. The formula worked out to suit to the situation is *jajmani* or *mirasdar* system⁴³. The *jajmani* and *mirasdar* system worked on the principle of give and take process wherein the landlords towards the landless observe subsistence ethics. The landless reciprocated through their services to the landlords. Under these circumstances, subsistence ethics and reciprocity norms were protected by each the village community⁴⁴. The same is followed even by each caste in the rural areas. For this reason ministerial (*bard*) system emerged as a

distinct feature within every caste, and therefore the bards became the narrators of the caste myths. In general, the caste myth recitations through performances inform the caste of their role in the community ⁴⁵. Violation of the role is conceived as an evil and therefore not encouraged. Tying of the caste to prescribed role in relations to lands emerged as salient feature in the social organization of feudal system. These relationships were so strong and deep rooted that even in the post-feudal socio- economic formation they continued. The net result is that the folk art forms though redundant to their occupation, yet remain as influential entertainment in the rural sector. In view of this, make-up, costumes and ornaments, became a distinct phenomena in the folk performing arts in order to demarcate the performer from his audience.

Thus, the socio-economic milieu, the political system and the tradition oriented practices based on certain religious belief systems made make-up, costumes and ornaments a vital marker in social organization of the Indian sub-continent. In order to demonstrate this phenomena a community of bards known as Cindu Madigas are taken for the study in this thesis.

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CHAPTER-III

**CULTURAL MILIEU OF CINDU MADIGAS
AND THEIR BHAGAVATAMS**

Cindu Madiga is a sub-caste of the Madiga Community. Combining the Cindu and Madiga derives the name Cindu Madiga. Cindu as a suffix denote a group of Madigas who perform the cultural text of Madigas by a way of a dance form. *Cindu*, literally means 'a vibrant step' ¹ patterned in a stylistic expression, which looks like a dance, in which circular motions are created while dancing. The performance of Cindu Madigas includes typical dances with Cindu's accompanied by oral narrative presented in a theatrical form. Their performances are popularly known as Bhagavatams and Yakshaganams, which belong to the style of poetic narrative plays, centred on the episodes drawn from the epic tradition. Hence they are of theatrical presentations with full-fledged character roles and dialogue style narratives having all dyad attributes. Before going onto the details about Cindu Madigas and their Bhagavatams, it is imperative to know their caste composition and their status in the social system.

During pre-independence Indian era, the Madigas are considered as one of the out castes, living outside the pale of *varna* system. They are treated as *panchama varna* and hence untouchables.² Their social hierarchy is construed on the *varna* system. The Madigas along with their counterpart community known as Malas, live outside the main village habitation site.³ Usually their settlements are formed as hamlets to the village and their services are rendered for certain works connected with purity and pollution. With respect to village, their chief profession is disposal of the dead carcasses etc. This being the case they developed occupation related to leather skinning, tanning, and manufacturing leather goods. They perform all the lowest kinds of service for the upper caste people, especially bearing burdens and working in leather.⁴ They take charge of the Ox or buffalo as soon as it dies. They remove the skin and tan it and eat the loathsome carcasses, which make them specially despised and render their touch polluting. Some of the skins are used for covering the rude drums that are largely used in the Hindu festivals, and *Jatras* celebrated in the honor of the village deities. Their musical instruments are called as *Tappetalu*. The caste men impress the Madigas into their service, not only to make-up the drums but also to beat them at their feasts. Their musical instrument is called as *tappeta*. The main duty of Madigas is curing and tanning of hides and the manufacture of crude leather articles, especially sandals, trappings for bullocks and large well

buckets used for irrigation. The process of tanning with lime and *tangedu* (*Cassia auriculata*) bark is rough and simple (*Tangedu* is said to be cut only by Madiga as other classes think beneath their dignity to do it).⁶ As did their forefathers, so the Madigas do today. The quality of the skins they turn out is fair, and the state of the development of native leather trade compares very favourably with that of other trades such as blacksmith and carpentry. The Madiga sandals are strong, comfortable, some times highly ornamented. His manner of working and his tools are as simple as his life. He often gets paid in kind, a little fodder for his buffalo, so many measures of some cheap grain, perhaps a few vegetables etc. The Madigas are also attached to one or more families of peasants, and are entitled to take dead animals of their houses. The Madiga is paid in kind and he has to supply sandals for peasants, belts for the bulls, and all the necessities of agriculture; and for these he has to find the requisite leather himself; but for the larger articles, such as water buckets, the master must find the leather. Their occupation is well defended by their oral tradition. It is interesting to know that almost all castes in sub-continent have a myth that tells about how the caste has come into existence and occupation to which they should cling. The caste, myths are considered as oral narratives given by gods and hence to be followed strictly without questioning them. In a way the social organization in terms of hierarchy is organised to protect each occupation and work in solidarity with each

other. For this reason *varna* system and *Jati* relationships are conceived as a strategic display of groupings for symbiotic existence. Every caste for this reason has its own relevance to the social system and without which the system cannot survive and end up in chaos. Though Madiga is considered as an out caste, they are still given the due place during certain occasions in fairs and festivals of the village. The caste myth therefore not only relegate occupation to be performed but also delegate status in a given social system with further more than what they actually enjoy in order to sub-serviently survive with in the social hierarchy.

According to the caste myth of the Madigas, they are distained to perform menial jobs in the village and undertake leather works as an occupation. This of course is given to them as part of the curse for polluting the sacred feast of the gods. The caste myth⁶ of the Madigas, enumerate eighteen *Yuga*'s (ages) unlike in the classicist version of four *Yugas*.

Jambavamuni is the ancestor of the Madigas and was born in *Athbhutha yuga*, which is the fourth of the eighteen *yugas*. In the ninth *yuga* known as *Bhinnaja Yuga*, the creator Parabramha intended to perform the marriage of Trimurthees. For this occasion, Parabramha created Pancha Bramhas to manufacture material required for the marriage. They are entrusted with a job of melting the mountains of gold, silver, bronze to make ornaments especially those used *[pusthy,*

mettelu, ornaments, vessels, etc.,] for wedlock occasion. The eldest of the Pancha Bramhas, Manu Bramha approached as per the directions of Parabrahma, *Jambavamuni* for a leather bagpipe to melt the mountains of gold, silver, and bronze. *Jambavamuni*, though willing to make a leather pipe for them, yet fallen in dilemma of how to procure leather without killing an animal. Then Parabrahma advised him to create from his right rib of Yugamuni. *Jambavamuni* killed Yugamuni and made a leathern pipe from his skin. Yugamuni while dying gave him a curse to become an out caste. When *Jambavamuni* pleaded that he is innocent and he is forced to kill him for sacred duty, Yugamuni then gave a remedy that his untouchability would last for five thousand years.⁷ That is how the Posterity of *Jambavamuni* became untouchables. The Pancha Brahmas made all the required Paraphernalia of metals by using the leather pipe as fumace to melt the mountains. The marriage is performed with Pomp and glory. After the marriage Siva and Parvathi went to *vana vihara*. She got hurt in her thigh. She tore her thigh flesh and threw it on a cow dung. Chennaiah was born out of it. To feed him Parvathi created a divine cow namely "*Jamili kamadhenu (or) Jamili gangi govu*", the milk of the cow was so tasty; that Chennaiah thought even the flesh of the cow could be testier than the milk. Kamadhenu heard this and committed suicide in front of the hermitage of Siva. The *devatas* then tried to remove the carcass, but failed. Then they asked Chennaiah to go to

"Jambalapuri Patnam" and call *Jambavamuni* who being elder may give them an advice. He went and called *Jambavamuni* as "O tata maha digira" instead of calling *maha digira* he called *madigira*. Because he has *Visha Vaakku* (evil spell) in his tongue, *Jambavamuni* became Madiga and his Posterity became Madigas.⁸ Thus the name, Madiga came in to existence because of a tongue twister.

During the freedom movement Gandhiji, fighting against untouchability named the untouchable communities as *harijans* (People of god) and tried to assimilate them into the caste order. In Andhra, Madiga and Mala are considered as Harijans. While Malas belong to the right-hand caste, the Madigas are considered as left hand caste. The Malas since directly participate in agriculture as labour; they came under right hand caste (*Kudivaram*). The Madigas are leather-working people they do not participate directly in food production process and hence they are considered as left hand caste (*Melvaram*). Between these two castes, apart from economic reason, a mythological reason is also gives to destine them to be so.

The Madigas are also call themselves as Jambavas and claim to be descended from Jambu or Adi-Jambuvadu who perhaps the Jambavantudu of the Ramayana.⁹ Edgar Thurston recorded that some Madigas, called *Sindhuvallu*, go about acting scenes from the Mahabharatha and Ramayana or the story of Ankamma.¹⁰ They also

assert that they fell to their present low position as the result of a curse and tell the following story.

Kamadhenu, the sacred cow of the *puranas*, was yielding plenty of milk, which the *Devas* alone used. **Vellamanu**, a Madiga boy was anxious to taste the milk, but was advised by **Adi-Jambuvadu** to abstain from it. He however secured some by stealth and thought that the flesh would be sweeter still. Learning this, *Kamadhenu* died. The *Devas* cut its carcass into four parts, of which they gave one to **Adi-Jambavudu**. But they wanted the cow brought back to life, and each brought his share of it for the purpose of reconstruction. But Vellamanu had cut a bit of the flesh, boiled it, and breathed on it, so that, when the animal was recalled to life, its chin sank, as the flesh thereof had been defiled. This led to the sinking of the Madigas in the social scale.¹¹

The following variants of this myth are given in the *Mysore Census Report, 1891*. "At a remote period, **Jambava rishi**, a sage, was one day questioned by *Ishwara* (Siva) why the former was habitually late at the Divine Court. The *rishi* replied that he had personally to attend to the wants of his children every day, which consequently made his attendance late: whereupon *Ishwara*, pitying the children gave the **rishi** a cow (*Kamadhenu*), which instantaneously supplied their every want. Once upon a time while Jambava was absent at *Ishwara's* court another *rishi* named Sankya visited **Jambava's** hermitage, where his

son Yugamuni hospitably entertained him. While taking his meals, the cream that had been served was savory that the guest tried to induce Jambava's son Yugamuni to kill the cow and eat her flesh; and in spite of the tetter's refusal, Sankya killed the animal, and prevailed upon the others to partake of the meat. On his return from Iswara's court Jambava found the inmates of his hermitage eating the sacred cow's beef and took both Sankya and Yugamuni over to Iswara's court for judgement. Instead of entering the two offenders remained outside, Sankya *rishi* standing on the right side and Yugamuni on the left of the doorway. Ishwara seems to have cursed them to become Chandalas or outcastes. Hence, Sankya's descendants are from his having stood on the right side designated right hand caste or Holayas (or malas); while those who sprang from Yugamuni and his wife Matangi are called left-hand caste or Madigas". The occupation of the latter is said also to be found on the belief that by making shoes for people the sin their ancestor had committed by cow killing would be expiated.¹²

Thus the belief of the Madiga is that the gods to be out caste and to remain as left-hand caste curse them. However, this deplorable status is negated in order to console themselves, another myth floated to overcome this reality of isolation from the rest of the social order is created by them. According to this they are the children of the Matangi who is another version of Kali. Therefore Matangi is worshipped as

their diety. To tell how she became their diety, another myth is in vogue within the Madigas.

Jamadhagni Maharshi also known as Bagawan, on account of his godly power and virtues married Renuka, the daughter of Renu and had five sons by her. The youngest of whom was the famous Parasurama an incarnation of Vishnu. Once upon a time Renuka having gone to the *ganga* saw the king of the *gandharvas* wearing garlands of Lotus, to play with the *apsaras*. Having gone to the river to fetch water, she got some what attracted by Chitaratha, the king of the *gandharvas* who was playing with *apsaras*. She forgot the time of *Yagna* (Sacrifice). She realized the delay and afraid of the curse of the *muni*, she returned to the hermitage and placed the pitcher before the *muni* and remained standing with folded palms. The *muni* (Jamadhagni) came to know of the unchasteness of his wife, got enraged and ordered his son to kill her. Although thus directed, they did not do so. The said Parasu Rama, who was well aware of the powers of the *muni*, killed his mother along with his brothers. The son of Satyavati (Jamadhagni) was pleased and requested Parasu Rama to pray for any favour. Parasu Rama desired the reanimation of those killed. Immediately they got up as though after a deep sleep.¹³

The version locally prevalent is somewhat different.

Jamadhagni's hermitage was near the Kona, and he was worshipping the god Surabeswara, and doing *tapas* (Penance) there. One day his

wife Renuka Devi went very early in the morning to the river Gundlacama to bath and fetch water for her husband's sacrificial rites. She was accompanied as usual by a female slave of the Chuckler (leather worker) caste, as a sort of bodyguard and attendant. While she was bathing, the great worrier Karthavirarjuna with a thousand arms happened to fly across the sky on some business of his own and Renuka saw his form reflected in the water and was pleased with it in her mind. It must be mentioned that she never used to take any vessel with her to fetch water for her chastity was such that she had power to roll water into a pot-like shape, as if it were wax and thus bring it home. On that day however, she failed to affect this. She returned home empty handed. In the mean while her husband finding that his wife returned empty handed, learnt through his 'wisdom sight' what had happened and ordered his son Parusurama to slay his sinful mother. Parasurama went towards the river accordingly and seeing his mother returning, aimed an arrow at her, which severed her head from her body and also similarly severed with its unspent force the head of the Chukler woman who was coming immediately behind his mother. Parasurama returned to his father without even noticing this accident and when his father pleased with his prompt obedience offered him any boon. He prayed for the re-animation of his mother. Jamadhagni then gave him some holy water out of his vessel and told him to put together the dismembered parts and sprinkle some water over them.

Parasurama went off in great delight and haste and as it was still dark and early in the morning, he wrongly put his mothers head on the Chuckler women's trunk and sprinkled water on them. Then seeing another head and another body lying close by he thought that they belong to the female slave whom he had unwittingly killed and he put them also together and re-animated them. He was extremely vexed when he found out the mistake he had committed but as there was no rectifying them without another double murder, he produced the two women before his father and begged to be forgiven. The sage finally accepted the person with his late consorts other head as his wife and granted to the other woman the status of an inferior diety; in response to her prayers, and owing to her having his wife body. This was the origin of Matangi.¹⁴

The Matangi also recognized as Yellamma and worshiped. Since the myth, refer to Jamadhagni - Renuka story, she is also known as Renuka Yellamma. Thus, the caste myth of Madigas establish them as outcaste and assign them divisions within their own caste parallel to the *chaturvarna division*.

The Madigas like other castes do have endogamous sub-divisions:

Table No:1

List of **Endogamous** Sub-Divisions and their meanings:

Endogamous (Sub-Division)	Meaning (in English)
Gampa Dhomti	Basket offering
Chinna(or)Thel Dhomti	Tray or cup offering
Bhumi Dhompti	Earth offering
Chatla Dhompti	Winnowing basket offering
Sibbi Dhompti	Brass vessel offering
Chomdrappa Dhompti	Square space on the ground offering

Source: **Edgar** Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. IV, **1987,p.318**

These **sub-divisions** are based on the way in which the members offer food **etc.**, to their gods, a gampa dhompti places it in a basket, a Bhumi Dhompti on the floor. Each sub-division possesses many exogamous septs of which the following are examples.

Table :2

List Exogamous Septs and their meanings:

Exogamous Septs	Meaning (in English)
Belli	Silver
Chinthala	Tamarind
Chatla	Winnowing basket
Darala	Thread
Emme	Buffalo
Gavala	Cowry Shells
Golkonda	A town
Jalam	Slowness
Kamba	Post
Kappala	Frog
Kalahasti	A Town
Kaththe	Donkey
Kaththi	Knife
Kumbala	Cake
Kuncham	Tassel
Midathala	Locust
Mallela(or) Malli	Jasmine
Nanmuru	Four hundred
Pothula	Buffalo
Pasula	Cow
Ragi	Eleusine Coracana
Sikili	Groom
Thela	Scorpion

Source: Edgar Thurston and K.Rangachari. *Castes and Tribes*, vol.iv, **1987,p.318**

The following table shows the sects of madigas as mentioned in their caste myth:

Table:3

Various sects in Madiga Community as per their caste myth:

Madiga sect	Ritual profession	Native name
koya Madiga	Priestly Chantings	<i>Mantralu japenchevadu</i>
Sangari Madiga	Ritual drawings (Kolams)	<i>Patam Vesevadu</i>
Velpula Madiga	Camphor Litting	<i>Sambrani Vesevadu, Mangala Harathi echevadu</i>
Avuua Madiga	Ritual Possessing, Organising Groups in rituals	<i>Rangam Ekke Vallu, Utchavala Gumpunu Kramabadhikarinche vallu</i>
Kinnera/Byndla/Asadi/Ja mukula Madiga	Players of Kinnera (or) Zamidika (string) Instrument	<i>Kinnera (or) Zamidika Vayedyalu Vaainche Vallu</i>
Kommu Madiga	Players of Kommu (wind Pipe) Instrument	<i>Kommu vaainche Vallu</i>
Cindu Madiga,	Ritual narrative tellers (through performances)	<i>Bhagavatam Adevaallu</i>
Masti Madiga	Acrobatics	<i>Domhari Vinyasalu Chesevallu</i>
Gondla Madiga	Ritual Leather BucketMakers	<i>Krathuvula bokkenalu chesevallu</i>
Landha madigaiga Daccali Madiga	Ritual Beggars	<i>Adukku Thinevallu</i>

Source: *Jambapuram*.

The endogamous and exogamous divisions are taken note in matrimonials. Even purity and pollution is taken as one of the main factors in hierarchizing exogamous groups. Food habit become an important part of distinction for making these divisions.

The Madigas, like other caste people are much influenced by the belief system. Their belief system is manifested not only in fairs and festivals but also in their social organization. They have atleast five groups of bards who perform the creation myth as part of ritual offering.

The five groups are Cindu, Masti, Asadi (or) Byndla, Dakkali and Nukachanddyys. Each of community of bards narrate the caste myth from their own perspective and each adapt a style different from the others.

Table: 4

The variations in the performance of caste myth by different sects of madigas:

ard Name	ame erofrmance of	tyle of erformance	nstrument used n performance
indu	amba Puranam ellamma Vesam	emi theotrical haracter entry and xist. ibrant food steps rth Circular dance otion	armonium abala alalu
asti	dipuranam	emi-theotrical arrative oriented	addela abala armonium alalu amidika
sadi/Byndla	oli Padalu/ oli Paatalu	agretive In this form out of 3 persons ain story narrator doing in ircular motion)	
akkali	atam Katha	arrative (story elling to showing atams)	innera
ukachandayys	ituals only	ites only	one

Source: Jambapuranam .

All the communities of bards' shown in the above table have exclusive right to perform their version of caste myth to the Madigas. The Cindu Madigas have a right to perform of the caste myth to the Madigas. The Madigas in turn have an obligation to watch/listen the performance of the caste myth from the bards. Otherwise it is considered as a curse and bad omen to the Madigas. For having performed the narrative the bards are given remuneration in kind or cash or in both to Cindu Madiga.¹⁵

Apart from the duty of performing the caste myth to the Madigas, the bards possess the right to participate in the festivals, especially in the village Goddess festivals. They also have exclusive right to perform the role of the goddess Matangi or Yellamma to ward off evil from the village in the form of contagious diseases such as Small pox, Chicken pox etc. They also purify fields of the village during the rituals.

Cindu Madigas and Madigas : Patron –Client Relationship:

As stated above Cindu Madiga is a dependent caste on Madigas. They are dependant because of the fact that they have ritual right well established by the tradition with Madigas. Their chief occupation being ritual performance, they establish the relationship with the Madigas in which the Madiga belief system is created to share the resources through Patron and client relationships. In the feudal economy the economic compulsions are said to be the chief cause of tying up clients with Patron through land relationship.¹⁶ The clients under this system

have an obligation to serve the patrons through the prescribed services. In India caste being the source of occupation the services need to be rendered to the patrons accordingly. In return the patrons also possess an obligation to reciprocate their clients by sharing the resources by cash and kind. Land being the chief resource under the feudal system, it is either the share of the crop that is produced in the land or a piece of land is given as *Inam* (gift) to the clients. Under the *jajmani* system, which is peculiar to Indian sub-continent, the whole village enters into a dialogical relationship in the process of exchanging goods and services.¹⁷ In South India this system is known as *mirasidar* system.¹⁸ The word *mirasi* comes from the root word *merah*, which means share. The portion of share, which is given to the clients, is called *mirasi* and who hold that right are called *mirasidar*.¹⁹

In the Patron and client relationship system of Madagas and Cindu Madagas, instead of economic compulsions, the ritual compulsions created through the belief system are vital for their social organization. One of the major reasons for this ritual compulsion is enunciated in their sacred texts, which are orally transmitted through the ages and kept the system intact and alive. According to ritual compulsions, the Cindu Madagas take the role of priest to perform certain purity-pollution rites through which the community feels secured from the evil forces and curses of the gods.

The Cindus have an exclusive right to perform the role of village goddess Matangi or Yellamma. The role performer is a female who dedicated her life to Yellamma and married her. She is known as *basavi* or *jogini*. Like in Sanskritic tradition wherein the girls are all dedicate to temple, known as *devadasis*, the *jogins* are also dedicated to the goddess. This system is popularly known as *basavi* system.²⁰ During the celebration of village festivals an unmarried Madiga woman called as Matangi abuses and spits upon the people assembled and they do not take this as an insult, because they think that her spittle removes the pollution. The women are indeed regarded as the incarnation of goddess herself.²¹

Similarly, the Pamba Madigas use very obscene language, when the god is taken in procession to the streets of the caste people.²² The Matangi is an unmarried woman of Madiga class, chosen after a most trying ordeal, unless she happens to be descended from a previous Matangi to represent the goddess. She must indicate her fitness by suitable prophetic utterances and her nomination is not confirmed till she has obtained divine approval at the cult centre of Yellamma like that of in Balkampeta in Hyderabad.²³ When she has been finally confirmed in her honour she enjoys the privilage of adouring her face with a profussion of turmaric and saffron powder and carrying margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) leaves around her. She is unmarried, but without being bound by a vow of celibacy. Her business is to preside at

purificatory ceremonies that precede all festivities. When Mahankali or Poleramma or Ankamma or any other of the village dieties is to have her festival, the Matangi is approached to perform the rites. Her necklace of cowry (*Cypraea moneta*) shell is deposited in a well for three days,²⁴ before she is allowed to put it in the ceremony. She dons the necklace and marches behind the master of the ceremonies known as Poturaju, who carries a knife, wooden shoes and trident that have been similarly placed for a time at the bottom of a well.²⁵ The master of ceremonies, his male and female relations then stand in line and the Matangi runs round and round them, uttering what appear to be chantings, spitting upon all of them and touching them with her stick. Her touch and saliva are believed to purge all uncleanness of body and soul, and are invited by men who would ordinarily scorn to approach her. She is allowed to come into the house. There she besmears a certain spot with cow-dung, and places upon it a basket. It is at once filled with cooked food. A layer of rice powder covers the surface of the food and on it is placed a small lamp, which is lighted. She then holds out a little earthenware pot and asks for toddy to fill it with. She moves quickly round the assembled men and women scattering upon them the water from the pot. The mistress of the house gives her the cloth she is wearing.²⁶

The origin of the supremacy of Matangi is obscure and shrouded in legends. According to one of them, the head of Renuka, the wife of

the sage Bhrigu who was beheaded, fell in a Madiga house, and grew into Madiga women.²⁷ According to another legend a certain king prayed to be blessed with a daughter and in answer the gods sent him a golden parrot, which soon after perched on an anti-hill and disappeared into it. The disappointed king got the ant hill excavated and was rewarded for his pains by finding his daughter with divine beauty. She came to be worshipped as the Matangi.²⁸

In connection with the Basavi system, it is recorded in the *Madras Law Report, 1892* that among the Madigas there is a widespread custom of performing in the temple of Yellamma a marriage ceremony where the girl is married without possibility of widowhood or divorce to the goddess. She is at liberty to have intercourse with men at pleasure. Her children are heirs to her father and keep up his family. The *basavi's* nieces being made *basavi* and become her heirs. The *Basavi* seems in some cases to become prostitutes. In fact, they acquire the right of intercourse with men of their caste.²⁹

The ceremony of initiation into Matangihood is fully described by Emma Rosenbuch and recorded by Edgar Thurston in 1890s.

In the Karnataka a Vakkaliga Priest performs country at Tumkur in Mysore the ceremony of initiation. A portion of the front courtyard at the house is cleaned and smeared with Cow-dung. On the space thus prepared a Kolam (*muggu*) of Lotus is drawn with red, yellow and white powders. The outline is first drawn with rice or *ragi* (Elusive Coracana)

flour deftly dropped from between the thumb and index finger. The inter spaces are then filled in with turmeric and *Kunkum* powder. Five small pots are arranged one in the centre and one at each corner of Kolam. By the side of the pots are placed a bell of sacred ashes, a new cloth, a piece of turmeric, camphor and plantain fruits. Plantain stems are set up at the corners of the Kolam. A string is passed seven times round the four corner pots and tied to the central pot. The women who are about to become a Matangi should live on fruits and milk for five days previous to the ceremony. She is dressed in a white saree and seats herself on the *muggu* close to the central pot. A Bamboo basket, containing a pot bearing the device of two-foot prints (of Ellamma), an earthen or wooden receptacle, an iron lamp, and a cane, is placed on her head.

The Asadi Madiga sing songs about Ellamma, and the Vakkaliga priest throws rice over the novice's head, feet, knees and shoulders, and ties two bottus (marriage badges), called respectively Ellamma's and Parasurama's *bottu* on her neck. The new and old Matangis bawl out *ekkalde jogavva*. The ceremony closes with drinking of toddy by the Matangis and Asadis. The basket (*adlige*) containing various articles enumerated the badge of a Mattangi who carries it with its contents, and few leafy twigs of the margosa tree (*Melia Azadirachta*). The basket is wrapped in red or brown cloth and may not be placed on the ground. At Matangi's house, it is hung up by means of a rope or

placed in a niche in the wall. It may be noted that the Madigas call the intoxicant toddy *palu* (milk).³⁰

Matangi is prohibited from marrying. When a Matangi dies her successor is chosen in the following manner. All the Cindu Madiga girls of the village, between the ages of eight and ten, who have not attained puberty, are assembled before the shrine, and invoking hymns are chanted amid a flourish of trumpets, drums, and other accessories. The girl who becomes possessed (on whose the goddess descends) is the chosen vessel and she is invested with the insignia of her office, a round sieve, a bunch of Margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) leaves a snake-headed bamboo stick, a piece of cotton thread rope with some cowries (*Cypreamoneta* shells) strung on it, and a small vessel of *Kunkuma* (coloured aniline powder).³¹ A vow of life long celibacy is also administered to her. At time of worship, she dances about in wild freezy, and she is given toddy to drink, which she frequently spits on her devotees who regard this as auspicious. As early as 1906, an eyewitness record of the Matangi *kolupu* is reported in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* written by A. Madhavaiah. He witnessed this performance in the village of Tudimilla, Cumbum Taluq, Kurnool District. In this village between two hillocks, known as Surabeswara Kona, three shrines belonging to Saptamatas, Jamadagni - Renuka Devi and Matangi are found. The Matangi *Kolupu* is performed even till date in this place. The performer of Matangi *vesam* is a Madiga

women, about 30 years age, and, but for the insignia of her office, not in any way differing from the rest of her caste women. Though unmarried, she had several children, but this was apparently no disqualification. Before the shrine of seven mothers the drummer invoked the Goddess by chanting a Telugu hymn, keeping time on his drum. The meaning of the hymn was to this effect;

*"Sathya Surabesha Kona! Gowthama's Kamadhenu! The headless trunk is Sathya surabesha Kona! Your father Giri Raju Kamadeva Jamadhagni mahamuni beheaded the trunk; silently Jamadhagni cut off the arms; did you, the headless trunk in Kamadhenu **vanam**, the headless trunk of Jamadhagni, your fathers golden sword, did you ask to be born a virgin in the snake pit?"³²*

"While chanting the above, the drummer was dancing round and round the women, and beating wildly on his drum. The women began to tremble all over, and soon it was visible that the goddess had descended on her. Then the drummer, wilder and more frantic than ever, began to praise the goddess in these words:-

"Are you wearing bells to your ankles, O mother? Are you wearing cowries, O mother? Dancing and singing, O mother! We pray to thee, O mother! Possessed and falling on the ground, I implore thee, O mother! O mother, O mother, who went to Delhi and Oruganti with a sieve in the right-hand, with a wand in the left; with bells tinkling at her ankles; the mother went to Oruganti town, the mother went away".

During this chant, the women views with the drummer, and dances fiercely round and round, always facing him. Then comes the appearing chant, which the drummer draws out in a quivering and solemn tone, and without dancing about—

"By the feet of the thirty-three crores, by the feet of the sixty crores, by the feet of Devaas, peace!"

The Matangi then stands with closed eyes, panting for breath, and quite exhausted.

On ordinary days, the Matangi goes about the village, collecting the offerings of her devotees, and, we take it, she is never in much want. There are also local Matangi's in other villages, but they are all said to be subordinate to the Tudimilla woman, who is the high pontiff of the institution.³³

Among the Madigas of Tumkur in Mysore, the Matangis must apparently belong to one of two septs, *belliyoru* or *malloru*.³⁴

The Madiga Asadis, who are males, have to go through an initiation ceremony very similar to that of the Matangi. But a neckles of pebbles is substituted for the *bottu*, and the non-brahmin priest touches the novice's shoulders with flowers, turmeric powder, and Kunkum. The Asadis are musicians who sing songs or recite stories about Ellamma. They play on a musical instrument called Chaudike, or *Jamidika* that is combination of a drum and string instrument. The Matangis and Asadis, both being dedicated to Eliamma, are eminently qualified to

remove pollution for many castes who are considered as *Ellamma Vokkalu* or followers of Ellamma. A lotus device, or figures of Potu--Raju and Matangi, is drawn on the ground, after it has been cleansed with cow-dung. The Matangi, with her insignia, sits in the centre of the device, and the Asadis, sitting close by, sing the praises of Ellamma to the accompaniment of the jamidika. The Matangi and Asadi then drink toddy, and go about the house, where in the former sprinkle toddy with the *margasa twig*. Some times they pour some of the toddy into their mouths, and spit it out all over the house. The pot, in which the toddy is placed, is, in some places, called *Pallaki* (Palanquin).³⁵

The Asadis version of the story of Ellamma is as follows. She is the goddess for all, and is present in the tongues of all except dumb people, because they have to pronounce the syllable *elli* in Kannada (where) whenever they ask a question containing the word where. She is a mysterious being, who often exhibits herself in the form of light or flames. She is the cause of universe, and the one sakthi in existence thereon. She is supposed to be the daughter of Giriraja Muni and Javanikadevi, and the wife of Jamadhagni Rishi. Her son is Prasurama. The town where she lives has three names, Jambupuri, Isampur, and Vijayanagara. It has eighty-seven gates, and fortified by seven walls. She is believed to have for her dress all kinds of snakes. Several groves of margosa trees are said to flourish in her vicinity. She is worshipped under many names and has become Lakshmi,

Gouramma, and Saraswathi in Brahman houses, or Akkumari in Vakkaliga houses. To the Idigas she is Gatabaghya Lakshmi, to the Kurubas Ganga Mari, to the Oddes Peddamma and Chinnamma, and so on.³⁶ She is said to have proceeded on a certain day to the town of Orugallu, accompanied by Jana Matangi. On the way the soles of Matangi's feet blistered, and she sat down with Yellamma beneath a margosa tree. After resting a short time Matangi asked Ellamma's permission to go to neighbouring Idiga (Teleugu toddy-drawer), and get some toddy to drink. Ellamma objected, as the Idiga Gauda was a Lingayath, and Matangi would be compelled to wear the Lingam. When Matangi persisted, Ellamma transformed herself into an anthill and Matangi, in the guise of a young woman, went to the Idiga Gowda with her cane (*Jogi Kolu*) and basket, and asked for toddy. The Gouda became angry, and, tying her to a datepalm (*phamix sylvestris*), beat her, and gave her cane and basket to his groom. Matangi was further ill treated by the Gouda and his wives, but escaped, and went to the Gouda's brother, who treated her kindly, and offered her toddy, of which he had sixty loads on bullocks. All this he poured into the shell of Margosa fruit, which Matangi held in her hand, and yet it was not filled. Eventually the toddy extracted from a few palms was brought, and shell became full. So pleased was Matangi with the Idigas treatment of her, that she blessed him, and instructed him to leave three date palms untapped as *Basavi* trees in every grove. She

then returned to **Ellamma**, and it was resolved to afflict the Gouda who has treated her badly with all kinds of diseases. Still disguised as a young woman, she went to him with sweet smelling powders, which he purchased for a large sum of money. But, when he used them, he became afflicted with manifold diseases, including small pox, measles, cancer, **asthama**, gout, rheumatism, abscesses, and bedsores. Matangi then appeared before him as an old fortuneteller woman, whom the **Idiga** consulted, and doing as she told him, was cured. Subsequently, learning that all his misfortunes **were due to** his want of respect to Matangi, he became one of ***Ellamma's Vokkalu***.³⁷

This version of Asadis relates Matangi to Gouda caste and therefore even today the Goudas participate in the ritual of Matangi and offer her vows.

The Madiga Basavis are given alms, and join in the procession. A quantity of rice and ragi flour is poured into basket, over which one of the village servants cuts the throat of a small black ram. The carcass is laid on the bloody flour, and the whole covered with old cloths, and placed on the head of a Madiga, who stands for sometime in front of the goddess. The Goddess is then carried a few yards, while the Madiga walking in front. A hole is dug close to her, and basket of bloody flour and the ram's carcass are buried. After some dancing by the Madiga Basavis to the music beat of drums, the Madigas bring five new pots, and worship them. A buffalo, devoted to the goddess after

the previous festival, is then driven or dragged through the village with shouting and drum beating, walked round the temple, and beheaded by the Madiga in front of the goddess. The head is placed in front of her with the right foreleg in the mouth, and a lamp, lightened eight days previously, is placed on its top. All then start in procession round the village, a Madiga, naked but for a few margosa (*Melia Azadirachta*) leaves, and held by two others, leading the way. Behind him are all the other Madigas, carrying six hundred seers of cholum (sorghum millet), which they scatter; and, following them, all the other villagers. It is daybreak, and the Madiga who lead the way, the *pujari* (priest), and the woman who followed him, who have been fasting for more than twenty-four hours then eat. The Madiga is fed. This Madiga is said to be in mortal terror while leading the procession, for the spirit or influence of the goddess comes over him. He swoons before the procession is completed. At noon the people collect again at village goddess temple, where another buffalo is sacrificed. The head is placed in front of the Goddess as before, and removed at once for food. Then those of the Madigas who are under vows, come dressed in margosa leaves, with lamps on their heads, and sacrifice buffalos, sheep and goats to the goddess.³⁸

A further account of the festival of the village Goddess Udisalamma, at Bandri in the Bellary district, is given by Mr. Fawcett "A Madiga", he writes, "naked but for a few leaves round his waist, leads the

procession, and, following him, are Madigas with baskets. Fear of the Goddess comes on the Madiga. He swoons, and is carried, to the temple, and flung on the ground in front of the Goddess. After a while he is revived, bathed, and given new clothing. This man is one of a family, in which this curious office is hereditary. He must be the son of a married woman, not of a Basavi, and he must not be married. He fasts from the beginning of the festival till he has done what is required of him. A young ram-the sacrifice sheep is taken up by one of the Poturajus, and if it were a child, its hind legs at either side of his waist and its fore legs over his shoulders, and he bites its throat open and shows his bloody mouth to the people. He throws it down and Madigas remove it. He is known as *bhoota poligadu* among the locals.³⁹ The account of Bishop white head on the ritual at Masulipatnam is as follows.

On the last day, a male buffalo, called *Devara Potu* (he who is devoted to the goddess), is brought before the image, and its head cut off by the head Madiga of the town. The blood is caught in a vessel, and sprinkled over some boiled rice, and then the head, with the right foreleg in the mouth, is placed before the shrine on a flat wicker basket, with the rice and blood on another basket just below it. A lighted lamp is placed on the head, and then another Madiga carries it on his own head round the village, with a new cloth dipped in the blood of the victim tied round its neck. This is regarded here and elsewhere

as a very inauspicious **and** dangerous office, and **the headman** village has to offer **considerable** inducements to **persuade a** Madiga to undertake it. Ropes are tied round his body and arms, **and** held fast by men walking behind him, to prevent his being carried off by evil spirits, and limes are cut in half and thrown into the air, so that the demons may catch at them instead of at the man. It is believed that gigantic demons sit on the top of **tall** trees ready to swoop down and carry him away, in order to get the rice and the buffalo's head. The idea of carrying the head and rice round a village, so the people said, is to draw a kind of cordon on every side of it, and prevent the entrance of the evil spirits. Should any one in the town refuse to subscribe for the festival, his house is omitted from the procession, and left to the tender mercies of the devils. This procession is called **Bali-haranam**, and for performing it, in the Kistna district, *inams* (lands rent free) are held by certain families of Madigas. Besides the buffalo, large number of sheep and goats, and fowls are sacrificed, each householder giving at least one animal. The head Madiga, who kills the animals, takes the carcase, and distributes the flesh among the members of his family.⁴⁰

In some localities, during epidemics like smallpox or cholera, the Madigas celebrate a festival in honour of **Mariamamma**, for the expenses of which a general subscription is raised, to which all castes contribute. A booth is erected in a grove, or beneath a margosa or *Strychnos Nux-Vomica* tree, within which a decorated pot (*Karagam*) is placed on a

platform. The pot is usually filled with water, and its mouth closed by a coconut. Infront of the pot a screen is setup, and covered with a white cloth, on which rice, plantains, and cakes are placed, with a mass of flour, in which a cavity is scooped out to hold a lighted wick fed with Ghee (clarified butter), or gingerly oil. A Goat is sacrificed, and its head, with a flour light on it, placed close to the pot. The food, which has been offered to the goddess, is distributed. On the last day of the festival, the pot is carried in procession through the village, and goats are sacrificed at the four-cardinary points of the compass. The pot is deposited at a spot where three roads meet, and a goat, pumpkins, limes, flowers, etc. are offered to it. Everything, except the pot, is left on the spot.⁴¹

Thus the Madigas rituals are instrinsicly connected with Matangi or Yellamma and officiating priests inevitably the "bards" of the Madigas, namely Asadis, Cindus, Nulakachandayyas etc..

All the above-mentioned rituals are very crucial to the Madiga Community. It is believed that if they don't perform these rights, the gods would curse them and bring disease and death. According to the Cindu Madiga's *Jambapuram*, the goddess blesses them if only they listen to the caste myth performed by the Cindus, and oblige to conduct rituals to their goddess through the Cindu Madigas.⁴²

The Jambapuram gives the following account, which testify how the cindus acquired ritual right to perform the caste myth.

"When *Kamadhenu* (the sacred cow) committed suicide in front of hermitage of Siva the devatas tried to remove the carcasses but failed to do so. They directed Chennaiah the magical off-spring of Parvathy, to go and call *Jambava muni* in order to get an advise on the removal of carcasses. *Jambava muni* before descending from the heavens gave sacred gifts (*birudulu*) to the Cindu Jihva Maha Muni, who is the son of second wife, Jagdviinuta Mata, and directed him to wear them. He has given rest of his properties to the children of first wife, Jagathveera mata. Chinnaiah took *Jambavamuni* to the devatas. By chanting *govinda*, he removed the carcasses from the vicinity of Shiva's hermitage. Then the devathas told *Jihvamahamuni* to cook the sacred cow, so that they can eat after they come from ritual bathing. They instructed that the dish should not be polluted. *Jambavamuni* kept Chennaiah to over see the cooking; while cooking, a piece of meat fell on the ground. Chennaiah through blowing air from his mouth cleaned the meat and put it back into the vessel. The dish got polluted. When devatas came back they saw the entire dish got spoiled and stinking due to pollution. They became angry. *Jambavamuni* came to know this, and cursed Chennaiah, who polluted the dish, to remain as *Mala*. The root word *Mala* comes from *Myla* (Pollution). Then *Jambavamuni* told the devathas that he came on their request to the earth to remove carcasses. In any case he cannot leave the earth before dawn, and if he stay back he has no other go but to serve human beings (*narulu*)

who are going to take birth in *Kaliyuga*, which is commencing from the next day's sunrise. Therefore he asked *devatas* to give him a blessing. He asked that his posterity should be given various kinds of grain and liquor for their sustenance. He also asked them to give a share from the crops produced.⁴³

Thus the patron client relationships, according to myth emerged as economic compulsions between the Madiga and the village. However, the myth also gives ritual compulsions as a reason between Madigas and Cindu Madigas to bind in patron and client relationship.

It is not only the patron and client relationship system, in terms of exchange of resources and services between Madigas and Cindu Madigas is authenticated in this caste myth, but also mutual dependency enumerated in it. How the Cindu Madigas acquired their right to perform the myth to the Madigas is also legalized by way of creating sibling relationships. Which exists between the two communities through their caste myth. According to the myth, the Madigas are the children of *Jagathveera Mata*, the first wife of *Jambava muni*, and *Jagathvenuth mata* the second wife of *Jambavamuni*, begot Cindu Jihvamahamuni. From his leanage the Cindu Madigas are born.⁴⁴ As per the myth, following narrative reveals, how the Cindu Madigas became bards of Madigas. Jamadhagni finding faults with his wife Renuka, asks the son to kill his mother. Renukadevi ran helter and skelter hid in the toddy bag made

up of leather, and prayed *Jambavamuni* not to reveal her existence. However, Parasurama finds her hiding place and kills her. Renuka became furious and *malevolent*. She went after the people to kill them; then *Jambavamuni*, in order to passify her, requests the first wives sons, namely Chapala Mahamuni and *Raudra* Mahamuni, to go and quench her fury. They expressed their inability to do so. /Then *Jambavamuni* called *Daccalivadu*, the magical son of *Jambavamuni*, who was killed by him to make marriage Parapherineliva to the wedding occasion of the *thrimurthies*. He expressed his inability stating that he became an outcaste by marrying a girl born of cow's feet (*decca*). *Jambavamuni* then requested Cindu *Jivhamahamuni*, son of second wife, then he agreed on the condition that he should be given all the thirty two gifts (*birudulu* or titles), which were given to *Jambavamuni* by gods, while passifying the Adishakthi. Then *Jambavamuni* gave his all thirty-two gifts to Cindu *Jivahamamahamuni* who by wearing them guised himself as Gosangi, passified Renuka Yellamma through a spectacle performance.⁴⁵

Yellamma became normal and gave him seven gifts and blessed him by stating that, his postirity will have the right to perform *Yellamma vesam*, for which the children of first wife will reciprocate them by offering shares. Then the Parabramha and the gods also blessed him that wherever the children of *Jambavamuni* are residing, they can go to them and give performances of the caste myth. Inturn, the children of

Jambavamuni(Madigas) will give them offerings. The gods also stated that wife of Cindu Jivuha mahamuni should have exclusive right to perform Yellamma vesam and should be bestowed with offerings.⁴⁶

Thus the Cindus acquired the profession. Since then they are performing the Cindu Bhagavatam. The Cindu Madigas also adapted other performances, popularly known as Yakshaganams or Bhagavatams. The Cindu Yakshaganams are folk theatrical performances, wherein the steps (Cindus) are unique in the form of dance steps. The epic stories from Ramayana, Mahabharatha, Bhagavatams are taken for performances. The whole narrative is semi-dance sequence based. Performers ranging from 10 to 25 depending upon the nature of the text, take up roles with exuberent make-up, costume and ornaments and perform the narrative in Yakshagana or Bhagavatha style. The narrative is considered as sacred, since they refer to songs of *Yakshas* (Songs of gods) are stories of gods (*Bhagavatams*). The text is played out in theatrical form with all musical and vocal accompanists. Since Cindu Madigas deployed their own style of narration, of course following broadly the Yakshaganam or Veedhi Bhagavatam tradition which is widely prevalent in the whole of South Indian soils, they became more popular among the non-Madiga communities because of their Bagavathams which is played for the sake of entire village.

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1. According to one view people from Madiga community have taken to dancing as profession and they are called as Cindu Madigas; Cindu means a dance step. The other view is that the word Cindu is derived from the word Sindu that means Ocean. The Cindu dancers and their movements look like the waves of the Ocean. Kota Shymala Kama Sastry, *Sri Andhra Vachaspathyamu* (Tel.) - Vol-IV, Kakinada, K.S.K.Sastri and Sons, 1940. P.265.
2. Refers to *Chaturvarna* system which is prevalent from ancient times in India. The *varna* denotes the ritual rank in which different *Jatis* (castes) or groups are placed at different levels.
3. Because of the untouchable concept, as per *varna* system the mala and Madiga community were forced to live outside main village habitational site. It is observed during the field visits that this practice is still in force even today.
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5. Edgar Thurston, *Ibid* ., Vol.IV. PP:308-309.
6. B.Venkateswarulu *et.all*, *Jamabapuranam*.(Tel.). Hyderabad. Janapada Kala Parishodhana Vedika, 1997 PP.3-5; Oral interview with Cindula Bala Narasaiah age 45, and Cindula Shyam age 43 years at Aleru, Armoor.

7. **B.Venkateswarulu**, *Op. Cit .*,PP.10-11
8. **B.Venkateswarulu**, *ibid*, **PP.13-14**
9. Oral evidence collected from Cindula Ramaswamy 70 years at Appireddy **Pelli, Janagam**, Warangal District, on 03.04.99.
10. Edgar Thurston *Op-Cit.*, Vol.IV, PP.309-311.
11. *Ibid* - PP: 314 to 316
12. *Ibid*
13. *Ibid* - PP - 300 to 303
14. *Ibid*
15. Y.Yadagiri Sharma, Janapada Bhikshuka Gayakulu (Tel.) Hyderabad unpublished Ph.D., thesis submitted to **Osmania** University, Telugu Department 1986. P.558.
16. W.H. Whiser, *The Hindu Jajamani System*, Lucknow. 1936;
M.N.Srinivas and A.K.Sha, "The myth of the self sufficiency the Indian Village" *Economic Weekly*, No. 12, **1960**.
17. *Ibid*,.
18. *Ibid*,
19. *Ibid*,.
20. Edgar Thurston, *Op-Cit.*,pp. 317-320.
21. *Ibid*,.
22. *Ibid*,.
23. Witnessed ritual process at Hyderabad on 20.04.1999. This phenomenon is observed not only during performance in

Yellamma Vesam but also during the celebrations of Mahankali Puja and Durgastami at the time of Dussera festival.

24. Witnessed rituals on Mahankali *Jatara* on 13.08.1999 at Secunderabad Mahankali Temple.
25. *Ibid.*,
26. Witnessed ritual process at Yellamma Temple at Saundathi, Dharwada, Karnataka State on 24.05.1998
27. Edgar Thurston - *Op-Cit.* P.297
28. *Ibid.*, P.298
29. *Ibid.*, P.303
30. *Ibid.*, PP. 311-313
31. *Ibid.*,
32. A. Madhavaiah, *Madras Christian College Magazine*, XXIII, (New Series, V), 1906.
33. *Ibid.*,
34. Edgar Thurston, *Op-Cit.* PP:298 -99
35. It is observed in the field during field visit at Appireddy Palli, Warangal District on 3-4-99; However, this ritual practice differs from district to district since such elaboration is not observed in the same performance at Saigudem, Nalgonda District on:08.04.98.
36. Edgar Thruston, *Op-Cit.* P. 299
37. *Ibid.*,P.307

38. Ibid ,, P.312
39. Ibid ,, PP.310-311
40. Ibid,.
41. Ibid.,
42. B.Venkateswarulu (Tel.) et.al., *Jambapuram Op-Cit..* P.18
43. Ibid ., P.15
44. Ibid., P.14
45. Ibid., P.19
46. ibid.,

CHAPTER -IV

**MAKE-UP, COSTUMES AND ORNAMENTS
IN THE PERFORMANCES OF THE CASTE MYTHS**

Cindu Madigas belong to the community of bards, who has exclusive right to narrate and perform the caste myths to their patron community, the Madigas. It is this function of narration made the Cindu Madigas claimant for ritual status. For this reason they are ritually honoured and allowed to perform the caste myths known as *Jamba Puranam* and *Yellamma Vesam*. The Madigas as patrons and Cindu Madigas as clients share the same world view which relates them to each other in a kinship bond and at the same time relate both of them to their ancestral gods and celestial bodies.

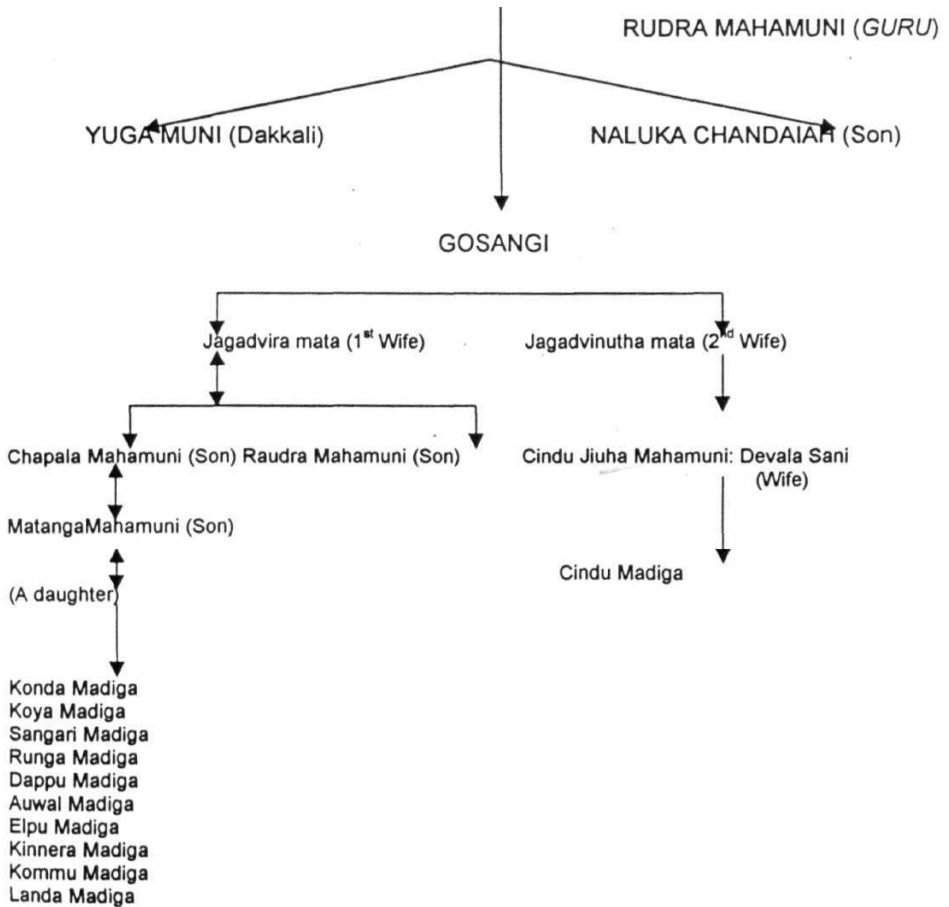
SECTION - I

Jambapuranam

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Cindu Madigas are born to *Jambavamuni*, the ancestral God, through his second wife Jagadvinutamata. From the first wife, Jagadeswaramata of *Jambavamuni* the Madigas are born. Thus, the kinship bond is established in the myth of Jambapuranam itself.¹

JAMBAVA MAHA MUNI

(Ancestor)



Ironically, it is in the custom in India that the elder brother is regarded as the heir to the properties of father and in that position he becomes the natural custodian to the younger brothers. Symbolically this tradition is even

reflected in the death ceremonies where in the father's funeral pyre has to be lightened by the eldest one. This worldview is not alone of the Madigas but the rest of the social groups of the soil, which do share the same. This being the case, it is explicitly knitted in the caste myths of Madigas where the Madigas become the owner of the properties of *Jambavamuni* and the younger ones are made to depend on them.²

Interestingly enough the caste myth also assigns a function to the Cindu Madigas so as to make them aware of their right to share the resources of the Madigas. Since the sharing of resources is primarily prevalent not in codified, or written title deed but survives as a custom, which bases its foundation on the unwritten law. Violation of such custom is believed to be as punishable as the violation of a written law. Since the kinship bond is made as a custom between Madigas and Cindu Madigas, a mutual reciprocation is imbibed through a process of 'give and take act' between them. It is the Cindu Madigas who propitiate the gods and seek blessings of the Madiga community through ritual performances. This is so done as an annual event, which occurs cyclically. For conducting this ritual service the Cindu Madigas are bestowed with the shares in kind and cash. If any of them violates this norm, it is treated as a curse and therefore detrimental to the existence of community itself.³ This ethical bond clubbed with fear psychosis make both the communities to come together as kin groups to share the ritual performance as participants, taking the roles of performers and audience.

The following myth attests to the above fact and also explains how Cindu Madigas have become performers and Madigas as audience.

The caste myth Jambapuram narrates an episode, how Jambava muni the ancestral god made a ritual performance to quench the fury of Adi Shakthi.⁴ The myth narrates that a demon known as Dankasura who made Tripura as his domain and started teasing the *devathas*. Then Sankara, one of the *thrimurthis*, slained him. Since his domain is tripurapuram he is also known as Tripurasura. From the slained body of *asura* five blood drops had fallen on the earth and out of which five communities known as *Jettis* were born. They are (1) Gouda Jatti (2) Shala Jatti (3) Sakali Jatti (4) Mala Jatti and (5) Madiga Jatti. With the help of these Jattis (literally means wrestlers) the remaining demons of Tripurapuram are killed by Shiva. The Adishakthi in order to avoid the blood drops falling from the dead bodies of the demons elongated her tongue over the earth and covered it. She drank the blood of demons and became malevolent and ran after the *devathas*. The *devathas* flew helter and skelter and finally pleaded *Jambavamuni* to come to their rescue from Adishakthi. *Jambavamuni* considering to the prayers of *devathas* decided to take up the character of Gosangi. Then the *devathas* gave him thirty-two kinds of properties in order to wear as part of make-up, costumes and ornaments. They are referred to in the caste myth as *birudas*, the titles.⁵ Altogether thirty-two properties are enumerated in the caste myths that are given as titles to *Jambavamuni* to get himself transformed into the character of Gosangi.

The following table gives the list of donors and their donations:

Table - 5

List of Donors and their Donations:

Sl.No.	DONOR/DEVATHA	DONATION/TITLE
1.	Vishnu (from his Wheel)	Dappu
2.	Brahma (from his Ghantson)	Chirra
3.	Shankara / Shiva	Puli Charamamu
4.	Ganapathi	Boddu Ganta
5.	Veerabhadru	Gajjela Lagu
		Pada Gajjelu
		Veera Gola
6.	Shanmukudu	Nemali Katta
		Mayoora Dwajamu
7.	Pramadas	Boora Kommulu
8.	Lakshmi	Kaluvalu
9.	Indrudu	Kongalu Uli
10.	Apsaras	Aptha Girulu
11.	Manubrahma	Chirutha Kongavali
		Katti
12.	Mayabrahma	Masca Thitthi
		Chirutalu
13.	Trustyabrahma	Talamulu
14.	Viswabrahma	Moggu Patteda
		Makara Kundanamulu
		Muruvulu
		Swarna Birudu
15.	Manmadhudu	Makara Dwazamu
16.	Rudrulu	Rudraksha
17.	Garududu	Garuda Dwajamu
18.	Suryudu	Surya Birudu
		Surya Dwazamu
19.	Chandrudu	Chandra Birudu
		Chandra Dwazamu
20.	Devathas	Mridangam
		Maddelu
		Bheri
		Tappetalu

Source: **Jambapuram**

Jambavamuni wore the above donations in order to get himself transformed as Goasangi. The thirty-two gifts were made as make-up, costumes and ornaments.

The following table enumerates how *Jambavamuni* wore them.

Table 6

List of Items donated to *Jambavamuni* and their use:

Donation Item	Use of Birudu	Body Part
<i>Pasupu</i> , Kunkuma, Veebhudoodi	Make-up	Face
Chandra Birudu	Make-up	Fore Head
Surya Bhirudu	Make-up	Fore Head
Gajjala Lagu	Costume	Under Garment
• Kashalu (7 pairs)	Costume	Upper Garment
• Dattilu (7 pairs)	Costume	Upper Garment
Pulicharmam	Costume	Back
Boddu Ganta	Ornaments	Waist
Rudrakshalu	Ornaments	Neck
Gajjelu	Ornaments	Ankle
Kali Andelu	Ornament	Ankle
Kaluvalu	Ornament	Hair
Merugu Patteda	Ornament	Fore Head
Makara Kundanalu	Ornaments	Ears
Muruvulu	Ornaments	Hands
Chiruta Konga Valu Kathi	Property	Hands

Source: *Jambapuram*

Having transformed from *Jambavamuni* to Gosangi by make-up, costume, ornaments and properties, he made a procession with his two wives, sons, *guru*, and *devathas*. During the procession the *guru* Rudraksha Mahamuni is seen blessing Gosangi by standing in front; his two wives Jagadheswari mata, Jagadvinuth mata having in their hands flowers, fruits and lamps walked in front; the sons Chapala Mahamuni, *Raudra* Mahamuni and Cindu Jihva Mahamuni carrying mashals and incenses walking in front of him; Gosangi is seen in *raudra bhava* (furious mood) with red eyes and elongated mustache. He kept on ringing the bells. The devathas followed him to the court of Parabrahma. At the court amidst the sounds of percussions and string

instruments the Gosangi danced vibrantly with thirty-two *Cindu's* (thirty two styles of foot steps). They sacrificed buffellos, goats and also offered coconut, incence, jaggery, fruits and flowers for nine days. Then Adisakthi (Mahankali) in the *raudra* form became passive and gave *Jambavamuni* two gifts (1) *Kali Kommu* (2) *Kalkiturai* and disappeared. Then *Jambavamuni* with his thirty-two gifts went back to his city known as Jambalagiri.⁶ This myth explains how *Jambavamuni* the ancestral god of Madigas got make-up, costume, ornaments and properties to perform the Gosangi role. However, this myth did not tell how make-up, costume, ornaments and properties are acquired by the sons of Cindu Jihvamahamuni i.e., Cindu Madigas. To narrate this part another myth is interoven to legitimise their role as performers.

This myth appears to have come from the versions of the narrative of 'Jamadagni Renukadevi'. According to this, Jamadagni orders his son Parasurama to behead Renukadevi who had committed a sin equivalent to adultery.⁷ As stated in the previous chapter Parasurama killed Renukadevi while she tried to hide in the leather sack of the sons of *Jambavamuni*. Renukadevi became furious in the form of Yellamma (one who came out of the leather sacks) and went after the people to swallow them. *Jambavamuni* not knowing what to do approached his *guru*, and his first wife sons to pacify Renuka. They expressed their inability to do so. Finally *Jambavamuni* called Cindu Jihvamahamuni his second wife son to pacify her. Then Cindu Jihvamahamuni told *Jambavamuni* that you have already pacified once the Adishakthi (Mahankali) so why not do this time again. Then *Jambavamuni*

expressed his inability stating that, in his knee cap a mountain has got pierced and there for he can not dance due to pain in the knee. He requested Cindu Jihvamahamuni to take up his role this time to pacify Renuka (Yellamma). Cindu Jihva Mahamuni accepted the request of *Jambavamuni* and demanded that he should be given the thirty-two titles that are given to the *Jambavamuni* by the gods to transform himself into Gosangi. *Jambavamuni* readily agreed and gave all the thirty-two titles to Cindu Jihvamahamuni to become as Gosangi this time. Wearing all the thirty-two titles as make-up, costume, ornaments and properties like his father, Cindu Jihva Mahamuni went in a procession to pacify Renuka. Several Gosangis, who played percussion, string and other instruments, accompany him. With thirty-two styles of footsteps, Cindu Jihvamahamuni pacified Renuka. She gave blessings to *Jambavamuni* and his wife Sri Devalasani. She also conferred the right to perform the character of Gosangi and narrate the caste myth to Madigas. Through caste myth the Madigas would know their lineage to *Jambavamuni* and respect them by giving customary offerings. She also bestowed on them the right to claim shares from the Madiga in kind and cash.⁸ Thus, the Cindu Madigas became bards to the Madiga community and since then surviving by performing the caste myth to them. This obligation between the communities of Madigas and Cindu Madigas is intrinsically built up in a ritual bondage, so as to prohibit any violation from either of the community.

During post-independence India, when the Constitution of India bans untouchability, Madigas in principle acquired equality right. During recent years due to economic reforms the Government of India and the state government followed 'Reservation Policy'¹ to uplift downtrodden. The Bhoodan movement also gave a moral boost to the landless agricultural communities of Madigas and in few instances the government distributed surplus land and gave them the ownership rights. The community of Madigas though did not progress to the extent desired yet is placed in the enroute to progress. However, Madigas as well as the other caste groups even now call the depending communities as "beggar communities". Thus, looking down upon the Cindu Madigas as begging communities undermined their ritual status as holder of the right to perform their caste myths. The changing outlook made the Cindu Madigas and other bard communities such as Daccali, Asadi, Byndla etc., to discourage their posterity to follow the tradition of the ritual performance.⁹ As it is, they live in poverty stricken conditions without much upliftment. Those communities, which are following the tradition of performance, owing to cultural change started adapting to modern trends and are getting influenced by cinema and mass media. With the result, Jambapuranam the caste myth that has to be performed exclusively to the communities is getting on to public places and proscenium theatres. As such several modifications, adaptations, and improvisations are being inducted into the performance. Yet an interesting feature to notice is that it

did not affect make-up, costumes and ornaments of the characters of the caste myth.

The observations made on make-up, costume and ornaments reveal that they are not getting affected much by the trends of modernity. This phenomenon is worth pursuing since it opens up other dimensions in the concept of make-up, costume, and ornaments. Usually it is conceived that make-up, costume and ornaments has the quality of transforming actor into character.¹⁰ In folk theatre, especially, when that theatre is linked to ritual make-up, costume and ornaments does not stop at transforming quality but goes beyond to higher level where it informs the 'Text' itself to the audience even without it being enacted. The performance of Cindu Madigas can be sighted as an example to bring out this new dimension in make-up, costume and ornaments. Perhaps a little more explanation is needed to elaborate this point, for this being one of the major conclusions of the thesis.

Usually make-up, costume and ornaments are used in theatre to identify characters on one hand, and on the other, to differentiate one with the other. Make-up, costumes and ornaments performing this function of identity sets the tone of the entire performance as the play gets unfolded. From this viewpoint, make-up, costumes and ornaments take secondary role, if not 'back ground role' in communicating meanings. So to say the ceremonic function of make-up, costume and ornaments is only at corroborative level in the play, where as the other units in theatre such as dialogue, setting etc., precede make-up, costume and ornaments in communicating meanings.

Perhaps this is why modern theatre though specialized in make-up, costumes and ornaments did not give them their due importance. The make-up artist therefore becomes obscure and remains in the back stage. However, in folk theatre, especially, in ritual theatre practices reverse is the truth, i.e. make-up, costume and ornaments do not simply perform an identify function but in fact contribute much to semiosis function. This is done so because make-up, costume and ornaments are used in ritual theatre in such a way that they inform the audience of the "Text" itself. An interesting feature is that "this text" which is informing make-up, costumes and ornaments is not verbalized overtly in the narration through dialogue. Dialogue/Monologue or soliloquy and other such mode of speech, is used in mainstream theatre to construct the text. In this sense make-up, costume and ornaments in the ritual theatre (folk theatre) can be designated as "Silent Text".

The concept of 'Text' in theatre parlance is variously referred to as script, speech, plot, theme, subject lines etc. So to say the text here refers to a phenomenal construct based on the interaction between the phonemes and morphemes.¹¹ In other words, it is purely in a linguistic mode that it operates. Barthes called this as "work",¹² in this sense that it can tantamount to the work of the artists inclusive of the playwright, director, actor, stage designer and the make-up artist etc.. In modern theatre therefore, it is the collective effort of all the above-mentioned artists that a work of art is produced (i.e. play production). The intention of the work is to convey an intended and pre-existent meaning. So to say, it is a completed product, which is unfolded in a

pre-schematic manner to the audience. In ritual theatre such work is absent because it is produced by a performer or a group of performers without the assistants of any specialists (such as playwrights, director, designers and make-up artist etc.,).

The performer or performers himself or themselves take up the role of playwright, director, costume designer, make-up artist etc. This being the case the tradition itself acts as a frame of reference to the performers in unfolding the narrative. In the case of Jambapuranam the puranam (myth) itself becomes the text and fixes a frame to the performer so as to communicate various aspects of the text to audience without it being verbalized. Barthes defined the "Text" as a methodological field of energy, an ongoing production absorbing writer and reader together, "the text is not a line of words, releasing a single "theological" meaning (the 'message' of an Author-god) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original blend and clash".¹³

Looking from this standpoint make-up, costume and ornaments in Jambapuranam became an integral part of the text, wherein the performer and his audience construct meanings so as to personalise, the text and in a way attain the authorial position in relation to the text. This mental construct is a reality for them and therefore lives with it in order to share it in the process of ritual enactment of the myth. Since nowhere in the performance of Jambapuranam how make-up, costume and ornaments worn by the protagonist (Gosangi) are verbalized, yet it is explicit. The very make-up,

costume and ornaments are the text of the myth that relates the performers with the audience.

The make-up, costume and ornaments of Gosangi are done on the lines of the myth. He got them as thirty-two titles, from the gods to pacify the fury of goddess Renuka Yellamma. It forms as the text which silently communicate the time and event of the myth. It is silent because it is not verbalized and it is not totally visual because it is construed at the mental conceptional level of the community. For this reason make-up, costume and ornaments of Gosangi is not simply a visual text but goes beyond such methodological frame and enters into the very antological frame.

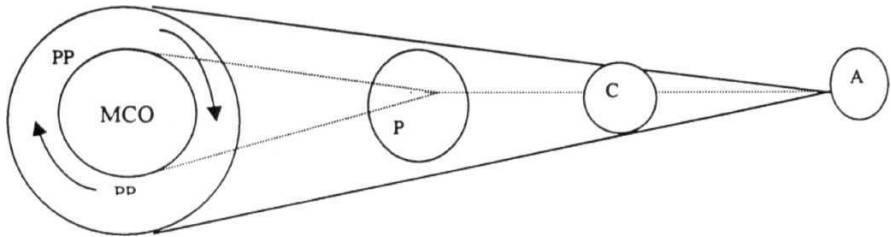
A visual text is a text built up through signs that act as a referential to the object. In theatrical parlance "make-up, costume and ornaments" is used as sign to refer and to differentiate characters in the play. Therefore make-up, costume and ornaments always perform referential function in modern theatre. In Ritual theatre, especially in the case of Jambapuram, make-up, costume and ornaments of Gosangi goes beyond mere referential function and attain interpretent status.

The make-up, costumes and ornaments of *Jambapuram* act as an interpretant in the sense that the community of bards are entitled to play the role, interpret their cultural text of the puranam and symbolically substitute the textual descriptions of the gifts received by their ancestors *Jambavamuni* and *Cindu Jivhamahamuni*, from gods to play the pace maker role. In the process the material objects are used as make-up, costume and ornaments, which do

not directly visually communicate what they mean, but in a subdued and silent manner they remain as the text of the *puranam* which is owned and shared by the community of Cindu Madigas and Madigas. Visual texts, quite often than not, are interior to a sign system and therefore, they symbolically act as representational to mean some thing to some one for something.¹⁴ Make-up, costumes and ornaments when used as symbols so as to make as a visual text, the characters became referential in a given play. Through make-up, costume and ornaments the character achieves a shared plane with a given sign system and therefore the audience identify the character in its proprietary. In the case of "silent text" it is not simply the intention of make-up, costumes and ornaments to make the character identifiable with a given proprietary but goes beyond a point where the distinction between the character and the audience ceases to be as gap between the actor and the audience but takes a life wherein the character absorbs the audience as devotees and the audience do share such experience as seeing his/her god face to face. The achievement of status of unison between the actor and the audience as god and devotee is the chief feature of the "silent text" and it is made possible through a shared made belief system in which the cultural text like *Jambapuranam* transforms itself into reality and forms the basis of the world view of the community. Therefore make-up, costume and ornaments of *Jambapuranam* are not simply a visual text and hence not a referential one, but a "Silent Text" for it acts as an interpretant so as to make the performance a lived reality.

The following diagram helps for a better understanding of the concept in theatre play productions.

Make-up, Costumes and Ornaments as a Visual Text in Modern Theatre



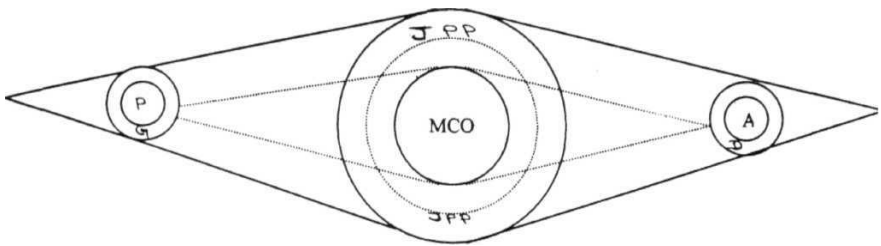
M.C.O. :	Make-up, Costume and Ornaments
PP	: Play Production
P	: Performers
C	: Characters
A	: Audience

In the above diagram PP stands for play production and the entire play production is set in motion through a system of differentiation and similarity of the characters. This has been achieved through make-up, costume and ornaments. In other words, the audience identifies performers through make-up, costume and ornaments to the intended characters of play production. What intended in the play production is symbolically represented through make-up, costumes in the development of characterisation. In that sense make-up, costume and ornaments acts as referential to the audience in the

play production. In other words, a 'mono-optic' vision is created in the play production through make-up, costume and ornaments to the audience. What the performer intended to project through make-up, costume and ornaments is what the audience receives. A kind of hierarchical status is created between the performer and the audience in unfolding the play production (Text). Since the performer controls the "gaze", the audiences are not free to share the gaze, instead forced to receive it. In this sense visual text remains more as a referential so as to identify the character and always remain at that level only. In other words, make-up, costume and ornaments as sign system become signifiers of a signified. The interaction between the performer and the audience therefore remain in vertical positions so as to make the play a didactic in communicating the meaning. Make-up, costume and ornaments role in visual text becomes that of a master designer who prompts the play to set in a particular tone. The make-up artist therefore attains a role of invisible director. He is invisible because, only the textually desired make-up, costumes and ornaments speak for him. More over the make-up, costumes and ornaments are also restricted to the desires of the director of the play and hence, the make-up artist work is subdued and remains as a visual text. In the case of ritual theatre especially, where sharing a common text enacts the ritual performances, the 'mono-optic' view of make-up, costumes and ornaments are replaced by a 'pan-optic' vision of the community.

The following diagram shows how make-up, costume and ornaments become a silent text when viewed from a 'pan-optic' vision: perspective.

Make-up. Costume and Ornaments in Silent Text



P : Performer

G : Gods

M.C.O.: Make-up, Costume and Ornaments

JPP : Jamba **Puranam** Performance

A : Audience

D : Devotees

In the above diagram make-up, costume and ornaments become an integral part of play production (*Jambapuranam*). Since *Jambapuranam* stems out of a shared knowledge in the community of performers and audience, make-up, costume and ornaments remain not just as referential but become interpretent where in both the performer and the audience view make-up, costume and

ornaments as a shared text. In this sense make-up, costume and ornaments are not verbalized in any way but interpretants justify the actions of the performer. For an outsider, since make-up, costume and ornaments not a referential the actions of performer become meaningless and redundant. Only when the performer and the audience share the 'panoptic' view of the text, performance becomes meaningful and authenticates the need of interaction between performer and audience. The concept of 'pan-optic'al view is used here in the sense that it refers to synoptic visibility designed to facilitate a disciplinary over view shared both by the performer and the audience. Both gaze at the text of *Jambapuram* shown in the above diagram to draw meanings in a multiple way so as to transform themselves as gods and devotees. Make-up, costume and ornaments in this context not only transform the performers into gods but also transform the audience into devotees. Since the quality of transformation of make-up, costumes and ornaments is affecting both the ends (performer/audience), the *Jambapuram* (play) becomes a product of *hetroglassia*. The notion of *hetroglassia* is used in Bakhtinian sense where in the text is not an end product but always function as a point of discourse to create conflictual and interrelated texts of the performer and audience. In this sense make-up, costume and ornaments are conceived as a silent text because it is beyond visual to prompt audience to transform themselves to devotees by creating a conflictual realm of fear and foe on one hand and on the other reverence and divine. The above diagram therefore represents the outer circle as a shared

belief and the inner circle wherein make-up, costumes and ornaments become a interpretent of that belief. For this reason the enactment of *Jamapuranam* becomes a cyclical event there by attaining the authorial position through 'panoptic' view of the community and remain sacred. Violating the enactment of play tantamounts to blinding the 'panoptic' view of the community and therefore, detrimental to the mutual existence of both Cindu Madigas and Madigas. Make-up, costumes and ornaments therefore becomes the driving force of the "event" and the make-up artists no other than the performer himself goes beyond the director's role and becomes the creator of the performance itself. For this reason no specialization between make-up artist or director or the performer is visible in *Jambapuranam*. The following discussion will graphically enumerate the make-up, costume and ornaments of gosangi in the performance of Jambapuranam.

Make-up. Costumes and Ornaments of Gosangi

As stated already *Jambavamuni* gives his thirty-two titles to Cindu Jivha maha muni to perform Gosangi *vesam* to appease Renuka Yellamma who in turn would bless the community. All the make-up material that is used to the character of Gosangi is indigenously prepared.

The following table shows the native names of the materials used for making the pigments:



Table - 7

List of the Pigment materials and their native names:

Name of the Material	Native Names of the Material	Original Colour of Material
White	Zink, White	White
Pevidi	Gantachapi, Arudalum	Lime Yellow (or) Golden Yellow
Red	Erupu, Mandasila, Sungrupu Erupu	Red
Neeli	Blue, Gadda neeli, Asman colour, Krishna neeli	Blue
Theen Masala	Theen Masala Sungrupu Erupu, Gulab	Bottle Green, when mixing with water or oil it turn into pink
Katuka Hair	Kajal, Nalla Pevidi Meesalu Misala Ventrakalu, Crape Hair	Thick Black Black

Source: Interview with Chindula China Gangaram, 40 Years, Amdapur, Bhodan Tq Nizamabad Dist. And Chindula Shyam, 43 years , Armoor, Nizamabad Dist. On 02.06.97.

In the above table, the make-up materials used for pigmentation are drawn from local knowledge not only by this particular community of Cindu Madigas but also by the other bards of the Madigas. One can find from the above table that at least seven colours are used to create 'hue' in the **make-up**. It is interesting to note that there are no shades achieved by mixing colours for making up the character of Gosangi.

This is so because the actual event of the performance takes place neither in a proscenium nor during the nights. For this reason, there is no need of using

lights to create shades and contours through make-up. The tonal value of the make-up in general is crude, vibrant with colour and always distinguishable from other parts of the body. In this sense make-up is not an indicator of the character but an interpretant to reflect the actions of the body parts through a colour symbolism.

The following table shows the process of the use of material to achieve such types of colour.

Table - 8

Materials used to get Colour Pigments:

Name of the Material	Resource of Material	Using and Mixing with Material
Neeli	Powder & Stones	Water and Oil
White	Powder, Burning of Led(or)Chalk powder	Water and Oil
Katuka	Salt preparation, burning of castrol (or) Kerosin under the pot) Greese	Coconut Oil
Hair	Salf preparation (getting hairs from animal (or) person)	Spirit Gum (or) Marri Palu (or) Dunti tene.
Pevidi/ Arudalam	Powder Stone (or) Chips Powder	Water & Coconut oil
Theen Masala		Water and Oil

Source: Interview with Chindula China Gangaram, 40 Years, Amdapur, Bhodan Tq. Nizamabad Dist. And Chindula Shyam, 43 years , Anmoor, Nizamabad Dist. On 02.06.97.

Make-up through a sequence of colours achieved as shown in the above table becomes prominent for face. The rest of the body of the performer is

clad in costumes, ornaments and properties. The following table shows make-up and costumes for Gosangi:

Table - 9

Make-up, Costumes used for the character of Gosangi:

	Body Parts		Powder (Pigments)	Colours	Symbols	
	Division	Sub-Division	Foundation	Additions	Explicit	Implicit
Make-up	Face	Forehead Eyes Nose Lips	Blue	White, Yellow Black Yellow+ White line Red	Sun, Moon Verticle line	Owner ship of creating the universe
	Neck to Feet		Blue	--	--	Universality
	Palm, of Hands and Feet		Red	-		Holiness

	Body Parts		Cloth Material		Shape (or) Form	Symbol	Remarks
			Colour	Texure			
Costumes	Upper	From shoulder to hip	Blue (or) Yellow	Thick/ Rustic Cotton	Ovel shape (around connecting left shoulder to hip)	Royalty Divinity	Like Jandhyam Of Brahmins
	Lower	From hip to ankle	a) Blue	Silk	Nicker	Strong and energy	Gift of Veerabhadra used as under Garment
			b) Any colour except black	Any material preference silk	Saree 6 mts	Royalty Divinity	Dhoti type wearing completely covers the lower part.

Source: field Observation made on 09.11.97 at Jonnagiri, BhongirTq., Nalgonda Dist.
And field observation made on 12.06.98 at Janagam, Aleru, Nalgonda Dist.

An interesting feature in the above table is that certain symbols are explicitly drawn on the face as part of make-up. This is worth noting because make-up becomes an interpretant of the text that is shared. The explanations of these symbols are given in the following passages where the process of make-up is discussed. As far as costumes are concerned the entire costumes can be divided generally into upper and lower garments. Upper garments basically covers the torso and the lower covers from hip to ankle. The following table shows ornaments and properties used by Gosangi's, which also forms a major component in making up the appearance of the character.

Gosangi





GOSANGI IN
JAMBAPURANA.

Table – 10

List of ornaments used by Gosangi:

	Body Parts		Material	Shape (or) Form	Symbol		Remarks
	Division	Name of the Ornaments			Explicit	Implicit	
Ornaments	Head	<i>Kommulu Or Kaluvalu Half crown</i>	Wooden sticks	Round Rules	Raiality		Gift of Lakshmi
	Head		Leather with shells	Circular Shape with width 3 cm	Raiality		
	Head	<i>Kalkiturai</i>	Cranes Feather	Flower	Divinity	-	Gift of Adishakti
	Ears	<i>Rings</i>	Metal	Round	Raiality Divinity		
	Neck	<i>Kantamala</i>	Leather With shells	A circular band width of 3 cm"	- do-	-	Sivakanta Mala
	Wrist	<i>Chethi Dustulu</i>	Leather with shells	A circular band width 3 cm"	- do-		
	Chest	<i>Shanku Pathakam</i>	Leather with shells	Heart Shape	- do-	tells about his birth from Conch	
	Back	<i>Jallu Basanthalu</i>	Leather with shells	A circular shape 4Vi cm width			
	Waist	<i>Bell</i>	Metal	Bell shape	Divinity		Gifts of lord Ganapathi & Adishakthi
	Anklets	<i>Gajjelu</i>	Metal with rope	Ovel shape	- do -		Gift of Veerabhadra

Source: field Observation made on 09.11.97 at Jonnagin, Bhongir Tq., Nalgonda Dist.
And field observation made on 12.06.98 at Janagam, Aleru, Nalgonda Dist.

Table – 11**List of properties used by Gosangi:**

Body Parts		Material	Shape (or) Form	Symbol		Remarks
Division	Name of the Ornaments			Explicit	Implicit	
HANDS						
Right	Kongavalu Kathi	Curved Iron Big Knife	½ circular shape length of 2 feet	Royalty Divinity		Gift of Vishwa Brahma
Left	Duddu Karra	Wooden Stick	Verticle shape length of 6 feet			Guard of Universe

Source: field Observation made on 09.11.97 at Jonnagiri, Bhongir Tq., Nalgonda Dist.
And field observation made on 12.06.98 at Janagam, Aleru, Nalgonda Dist.

From the above table it is evident that the ornaments and properties incongruous with the myth forms a major attribute to get the attain of the charactor of Gosangi. It is also evident from this, that the ornaments are not simply to replicate the royalty of the character but infact construct the character into a traditionally divine figure of the community in particular. The divinity as shown in the make-up, costumes and ornaments and properties are highly indogenous to the community since they cuts across the general perception of the devine figure. One interesting feature is that the Sanskritic gods do not appear with any moustache; in this case, true to the folk ethos, the Gosangi wears an elongated moustache; the crown do not resemble to a normal crown worn usually by royal personages at all. In fact it is the myth, which narrates that Gosangi was given a gift by the goddess Lakshmidēvi, the Kaluva Flowers, to be worn by crown.¹⁵ Apart fom that, the *pramada ganas* (Power's of Siva) , also gave horns to be decorated as crown.¹⁶ Another

major part of ornamentation is done with shells. According to the myth, Gosangi (*Jambavamuni*) is born in a shell even before the earth was created.¹⁷ Shell in this sense represents the primordial existence of *Jambavamuni*. Other prominent things among ornamentation include bell, neem leaves, and a curved sword etc. All the listed items of make-up, costumes and ornaments of above table represents that Gosangi wears them since they are given as gifts by gods as stated in the myth.¹⁸ These make-up, costume and ornaments nowhere in the performance are verbalized. In fact the entire performance itself is a non-verbal performance till the procession is over. After the procession once another character known as Brahmin enters, the performance goes on to explain the importance of caste myth and the role of the caste the social structure.

Process of Make-up

Since the performance is considered as sacred and innate to the community the process of make-up, costume and ornaments is given much attention and clubbed with rituals at various stages. The whole process of make-up clubbed with rituals may take atleast three to four hours. The performer who plays the role of Gosangi hails from the Cindu Madiga community and customarily posses the right to perform. He has to follow certain osterities before applying make-up to his body. He prepares himself a day before by following strictly certain diet. He should not indulge in sex. In the morning after attending to nature calls, he takes bath and participates in the ritual. Yellamma, their diety is invoked to seek blessings. They keep the box

containing make-up, costumes and ornaments before Yellamma, which is called, as Yellamma *petti*. He breaks a coconut before Yellamma, which is represented, in the form of a stone in the village, which is called as Yellamma *Gudi*. He also offers a bottle of toddy to the goddess. He wears vermillion powder on his forehead as if the goddess blesses him. The Cindu Madigas then offer him toddy, which is placed before the goddess as *naivedyam*. The process of make-up commences with this ritual,

The make-up starts with the initial application of foundation colour, blue. The colour conception of blue is coming from the general notion of "*Adi Purusha*" (the first born). According to the myth he is born in the Fourth Yuga, namely the Adbhutha Yuga.¹⁹ Then the highlighting of the eyebrows with "black" takes place. This is done with pointers made out of sticks with a precision. The eyebrows are elongated and highly visible to give a feeling of *raudra* (rage). The eyelashes are also covered with black lining. The entire eye with black colour gives a contour tone and projects the eye as if it is protruding. The black lining and curves helps Gosangi to keep a fixed mood of "*raudra*" on his face.

The next step in the process is the application of white colour beneath the eyes running across the nose to cover both the eyes. This is traditionally known as *nemali vanka*. Above the blackened eyebrows white paste is applied as a dotted line and is known as *bommarakulu*. With these two white lines the entire eye becomes distinguishably visible and appears as if it is a mask. The white paste is also drawn from the forehead to the tip of the nose.

From forehead to the beginning of nose it is known as *konda namam*. From beginning to tip of the nose it is known as *bolli kodi namam*. This symbolically represent that even before the universe was born Parabramha in the guise of cock try to quench the sexual urge of Adishakthi.²⁰ The other white curves (*nemalivanka*) beneath the eyes symbolically represent the disguise of Parabramha as Peacock who satisfy the urge of motherhood of Adishakthi. It is interesting to note that white colour here is used to represent pro-creation and prosperity (*prathi sristti and vridhhi*). *Jambavamuni* as the first-born witnessed the creation and pro-creation and therefore to articulate that sense of time these symbols are used. Similarly on the forehead, above the left eye the sun and the moon are clearly depicted with the same white paste. According to the myth, both the sun and the moon born after him and therefore he is in control of them. It is also stated in the myth that both of them gave away themselves as gifts to Gosangi to pacify the fury of the goddess. Symbolically *Jambavamuni* attains the pre-mordial power and in control of time and space. An interesting feature is that the first born in the temporal scale is represented as the one who witnessed the creation and was very much involved in the process of creation. Thus, the white markings on the face holistically represent the powers of Gosangi in an almost ethnocentric over tones. The next prominent colour used in the proces is *Sungrupu* or *Mandasila* which is Red in colour and it is minimally used at three places, i.e. in between eyes, at the beginnings of the nostrils, over the lips and a little over the eye-lashes. Red appears as if to demarcate

prominently facial make-up. One is used as *bottu* between the eyes demarcating the white line that runs from forehead to nostrils having two sections and two names - *nemalivanka* and *bollikodinamam*. The Red markings used at the beginning of the nostrils to demarcate the white paste marks over the moustache known as *bollikodinamam*. Above that the red mark which goes upto forehead is known as *nemilivanka*. Both are projected upwards. The Red mark also appears as the back of the peacock when the feathers are up when it is dancing. The lips also painted with red to uncover them from being shaded by the moustache. On the whole red colour is used as a demarcation of devine with human and unison is possible only with the help of the same. Another prominent make-up item is the big sized mustache made up of the wool of sheep. This is not a paint pigment but a fixing. This attire is peculiar because in the Sanskritic tradition gods do not have mustache. The concept of divinity in the community, under study is that their ancestral god (*Jambavamuni*) is as much divine as human. So to say he belongs to two realms that is divinity and humanity.

After he finishes the facial make-up as described above, the character wears costume in the following manner. The performer wears a lower under garment as basic costume over which he wears a colourful nickker (usually the red with designs as shown in the photograph). As part of this nickker he ties bells having gungurus (*Gajjelu*) to the edge of the nickker having gungurus (*Gajjelu*). The whole of this lower garment is called as *gajjela lagu* (*Gungurus* nickker). As per the myth Veerabhadra who is born out of Siva's

jata jutam to destroy the Dakshayagnam gives this nickker to him. In the process of destroying the dakshayagnam he performs a vibrant dance over the *Yagnagundam* (i.e sacrificial fire pit). The gungurus of the nickker incongruity to the steps produced a vibrant rythem. The community believes that Gosangi performs the same kind of dance to deminish the fury of the goddess Renuka Yellamma.²¹ Upon the nickker he wears a twelve feet length saree by tying tightly criss crossed, it looks like a *pancha* or *dhoti*. This lower garment is known as *kashe*. From shoulder to waist two sarees each one on left and right sides are tied and with this crossing he covers the chest and it becomes the upper garment. Another saree of the same length he ties over the upper and, lower garment, keeping both intact. This looks like a *dhatti* (belt). The seventh saree he makes it fall over the shoulder and it looks like a *kanduva* (silk shawl), which in any case he ties to his arms for preventing it from falling while dancing. All the seven sarees are called as seven *kashes* and it forms the complete costume. It is interesting to note that there is no colour specification of the costumes of the sarees. In fact, according to tradition the patron 'Madigas' for the performance should give these sarees. All the seven sarees of twelve feet length, once worn by the performer, look exhuberant and gives fullness to the attire of Gosangi. Incidentally number seven in the folk belief represents "fullness" and tying of seven *kaselu* is the accomplishment of fullness to the character, which is infact the creation of the gods.

Over the costumes, Gosangi wears various objects made up of leather, shells, metal and threads as ornaments. Traditionally the prominent among them is known as *darsanams*, which literally means vision or suggesting that which is visible. There are altogether seven *darsanams*, which can be neither considered as costumes nor ornaments. But for an outsider they may look like ornaments. The first *darsanam* that Gosangi wears, cover chest and the back, which is traditionally identified as *rommu darsanam* or *sanku darsanam*. The Second one is tied around the neck and called as *kanta darsanam*. The third and fourth ones are tied around the arms of left and right hands. The fifth and sixth ones are tied to the left and right wrists. (For these specific names are mentioned by the performers). The seventh one is known as *shiro darsanam*, and it is tied around the already tied hair (*koppu*). The performers also know all these *darsanams* except the *rommu darsanam* as *dasthavejulu* (records). The myth behind these *darsanams* is that the *Adishakthi*, the primordial power, when urged for motherhood, the *parabramha* in the guise of peacock through magical dance made the *Adisakthi* conceive three eggs. When *Adishakthi* found no place to rest the eggs since the entire universe was covered with water, she rubbed the skin of the left chest and out of the mud that came from it she created a shell and rested the three eggs in it. By rubbing skin on the right side of the chest, she removed the mud and made an island in which the shells broke and gave birth to **Bramha**, Vishnu, and Shiva, the *trimoorthy's* of Hindu pantheon who are represented as **cretor**, preserver and destroyer respectively.²² This conceptually denotes

temporality. In order to represent this conception the *darshanams* are also termed as *dasthavejulu* i.e. records, which have the implied meaning of time and space. True to the depiction these *darsanams* are made up of skin and shell as shown in the photograph. The shells are artistically stitched over a piece of leather. The leather is inherent part of the community's profession and the shells guarantee prosperity. In their belief system the shells are also made into male and female known as *potu gavva* and *penty gavva* respectively.²³ The *penty gavva* appears Yellowish in colour where as *potu gawa* is white in colour.²⁴ The perception behind making such gender division reminds the community of the creation from its first stance that is witnessed by *Jambavamuni*. Therefore it is metaphorically named as *darsanamor* vision. Over these *darsanams* especially around the neck, the *gosangi* wears various ornaments as garlands, which are made up of metal. In the myth it is he who made the tools and gives them to the smiths (goldsmith, silversmith, bronzesmith) to make ornaments by melting different metals to perform the marriage of *thrimoorthy's*.²⁵ Around his waist he ties a prominent brass bell, which is supposed to have given to him by Ganapathy to wear it as *boddu ganta* (the belly bell).²⁶ The function of the bell appears to be one that draws the attention of the audience, when he goes in procession to perform the ultimate dance in the court of Parabramha to appease the goddess. He ties a cluster of bells around the anklets to produce rythem while dancing, they are indigenously known as *kalvaranti* (since the bells are stitched to a piece of leather and tied around the anklets). As the headgear he

ties *shiro darsanam* around the *koppu* and places *kommulu* and *kaluvalu* over it. On the left hand he holds a long stick (*doddu karra*) and on the right hand he keeps a curved sword known as *komgavalu katti*. This sword was given to him as a reward for making the instruments to melt the mountains of gold, silver, copper, bronze and Iron. Symbolically the sword represents sacrifice. When god asked him to prepare instruments to melt the metal mountains, *Jambavamuni* by killing his own son, who was created out of his right rib made a leather wind blower with the skin of the corpse to make the furnace that could melt the mountains. The gods were much pleased with his sacrifice and gave him the sword.²⁷ This sword is used as the chief instrument to peel the skins of carcasses to manufacture leather goods. At the end, the Gosangi wears a garland made of neem leaves on the body. Neem leaves are considered as sacred, especially in folk rituals to cast out evil eye or evil spirits. In other words, symbolically they represent peace. Gosangi wears them to quench the fury of Renuka Yellamma and establishes peace. The completion of the attire of Gosangi takes three to four hours duration.²⁸

Performance of Jambapuranam:

Usually at around 11.00 A.M. the performance of Jambapuranam commences with the beating of *Dappus*, Gosangi is taken in a procession to the place of performance. By the time other minor characters such as Brahmin, Singi, Singadu, Billanna etc., tune the audience to receive the performance of Jambapuranam; in the process they also make a collection of money. With the entry of Jambavanthudu, the performance of Jambapuranam actually

starts. **The** whole performance takes a discourse style between *Jambavamuni*, where he represents the Madigas, the *Panchama varna* and the Brahmin who represents the system of *Chathur Varna*.

Jambapuranam



In fact the discourse proceeds by bringing out the nuance of caste and out caste perceptions in the Hindu social order. The discourse is set in such a motion that *Jambavamuni* advocates for an egalitarian social system where as the Brahmin voices for an hierarchical social system.²⁹ The whole performance runs for four to five hours and performance at any cost ends by 3'O clock.³⁰ The whole performance runs in a dialogue - song - dance matrimix. What is important to notice is that the footsteps, which are unique to Cindu Madiga's makes the whole performance as Cindu Madiga's Jambapuranam.

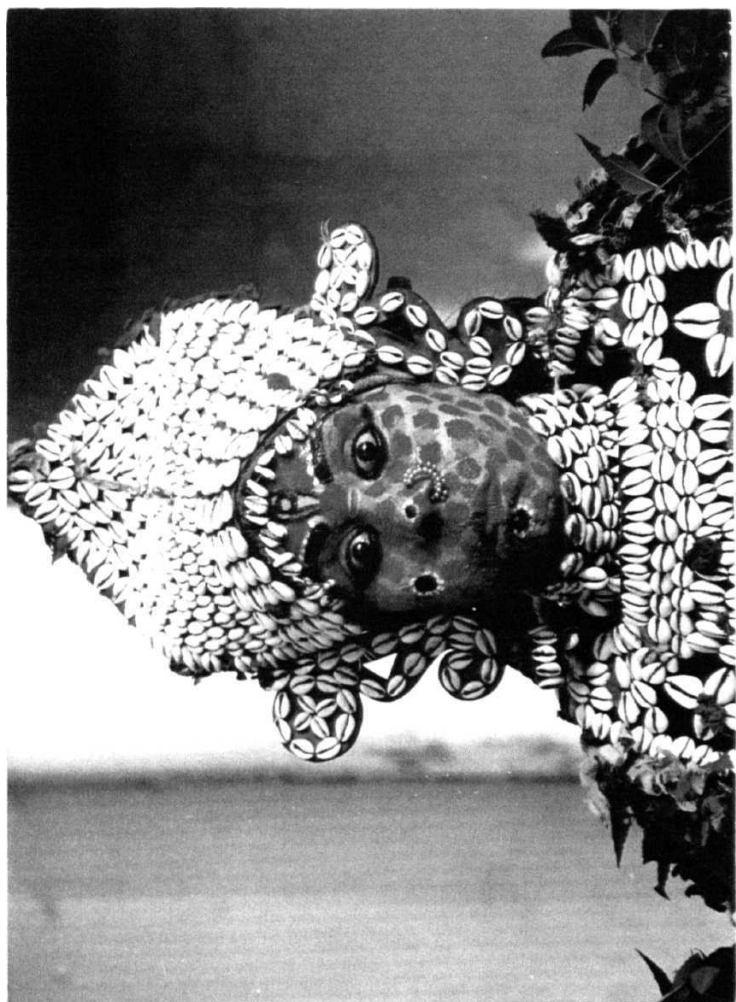
Yellamma and Poturau



SECTION - II

Yellamma Vesam

Another important aspect of the myth, which is performed by the Cindu Madigas is known as Yellamma Vesam. Yellamma is considered as the caste goddess of the Madigas. According to the myth when Renuka hides in the leather socket of the Madiga, Parasurama having ordered by his father comes to kill her. He finds her in the leather sack and asks her to come out, which is how the word (Yellu + amma = come out mother) came into existence. The mother, Renuka is worshipped as Renuka Yellamma (or simply Yellamma) by the Madigas.³¹ When she became furious and went amok killing people for having told about her hiding place to Parasurama, *Jambavamuni* requests his son Cindu Jivha Mahamuni to pacify her. After Yellamma became normal with the performance of gosangi, she blesses him with *veeragōla* (a whip), *pasupuchinna* (Turmeric symbols), *nemali katta* (peacock's feather), *tāli bottu* (*Thāli*), *pasupu kumkum* (turmeric and Vermillion) and *veeragandham* (sandle).³³ She also gave seven *darsanams* and bestowed a right on the wife of Gosangi (Cindu Jivhamahamuni) namely Devalasani to guise as Yellamma and perform the *vesam* to the community. The community in turn seeks the blessings of the personified Yellamma by giving gifts to her. This myth in reality became a tradition and led to the Basavi system in the community of Cindu Madigas. Since the Yellamma



Vesam is considered as ritual performance, the make-up, costume and ornaments that are used to get the attire of **Yellamma** forms the silent text. In this case also the myth silently represents the event of Yellamma bestowing right to the community of Cindu **Madiga's**.

The Make-up. Costume and Ornaments of Yellamma

Make-up, costume and ornaments are the things that transform a Basavi into goddess Yellamma. It is the colour, which differentiate Basavi from Yellamma. Therefore the process of make-up is the prime and foremost in the Yellamma vesam.

The following table shows the materials used for getting the colour pigments and their native names for Yellamma.

Table – 12

List of materials used for getting colour pigments and their native names:

Name of the Material	Native Name of the Material	Original Colour of Material
<i>Pasupu</i>	<i>Pasupu</i>	Yellow
Kumkum	Kunkuma, Red Zink	Red
Katuka	Kajal, Katuka	Thick Black
White	Zink, White, Zink White	White

Source: field Observation made on 09.11.97 at Jonnagini, Bhongir Tq., Nalgonda Dist.
And field observation made on 12.06.98 at Janagam, Aleru, Nalgonda Dist.

Since the colour is conceived as the chief factor of transformation of a normal Basavi to goddess Yellamma, they are fixed as notion in the psyche of the

community. They do not, change despite the changes in the technological advancement that is brought in by the market economy.

The following table shows how the colours are obtained by the use of materials.

Table – 13

Materials used to get colour pigments:

Name of the Material	Resource of Material	Using and Mixing with Material
<i>Pasupu</i>	Roots of the Plants	Oil
Kumkum	Roots of the Plants	Oil
Katuka	Self preparation (Burning of Castrol (or) Kerosin under the pot) Greese	Coconut Oil/Castrol
White	White Powder	Oil

One interesting feature in the above table is that the four basic colours are achieved by mixing oil to the indigenous powders.³⁴ This is due to the fact that the character of Yellamma while in performance gets possessed and transcend to metaphysical relam in which she tresspasses all the normative behaviour by showing vibrant movements including running, dancing etc. To sustain make-up through out the performance oil is used as grease, which can resist sweat, which may cause decolorization.³⁵

Yellamma



Table - 14

List of Pigments used for Yellamma **Vesam**:

Body Parts		Powder Colours (Pigments)		Symbols	
Division	Division	Founda- tion	Addition	Explicit	Implicit
Face	Forehead	Yellow	Red, Black, White	Chatra Kannu	Super- ficial Power
	Eyes		Black		
	Nose		Red, Black	Goddess	
	Lips		Red, Black	Goddess	Divinity
Neck To Feet		Yellow	Red	Auspicious	
Palm of Hands & feet		Yellow	Red	Auspicious	Divinity

_Source: Field Observation made on 6.12.98 at Aleru, Nalgonda Dist. And field observation made on 04.04.99 at Appireddipalli, Janagam, Warangal Dist.

In the above table it is evident that Yellow colour pre-dominates in transforming Basavi into Yellamma. The colour yellow is achieved as shown in the above table from the roots of the plant. Pasupu (turmeric) is considered auspicious and sacred and used without fail in all ceremonies, be it rites of passage or community festivals. The image of Yellamma in the village, which is kept underneath the **neem** tree, is also adored with *pasupu*.³⁶ The *pasupu* signifies prosperity and belief in the everlasting life. For this reason the character of Yellamma Vesam is initially from forehead to toe covers she with the yellow paste (pasupu).³⁸ As a sacred object, it is viewed as a purifier. In this case Basavi is purified (from the bodily pollutants caused out of menstruation etc.,) to take up the role of goddess Yellamma.³⁹

The following table shows the costumes of Yellamma:

Table – 15

List of Costumes used for Yellamma Vesam:

Groups	Body Parts		Cloth Material		Shape (or) Form	Symbol	Remarks
	Division	Divisions	Colour	Texture			
Costumes	Upper	From Shoulder to waist	Except Black any colour	Thick/ Rustic cotton	Blouse oval shape (covering the chest)	Feminine	--
	Lower	From waist to legs	Except black any colour	Not fixed (depending on offerings of devotees)	Saree 6 mts	Feminine Strong/ Energetic	Dhoti/Pancha type wearing completely covers the lower part

Source: Field Observation made on 6.12.98 at Aleru, Nalgonda Dist. And field observation made on 04.04.99 at Appireddipalli, Janagam, Warangal Dist.

From the above table it is evident that the Yellamma Vesam uses two major costumes as the basic ones, the upper and the lower. The upper is a blouse and the lower being a saree tied like a *pancha (dhoti)*. Over that the ornaments are worn which look like costume.

Costumes of Yellamma



Table – 16

List of Ornaments used for Yellamma Vesam:

	Body Parts		Material	Shape or Form	Symbol		Remarks
	Division	Name of the Ornament			Explicit	Implicit	
	Hair	<i>Tela/Siro Dharanam (or) Yellamma Padagalu</i>	Leather with Shells	Head of the Snake	Snake Headgear	Royalty/Divinity	One of the title of the Adishakthi
Ornaments	Ears	<i>Kammalu</i>	Metal	Earrings shape round	Feminine		
	Nose	<i>Mukkera</i>	Metal	Circular	Feminine	-	
	Neck	<i>Kanta + baranam</i>	Leather with Shells	Circular	Necklet	Tali Bottu	
Ornaments/ Costumes	Chest	<i>Rommu Darsanam'</i>	Leather, Shells, Cotton	Triangular Shape 8" 16	Chest Plate	Divinity/ Royalty	
Ornaments/ Costumes	Back	<i>Veepu Darsanam'</i>	Leather, shells, cotton	Triangular Shape 8" 16	Back Plate	Divinity/ Royalty	
Ornaments/ Costumes	Waist	<i>Yellamma Palakalu, 4 pieces</i>	Leather, shells cotton	Triangular shape,	Freilt of saree	Divinity/ Royalty	
	Hands & Wrist	<i>Chethi Dusthulu/ Pattilu</i>	Leather, Shells	Triangular shape	Hand Bands		
	Anklets	<i>Gajjelu</i>	Metal, rope	Oval shape	Gunguru	Divinity	*
	Bell	<i>Ganta</i>	Metal	Bell shape	Bell	Divinity	" "
	Right Hand	<i>Kongavali Kathi</i>	Curved Big Iron Knife	¼ circular shape length of 2 feet	Shakthi	Royalty/ Divinity	
	Left Hand	<i>Veparellulu</i>	Tree branches	Neem tree leaves		Divinity	

Source: Field Observation made on 6.12.98 at Aleru, Nalgonda Dist. And field observation made on 04.04.99 at Appireddipalli, Janagam, Warangal Dist.

Between the ornaments they fix the neem leaves. As shown in the table, the ornaments when appear as costumes form into three major clusters i.e. covering chest, waist and back. The other ornaments are used as head gears, necklace, facial ornaments and anklets etc.

From the above table it is evident that ornaments form a major portion of Yellamma Vesam; leather and shell constitute almost 90% of make-up,

costumes and ornaments of Yellamma. In fact in the appearance the shell predominates. Even the crown is made of shells. It is believed that, when Parusurama came to kill Renuka she hid herself in a shell, when the shell was broken by Parusurama she flew to Madigas hamlet and hid herself in a leather sachet of the head of the clan of the Madigas.⁴⁰ Even there Parusurama found her out and killed.

Another interesting myth which speaks about the origins of Yellamma is : when a war broke out between the gods and demons, the *devathas* approached Siva and pleaded him to come and subdue the demons. In the battle Siva fainted; the gods went to *Jambavamuni* and pleaded him to come down in order to wake-up Siva so that he can kill asuras who were overpowering them. *Jambavamuni* in the guise of Gosangi started his journey to the *Thripura Patanam*(the abode of *asuras*), where the battle was on. While *Jambavamuni* was descending from heaven sweat came from his fore head, he cleaned the sweat and hit it on the ground. From this sweat a beautiful young girl was born. Then *Jambavamuni* collected all the shells and made beautiful ornaments by fixing them on leather. He adored her with the shells all over her body, as crown, necklace, and breastplates, on back portion of the body, above the hip and around the waist falling till knees. He also coloured her face with red spots and painted a *chatra kannu* at her forehead. More over he decorated her with neem leaves and to the right hand he has given a sword and to the left hand a vessel, which is known as a big spoon (*garita*). Along with her he came by beating the drum beats Siva woke up,

became furious and danced vibrantly to the rhythm of the drum and killed *asuras*. The girl who was born out of the sweat of *Jambavamuni* also danced vibrantly, while the killing was on and spread out the vessel to restrain the blood falling from the *asuras* and drank it. Her fury found no bounds. In order to pacify her Pothu Raju, who is an incarnation of *Jambavamuni* danced before her by offering a sacrificial goat to her. She thus became pacified and blessed the community of Madigas.⁴¹

The third version of Yellamma vesam is also popular among the Cindu Madigas. According to this version for the wedding of Parvathy and Siva, *Jambavamuni* came down to witness the event, on his way sweat flown out from his body. From this sweat a beautiful girl is born. *Jambavamuni* brought her up and later married her. The Cindu Madigas are the children born to them.⁴²

The fourth myth gives another version of Yellamma's make-up, costumes and ornaments. According to this version, when *Jambavamuni* became Madiga because of the tongue twister of Chennaiah he came down from Jambalagiri Pattanam (his abode) to remove the carcasses of Jamili Kamadhenuvu/Jamili Gangi Govu (the holy cow). He came down and removed the carcasses from the Shiva's hermitage. After that, he relaxed by sitting on the throne in a court, where the celestial damsels performed dances for him. Including Ramba, Oorvasi, Menaka nobody could entertain *Jambavamuni* and give him laughter. At last a Cindu dancer came in and performed before

Jambavamuni, during the dance her ropes got slipped. Not caring for it she nakedly danced before *Jambavamuni*. This made him happy and he admired her dancing skills, he asked her to come and sit on his laps and gave her five shells by placing them over piece of leather which in turn became her costume which is known as titles *or birudus (darsanams)*.⁴³

The Cindu Madigas claim that they are born to Cinduvanitha and therefore they inherit the right to perform.

The above four versions of the myth narrate the communities relationship with Yellamma Vesam. The first myth shows that the wife of the Gosangi performs the Yellamma Vesam. The second and fourth versions show the emergence of Yellamma costume. The *Jambavamuni* gives the costume as blessing. If these myths are syntagmatically arranged as 1:3::2:4 then the picture of Yellamma emerges as one which is born out of *Jambavamuni* and inherits the performance of Yellamma.

The children born to *Jambavamuni* and the Cindu Vanitha are the Cindu Madigas. All this four myths again are connected to a catastrophe caused out of killings. In the first it is the killing of Renuka and the second the killing of Asuras.

This observation is important because the Yellamma Vesam is ritually performed in which the killing of goat as sacrifice is symbolically presented as a cause for the dance of Yellamma and her pacification after a vibrant activity. What is important to note, in all these versions is that the make-up, costumes and ornaments of Yellamma emerges as a 'silent text'. The shell and the

leather becomes predominant in the make-up, costumes and ornaments as shown in the above table.

Performance and make-up process of Yellamma Vesam

The day before the performance the group of performers come to Yellamma Shrine and clean-up the premises which is the place of performance. On the day of performance the Basavi who is dedicated to god and is the performer of yellamma Vesam is prepared by five *sumangali*'s of the same community.⁴⁴ The *sumangali* (*muthaidu*) is the one who is an un-widowed woman. They are supposed to follow certain austerities such as fasting and abstaining from sex etc. They should also be out of menstrual days. The five *muthaidus* prepare the *basavi* (*Jogin*) who should also observe similar austerities.⁴⁵ They give her a head bath and anoint her with turmeric powder from head to toe. Then they make her wear new blouse as upper garment and a new saree, which is tied in the form of *dovati* (*kashe*) as under garment. Except black, any colour is permissible to be worn by the performer.⁴⁶ She is then offered with five sears of rice along with turmeric and *kumkum* as *vodisare* which is literally means pouring the rice into the piece of saree which is tied tightly around the waist.⁴⁷

With this ritual, the make-up process starts; she ties her saree like *dovati* around her waist and it will not be covered as upper garment. Blouse is used as an upper garment. She then sits before the *Yellamma Pette*, the box which contains make-up and costume material, and seeks the blessings of yellamma by way of greeting the box, with folded hands. The turmeric paste

then is totally rubbed on to the face. With this the transformation of Basavi into Yellamma begins. Turmeric being a ritual object and also used as purifier especially for having the quality of de-colourising the skin on which it is applied.⁴⁸ Later on her eyebrows are applied with *Kajal* in order to get the effect of 'fury' (*raudram*). On the forehead vermilion paste (*Kumkum*) is applied in such a way that it demarcates the headgear and the face. At the centre of the forehead with black *Kajal*, an eyeball like figure is drawn. Above and below the eyeball, white or yellow paste is drawn so as to appear it as an eye. This is known as *chatrakannu*.⁴⁹ In order to look more prominent and aesthetic the *chatrakannu* is drawn beautifully on the forehead using white and black strokes artistically. On the face red dots are exuberantly drawn covering the entire face on the yellowish skin. Over the right side of the cheek black dots surrounded by white dots are drawn. Similarly the same is drawn on the tips of the nose and over the chin. This is marked as an 'evil eye'.⁵⁰ The red dots on the face obviously drawn in order to convey that she is in *raudra* mood. As per the myth when Parashurama comes to kill her she hides herself in the *Madiga laddha* i.e. the skin sachet, which is usually found 'in the houses of leather tanning workers'.⁵¹ When she comes out of this *Madiga laddha* she is furious because her hiding place is revealed to Parashurama by the *Madigas*.

The enactment of this myth is covered as a silent text in the facial make-up of the Yellamma Vesam. The same red colour is used and applied as dots even to the limbs. Thus the make-up portion of Yellamma ends.

She then has given costumes covering the whole body from head to toe. These costumes are known as *Yellamma palakalu* or *Yellamma darshanalu*.⁵² As explained already they are made up of shells stiched over the leather of a cow. The costumes are divided into seven parts they are known as seven *darsanams*⁵³

Ornaments of Yellamma



At the end, a headgear made of same shell and leather is tied. This headgear though appears as crown; virtually it is not viewed as crown but viewed as *Yellamma Padaga*.⁵⁴ In order to get the shape of *Padaga* i.e. snakehood, a rope from the tip of headgear is brought down to the forehead

and trimmed inside so as to bend as snakehood. Later on over the costumes neem leaves are decorated and allowed to hang around the waist. On the right hand she holds a sword known as (*konga valu kathi*) and on the left she holds a spoon like vessel. Symbolically this informs the viewer that when she came out furiously from the Madiga *laddha* knowing that her hiding place was revealed she wants to take vengeance by killing the Madigas and by drinking their blood.

While the process of make-up and costume was coming to an end, the Madiga elders go to the house of Gouds (toddy tapers) and bring toddy and juice of Jaggery in pots and offer her as *naivedhyam*.⁵⁵ Simultaneously the make-up & costume of Poturaju, the officiator of performance of Yellamma Vesam begins in a different place of the same hamlet.⁵⁶ The make-up and costume of Poturaju is not that elaborate when compared to the Yellamma's. He does not wear any upper garment but ties a saree in the fashion of a *dovati* as a lower garment. Another saree of a different colour is tied around the waist as waist belt. On the forehead and on the two limbs and chest white strips are drawn. A big moustache is also drawn over the lips, which would give a feeling of *raudra*. He is given a *veeragola* (whip) as a hand property. *Veeragola* is a rope made out of Jute.⁵⁷ Once the make-up & Costume of Poturaju is finished he is brought to the spot where Yellamma is ready with her make-up and costume. Just before the performance of Yellamma Vesam, she is tied with anklets having bells. Then the performance begins.

Poturaju offers her toddy and jaggery juice and prepares her to get possessed her with divine spirit of Yellamma.⁵⁸

The elders of Cindu Madigas keep a *Yellamma Yentram* over the head of Yellamma by tying it carefully in the hair.⁵⁹ The Yellamma Yentram is believed to be a magical write up on a piece of paper, which gives the performer the spirit of Yellamma.⁶⁰ Once it is placed on the forehead she becomes possessed with the spirit of Yellamma and runs helter and skelter.⁶¹ It is interesting to note that there is no specific stage for the performance of Yellamma. She goes to the houses of Madigas in a spirit possessed mood. The Poturaju who dances before her and simultaneously offer her gifts given by households of Madigas controls her fury. The *Yellamma Yantram* is not kept through out the performance on her head but (intermitantly) with the span of half a hour.⁶²

It is believed that the performer cannot withstand the spirit of Yellamma continuously for longer times. If it is continuously kept, owing to the spell of the spirit the performer may fall unconscious.⁶³ The performance starts at 4' 0 clock after the performance of caste myth Jambapuranam and continues till midnight.⁶⁴ Once Yellamma finishes her visits to almost every household of the hamlet, she is brought back to the centre of the hamlet where the novel stone is erected. There the elders of the Madiga hamlet bring a sheep or goat to offer as sacrifice to Yellamma. Poturaju performs most furious dance and once he gets possessed with the drum beatings, he with his teeth cuts the throat of the sheep and offers the blood to Yellamma as sacrifice.⁶⁵ This is

popularly known as *gavu*. Symbolically this gesture pacifies her. After the sacrifice of the sheep the elders of the village gather near the novel stone and agree to pay a sum to the performers. It is believed that the village would ward off any evil such as disease plague, famine etc., caused out of fury of goddess Yellamma.⁶⁶ The offering is made in order to pacify her. Once the agreement is reached between the performers and villages, the Cindu Madigas smear the stomach of the killed animal and clean the stomach. The rice and Jawar offered as gift to Yellamma is cooked by mixing it with material cleaned out of the stomach known as 'kasaru'.

Performance of Yellamma



Later on the cooked rice and Jawar smeared with blood, turmeric, neem leaves is taken out as '*poli*'⁶⁷(it literally means, bali or blood sacrifice) is taken out by the *bhuta poligadu* and sprinkles in and around the village. The *bhuta poligadu* is one who is ordained with the power of touching the sacrificed material and offers it by way of sprinkling. In the belief system he is considered as *bhuta* i.e. an attendant spirit to the mother goddess (or literally means *pisaci* or evil *bhuta poligadu*⁶⁸ is also shaven completely from head to toe and his face is covered with white and black dots using lime and charcoal. In this attire at the stroke of midnight he appears like *bhuta* (or evil spirit) and since he sprinkles *poli* is called *bhuta poligadu*.⁶⁹

The Poturaju after the sacrifice is ornamented with large and small intestines of the sheep/goat around the neck and keeps in his mouth *dobba* (lungs) and dances before the goddess.⁷⁰ Then Yellamma before finishing her performance and coming out of the attire of the Yellamma Vesam a ritual known as *disti thiyadam* (warding of evil eye) is performed.⁷¹ A lime offered with *poli* is circled around Yellamma and later she gets out of the possession and comes to normalcy.⁷² With this the performance ends. Once she comes out of the attire of Yellamma she goes and takes bath in a well or pond of the village and comes back to the house of the elders of the Madigas. She is then fed with rice cooked with jaggery. The ornaments and costumes are also cleaned up and kept back in the *Yellamma Pette* to be used for the next performance.⁷³ The next-day of the performance they again go to the novel

stone of village and perform *puja* by offering five sticks of turmeric and lime after washing the novel stone by pouring three pots of water. Usually the Yellamma Vesam is performed two days in the village, one for the sake of Madigas, the other, for the sake of village after the two performances the Cindu Madigas collect the gifts in kind and cash offered by the Madigas and villagers and return back to their hamlet.⁷⁴

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27. Observed the process of make-up before commencing of the performance on 04.12.96 at Guduru, Nalgonda District performed by

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CHAPTER - V

**MAKE-UP, COSTUMES AND ORNAMENTS IN CINDU
BHAGAVATAM**

The Cindu Madigas are popular because of their Bhagavatams. The performances of caste myths such as '*Jambapuram*' and '*Yellamma Vesam*' identify their relationship with the patrons i.e. the Madrigals, whereas the Cindu Yakshaganams identify Cindu Madigas as the performers by entire village populace. The former structures the relationship within the ethnic aggregate of Madigas and their endogamous groups. As mentioned already, in the Madigas there are at least twelve sects. The caste myth performances are basically the internal performances meant to the community of Madigas to inform their kin group relationship and the rights and obligations that exist among the sects of Madigas. Therefore they are regarded as sacred and ritually performed in a cyclical manner to keep the bondage intact through a sort of patron and client relationships.

The Cindu Bhagavatams or otherwise popularly known as Cindu Yakshaganams, in the Telangana region are basically theatrical performances meant to the entire villagers as entertainment. They also import ethical and moral values as pedagogy. Therefore, the themes of the Bhagavatams are mostly drawn from the general epic tradition, which constitute the worldview of the Indian population in general, and rural India in

particular. The episodes from Mahabharata, Ramayana and Bhagavata and the local legends constitute the subject matters of the performances of Cindu Yakshaganam. They are basically oral compositions, textualised in the performative context. For this reasons the Cindu Yakshaganams survive only by virtue of performance. Each performance depending on the context in which it is displayed acquires uniqueness and therefore the villagers / Madigas watch time and again the performances of the same stories without getting bored, despite they are being performed cyclically. The Cindu Bhagavatams from this viewpoint can be called as external performances because they are also meant to the outsiders of the community of Madigas. The villagers identify Infact the Cindu Madigas as *cindollu* because of their Bhagavatams. The Bhagavatams identify the community of Cindu Madigas as performers. In the theatrical parlance their performances can be termed as 'folk theatre' because they expose all the elements of theatre such as text - context; Performer - Actor; Make-up - Costume; Properties - Ornaments; Performance space - Body Language etc.¹ The just mixture of these elements produces the play and establishes the relationship between the performers and audience to ensure the continuity of the performances. Each of the theatrical elements mentioned above though important, the make-up costume and ornaments acquires a distinct place in the Cindu Bhagavatams. In the mainstream theatre make-up costume and ornaments though important they acquire secondary status due to the fact that they are used as a part of semiotics to substantiate the general message i.e., intended to be conveyed

to the audience. This is partly because mainstream theatre survives on the other aspects of technical theatre such as lighting, sounds and stagecraft. Most of the spectacles are created with the help of the above-mentioned theatrical elements; therefore Make-up, Costume and Ornaments have simply remained as suggestive elements limiting their function only to semiotic arena. The Realistic theatre further alienated the role of make-up, costume and ornaments to an informative suggestibility. For this reason most of the realistic theatre changed its technique of narration by not physically changing the settings, properties, make-up, costume and ornaments which are otherwise in the traditional theatre is done with the help of a curtain or switching off lights, but attained scenic continuity by suggestions of chorus, *sutradhari* or the actor himself.² It is taken for granted that the audience would cope up with the narration and receive the message intended by the playwrights/play producers. Therefore make-up, costume and ornaments do not directly represent the character as what it appears to be in the scene but through technique of body language, proxemics and kinetics, the actors create meanings to the audience. As the experimental approach in the theatre gaining popularity among the theatrical personages, make-up, costume and ornaments considerably decreased and their place is taken over by the narrative techniques of the director. The director gradually is emerging as a force in the mainstream theatre. Actors only became the instruments in the hands of the director and therefore their due position in theatre is getting lessened gradually. Concomitantly make-up, costume and ornaments also

got declined in their importance. Perhaps commercialization is one of the reasons for this state of affairs. Even in the arena of make-up, costume and ornaments, business households started producing materials such as powders pastes, colour pigments etc., to be used in theatre. With this, the demand for specialised technical personnel such as make-up artist and costume designer got affected. The net result is that the business houses monopolised the products and started creating a demand for them. Perhaps the influence of film industry especially, in make-up, costume and ornaments is one of the reasons for the state of affairs in the theatre art. However the theatre continues to sustain its productions on the experimental basis and reaching to selected target audience. The quality of theatre art is also getting monopolised by a handful of directors for a considerably small group of elite audience. The perception on esthetics therefore is getting metamorphosis in elitism even in the mainstream theatre.

In the folk theatre, despite the presence of any director, the performances continue from time immemorial. It is the performers with their make-up, costume and ornaments entertain the audience through poetic narratives. In Cindu Bhagavatams the text is narrated in speech - song style.

Since the song form the major part of the text they are accompanied by rhythmic, but vibrant body movements especially the foot work i.e. "*Cindulu*". This forms the crux of the art of Cindu Madigas. Since poetic narratives accompanied by rhythmic movements forms the basis of Cindu Bhagavatam, the performers are bound to get training from a *guru*. *Guru* though not

equallent to the director of mainstream theatre, is still important because it is he who teaches by making the performer's by heart the poems. Some times these *gurus* are non-Cindu Madigas.³ By and large this art is perpetuated as hereditary right of Cindu Madigas. The elders take much interest in imparting training to the younger generations. What is interesting to note here is that the performers ought to learn not only the text of the performance but also the ways of applying make-up, costume and ornaments along with different dance formats. In other words, the performer is bound to involve himself in all the elements of theatre. A Cindu performer is an actor, a make-up artist, musician, a singer, a craftsman, a designer and everything that comes under theatre. Therefore, Cindu Madigas are the real "theatrical **persons**" in its **true** sense.

The Cindu Madigas being versatile in all aspects of theatre, the tradition made them to admixture justly the elements of theatre such as text, performance, make-up, costume and ornaments. Since their performance is daytime one, they require not any lighting. Similarly their stage is not a proscenium kind and therefore, it discouraged them from going to any kind of 'stage craft'. With the result, make-up, costume and ornaments gained much attention from them for it is with the help of make-up, costume and ornaments they could create spectacles and draw the attention of their audiences. Apart from the absence of stagecraft and lighting, it is the themes of the **Bhagavatam's** which facilitated the exuberant make-up, costume and ornaments.

The following table shows some of the titles of Bhagavatams, which are played by Cindu Madigas in Telengana region (following table):

Table - 17

List of Bhagavathams performed by Cindu Madigas:

Allirani
Are Marathila Katha
Bhimarjuna
Banasura
Bhaktha Markandeya
Bhatti **Vikramarka**
Bhaktha Prahlada
Bhaktha Kuchela
Chenchu **Lakshmi**
Dharmangada Charitha
Gaja Gowri **Vratham**
Ganga Gowri **Samvadham**
Hanumadvijayamu
Jayantha **Jayapalamu**
Kambhojaraja
Kalinga Mardana
Keechaka Vadha
Krishnarjuna **Yuddham**
Kusalava **Charithamu**
Kanakatara
Kanthamati Charithra
Lavakusha
Mandata Charitra
Nala Damayanti
Prabhavathi **Vilasamu**
Putrakamesti Yagnamu
Rukmini Kalyanam
Sati Savithri
Sashi Rekha **Parinayamu**
Satya **Bhama** Parinayamu
Satya Harischandra
Sarangadhara
Seetha **Swayamvaramu**
Sri Krishna **Rayabaramu**
Sri Krishna Lelalu
Sri Krishna Garadi
Sir **Krishnavijayamu**
Sri Krishna Tulabharam

Sugreva Vijayamu
Sundara Kanda
Uttara Gograhanam
Veerabhimanyu
Vipra Narayana

Source: Interviews with Cindula Yellamma, 80 Years, Amdapur, Nizamabad Dist. On 20.04.98, Cindula Shyam, 43 Years, Armoor, Nizamabad Dist, on 02.06.97, Gaddam Cindu Swami, 45 Years, Gudur, Nalgonda Dist. On 03.12.96, Gaddam Balanarsaiah, 45 Years, Aleru, Nalgonda Dist. On 08.04.98, Gaddam Ramaswami, 70 years, Appireddipalli, Warangal Dist. On 03.04.99.

The above plays of Cindu Madigas, if classified thematically the following picture emerges:

Table -18

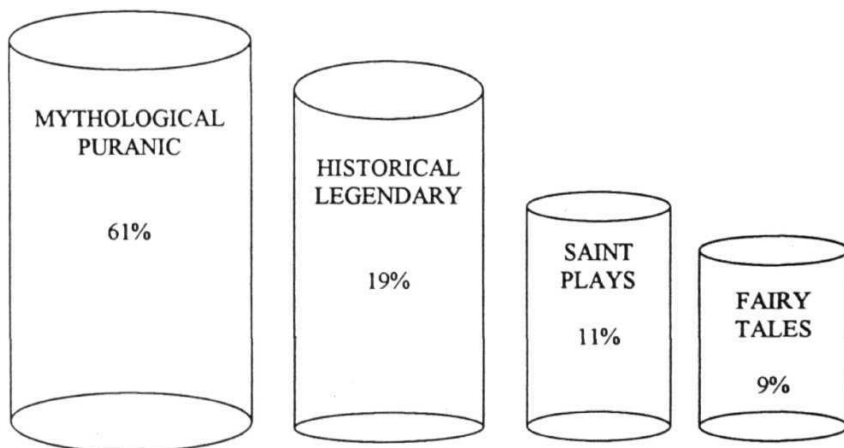
Theamatic Classification of Bhagavatams:

Themes		Name of the Plays
Mythological Plays	Puranic	Gaja Gowri Vratham
		Lavakusha
		Mandhata Charitamu
		Sugreeva Vijayamu
		Chenchu Lakshmi
		Prabhavathi Vilasmu
		Keechaka Vadha
		Virabhimanyu
		Sashirekha Parinayamu
		Mairavana
		Banasura
		Krishnnarjuna Yuddham
		Sundara Kanda
		Rukmini Kalyanam
		Satya Harischandra
		Kalinga Mardana
		Babruvahana
		Subhadra Parinayamu
		Seetha Swayam Varam
		Bhimarjuna
		Ganga Gowri Samvadham
		Nala Damayanthi
		Krishna Leelalu
		Krishna Gaaradi
		Satyabhama Parinayamu
		Kusalava Charithamu
		Sri Krishna Vijayamu
		Sri Krishna Tulabaram

Historical/Legendary Plays	Sarangadhara Dharmangada Charitamu Kantha Mathi Kanakatara Allirani Aare Marathila Katha Kanthamati Charithamu Jayantha Jaya Palamu Mandhata
Fairy Tales	Bhatti Vikramarka Bala Nagamma Kambhoja Raja Aare Marathila Katha
Saint Plays	Bhaktha Kuchela Bhaktha Markandeya Vipra Narayana Bhaktha Prahalada Sati Savithri

From the above table is evident that the mythological or puranic themes are more than the others:

The Percentages of Thematic plays:



It appears that the Mythological / Puranic themes dominate covering as much as 61 % of total plays of the Cindu Madigas.

This is followed by Saint Plays, which also have bearing with religious belief system, similar to Mythological /Puranic. On the whole the Cindu Madigas do not have any social plays in their repertory. This is quite interesting to note because it speaks of their occupation on one hand and on the other negotiating their social reality of their day today life. As performers their livelihood much depends on securing formidable bank of audience. For this reason they need to attract the audience and ensure their sustenance. One of the strategies that Cindu Madigas adapted lie in the fact of choosing the themes which are more akin to the belief system. By and large it belong to the epic tradition of the public at large irrespective of caste and community. These being the case mythology/puranic themes are preferred since they owe their origin to the epic tradition.

The other strategy that they followed is to create a spectacle by way of exuberant make-up costume and ornaments, which would evoke interest and enthusiasm in the audience to watch the plays, time and again. It is the make-up, costume and ornaments, which represent the characters to their audience in following the play. For this reason make-up, costume and ornaments play, predominant role in sustaining the tradition. This is the reason why application of make-up, costume and ornaments takes as much time as the play itself.

These two strategies in a way come out of a compulsion of a given social system. As stated elsewhere in this chapter, the Cindu Madigas are the bards of Madigas and therefore get shares (*mirasis*) as remuneration.⁴ These *mirasis* are identified in terms of villages, wherein the community has exclusive right to perform. As Cindu Madigas started growing in size, each member of the family need to be inducted into the performance tradition, and therefore they should find place in **the** performance.⁵ This being the case, themes related to myths / *purana* are preferred because they give flexibility to expand **the** number of characters.

It is not uncommon to the *puranic* tradition in India, that it accommodates extrapolation and interpolation as and when required through the ages. Taking this as an advantage, Cindu Madigas manipulated the system for their convenience.

Within the epic based themes, they prefer more of Mahabharata and Bhagavata themes than Ramayana. The following table reveals this fact:

Table - 19

Epic based Classification of Bhagavatams

EPIC	
MAHABHARATA	Shasirekha Parinayamu Keechaka Vadha Sri Krishna Rayabaram Knshnarjuna Yuddam Veerabhimanyu Subhadra Parinayamu Gaja Gowri Vatham Uttara Gograhamamu Draupadhi Swayamvaram Prabhavath Vilasamu Mahandata Charitra Sri Krishna Garadi
BHAGAVATAMU	Bhaktha Prahlada Sati Savithn Rukmini Kalyanam Sri Krishna Leelalu Bhaktha Kuchela Satya Bhama Parinayamu Kalinga Mardana Chenchu Lakshmi Naladamayanthi Chanthra Satya Harischandra Vipra Narayana Bhaktha Markandeya Ganga Gowri Samvadam
RAMAYANA	Sundarakanda Seetha Swayamvaram Myravana Lavakusha Hanumadvijayamu Srirama Vijayamu Putra Kamesti Yagnam Kusha Lava Charitamu Sugreeva Vijayamu
OTHERS	Kambhoja Raja Dharmangada Charithamu Allirani Kanakatara Kanthamathi Charitra Aare Maratila Katha Banasura Sarangadhara Jayantha Jayapalamu

From the above table, it is evident that more than 60% plays are from Bharata and Bhagavata texts. Most of the themes are the stories of

gods and royal personages. The make-up, costume and ornaments became an integral part of visual spectacle giving scope for a sense of thrill in the minds of audience, who in reality deprived of watching such grandeur.

As stated already, Madigas are virtually considered as untouchables in pre-modern India and therefore banned from entering the village and the places of worship or arenas meant for entertainment, and therefore devoid of watching their gods through performances. The innate urge to watch the gods, they evolved a system of ritual performance. This is intrinsically built in the caste myth, which dictates them to perform the roles of gods and goddesses.⁶ That is the reason, why they picked up stories from Bharata and Bhagavata texts.

The number of characters being more in the Bharata and the Bhagavata stories than in the Ramayana, they resorted for playing out them as performances. The following table gives an idea of characters in some of the plays of the Cindu Madigas.

Table - 20

Diversity table of Characters

THEMES	NAME OF THE PLAYS	GODS		ROYAL		COMMON				TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL	REMARKS
		M	F	M	F	Major		Minor		M	F		
Fairy Tales	Are Maratila Katha			2	2	7	1	10	1	19	4	23	Most Popular Play
	Bala Nagamma		1	2	4	4	4	6	3	12	12	24	Most Popular Play
	Allirani	1		7	1	1	2	1	3	10	6	16	Popular Play
	Mandhata			1	2	4	1	1	2	6	5	11	Most Popular Play
Saint Plays	Bhaktha Pahlada			2	1	5	1	2	2	11	4	15	Popular Play
	Bhaktha Markandeya		1	2	1	1	1	2	2	7	5	12	Popular Play
	Vipra Narayana												Popular Play
Mythological/ Purani	Sri Krishna Parajatham	7			2	4		2	1	13	3	16	Popular Play
	Gaja Gown Vatham	1	3	4		2		2	2	9	5	14	Most Popular Play
	Sri Krishna Tulabaram	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	6	6	12	Lesser Popular Play
	Satya Harischandra	3	1	4	2	6	2	8	1	21	6	27	Most Popular Play
	Shasirekha Parinayamu	2	1	2	3	3		3	1	10	5	15	Popular Play
	Chenchu Lakshmi	1	1	4	2	3		1	1	9	4	13	Most Popular Play
	Kusha Lava Charithamu	3	1	5		2	2	3	2	13	5	19	Popular Play
	Kantha Mathi Charithamu			1	2	4	2	5	1	10	5	15	Most Popular Play
	Kanaka Tara			4	2	7	2	5	1	16	5	21	Popular Play
Historical/ Legendary	Sarangadhara			3	2	5	2	5		13	4	17	Most Popular Play
	Kambhojaraju	2	2	1	2	9	5	4	3	16	12	28	Most Popular Play

As evident from the above table the number of characters is by and large about ten in every play. Apart from these characters, the members of the family contribute to the performance, sitting on the stage as musicians and singers. In any case an average of twenty members needed for featuring a play. This being the case the Cindu Madigas is able to accommodate every member of their family in every

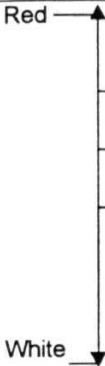
performance. Another strong economic compulsion is their own backwardness, which prompt them to increase the size of performers. Cindu Madigas, as stated already is an itinerary-performing group. The whole family moves together giving performances in an every village under their right, which provides them food, shelter, clothing.

This partly solves the problem of the survival on one hand, and on the other help the community to get the feeling of identity and therefore feeling of togetherness in the performance. It also used as device for giving an opportunity to know their audiences and their patrons. On the whole an average of twenty members in a group is a good number for a convenient management of travel and troupe appears to the audience as one that can create spectacle through performances.

The Cindu Bhagavatams are basically the community's affair they themselves design make-up, costume and ornaments. Since the art form is handed over from one generation to the other, the expertise on make-up, costume and ornaments is also acquired hereditarily. They make their own colour pigments through the material with which they are acquainted ⁷ The following table gives the list of materials used for making the colour pigments:

Table - 21

List of Pigment materials and native names of the materials used for make-up:

Name of the Material		Native Name	Original Colour
Prime Colour	Shade		
	Rose (Red+White)	Red Zink, Sungrupu Red Mandasila Gulabi Rose Rani Pink	Red
	Pink (Red+White)		Rose
	Then Masala		Pink
		Then Masala Sungrupu, Gulal	Bottle Green Powder when mixing with water/oil will turn into pink. White
		Zink White White Zink White	
Yellow		Pevidi Gantashapi Arudalam	Lime Yellow
Blue		Neeli Gadda Neeli Asman Colour Krishna Neeli Blue, Pattcha	Sky Blue
Black		Katuka, Kajal, Nallapevidi	Black
Chemki		Suneru Chemki	No specific colour

From the above table it is evident that altogether nine colour pigments having Red, White, Yellow, Blue and Black as the prime colours and the rest shades derived from these prime colours are being used by

the Cindu Madigas. To bring out nine colours at least twenty-six materials are used. The Cindu Madigas locally acquired most of these materials, in olden days. In the recent times they are getting the materials from the *bazars* in Hyderabad and other towns in telengana region.⁸ What is important to notice is the way they process the materials to get colour pigments. This knowledge is traditionally acquired and therefore they do not require any specialists to do make-up.⁹ This reduces the dependency over any specialist and facilitates the smooth running of performances. The following table shows the mixing of materials to get colour pigments.

Table - 22

Materials used to get Colour Pigments:

Name of the Material	Resource of the material	Using/Mixing with material
Pevidi/Arudalam	Powder/Stone or Chips	Coconut Oil and water
Neeli/Blue	Powder/Stones	Coconut oil and water
Rose/Gulabi	Powder combination of Red+White	Coconut Oil
Katuka/Kajal	Self preparation (Burning of Castrol (or) Kerosin under the pot)	Coconut oil (or) Castrol
White	Powder and stones	Coconut oil and water
Red	Powder and stones	Coconut oil and water
Chemki	Power and stones	Direct
Then Masala	Powder	Water

The performers from the nearby towns procure most of the materials shown in the above table. The basic material in almost all the cases is

either powder or stone.¹⁰ They are mixed mostly with coconut oil, especially when applied as a base on the face. Though water mixing to certain colours is also found in their make-up tradition, it is mostly supplemental to the oil bound power/stone mixtures. The net result of this mixing is to gain longer sustenance of the make-up during the performance.¹¹

This observation is crucial because the performance of Cindu Bhagavatam itself is structured in such a way that it requires no green room. Once the actors do make-up, costume and ornamentation they come on to the stage with a *pravesadaruvu* (rythem used for entry of the character) and then remain on stage throughout the performance. Each of the prime character comes onto the stage with the secondary characters one after the other with the help of a small curtain and dances behind the curtain for a while, wherein the character introduces itself to the audience through a song and dance sequence. Then the curtain is removed. Thus the characters remain without any entry or exit during the performance. For this reason, the make-up and costume should remain intact throughout the performance. Similarly their Cindu's (foot steps) are vibrant and the dances consume lot of energy, which almost make them sweat. In the performances it is observed, that the performers played Bhagavatams during the sunny days without any proper shade. This also results in sweating during the performance. Therefore, they should ensure that make-up,

costume and ornaments withstand sweat and sun light during the performance. More over the performances take quite a longer duration between three to five hours. The Cindu Madigas therefore take much care in their make-up, costume and ornaments by using locally available source materials for colour pigmentation.

Observations made on the performance of Cindu Bhagavatams, it is learnt that most of their Bhagavatams have tripartite characterisations. They are characters related to gods, royal personages and commoners both in male and female attire.



The following tables show the make-up of characters both male and female in Cindu Bhagavatams:

Table - 23

List of characters and the colour used for make-up along with symbols (Male):

Character	Body Parts		Powder Colours (Pigments)		Symbols		Remarks
	Division	Sub-division	Foundations	Aditions	Explicit	Implicit	
Gods	Face	Forehead Eyes Maxilla Sides Lips Chin	Yellow	White Red Black Black Red Black -	Namam - Mustach Sidecuts Lipstic - Auspicious " "	Divinity Royalty " " Royalty Holiness " "	It is also Called Tirumala Namam — — it look like Parani
Royal	Face	Forehead Eyes Maxilla Sides Lips Chin	Yellow	White Red Black Black Red Chemki	Namam - Mustach Sidecuts Lipstic Glitring Auspicious -	Divinity Royalty Royalty Holiness -	It is also Called Tirumala Namam - — — it look like Parani
Common	Face	Forehead Eyes Maxilla Sides Lips	Yellow	White Red Black Black Red	Namam - Mustach Sidecuts Lipstic	Divinity - Royalty Royalty	It is also Called Tirumala Namam — it look like Parani
	Neck to feet Palm, of Hands and Feet		Yellow Red	-	Auspicious -	Holiness -	

Table - 24

List of characters and the colours used for make-up along with symbols (Female):

Character	Body Parts		Powder Colours (Pigments)		Symbols		Remarks
	Division	Sub-division	Foundations	Additions	Explicit	Implicit	
Goddess	Face	Forehead	Yellow	Red White Chemki Black Chemki	Bottu	Auspicious	--
		Above the Eyebrows			Glittering		--
		Eyes		Black Black			--
		Cheeks and Chin			Triangular Lipstic Parent	romantic " "	--
	Neck to feet Palm of hands and feet	Lips	Yellow	Red Red		Divinity	--
			Yellow	Red	Parani	" "	--
Royal	Face	Forehead	Yellow	Red Black White Black Red	Namam		
		Eyes Nose (Right) Cheek and Chin Lips			Mukkera		
				White and Black Red Red	Tatoos		
	Neck to feet Palm of hands and feet		Yellow	Red Red Red	Lipstic Auspicious Auspicious	Divinity Divinity	

Common	Face	Forehead	Yellow	Red Black White Black Black and Red White and Black Red Red Red	Tilakam — Mukkera Tatoos Lipstic Auspicious Auspicious	Divinity — divinity — Divinity Divinity	
	Neck to feet Palm of hands and feet	Eyes Nose (Right) Cheek and Chin Lips	Yellow Yellow				

It can be noticed from the above tables that there is hardly any variation in the make-up of the characters be it gods, royal or commoners. On make-up all actors look a like. An onlooker cannot make a distinction while watching the process of make-up between the characters. This observation is crucial because the transformation quality that the make-up creates in the mainstream theatre from an actor to character seem to be absent in the folk theatre. Since the make-up has no diversity on one hand, and on the other, they themselves being the make-up artists the feel of transformation that the performers get from actor to character seem to be totally subdued. All along the process of make-up each performer watches his own image in the mirror and applies make-up.¹² In the main stream theatre where the make-up artists does make-up to the actors seem to be the key agent for giving the feel of transformation to the actor to become a character. This is so because the actor is not allowed to see until the make-up is getting finished. Once he sees his image in the mirror after

the make-up the actor experiences the feeling of transformation.¹³

This is something like a finished piece of art painted on a Canvas. The viewers get thrilled at the work of art once it is exhibited as a finished product. Similarly make-up in its process do not thrill the actor or for that matter audience. In Cindu **Bhagavatam's** where performers are themselves the make-up artists do not seem to get such thrill **during** the process of it. Moreover as evident from the above table, the male and female characters of all types has same make-up and therefore transformation at this juncture is almost **un-noticeable**. Similarly **the** costumes of the characters at the basic level seem to be one **and the same** for all.

The following table shows the costumes of the characters of both **male** and female:

Table - 25

List of Costumes of different characters (Male):

Character	Body Parts		Cloth Material		Shape or Form	Symbol	Remarks
	Division	Division	Colour	Texture			
Gods	Under Garments	From Shoulder to hip	Any colour	Cotton (or) silk	Bush shirt	Daily wearing	Shirts
		From hip to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Dhoti	Daily wearing Lahenga	Dhoti type wearing (Kashe) Above the dhoti
	Upper Lower	From hip to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Circular	Jari jambralu or Pattu Peetambralu	This saree connecting one after another to fall upto ankle
	Front upper	From shoulder to ankle	Different colours	Cotton or Silk	3 to 4 sarees 6 mts	Hood	
	Back upper to lower	From shoulder to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Saree 6 mts	Zari kanduvu	
	Above the Ornaments	Corners of the shoulders	Contrast Colour	Cotton or Silk	Saree 6 mts		

Royal	Upper Garments Under garments Above under Garment Above the Upper Garment Above the Ornaments	From shoulder to hip From hip to shoulder From hip to shoulder Waiste Comer of the shoulder	Any colour Any . colour Any colour Any colour Contrast colour	Cotton or silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk	Shirt Dhoti Dhoti Circular Saree 6 mts	Silk shirt Daily wearing Silk dhoti Nadumu Datti ZariKanduva	Shirts Kashe Wearing like pant or pyzama It will be the costume —
Common	Under Garments Upper Lower Front Upper Back up to Lower Above the Ornaments	From shoulder to hip From hip to ankle From hip to ankle From shoulder to ankle From shoulder to ankle Comers of the shoulders	Any colour Any colour Any colour Different colours Any colour Contrast colours	Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk Cotton or Silk	Bush shirt Dhoti Circular 3 to 4 sarees 6 mts Saree 6 mts Saree 6 mts	Daily wearing Lehenga Jari Jambralu Peetamralu Hood Zari Kanduva	Shirt Dhoti type wearing (Kashe) Above the dhoti This sarees connect in one after another to fall upto ankle —

Table - 26

List of Costumes of different Characters (Female)

Character	Body Parts		Cloth Material		Shape or Form	Symbol	Remarks
	Division	Division	Colour	Texture			
Gods	Upper Garments	From shoulder to waist	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Blouse	Feminine	—
	Lower under Garment(a)	From hip to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Dhoti	Dhoti type wearing	Dhoti (Kashe)
	(b)		Any colour	• •	Lehenga	Feminine	To mask the under garment Saree is being
	Upper Lower Garment on hair	On the Head	• •	• •	Saree 6 mts	Saree	Front saree Back dhoti
Royal	Upper Garment	From shoulder to waist	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Blouse	Feminine	—
	Lower under Garment (a)	From hip to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or silk	Dhoti	Dhoti type wearing	dhoti (Kashe) type wearing
	(b)		Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Lehenga	Feminine	To mask the under Garment
	Upper Lower Garment on hair	The Head		Cotton or Silk	Saree 6 mts	Saree	Saree is being like front saree back dhoti
Common	Upper Garment	From shoulder to waist	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Blouse	Feminine	—
	Lower Under Garment (a)	From hip to ankle	Any colour	Cotton or Silk	Dhoti	Dhoti type wearing	Dhoti (Kashe) type wearing
	(b)		• •	• •	Lehanga	Feminine	To mask the under Garment
	Upper Lower Garment on hair	The Head	• •	• •	Saree 6 mts	Saree	Saree is being like front saree back dhoti

There seems to be no variation even in the costumes of the female characters. The queens and their *Celikattelu* (attendants) look alike.

In the male characters, though there is no diversity in the costumes of

gods, royal and common characters, two basic types of costumes were noticeable. The following pictures show the variation



The general pattern of costumes of males is made up of upper and under garments but covered with different colours of saree falls from shoulders to the toe. Over that ornaments like chains and necklaces are worn.

The specific characters, which have prime role in the performance, wear differently the costumes. The upper and under garments for these characters are visible. Only one saree is allowed to fall on both sides. Another rope is tied as waist belt above the upper garment. It is evident that only few characters in the play, which has a role, associated with a task appears to be wearing distinct costumes. The following table shows the ornaments used in the Cindu Bhagavatams for male and female characters.

Table - 2T

List of Ornaments used for different Characters (Male)

Character	Name of the Ornaments	Material	Shaper or Form	Body Parts		Usage/Remarks
				General	Specific	
Gods	Surya Kereetam					
	a. Nethimeedi Chiluka	Wood,beets	Bird	Head	Head	Top of the Head Gear
	b. Girujulu	Wood	Temple			Below the Nethimeedi Chiluka
	c. Marulu Chilukalu	Wood	Bird			Sides of the Head Gear
	d. Marulu Chilukalu	Wood	Bird			Below sides of the head gear
	e. Chinna Kaluva + Pattu Gundalu	Woodandwool	Bird			Below the Girujulu
	f. Nadimi Kaluvalu	Woodandwool	Bird			Below and centre of the Chinna Kaluva
	g. Hamsa Kaluva	Woodandwool	Bird			Below the Nadima kaluva and beginning of Head Gear
	Merugu Patti	Metal	Circular	Head	Forehead	Using like support of the entire headgear
	Bottu Sheru	Wood and Paper	Verticle	Head	Forehead	This ornament can seen beginning and
	Makara Kundanalu	Wood and Paper	Bird	Head	Ear	Above the Hamsa Kaluva
	Kantasari; Peda Chinna Perulu	Paper				Using for covering the ears
	Peda Perulu	Wood, Paper				
	Malledanda	Mirrors				
	Bhuja Keerthulu and Shanku	Wood and Mirros	Ball	Upper Body	Neck to Knees	Using for covering the entire body
	Chakralu	Mirros	Circular	Body	Shoulder	
	Chethi Dattilu	Crystals cloth	Cubical	Shoulder		This ornament covered by shoulder to limbs
	Tamara Puvvu	Crane	Flat			Shanku chakram are drawn on them
		Feathers	Leafs	Hands	Wrist	Wrist Ornament
			Lotus	Hands	Palm	
	Gajjelu/Panjavvili	Metal	Bells	Legs	Anklets	

/ Royal	<p>a. Nethimeedi Chiluka b. Girujulu c. Marulu Chilukalu d. Marulu Chilukaly e. Chinna Kaluva • Pattu Gundalu f. Nadimi Kaluvalu g. Hamsa Kaluva</p> <p>Merugu Patti Bottu Sheru</p> <p>Makara Kundanalu</p> <p>Kantasari, Peda Chinna Perulu Peda Perulu Malledanda</p> <p>Bhuja Keerthulu and Shanku Chakralu Chethi Dattilu Tamara Puvvu</p> <p>Gajjelu/Panjavvu</p>	<p>Wood,beets Wood Wood Wood Woodandwool Woodandwool Woodandwool</p> <p>Metal Wood and Paper Wood and Paper</p> <p>Wood. Paper Mirrors Wood and Mirros Crystals cloth Crane Feathers Metal</p>	<p>Bird Temple Bird Bird Bird Bird Bird</p> <p>Circular Verticle</p> <p>Bird</p> <p>Ball Circular Cubical Flat Leafs Lotus</p> <p>Bells</p>	<p>Head</p> <p>Head Head</p> <p>Head</p> <p>Upper Body Shoulder</p> <p>Hands Hands</p> <p>Legs</p>	<p>Head</p> <p>Forehead Forehead</p> <p>Ear</p> <p>Neck to Knees Shoulder</p> <p>Wrist Palm</p> <p>Anklets</p>	<p>Top of the Head Gear Below the Nethimeedi Chiluka Sides of the Head Gear Below sides of the head gear Below the Girujulu Below and centre of the Chinna Kaluva Below the Nadima kaluva and biginning of Head Gear Using like support of the entire headgear This ornament can seen beginning and Above the Hamsa Kaluva Using for covering the ears</p> <p>Using for covering the entire body</p> <p>This ornament covered by shoulder to limbs Shanku chakram are drawn on them Wrist Ornament</p>
	Common	Surva Kereetam				
	<p>a. Nethimeedi Chiluka b. Girujulu c. Marulu Chilukalu d. Marulu Chilukaly e. Chinna Kaluva • Pattu Gundalu f. Nadimi Kaluvalu g. Hamsa Kaluva</p> <p>Merugu Patti Bottu Sheru</p> <p>Makara Kundanalu</p> <p>Kantasari; Peda Chinna Perulu Peda Perulu Malledanda</p> <p>Bhuja Keerthulu and Shanku Chakralu Chethi Dattilu Tamara Puwu</p> <p>Gajjelu/Panjavvu</p>	<p>Wood,beets Wood Wood Wood Woodandwool Woodandwool Woodandwool</p> <p>Metal Wood and Paper Wood and Paper</p> <p>Wood, Paper Mirrors Wood and Mirros Crystals cloth Crane Feathers Metal</p>	<p>Bird Temple Bird Bird Bird Bird Bird</p> <p>Circular Verticle</p> <p>Bird</p> <p>Ball Circular Cubical Flat Leafs Lotus</p> <p>Bells</p>	<p>Head</p> <p>Head Head</p> <p>Head</p> <p>Upper Body Shoulder</p> <p>Hands Hands</p> <p>Legs</p>	<p>Head</p> <p>Forehead Forehead</p> <p>Ear</p> <p>Neck to Knees Shoulder</p> <p>Wrist Palm</p> <p>Anklets</p>	<p>Top of the Head Gear Below the Nethimeedi Chiluka Sides of the Head Gear Below sides of the head gear Below the Girujulu Below and centre of the Chinna Kaluva Below the Nadima kaluva and biginning of Head Gear Using like support of the entire headgear This ornament can seen beginning and Above the Hamsa Kaluva Using for covering the ears</p> <p>Using for covering the entire body</p> <p>This ornament covered by shoulder to limbs Shanku chakram are drawn on them Wrist Ornament</p>

Table - 28

List of Ornaments for different Characters (Female)

Character	Name of the Ornaments	Material	Shape or Form	Body Parts		Usage/Remarks
				General	Specific	
Gods	Merugu patti	Metal	¼	Head	Forehead	For tying the hairs
	Bottu Sheru	Wooden and Gold Paper	Band	Head	Forehead	To cover the forehead
	Tala Kuppelu	Hair	Circular Chain SmaH Bag	Head	Back Hair	Insert under the back hair to tie because all the ornaments basing on this
	Sigarekulu	Wooden and Gold Paper	Chain	Head	Back Hair	This ornament will tied on the above Tala Kuppe Nle flowers.
	Meda Billa	Small Beaks	Net	Head	Above the Head	This ornament tying above the sigarekulu and with meda Ula
	Chandravanka and Suryavanka	Wood and Gold Paper	Sun, Moon	Head	Back Hair	This ornament tying above the Sigarekulu and with Meda Bis
	Papita Jodu	Wood	Chain	Head	Ear sides	To cover above the ears.
	Chikkudu Golusulu	Wood, Beats.	Chain	Head	Side of the Ears	This ornament covers the ears and to cover the ¼ of the cheeks position
	Nethimeedi Chiluka	Small mirrors	Crown	Head	Above the Head	This ornament will tie above the Meda Billa
	Pakka Chilukalu	Wood, Beats	Crown With Chain	Head	Head Above the Ears	This ornament covers the sides of the Head
	Mukkeru Gallapatti	Metal	Circular	Face	Nose	Wearing Nle Mukkeru
	Tusha	Wooden	Circular	Upper	Neck	Wearing Nle Neck Band
	Malle Danda	Beats	% Circular	Body Upper	Neck	This ornament with Gallapatti (Neck Band)
	Jada (Jada Kuppelu)	Wood	Circular	Body Upper	Neck	Wearing Nle NecWes
	Mola Vaddanam (Upper)	Wood	Verticle	Body Upper	Back Neck	This ornament having 25 Nos wooden Chips at length of 2 mts
	Mola Chikku (Lower)	Wood	Circular	Body	Waist	This ornament wearing Nle waist bet
	Danda Tayethulu	Wood	Triangular	Waist	Abdomen	This ornament connecting to waist belt
	Bangaru Gajulu(a)Gottlu (Edges)	Wood	Circular	Hands	Limbs	This ornament Nle limbe band for both the Hands.
	(b) Chandulu (middle)	Wood	Circular	Hands	Wrist	This ornament like Bangles having Painted Flowers
	Gajjelu	Metal	Circular	Legs	Anklets	This ornament using Nle foot beds.

Royal	Merugu patti	Metal		Head	Forehead	For tying the hairs
	Bottu Sheru	Wooden and Gold Paper	Circular Band	Head	Forehead	To cover the forehead
	Tala Kuppeiu	Hair	Circular Chain Small Bag	Head	Back Hair	Insert under the back hair to tie because all the ornaments basing on this
	Sigarekulu	Wooden and Gold Paper	Chain	Head	Back Hair	This ornament will tied on the above Tala Kuppe like flowers.
	Meda Billa	Small Beaks	Net Shape	Head	Above the Head	This ornament tying above the sigarekuiiu and with meda billa
	Chandravanka and Suryavanka	Wood and Gold Paper	Sun, Moon Chain	Head	Back Hair	This ornament tying above the Sigarekuiiu and with Meda Bills
	Papita Jodu	Wood	Chain	Head	Ear sides	To cover above the ears.
	Chikkudu Golusulu	Wood, Beats, Small mirrors	Chain	Head	Side of the Ears	This ornament covers the ears and to cover the 1/2 of the cheeks position
	Nethimeedi Chihuka	Wood, Beats	Crown	Head	Above the Head	This ornament will tie above the Meda Billa
	Pakka Chilukalu	Wood, Beats	Cown With Chain	Head	Above the Ears	This ornament covers the sides of the Head
	Mukkera Gattapatti	Metal Wooden	Circular Circular	Face Upper Body	Nose Neck	Wearing the Mukkera Wearing the Neck Band
	Tusha	Beats	Upper Body	Upper Body	Neck	This ornament with Gattapatti (Neck Band)
	Malle Danda	Wood	Circular Circular	Upper Body	Neck	Wearing like Neckdes
	Jada (Jada Kuppeiu)	Wood	Verticle	Body Upper Body	Back Neck	This ornament having 25 Nos wooden Chips at length of 2 mts
	Mola Vaddanam (Upper)	Wood	Circular	Body	Waist	This ornament wearing the waist belt
	Mola Chikku (Lower)	Wood	Triangular	Waist	Abdomen	This ornament connecting to waist belt
	Danda Tayethulu	Wood	Circular	Hands	Limbs	This ornament the limbs band for both the Hands
	Bangaru Gajulu(a)Goppuiu (Edges)	Wood	Circular	Hands	Wrist	This ornament the Bangles having Painted Flowers
	(b) Chandulu (middle)					
	Gajjelu	Metal	Circular	Legs	Anklets	This ornament using the foot belts

Commener	Merugu patti	Metal		Head	Forehead	For tying the hairs
	Bottu Sheru	Wooden flnd Gold Paper	Circular Band 1/4 Circular Chain	Head	Forehead	To cover the forehead
	Tala Kuppelu	Hair	Small Bag	Head	Back Hair	Insert under the back hair to tie because all the ornaments basing on this
	Sigarekutu	Wooden and Gold Paper	Chain	Head	Back Hair	This ornament will tied on the above Tala Kuppe like flowers.
	Meda Bills	Small Beaks	Net	Head	Above the Head	This ornament tying above the sigarekulu and with meda billa
	Chandravanka and Suryavanka	Wood and Gold Paper	Sun, Moon	Head	Back Hair	This ornament tying above the Sigarekulu and with meda bills
	Papita Jodu	Wood	Chain	Head	Ear sides	To cover above the ears.
	Chikkudu Golusulu	Wood, Beats, Small mirrors	Chain	Head	Side of the Ears	TNs ornament covers the ears and to cover the 1/4 of the cheeks position
	Nethimeedi Chiluka	Wood, Beats	Crown	Head	Above the Head Head	This ornament will tie above the Meda Billa
	Pakka Chilukalu	Wood, Beats	Crown With Chain	Head	Above the Ears	This ornament covers the sides of the Head
	Mukkera	Metal	Circular	Face	Nose	Wearing Nke Mukkera
	Gallapatti	Wooden	Circular	Upper Body	Neck	Wearing Nke Neck Band
	Tusha	Beats	1/4 Circular	Upper Body	Neck	This ornament with Gallapatti (Neck Band)
	Malle Danda	Wood	Circular	Upper Body	Neck	Wearing Nke Neckles
	Jada (Jada Kuppelu)	Wood	Verticle	Upper Body	Back Neck	This ornament having 25 Nos wooden CNps at length of 2 mts
	Mola Vaddanam (Upper)	Wood	Circular	Body	Waist	This ornament wearing like waist belt
	Mola Chikku (Lower)	Wood	Triangular	Waist	Abdomen	This ornament connecting to waist belt
	Danda Tayethulu	Wood	Circular	Hands	Limbs	This ornament like limbs band for both the Hands
	Bangaru Gajulu(a)Goppulu (Edges)	Wood	Circular	Hands	Wrist	This ornament Nke Bangles having Painted Flowers
	(b)Chandulu (middle)					
	Gajielu	Metal	Circular	Legs	Anklets	This ornament using like foot bells

Ornaments form an important part of the performance of Cindu Bhagavatam. In fact it is the ornaments which are most regarded for creating spectacle. They are totally distinct from all other folk theatrical performances. The ornamentation is exuberant for both male and female characters.

On the upper garment chain and necklaces are worn. The play, Gaja Gowri Vratam which is observed in Amdapur, (Bhodan Mandal, Nizamabad District), the characters of Arjuna and Bheema alone are wearing the costumes with upper and lower garments demarcated by waist belt (*datti*) which is overtly visible. The rest of the characters i.e., the Dharmaraju, Nakula and Sahadeva etc., have different costume attire with no upper/lower garments distinctions. The saree falls from shoulders to the toe along with the chains and necklaces covering up to knees give a unitary nature of costumes. Both Bhima and Arjuna are important in the play because it is they who help their mother in performing *vratham* by bringing *Iravatam* a sacred elephant from the *Indraloka*.

As evident from the above table the male characters wear high headgears (*keeratams*) and shoulder ornaments (*bhuja keertulu*), which make them distinct from the female characters. The female characters do not have these ornaments instead they wear an ornament covering the waist. Instead of headgears, they wear *malas* over the head. The following pictures of male and female characters show the basic style variations in the ornaments.



Chindula Neelamma as Adilakshmi (Centre) along with her attendants



Sikhili Nayakudu, King (centre) along with his attendants in Chenchu Lakhsmi Bhagavatham

What is interesting to note is that there is no variation even in make-up, costume and ornaments of females, be it queen or her attendant. Similarly no such variation is also observable between the male characters. This is suggestive of their social system, which lacks stratification.

All Cindu Madigas are considered as one and the same and perform equally all the duties. Division of labour which is one of the prime factors of stratification is very much lacking in the community because they all belong to community of bards dependant on the Madigas.¹⁴

The other important factor is, the exuberant make-up, costume and ornaments of Cindu Madigas caused the absence of material usable for 'stage craft'. Since their stage is simply a *pandal* raised on the ground with no elevated platform, allows the audience to sit on all sides. This being the case, no backdrops of any kind are used on the stage. The vertical saree falls of the costume of the characters itself gives the audience a feeling of spectacle. Even in the mainstream theatre, in the proscenium stages vertical backdrops are used to decorate the stage. In the case of Cindu Bhagavatams the characters themselves wear vertical falls as if to substitute the backdrops of the stage. Since there is no entry and exit of the characters during the performance all remain on the stage and covers almost the stage. Every actor in linear and circular rhythmic movements shares the whole performance. With the result the make-up,

costumes and ornaments of the characters dominate on the stage and gives no feeling of absence of the stage craft.

Another interesting feature in the make-up, costume and ornaments of the characters is that it forms the basic factor in the scenic continuity. At the performance level there are no Scenes or Acts in Cindu Bhagavatams, which means there is no empty space created on the stage.¹⁵ It is because of the make-up, costume and ornaments, when the actors make circular dances, the Scenes and the Acts change from one to the other. This observation is crucial because this seems to be the distinct character of the folk theatre. In the mainstream theatre, contrary to this the Scenes/Acts are changed by creating empty space on stage with the help of switching off lights or closing curtains.

Since the scenic continuity is the prime character of folk theatre like the Cindu Bhagavatams the concept of space technically known as proximics (in theatrical parlance), is also different from the mainstream theatre. In the mainstream theatre space between the actors and between the actors and the audience is cautiously designed so as to communicate various levels of hierarchies that exist on one hand, in the narrative and on the other, in the performance. A sort of hierarchy within the characters in each scene, as well as, on the whole in the performance is created to show the shift in power relations in any given play of the main stream theatre. This seems to be totally lacking in the Cindu Bhagavatam plays. Not only in their make-up, costume and ornaments but also in

performance every actor on the stage involves in chorus signing along with dance sequence. For instance, in "Chenchu Lakshmi" Bhagavatam, at the end of the play, a fight between Chenchu Lakshmi and Adi Lakshmi the wives of Vishnu takes place. When Chenchu Lakshmi sings her stanza, Adi Lakshmi repeats even without being cautious of it sing the song of Chenchu Lakshmi and *vice versa*.¹⁶ Similarly, when Adi Lakshmi sings her *Celikathes* also sing the same way and dance along with her having the same linear and circular formation. This shows that hardly any space variation in terms of hierarchy is maintained between the characters. This perhaps is due to the fact that all these characters have the same make-up, costume and ornaments and do not regard as distinct from each other during the performance.

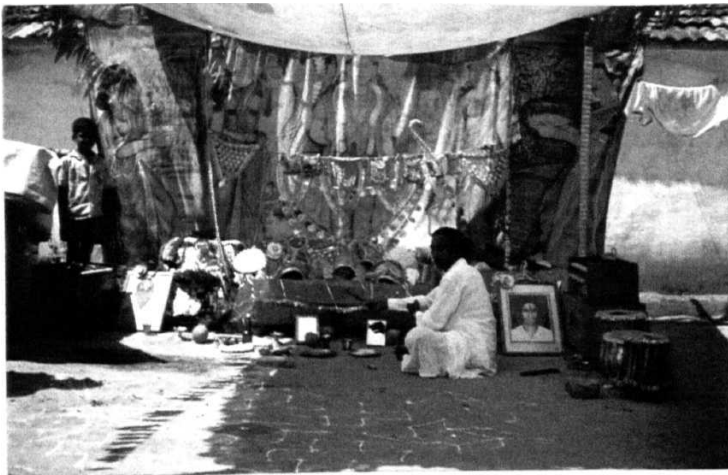
However, it is not to suggest that variation in the character in the play is absent. Specific characters like Narada, Krishna, Bhima, Yamadharmaraju, Jarasandhudu, Adhi Shakthi, etc., have distinct make-up, costume and ornaments and also have hand properties that indicate the character.¹⁷ For instance Lord Krishna, Maha Vishnu, Adi Shakthi and Shiva (after churning the *Pala Samudram* (Ocean of milk episode) apply blue as facial make-up. So also Bhima, Jarasanda, Yama have exclusive hand properties like Club (*gadha*) to distinguish their characters from the others. The characters like Narada is distinguished from the other characters by having no upper garment and headgear and with hand properties like *tambura*.¹⁸

CASE STUDY - I

Out of six performances watched, including the process of make-up, costume and ornaments, two of them are taken as case studies. The first case study is based on the performance of "Gaja Gowri Vratham" at Amdapur, Bodhan Mandal, (Nizamabad District) held on Fifteenth, November, Nineteen Ninty Seven. This performance is done by Cindula Yellamma troupe

The entire process of make-up, costume and ornaments took about three to four hours. The preparation of the performers for make-up, costume and ornaments started around nine O' clock in morning and went upto 1 O'clock in the noon. This also includes the ritual of Yellamma *Petti*, which is known as *Petti Puja*. Of course, this ritual is not an elaborate one.

The Yellamma *Petti puja*, apart from being done before the performance, it is done annually twice; one at the time of Sankranti festival as part of the ritual of Peddala *panduga* (worship of ancisters), and the other, during Dasara, as part of *Ayudhapuja* (worship of weapons and material).



Since the main interest of the theses is to study make-up, costume and ornaments ,the whole process prior to the performance of Gaja Gouri Vratam performed by Cindula Yellamma troupe is recorded both in audio visual formats.

Table - 29

Characters and Cast in the Play Gaja Gouri Vratam:

	Characters	Actors	Age
1.	Kunthi	Cindula Yellamma	80 Years
2.	Gandhari	Venkanna	45 Years
3.	Bhemudu	Peda Srinivas	35 Years
4.	Arjunudu	Yellaiah	40 Years
5.	Chelikathi-I	Srinivas	25 years
6.	Ramba	-do-	-do-
7.	Chelikathi-II	Babaiah	24 Years
8.	Parvathi	- d o -	- d o -
9.	Nakuludu	Gangadhar	35 Years
10.	Indrudu	- d o -	- d o -
11.	Naradudu	Peda Babaiah	40 Years
12.	Shivudu	- d o -	- d o -
13.	Pradhani	Peddulu	35 Years
14.	Sahadevudu	China Gangaram	40 Years
15.	Drutharastrudu	- d o -	- d o -
16.	Dharmaraju	Tirupathi	28 years

In the above **tabel**, the number of characters in the play of Gaja Gouri **Vratham** is shown as sixteen. However, only eleven actors played the sixteen characters. The characters that have minimal role (and as per the apperance necessary for the play), played by one actor in double roles. For this reason only eleven actors are listed in the above table.

The following make-up table shows each character make-up in the play of Gaja Gouri Vratham.

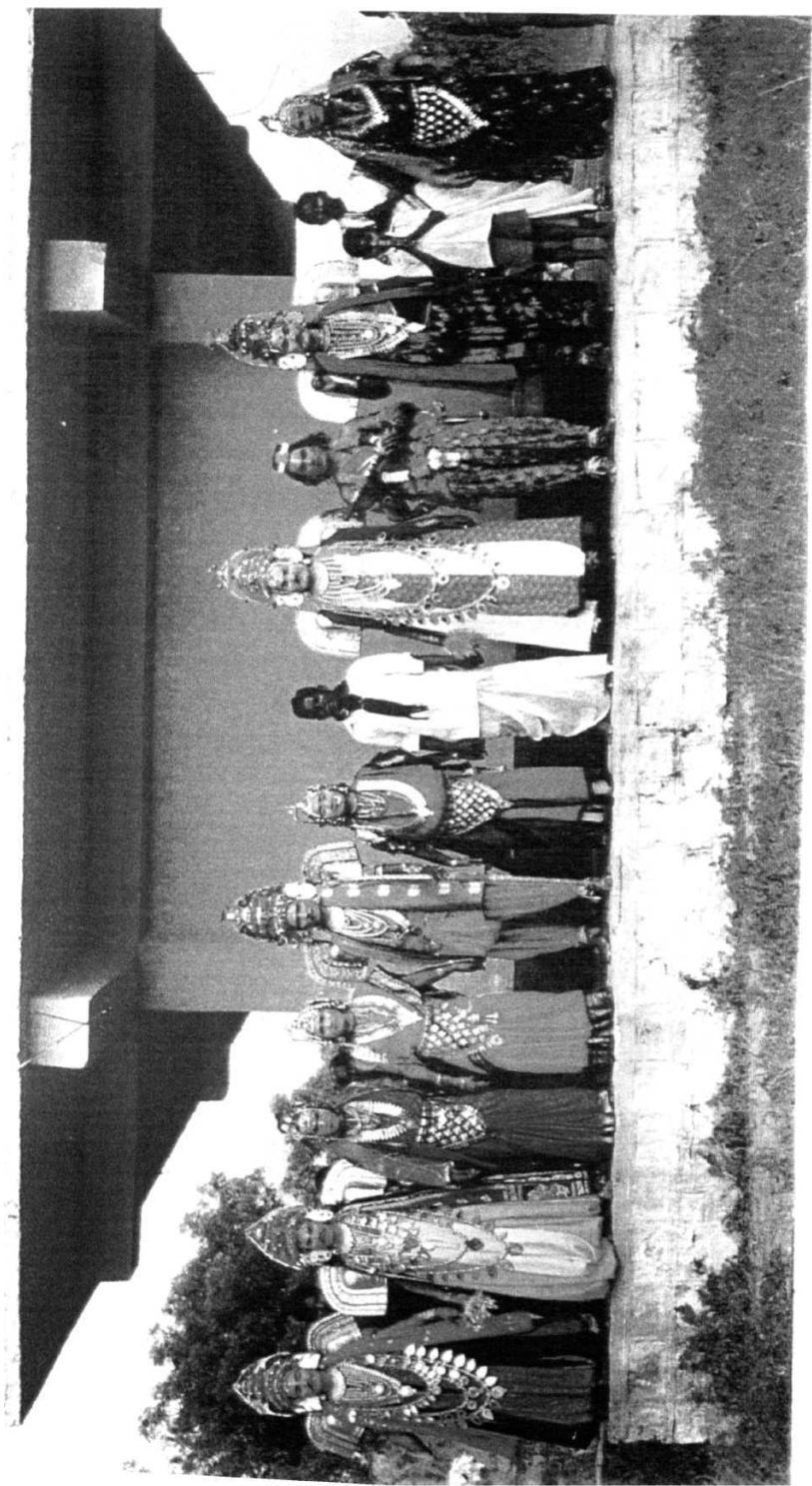


Table - 30

List of characters and the usage purpose of various make-up materials:

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Kunti	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	V	
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying					V				
	Chemki	Glittering		V				V			
	White	Beautifying		V				V	V		
Gandhari	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation							V	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying		V			✓	V	V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering		V				V	V		
	White	Beautifying		V				V	V		
Drutha-rastudu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	✓				✓	V	✓	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V		✓			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				V		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering	✓						V		
	White	Beautifying	✓						V		

Note: The tick mark (✓) indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Chelika the I	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation							V	✓	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights				V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V		V	✓	
	Chemki	Glittering	V						V		
	White	Beautifying	V						V		
Chelika the II	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation							V	V	
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	✓					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering	✓						V		
	White	Beautifying	✓						V		
Ramba Vesham	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation							V	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓						
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering	✓						V		
	White	Beautifying	✓						✓		

Note: The tick mark [✓] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	EY	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Indrudu	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
		Secondary Highlights				✓		✓			
	Katuka	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓						✓		
	Red	Glittering	✓								
	Chemki	Beautifying	✓								
	White										
Dhammaraj	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation							✓	✓	✓
		Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Katuka	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓				
	Red	Glittering	✓								
	Chemki	Beautifying	✓								
	White										
Bheemudu	Neeli/ Gaddanee li	Foundation							✓	✓	✓
		Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Katuka	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓				
	Red	Glittering	✓								
	Chemki	Beautifying	✓								
	White										

Note: The tick mark [✓] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Arjunudu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓				
	Chemki	Glittering	✓								
	White	Beautifying	✓								
Sahadevudu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	✓						✓	✓	✓
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓				
	Chemki	Glittering	✓								
	White	Beautifying	✓								
Nakuludu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation							✓	✓	✓
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				✓				
	Chemki	Glittering	✓								
	White	Beautifying	✓								

Note: The tick mark [✓] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB		Lips	Maxilla	Chin	H	Limbs
Pradhani (or) Mantri	Pevidi/ Gantacha pi	Foundation	✓				✓	V	✓	V	✓
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				V				
	Chemki	Glittering	✓								
	White	Beautifying	V								
Shiva	Pevidi/ Gantacha pi	Foundation	V	✓		✓		V	✓	V	✓
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V				
	Chemki	Glittering	✓								
	White	Beautifying	V								
Parvathi	Pevidi/ Gantacha pi	Foundation	V	✓		✓	V	V	V	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering	V								
	White	Beautifying	✓						V		

Note: The tick mark [V] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ex	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Naradudu	Rose	Foundation	✓			✓		V	✓		
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying					V				
	Chemki	Glittering	V								
	White	Beautifying	✓								

Note: The tick mark [✓] indicates that make-up is applied

From the above table it is evident that except few characters like Pradhani and Naradudu the remaining characters almost all have the same make-up attire.¹⁹ One of the reasons for such unanimity is that their make-up is traditionally practised (individually) by all the actors not minding much to denote the characters that they are playing. The process of make-up therefore, is the same for all the actors. They all start with facial make-up, followed by the eyelashes and the lips. Then the process moves on to the body and limbs. After finishing the make-up then they wear the costumes. Later they attire with ornaments.²⁰ This sequence of make-up, costume and ornaments is maintained structurally by all the troupes of Cindus for every performance of Yakshaganam. The following table shows the make-up, costume and ornaments of the characters in Gaja Gouri Vatham:

Make-up, Costume and Ornaments of the Characters

Gaja Gouri Vratham

Table - 31

List of make-up materials, **costumes** and ornaments applied to various characters in the performance of Gaja Gowri Vratham:

Characters	Make-up	Costumes	Ornaments
Gandhari (Venkanna) Male - 45 Years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour for face 2. Centre of the forehead White vertide lane 3. Above eyebrows from Left to right white and Red spots in a lane One by one 4. Well curved eyebrows are black 5. For the eyes under the Eye and eye lashes Black colour applied 6. Nose-Hamsa mukkeru At right side, left side White spots. 7. Lips-red colour 8. Yellow is applied Hands, legs. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Black colour Saree with Flowers 2. Black Blouse 3. Red Chunni 	Head <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Merugu patti 2. Bottu Sheru 3. Chandravanka or Medabilla 4. Tala Kuppelu 5. Vanka chiluka 6. PapitaJodu Ears-sides <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Chikkudu Golusulu 8. Pakka Chilukalu 9. Nethimeedi Chiluka 10. Mukkeru Neck to Waist <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Jada 2. Neck-Galla Patti 3. Malledanda 4. Mola Vaddanam 5. Boddu Chikku 6. Danda Thayethulu 7. Ordinary Aluminium Bangles With gold coated For hands
Kunthi (Cindula Yellamma) Female - 80 Years	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow Powder colour For face 2. Fourhead centre Vertical, red, white, Black lines 3. Eyebrows well curved Thick black. 4. Under the eye thick Black eye lines 5. Lips red colour applied 6. Cheeks having white Colour centre black Dots Chin having white Centre spots 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Blouse White 2. Maroon Cotton saree 	Head <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Merugu Patti 2. BottuSheru 3. Chandravanka Or Medabilla 4. Talakuppelu 5. Siga Rekulu 6. Vankachiluka 7. Papita Jodu Sides <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chikkudu Golusulu 2. Pakka Chilukalu 3. Nethimeedi Chiluka Nose Big round ring type

	7. Hands applied yellow colour		Mukhera Neck to Wrist 1. Galla Patti 2. Tusha 3. Malledanda 4. Boddu Chikku 5. Jada 6. Danda Thayethulu 7. Wrist-Gottlu and Chundulu
Chelikathy - 1 And Ramba (Srinivas) Male - 25 Years	1. Yellow colour applied 2. Centre of forehead Verticle lane 3. Left to right red and White spots one by One in lane 4. Eyebrows well curved And black 5. Under the eye above The eye lines black is Applied 6. Lips-Pink colour Applied 7. Makeup applied to Both hands.	1. Pink Cotton Saree 2. Modern style Blouse	Head 1. Merugu Patti 2. Bottu Sheru 3. Chandravanka or Meda Billa 4. Vanka Chiluka or Suryavanka 5. Papita Jodu 6. Tala Kuppelu 7. Chikkudu Golusulu 8. Pakka Chilukalu 9. Nethimeedi Chiluka Neck to Waist 1. Galla Patti 2. Tusha 3. Malledanda 4. Mola Vaddanam 5. Boddu Chikku 6. Jada 7. Ordinary bangles
Chelikathy-2 And Parvathi (Babaiah) Male -25 Years	1. Yellow power colour 2. Centre of the forehead Verticle black and White lane 3. Left to right red and White spots one after Another	1. Blue Saree With Purple Flowers 2. Black blouse	Head 1. Merugu Patti 2. Nethimeedi Chiluka 3. Bottu Sheru 4. Chandravanka or Meda Billa 5. Talakuppelu Or sigarekulu 6. Papita Jodu Sides 1. Chikkudu Golusulu 2. Pakka Chilukalu Neck to Waist 1. Galla patti 2. Tusha 3. Malledanda 4. Mola vaddanam 5. Boddu Chekku 6. Jada 7. Danda Tayethutu 8. Ordinary Bangles
Drutharastrudu And	1. Yellow colour for face 2. Black colour for eye-	According to Personality of	Surya Kireetam having Head

Sahadevudu (Chinna Gangaram) Male - 40 Years	Brows 3. Mustaches for Black Colour 4. Lips-red colour Applied 5. Forehead centre Between white lines Centre red lines.	Person wearing Saree instad of Dh different Colour of saress They are Q style Wwared	1. Leather hat with > Cone type Ornaments: 1. Nethimeedi chiluka 2. Girujulu 3. Red Marulu Chilukalu 4. Green Marulu Chilukalu 5. Chinna Kaluva 6. Nadima kaluva 7. Hamsa Kaluva 8. Bottu Sheri 9. Makara Kundanalu Neck-Foot 1. Kansari or kangati Patnam Billalu 2. Peda Peri Gundla Peru 3. Malledanda 4. Peda Perulu 5. Jari Jambralu 6. Talatam 7. Shanku chakralu 8. Bhuja Keerthulu 9. Chethi Pattilu 10. Tamara Puvvu
Bheemudu (Peda Srinivas) Male - 35 Years	1. Blue colour is applied For face 2. Eye-brows Black well Curved-eye-thick Black lines 3. Mustaches well curved With black colour 4. Lips thick red colour 5. Centre of forehead two white verticle lines between lines red lines are applied	1. Red Golden Border tight Half shirts 2. Saree weared Like a gown 3. Green Chunni (like Jari Jambralu) 4. Black saree wear like dhothi	Head-Surya Keeritam 1. Nethi meedi chiluka 2. Girujulu 3. Green marulu Chilukalu 4. Pattis 5. Red marulu Chilukalu 6. Naduma Kaluva 7. Hamsa Kaluva 8. Bottu Sheru 9. Makara Kundanalu 10. Gunnalu 11. Kantasari 12. Malle Danda 13. Peda Perulu 14. Shanku Chakralu 15. Bhuja Keerthulu 16. Chethi Pattilu 17. Kadiyalu hand 18. Gadha
Dharmaraju (Tirupathy) Male - 28 Years	1. Yellow colour applied For face 2. For eyebrows black Colour applied 3. Black Mustaches 4. Lips-Maroon colour Applied	1. Saree used for Gown 2. 3-4 sarees weared like Q type	1. Nethimeedi chiluka 2. Girujulu 3. Green marulu Chilukalu 4. Marlu chilukalu- Gold 5. Marulu chilukalu- Blue

			6. Chinna Kaluva 7. Naduma Kaluva 8. Hamsa Kaluva 9. Bottu Sheri 10. Makara Kundanalu 11. Gunnalu 12. Kantasari 13. Malledanda 14. Peda Gundla Peru 15. Peda Perulu 16. Shanku Chakralu 17. Bhuja Keerthulu 18. Chethi Pattilu
Arjunudu (Ellaiah) Male - 40 Years	1. Yellow colour applied 2. Black eyebrows 3. Thin Black mustaches 4. Lips-maroon colour Applied	1. Saree used like Dhothi (Red) 2. Old shirt 3. Chunni used Like patti 4. Bow	Surya Keeritam 1. Kireetam meedi Chiluka 2. Girujulu 3. Green Marulu Chilukalu 4. Pink Marlu Chilukalu 5. Chinna Kaluvalu 6. Naduma Kaluvalu 7. Hamsa kaluvalu 8. Bottu Sheri 9. Makara Kundanalu 10. Gunnalu 11. Kantisari 12. Malledanda 13. Shanku Chakralu 14. Bhuja Keerthulu
Shivudu/Indrudu (Gangadhar) Male - 35 Years	1. Yellow colour used 2. Eyebrows black colour 3. Centre of the eyebrows 2 verticle lines are drawn with white colour middle of the two lines - red.	1. Saree used like Dhothi 2. 4 sarees with different color "Q" type hanged	Surya Keeritam 1. Nethimeedi Chiluka- Green 2. Girujulu 3. Marulu Chilukalu 4. Marulu Chilukalu- Pink 5. Chinna Kaluva 6. Naduma kaluva 7. Hamsa Kaluva 8. Bottu Sheru 9. Gunnalu 10. Makara Kundanalu 11. Kanta Sheri 12. Peda Gundla peru 13. Peda Perulu 14. Shanku Chakram 15. Bhuja Keerthulu 16. Chethi Pattilu 17. Tamara Flower
Naradudu/ Shivudu (Peda Babaiah) Male - 40 Years	1. Red +White=Gulabi (or) Rose colour applied 2. Soft eye-brows with	1. Saree (colour Full) wearing Like Dhothi 2. Red Chunni or	1. Hands Danda pattilu 2. Gada used like Tamboora

	3. Black colour Black lines under the Eyes 4. Siga Koppu 5. Ears small yellow Spots 6. Centre of forehead Verticle lines with White colour between Centre Green lines Applied	Cloth wearing Like waist Cloth 3. Left shoulder To right of Waist red cloth Tied	
Pradhani/Minister (Peddulu) Male- 35 Years	1. Yellow colour applied 2. Black colour eyebrows 3. Lips-red colour Applied 4. Brown and black colour To small mustaches	1. Modern full Colourful shirt 2. Pant 3. Waist cloth	Surya Keeritam 1. Girijulu 2. Green Marulu Chilukalu 3. Red Marlu Chilukalu 4. Chinna Kaluvalu 5. Naduma Kaluvalu 6. Hamsa Kaluvalu 7. Bottu Sheri Ears 1. Gunnalu 2. Makara Kundanaalu 3. Peda Perulu 4. Tamara Flower

Source: Performance documented on **30.11.97** at Amdapur, Nizamabad Dist.

From the above table it is evident that some of the ornaments are used as hand properties, though they do not have the meaning of property attributed during the performance. Few hand properties that are crucial for the characters to identify as what they appear are used to convey the meaning. However, these hand properties in Cindu Bhagavatam is not strictly given their due roles. For instance, the *gadha* (Club) of Bhimasena is used as *tambura* by Narada when his role comes in the sequence of play. The following photographs are evidences to attest the above statement.

Narada (Left) Bheema (Right) in Gaja Gowri Vratam Bhagavatham



It appears from the above photographs that though hand properties are means to identify the characters the shape of the properties is not bothered much. Even the audience seems to accept these improvisations not minding much of their physical shapes and colours. It is the image of Narada that is deep rooted in the folk mind, substantiated more by make-up, costume and ornaments than by the hand properties and supported by the narrative. In other words, the narrative, which is in song - speech -

dance - style, leads the audience to receive the messages that is textured in the narrative. The physical semiotics constructed through stage and hand properties seem to have not of much relevance in the folk theatre of Cindu Bhagavatams. Of course the mainstream theatre much depends on the stage and hand properties to suggest either the location or the event in the play. Cindu Bhagavatams regards less for this element of theatre, yet survived for several centuries as a folk theatrical form.

To further attest this fact the make-up, costume and ornaments of Ghandhari and Drutarastrudu in the play of Gaja Gouri Vratham can also be taken as an example:

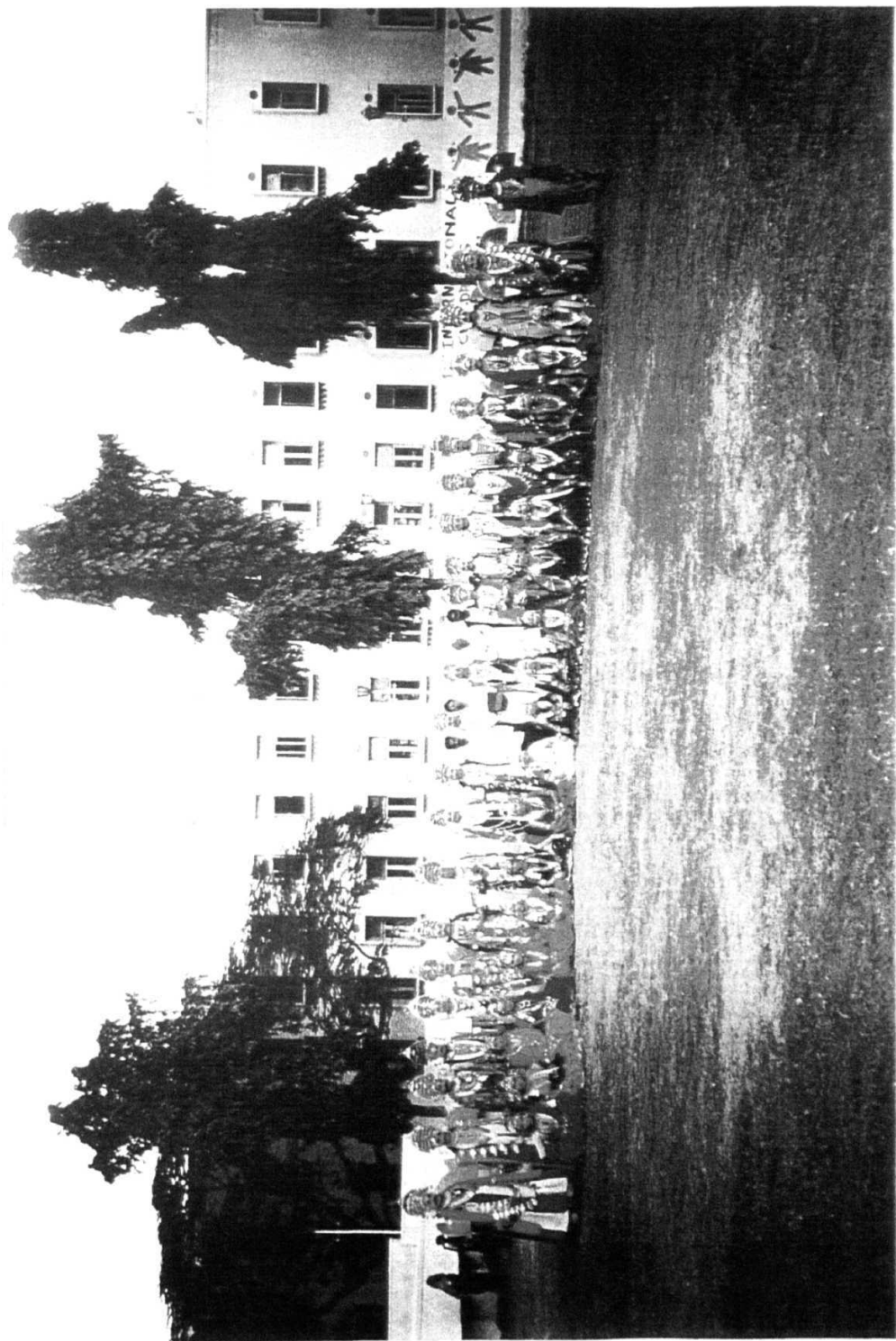


Drutharastrudu (Right), Gandhari (Left), in Gaja Gowri Vratham

In the genre of *Padya natakams* (poetic dramas) of the mainstream theatre both Ghandari and Drutharastrudu are depicted as blind as per the Mahabharatha text. To show this Gandhari wears a black piece of cloth over her eyes. Whereas Drutarastrudu shows the blindness in the performance through gestures like rapid eye lid movements, staring at different directions, avoiding to see directly the co-characters on the stage etc. However, in the Cindu Bhagavatam as recorded in the performance of Gaja Gouri Vratham (and evidenced by the above photographs) no such suggestions of blindness is given to the audience in the make-up, costume and ornaments of these characters. Only in the narrative such suggestions are made. Therefore, it is the pre-knowledge of the audience and the performers on the oral text of the performance that guides the play rather than the images that are suggestively created through the make-up, costume and ornaments. In other words the folk images on the oral text is so strong and well shared that they least regard the symbols created through hand properties and make-up, costumes and ornaments to convey the meanings. This phenomenon is crucial because both performers and audience experience the play at a transposed realm where they share the images of the oral text. This phenomenon is also common in other folk speech genres such as folk tales.

CASE STUDY - II

The Cindu Bhagavatam performance of Chenchu Lakshmi is performed on the Necklace Road on the left bank of Hussain Sagar, Hyderabad on Eighteenth, January, Twothousand. The performance is given by Cindula Shyam and Party (Armoor - Bodhan Taluq, Nizamabad District), organized by Tourism Department, Govt. of A.P., on the eve of Millennium Festival Celebrations. Since this performance is given in the urban setting for elite audience, the performance is deviated from the traditional performance. As discussed already, traditional performance in the villages always takes place during the daytime and therefore requires no lights and public addressing systems. Even the performances space is not demarcated by erecting any platforms, but through the performance distancing between the audience and performers, the performance space gets articulated. The Chenchu Lakshmi performance, contrary to the above, is performed during the nighttime at 8.0'clock (20:00 Hrs) and ended within half an hour. Since it is performed as part of Millinnium Celebrations, a stage is assigned for the performance and different sorts of lights like spotlights and floodlights etc., along with Public Addrressing system is used. The main aim of the performance itself is to show Cindu Bhagavatam as a spectacle and worth noting as a cultural performance of the Telugu people. It is not the text, which is important, but only the abstract of the text, which tells the basic story line of the narrative, is given importance.



For this reason, as many as forty performers are incorporated in the play. Usually eleven to fourteen performers perform Chenchu Lakshmi Bhagavatam.²¹ Since the Tourism Department sponsored the performance, Cindula Shyam and party brought as many as forty performers from Nizamabad and Adilabad Districts to stage the performance. Most of the performers participated as Chorus in the play. Even the prime characters drastically cut short the songs and the dialogues and only presented the basic plot. Usually this performance runs for three to four hours in the villages. However, this performance is taken, as case study because it is the make-up, costume and ornaments of the performers, which is the study material in this context, is important to observe and derive certain conclusions. The following table shows the number of characters and actors in the play of Chenchu Lakshmi:

Table - 32

List of Charecters and Actors performed in Chenchu Lakshmi

S.No.	Name of the Character	Nos	Name of the Actor	Age
1.	Narasimha Swamy	1.	Pedda Syam	61
2.	Chenchu Lakshmi	2.	Cindula Syam	48
3.	Chelikathelu	3.	Rajeswar	38
		4.	Chinna Yellamma	65
		5.	Veraiah	28
		6.	Yellaiah	32
		7.	Premaiah	46
		8.	Neelamma	65
4.	Adi Lakshmi	9.	Cindula Neelamma	66
5.	Chelikathelu	10.	Rajeswar B.	41
		11.	Bhumeswar	25
		12.	Bhumaiah	27
		13.	Borepalli Gangaram	41
		14.	Lachanna	45
		15.	Paramesh	37
		16.	Susheela	55
		17.	Chinnamma	60
		18.	Kamala	45
6.	Mantri	19.	Gangaram	45
7.	Mannathudu	20.	Gopal	70
8.	Shikhi Nayakudu	21.	Ramaswamy	71
9.	Anucharulu	22.	Devaiah	72
		23.	Peda Gangadhar	50
		24.	Chittapura Gangadhar	52
		25.	Raghavulu	38
		26.	Saiana (Khanapur)	38
		27.	Sailu (Madapur)	26
		28.	Nadipi Gangadhar	32
		29.	Hanumandlu	38
		30.	Muttenna	32
		31.	Harischandra	28
		32.	Ravi	28
10.	Erukala Mallugadu	33.	Sudarshan	29
11.	Anucharulu	34.	Narasaiah	24
		35.	Babu Rao	44
		36.	Lingam	35
		37.	Shankar	36
		38.	Lacha Ram	40
		39.	Sudershan	28
		40.	Addelaiah	65

As shown in the above table except for the prime charcters the common and supportive characters increased by number. For instance, the characters representing Mantri, Yuvaraju, Chelikatthe are more in number.

The size of the group therefore, purposefully swollen to create spectacle on stage. The following photographs attest to this fact:



Chenchitha (Left), Narasimha Swamy (Centre), Adi Lakshmi (Right)
In Bhagavatham





Erukala Mallugadu (King) (Centre) with his attendants

As shown in the above photographs, five to six supportive and common characters accompany each prime character. The prime character sings her/his portion of the narrative and the all-supportive characters of all the prime characters on the stage dance by signing the chorus.



The following table gives the details of the make-up of the characters in Chenchu Lakshmi Bagavatam.

Table - 33

List of make-up materials and their usage purpose in the performance of
Chenchu Lakshmi:

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Umb
Chenchu Lakshmi	Pevidi/ Gantacha	Foundation		4	✓	✓	7	✓	✓	✓	4
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying					V				
	Chemki	Glittering		V				V	V		
	White	Beautifying		✓				V	V		
Adi- Lakshmi	Pevidi/ Gantacha pi	Foundation	V		✓		✓	V	✓	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	✓					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying		V			V	V	V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering		✓				V	V		
	White	Beautifying		V				V	V		
Narasimha Swamy	Pevidi/ Gantacha pi	Foundation	V			✓	4			V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering	V						V		
	White	Beautifying	V						V		

Note: The tick mark [✓] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Ups	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Chelikaathe I For Adi Lakshmi	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation								✓	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				V		V	✓	
	Chemki	Glittering	✓						V		
	White	Beautifying	V								
Chelikaathe II for Chenchu Lakshmi	Pevtdi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	V		✓	✓	✓		V	✓	
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓					
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				V		V	V	
	Chemki	Glittering									
	White	Beautifying							✓		
Anucharulu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	V						V		
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			✓	✓		✓			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	✓				V				
	Chemki	Glittering									
	White	Beautifying									

Note: The tick mark [V] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Name of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Limbs	
			Face	FH	EB		Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Limbs
Manma-Dhudu	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	V		V	√		V	√	V	√
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	√		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	√						V		
	Chemki	Glittering	V								
	White	Beautifying	√								
Mantri/ Pradhani	Pevidi/ Gantachapi	Foundation	V	√	√	√		V	V	√	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V				
	Chemki	Glittering	√								
	White	Beautifying	V								
Chenchu Bhatulu	Neeli/ Gaddaneeli	Foundation	√			V	√	V	V	V	V
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				V				
	Chemki	Glittering	V								
	White	Beautifying	V								

Note: The tick mark [√] indicates that make-up is applied

Character	Nam* of the Material	Usage Purpose in Sequence	Head							Body and Umbs	
			Face	FH	EB	Ey	Lips	Maxilla	Chin	Hands	Umbs
Shikhili Nayakudu	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation	√	V	√	7	√	√	√	√	√
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			√	V		V			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	V				√				
	Chemki	Glittering	V								
	White	Beautifying	V								
Pradhani (or) Mantri	Pevidi/ Gantacha Pi	Foundation	V	√	V	√	√	V		V	
	Katuka	Secondary Highlights			V	V		√			
	Red	Secondary Lipstic/ Beautifying	√				V				
	Chemki	Glittering	√								
	White	Beautifying	V								

Note: The tick mark [√] indicates that make-up is applied

There is not much difference in the basic make-up of the characters in Chenchu Lakshmi as evident from the above table. However, what is interesting to note here is that the performers are not sensitive to contextualise their make-up to nighttime performances wherein flood and spotlights are used. Usually where the lights are used, the tone of the make-up smoothens accordingly. In the mainstream theatre, to create

contours and shades on the face to give expressions to context of the scenes lights are **used**.²² Therefore, lights are a supplemental device in the mainstream theatre even to **make-up**.²³ This idea seems to be totally absent in the **make-up** of Cindu Bhagavatam performances, because they are purely daytime **performences**.

The following table shows the make-up, costume and ornaments of the characters in Chenchu Lakshmi Bagavatham:

Table - 34

Make-up, Costume and Ornaments in Chenchu Lakshmi performance:

S.No	Characters	Make-Up	Costumes	Ornaments
1	Adi Lakshmi	<p>Face</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour applied 2. Black eyebrows 3. Black lines under the Eyes 4. Red colour applied for Lips 5. For chin, cheeks one Small black dot and Chemki is applied 6. Hands, palms- paarani Applied 7. Naamam is applied With Red Chemki 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pink Saree 2. Pink Blouse 3. White trans-Parent Chunni 	<p>Head</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Merugu patti 2. Bottu sheru 3. Chandravanka 4. VankaCheluva Or Surya Vanka 5. Papita Jodu 6. Tala Keppelu 7. Chikkudu Golusulu 8. Pakka Chilukalu 9. Nethimedi Chiluka 10. Mukkera <p>Neck to Waist</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gallapatti 2. Tusha 3. Malledanda 4. Mola Vaddanam 5. Boddu Chikku 6. Jada 7. DantaPattilu 8. Ordinary Bangles
2.	Vijayudu/ Manthri	<p>Face</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow Colour applied 2. Black eyebrows 3. Black lines under the 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Well border Dhothi with Maroon Colour 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suryakeeritam 2. Keritam meedi Chiluka 3. Girujulu

		Eyes 4. Well shaped black Mustaches 5. Red colour lipstick Applied 6. Centre of forehead Tirumala namam	2. Velvet halt Shirt 3. Lalchi with Yellow Colour with Different Designs 4. Rose colour Cloth tied At wrist 5. Tomato Flower in Hand 6. Angavasthrum	4. Rose-marulu Chilukalu 5. Chinna Kaluvalu 6. Naduma Kaluvalu 7. Hamsa Kaluvalu 8. Bottu Sen 9. Makara Kundanaalu 10. Kantasan 11. Malledanda
3.	Narasimha Swamy	Face 1. Yellow colour 2. Black eyebrows 3. Black lines under the Eye 4. Black colour mustaches 5. Red colour applied for Lips	1. Saree tied Like gown 2. Bannian 3. 3 sarees hanged vertically 4. Tied back 5. Above Orna-Ments like Zari Zambralu One saree is Hanged. 6. Hands Lotus Flower	1. Suryakeeritam - Nethimeedi Chiluka 2. Maruluchilukalu 3. Chinikaluvulu 4. Nadumakaluva Hamsakaluvvalu 5. Girujulu 6. Bottuseri 7. Makrakundanalu 9. Kantasari 10. Malledanda 11. Pedagundla Perulu 12. China perulu 13. Bhujakeerthulu
4.	Chechitha	Face 1. Yellow colour 2. Black eyebrows 3. Black lines under the Eyes 4. Pink colour applied for Lips 5. Red line vertically Drawns on centre of Forehead	1. Blue saree 2. Blue Blouse	1. Nethimeedi Chiluka 2. Merugupatti 3. Bottu Seru 4. Chandravanka 5. Meda Billa 6. Talakuppelu 7. Suryarekulu 8. Vankacheluka 9. Papitajodu 10. Chikkudu-Golusulu 11. Pakkachilukalu 12. Stone-Round Mukkera Neck-Wrist 1. Galla patti 2. Tusha

				3. Malledanda 4. Boddu Chekku 5. Jada 6. Danda Tayethulu 7. Wrist - Bangles Gottu , Chandulu
5.	Shikhila Nayakudu	1. Yellow Colour applied 2. Black eye-brows 3. Black lines under the Eyes 4. Well shaped mustaches 5. Red colour applied for Lips	1. Dhoti-like Gown 2. Lalchi 3. 4 Saress - different colours hanged lie verticle shape	Surva Keeritam 1. N.Chiluka 2. Girujulu 3. Chinikaluvalu 4. Naduma Kaluvalu 5. Hamsa Kaluvalu 6. Marulu Chilukalu 7. Bottu Sheri 8. Merugu Patti 9. Gunnalu Neck-Wrist 1. Makrakundanalu 2. Gunnalu(Ears) 3. Kanta Sheri 4. Peda Gundla Perulu 5. Malle Danda 6. Peda Perulu 7. Bhujja Keerthulu 8. Chethi Pattilu 9. Shanku Chakralu
6.	Chelikathy (Chenchu)	1. Yellow Colour applied 2. Black eye-brows 3. Black line under the Eyes 4. Red colour applied For the lips.	1. Blue Saree With Silver Square 2. Red Blouse 3. Red Chunni	1. Marugu Patti 2. Bottu Seri 3. Chandravanka Or Meda billa 4. Tala Kuppelu 5. Vankachiluka 6. Pakka Chilukalu 7. Nethimeedi Chilukalu 8. Chikkudu Golusulu 9. Round Mukkera Neck-Wrist 1. Gallapatti 2. Tusha 3. Malledanda 4. Mola Vaddanam 5. Boddu Chikku 6. Danda Tayethulu

				7. Ordinary Imitation Bangles
7.	Erukala Mallugadu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour applied 2. Black colour for eye Brows 3. Black lines under the Eyes 4. Black lines for Mustaches 5. Red colour for Lips 6. Namam 7. Small flower-white and Black is applied 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dhothi 2. Shirt half 3. 3 to 4 Sarees hanged vertically and tied 4. Above ornaments, red Saree hanged 5. Tamara Flower 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Surya Keeritam N-Chilukalu 2. Girujulu 3. Chinna Kaluvalu 4. Nadumakaluvalu 5. Hamsakaluva 6. Bottu Sheri 7. Makara Kundanalu 8. Gunnal (ears) 9. Kantaseri 10. Peda Gunda Peri Perulu 11. Peda Perulu 12. Chethi Pattilu 13. Steel Bangles For hands
8.	Anucharulu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour for face 2. Well coloured black Eye-brows 3. Black lines under the Eyes 4. Well shaped lines in Black Mustaches 5. Pink colour for lips 6. Red dots at chin cheeks 7. Namam in centre of Forehead 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dhothi like Gown 2. Banian Or lalchi 3. 4 Saress different colours hanged like vertically 4. Above Ornaments One saree Is vertically Hanged 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Suryakereetam 2. Girujulu 3. Chinnakaluva 4. Nadumakaluva 5. Hamsakaluva 6. Marulu Chilukalu 7. Gunnal 8. Bottu Sheri 9. Merugu Patti 10. Makara Kundanalu 11. Kahta Sheri 12. Malledanda 13. Peda Perulu 14. Peda Gundla Perulu 15. Bhujakeerthulu 16. Chethi Pattilu
9.	Chenchu Batulu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour for face 2. Well curved eyebrows With black colour 3. Black lines under the Eye 4. Well shaped lines Drawn like Mustaches 5. Red colour is applied For lips 6. Namam is applied with Red colour 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dhothi like Gown 2. Full shirt or Lalchi 3. 3 or 4 sarees are hanged like curved vertically 4. On the ornaments saree Is hanged Like saree 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Surya kereetam 2. Girujulu 3. N.Chiluka 4. Chinna Kaluva 5. Naduma Kaluva 6. Hamsa Kaluva 7. Narulu chilukalu 8. Makara Kundanalu 9. Gunnal 10. Bottu Sheri 11. Kanta Sheri 12. Malle danda 13. Bhujakeerthulu 14. Chethi pattilu 15. Danda pattilu
10.	Chelikathelu	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yellow colour is for face 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Coffee colour 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. N.Chiluka

	Adi Lakshmi	2. Well curved Black Eye-brows 3. Black lines under the Above eyes 4. Red colour for lips	Saree 2. Black colour Blouse	2. Merugupatti 3. Bottusheri 4. Chandravanka Or Meda Billa 5. Suryavanka or Vankacheluka 6. Papita Jodu 7. Tala Kuppelu 8. Chikkudu Golusulu 9. Pakka Chilukalu 10. Mukkera 11. Galla Patti 12. Tusha 13. Malledanda 14. Molavaddanam 15. Boddu chekku 16. Jada 17. Danda pattilu 18. Gottlu, Chandulu
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Source: Performance documented on : 8.12.97 at Gachibowli, R.R.Dist.

Except certain charcters like Chenchita and her Chelikathes where they wear feathers of Peacock around the waist as well as on the head gear as decorative piece instead of parrot, the rest of the make-up, costume and ornaments of all characters remain as usual as in the case of any other Cindu Bhagavatam. The Chenchita to distinguish herself from the Chelikathelu holds a bow as hand property as shown in the below photographs. **[Chenchu Lakshmi (Centre) with her attendents]**





Chenchu Lakshmi (Chindula Shyam, Male)

As argued elsewhere in this chapter, the make-up, costume and ornaments are not character sensitive. In other words, one can hardly distinguish one character from the other by their appearance with their

make-up, costume and ornaments. The narrative and some hand properties alone are the devices to identify the character. The following two photos are shown to substantiate this fact.



Indrudu (Left)
In Gaja Gowri Vratam Bhagavatam



Narasimha Swamy (Right)
in ChenchuLakshmi Bhagavatham

Similarly the female characters also do not show much difference in their make-up, costume and ornaments:



Adi Lakshmi (Left) in
Chenchu Lakshmi Bhagavatham



Ratnangi (Right)
in Sarangadhara Bhagavatham

As shown in the above photographs the actor, Cindula Neelamma as "Ratnangi" and "Adi Lakshmi" is having similar make-up, costume and ornaments and given the same attire. One cannot by seeing the photographs identify the characters. Therefore the make-up, costume and ornaments of Cindu Madigas are not character sensitive.

The make-up, costume and ornaments is not only devoid of character sensitivity but also absent from scenic context sensitivity. Usually in the mainstream theatre, characters as per the narrative respond to time and space and try to exhibit the same by way of changing make-up, costume and ornaments to suit to the scenic context.²⁴ For instance a character is shown as young and old according to the scene and change the make-up, costume and ornaments. Similarly, the female characters also show time span in their attire between pre-marital and marital status. The hand and stage properties are also used to support such scenes. This phenomenon of units of time and space with the scenic situation is totally absent in Cindu Bhagavatams. It does not mean that the narrative is silent of time and space span in the story line.

For instance in the Cindu Bhagavatam of Balanagamma Charitham the story line depicts more than twelve years of life span.²⁵ The female protagonist Balangamma is captured by the villain character known as Mayala Pakkir and keeps her in his custody for twelve years to convince her to marry him. The protagonist, Balavardhiraju who releases her from the captivity of Mayala Pakkir though is a teenage boy according to

narrative, in Cindu Bhagavatam, the actor appears much older as a middle aged man.²⁶ Similarly in several Cindu Bhagavatams the time span is totally undermined. Even in Mandata Bagavatham this phenomena is quite visible.²⁷

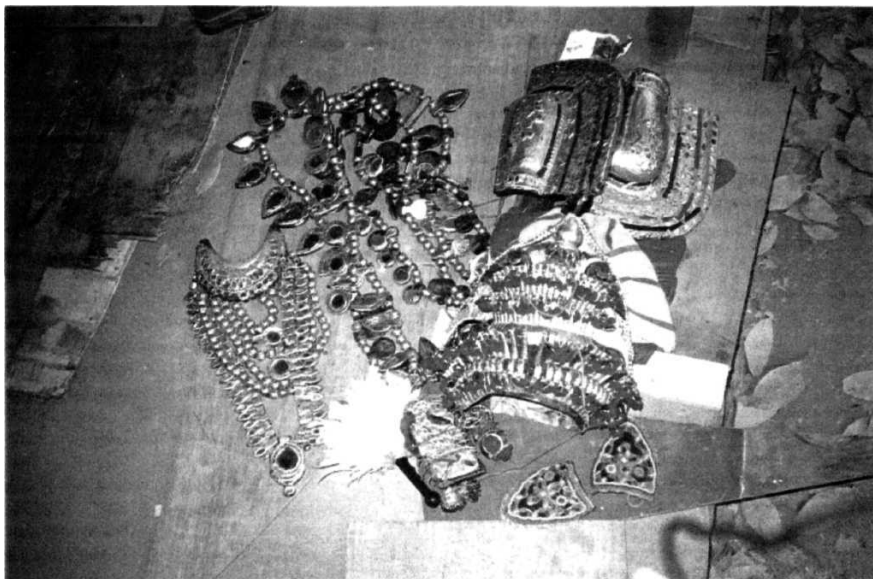
This is so because of the very style of performance, which does not leave any scope for entry, and exit of the characters. Therefore, they remain on stage with the same make-up, costume and ornaments from starting to the end of the performance. Moreover the concept of 'green room' (make-up room) does not exist in the Cindu Bhagavatam tradition giving no place for the characters to come back of the stage to change make-up, costume and ornaments. Yet another reason for not having scenic sensitivity in Cindu Bhagavatam is that the performance is not construed on the basis of scenes or acts. Since the scenic continuity is achieved with the interludes of the *Cindus* (foot steps) i.e. the round dance performances, the performers communicate through speech-song-dance sequence the time span of the narrative to the audience. Therefore, the make-up, costume and ornaments are totally silent of the scenic contextuality.

As already mentioned the make-up, costume and ornaments plays a vital role in Cindu Bhagavatam performances. The Cindu Madigas being the ministrals of the downtrodden community in the social structure, they remained for long economically, politically and socially marginalised despite, the efforts of the governmental and non-governmental agencies to elevate them from poverty.

This being the social reality, the Cindu Madigas through make-up, costume and ornaments alienate themselves from the social realities of poverty situations by enacting the episodes of Ramayana/Bharata /Bhagavata. Make-up, costume and ornaments are used as an instrument to overcome their actual life situations. Colours like pink (rose) and yellow which has the potential to decolourise their own skin colour which is a dark brown complexion, is used as foundation colours in the facial make-up. This observation is crucial because in India from the post Rigvedic times it is the colour, which forms the basis for social stratification of the Indian Society into *Varna* system (colour).²⁸ The basic difference between the Aryan and Non-Aryan ethnic aggregates was formed on the basis of *Varna* and later on extended to professions (*Jatis*).²⁹ In the process the Panchama *Varna* i.e. the fifth caste is assigned in the profession of menial jobs especially regarded by the Chaturvama as pollutants. Disposal of the dead being one such menial jobs, is assigned to the Fifth *Varna*.³⁰ The community of Cindu Madigas being part of this *varna* when ritually acquired the right to perform the caste myth extended their talent to other performances like Yakshaganam to entertain the village community. To accept themselves by different audience in the village they de-colourise their skin colour through make-up, costume and ornaments. This being the case they even perform the rights of purification through the enactment of Yellamma, Gosangi and Pothuraju *vesams* (characters) and contribute to the prosperity of the village by warding off evil, disease and

famine by seeking the blessings of the village goddess, Yellamma.³¹ Therefore, the concept of de-colourisation in make-up, costume and ornaments is crucial for their survival as the professional entertainers in the villages. For this reason the Cindu Madigas themselves indulges in make-up, costume and ornaments to get transformed into the characters without any external agencies help such as make-up artist or costume designer.³²

Further, they design their own costumes and ornaments and acquire all the material, which is necessary for making the ornaments. They use basically two or three types of material for making the ornaments.³³ A wood known as *punika* or *badiga* or *boorugu chekka*, cut from a tree, which is very light, and easily mendable according to the shapes required is used. These trees are locally found in the Nallamallai regions and hillocks in abundance.³⁴ The interviews conducted from the performers of the Nizamabad district reveal that they acquire the wood from Muniapalle forest near Bodhan of Nizamabad District.³⁵ The wood is kept under a sunshade for 10 to 30 days time to get seasoned. Once the log of the tree is seasoned, it is cut into various shapes and sizes to make headgears, necklaces, chains and shoulder ornaments (*bhujakeertulu*).³⁶



As shown in the above photographs different sizes of woodcuts are again dried under sunshade. Once the moisture of wood is totally dried it becomes very light. Then the pieces of wood are affixed using gums made by the indigenous technique. The gums known as "*dunti thena*" "*sarach*", "*chintambali*", and "*marri palu*" are used for affixing the wooden pieces in order to appear as chains necklaces headgears etc.,. Over the wooden pieces mirrors and *chemkees* are affixed which gives the appearance of gold ornaments. Over that different kinds of beads and semi precious stones are affixed. With this the ornaments as shown in the above photographs reflect richness and royalty. Hand properties such as club, bow, *gadha*, sword, *tambura*, boucay (*tamara pushpam*) are also prepared by themselves by using locally available material as mentioned

above from the wood and feathers of crane or peacock. Thus the Cindu Bhagavatams when performed incorporate wholistically all the elements of theatre without giving scope for any specialist to develop as costume designer, make-up artist, or scenic designer or stage craftsman. The Cindu Madigas combine in themselves the talents of all the above technical personnel as well as actors and musicians. This unique feature of Cindu performances empowered the community of Cindu Madigas to sustain in this theatrical art for ages.

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CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

Make-up, costume and ornament are used as a device in theatre to manifest the text that is presented to the audience. They form the visual component of theatre and possess semiotic value. Without make-up, costume and ornament the theatre remains more verbal than visual and hence becomes closer to telling a tale. However, this devoids theatre of aesthetic presentation and therefore lesser than "art". The artistic expression of the theatre remains much with the make-up, costume and ornament and distinguishes theatre from other forms of artistic expressive genres. For this reason both in realistic and non-realistic plays make-up, costume and ornament forms as one of the indicators of stylistics.

Make-up, costume and ornament in folk theatre go further than indicating stylistics and in fact becomes the live nerve of the very art form. They not only

manifest the text but also represent the very community, which performs the text. In other words, it becomes the identity of the community on one hand and on the other the very vehicle that communicate their worldview. To demonstrate this view point, in this thesis, the make-up, costume and ornament, of Cindu Madigas of Andhra Pradesh is taken for study.

The Cindu Madiga is a sub sect of the madiga community, which is listed, in the present day as scheduled caste. The community is so marginalised that it was considered as untouchable community during the era of pre-independent India. The community is so downtrodden that it was forced to live outside the village settlement in a separate hamlet. The *varna* system considered this community as panchama varna and used their services related to leather works and other manual jobs. In the history of India the treatment meted out to the community was so harsh that they even were not allowed to enter the temples of the caste people and other public places in the village. Yet the community survived by developing its own esthetics in the form of fine arts and performing arts and entertained themselves with music, dance and theatre. Their urge to perform is so much that the community though marginalised support atleast five ministerial communities such as *Cindus*, *Mastis*, *Nalukachandias*, *Baindla* and *Dakkali*. No other *jati* (caste) in the *varna* system could support as many ministrals as this community does. This itself shows that the Madiga is a community which loves art and lives by art. The bard communities of the Madigas are well versed with musical instruments such as *Tappeta*, *Pamba*, *Jamedica*, *Kinnera* and *Kommu*, which are percussion, wind and string instruments. They not only use these

instruments as exclusive right while performing their caste myths but also are identified with them. Among the performances of all the bards of Madigas, the Cindus are different from the others in a sense that their art form alone is a full-fledged theatrical performance. The rest of the performances of the bards are more narrative oriented than theatrical oriented. The reason for this is the Cindus have a unique way of attiring themselves with make-up, costume and ornament during performances. This finding is crucial and the very lead to this thesis.

As enquiries made on the make-up, costume and ornament in the theatrical practice through the times, it is found that the idea of make-up, costume and ornament itself is derived from the observations made on the races, communities and people. The theatre justly adopted by absorbing people their way of dressing, hair styles, make-up and ornament etc., to suit to the characters and events played out in a theatrical performance. The non-realistic plays which vow their origin to the philosophical concept of idealism adopted make-up, costume and ornament from the fantasies and images of the people on their gods, ancestors, spirits of evil and good etc. The realistic plays which stem out of the idea of materialism adopted the real ways of dressing etc., of the people. However, in folk theatre of India the make-up, costume and ornament, is patterned by factors such as political, social, economic, religious and cultural. This observation is crucial because the Indian history being one of the oldest and un-interrupted despite natural calamities and invasions continued to adopt different ways of dressing, ornamentation, and make-up by suiting itself to the

changing conditions. One of the chief distinguishing character of the Indian society is that it is made up of *Varna-Jathi* divide therefore the western models on make-up, costume and ornament do not give sufficient background to study the make-up, costume and ornament of Indian people. All along in the discipline of theatre the make-up, costume and ornament are depicted from the western point of view. The text books therefore written on make-up, costume and ornament speaks about Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Feudal, Renaissance, and Modern periods. Industrialisation is considered one of the chief factors responsible for the changing make-up, costume and ornament of the people and communities. In theatre market economy is considered as the main factor for changing the style of make-up, costume and ornaments. The business households that produced colour pigments, pastes and oils undermine the indigenous practises of make-up, costume and ornaments. This in fact to some extent effected the aesthetic value of make-up, costume and ornaments. In the sub-continent where folk theatre such as Cindu Bhagavatam has not thus far faced much threat from the market economy in their make-up, costume and ornaments. This observation is crucial because the market economy could not influence this community to change their technique of application, though some of the products of make-up, costume and ornaments are purchased from the nearby shops. This finding is important because the make-up, costume and ornament of Cindus are themselves form the integral part of their theatrical style so as to identify them as Cindu community. Their images of the characters are

drawn basically from the epic tradition, religious practises, historical factors, political setups and sociological phenomenon.

Make-up, costume and ornament in a way represent both the realistic and non-realistic perceptions. It is intact an admixture of both idealism and materialism in creating characters through make-up, costume and ornament in their theatrical presentations.

Another finding in the study is that the make-up, costume and ornament of Cindu Madigas vows their origin to their myths and legends. As the community of Cindus performs priestly duties to the Madigas to ward off evil and disease, they naturally take up the roles of performers in the festives and celebrations. The *Basavi* or *Jogin* tradition which is much prevalent in this community ordain some of the women folk to perform the disguise of Yellamma or (Matangi) and bless the community. It is their caste myth which gives them right to perform the Cindu dance and therefore it is obligation to the Madigas to watch the performance. The rights and obligations between the Madigas and Cindu Madigas are tied up reciprocally according to which one sponsors the performance and the other performs to satisfy the former. These reciprocity norms are known locally by the term *miracy*. The performers are given shares in kind and cash as a subsistence. The village at large also participate in giving shares/gifts for it is the Cindus through ritual performances purify their lands and mark them to avoid the spell of the spirits of evils manifesting in calamities, disease and famine etc. The caste myths of the Madigas as performed by the Cindu Madigas are known as *Jambapuramand Yellamma Vesham*. According to the myth their ancestor

Jambava Muni is a premodial being who witnessed the creation of earth and heaven, Adhisakthi, Trimurthis and others celestial beings and he is considered as chief advisor to god at times of distress. According to the myth it is he who made parafernelia to the wedding of Trimurtis and because of curse destain to be madiga in Kaliyuga. It is because of curse of his own son, the Dakkali he became an untouchable in Kaliyuga and live by serving the caste people. According to another version of myth Chennaiah who was created by Parvathi in the wilderness gives the name of Madiga to Jamabavamuni. Because of Chennaiah's tongue twister Jambavamuni became madiga. Jambavamuni had two wives and the elder wife's sons became the ancestors of Madigas and the second wife son became the ancestor of Cindus.

Thus the myth establishes kinship bondage between the Madigas and Cindu Madrigals as cousin brothers. This observation is important because the myth itself innately establishes the link between two communities and therefore prompts for reciprocity norms to be followed by these communities. From this view point the patron and client relationship is established between these two communities.

The caste myth is being shared by both the communities and their being intrinsically knitted with the myth, both respect and perpetuate the performance of the caste myth. The Cindus take up the role of performers and the Madigas as audience of the performance. Infact, the oral text that is afresh in their memory culture transform the Cindus officiating priests and the Madigas to devotees. The enactment of caste myth of *Jambapuram* and *Yellamma Vesam* itself subvert

the hierarchy's between the Madigas and Cindu Madigas. The former though clients by virtue of holding the right to perform, become the manifestors of gods and priests to the Madigas. The Madigas though being the patron community subvert their position as devotees and respect the performance by parting with some of their resources to the Cindu Madigas. Thus the performance of Jambapuranam and Yellamma Vesham are internal to the community and establishes relationship between them.

The caste myths are basically not presented in toto in verbal form; in other words, the narrative component of these performances is half verbal and half non-verbal. The non-verbal component is basically construed with the help of make-up, costume and ornament. The make-up, costume and ornaments therefore become a "Silent Text", in the sense that, it not only function as referential but becomes an 'interpretant' by itself. This finding is crucial to the thesis because the role of make-up, costume and ornaments as visual text in the mainstream theatre stretches itself beyond as 'silent text' in the folk theatre.

A visual text is a text built up through signs, which act as a referential to the object. In theatrical parlance "make-up, costume and ornaments" is used as sign to refer and to differentiate characters in the play. Therefore make-up, costume and ornaments always perform referential function in modern theatre. In Ritual theatre, especially in the case of *Jambapuranam*, make-up, costume and ornaments of Gosangi goes beyond mere referential function and attain 'interpretant'¹ status.

The make-up, costumes and ornaments of *Jambapuranam* act as an interpretant in the sense that the community of bards are entitled to play the role, interpret their cultural text of the *puranam* and symbolically substitute the textual descriptions of the gifts received by their ancestors Jambavamuni and Cindu Jivhamahamuni, from gods to play the pace maker role. In the process the material objects are used as make-up, costume and ornaments, which do not directly visually communicate what they mean, but in a subdued and silent manner they remain as the text of the *puranam* which is owned and shared by the community of Cindu Madigas and Madigas. Visual texts, quite often than not, are interior to a sign system and therefore, they symbolically act as representational to mean some thing to some one for something. Make-up, costumes and ornaments when used as symbols so as to make as a visual text, the characters became referential in a given play. Through make-up, costume and ornaments the character achieves a shared plane with a given sign system and therefore the audience identify the character in its proprietary. In the case of "silent text" it is not simply the intention of make-up, costumes and ornaments to make the character identifiable with a given proprietary but goes beyond a point where the distinction between the character and the audience ceases to be as gap between the actor and the audience but takes a life wherein the character absorbs the audience as devotees and the audience do share such experience as seeing his/her god face to face. The achievement of status of unison between the actor and the audience as god and devotee is the chief feature of the "silent text" and it is made possible through a shared made belief system in which the

cultural text like *Jambapuranam* transforms itself into reality and forms the basis of the world view of the community. Therefore make-up, costume and ornaments of *Jambapuranam* is not simply a visual text and hence not a referential one, but a "Silent Text" for it acts as an 'interpretant' so as to make the performance a lived reality. The audience identifies the performers through make-up, costume and ornaments to the intended characters of play production. What intended in the play production is symbolically represented through make-up, costumes in the development of characterisation. In that sense make-up, costume and ornaments acts as referential to the audience in the play production. In other words, a 'mono-optic' vision is created in the play production through make-up, costume and ornaments to the audience. What the performer intended to project through make-up, costume and ornaments is what the audience receives. A kind of hierarchical status is created between the performer and the audience in unfolding the play production (Text). Since the performer controls the "gaze", the audience is not free to share the gaze, instead forced to receive it. In this sense visual text remains more as a referential so as to identify the character and always remain at that level only. In other words, make-up, costume and ornaments as sign system become signifiers of a signified. The interaction between the performer and the audience therefore remain in vertical positions so as to make the play a didactic in communicating the meaning. Make-up, costume and ornaments role in visual text becomes that of a master designer who prompts the play to set in a particular tone. The make-up artist therefore attains a role of invisible director. He is invisible because, only the textually

desired make-up, costumes and ornaments speak for him. More over the make-up, costumes and ornaments are also restricted to the desires of the director of the play and hence, the make-up artist work is subdued and remains as a visual text. In the case of ritual theatre especially, where sharing a common text enacts the ritual performances, the mono-optic view of make-up, costumes and ornaments are replaced by a 'pan-optic' vision of the community.

Since *Jambapuram* stems out of a shared knowledge in the community of performers and audience, make-up, costume and ornaments became not just as referential but become interpretent wherein both the performer and the audience view make-up, costume and ornaments as a shared text. In this sense make-up, costume and ornaments are not verbalized in any way but 'interpretants' justify the actions of the performer. For an outsider, since make-up, costume and ornaments do not become referential, the action of performer became meaningless and redundant. Only when the performer and the audience share the panoptic view of the text, performance becomes meaningful and authenticates the need of interaction between performer and audience. The concept of 'pan-optical' view is used here in the sense that it refers to synoptic visibility designed to facilitate a disciplinary over view shared both by the performer and the audience. Both gaze at the text of *Jambapuram* and draw meanings in a multiple way so as to transform themselves as gods and devotees. Make-up, costume and ornaments in this context not only transform the performers into gods but also transform the audience into devotees. Since the quality of transformation of make-up, costumes and ornaments is affecting both

the ends (performer/audience), the *Jambapuram*(play) becomes a product of *hetroglassia*. The notion of *hetroglassia* is used in Bakhtinian sense where in the text is not an end product but always function as a point of discourse to create conflictual and interrelated texts of the performer and audience. In this sense make-up, costume and ornaments are conceived as a silent text because it is beyond visual to prompt audience to transform themselves to devotees by creating a conflictual realm of fear and foe on one hand and on the other reverence and divine. For this reason the enactment of *Jamapuram* becomes a cyclical event there by attaining the authorial position through 'pan-optic' view of the community and remain sacred. Violating the enactment of play tantamounts to blinding the 'pan-optic' view of the community and therefore, detrimental to the mutual existence of both Cindu Madigas and Madigas. Make-up, costumes and ornaments therefore becomes the driving force of the "event" and the make-up artists no other than the performer himself goes beyond the directors role but becomes the creator of the performance itself. For this reason no specialization between make-up artist, director or the performer is visible in *Jambapuram*.

The make-up, costume and ornament of Gosangi and Yellamma Vesham denote the silent text of the caste myths of Madigas and therefore their make-up, costume and ornament looks different and unique. Such make-up, costume and ornament are not visible in any performance of any kind be it folk or mainstream attest to the fact that it is a "silent text".

An important observation in the study is that there are two basic types of performances are being in vogue in the Cindu tradition. One is the caste myth performances such as Jamba Puranam and Yellamma Vesam, *which are meant to the community alone*, and informs through performance their roles in the social system. These performances actually structure the relationship of the Cindu with their patrons that are Madigas. These performances can be considered as internal performances and meant to the community of Madigas to inform the kin group relationship on one hand and on the other the rights and obligations that exist between them. The regulatory factor in the internal performances is the sacral belief that they attach to these performances. Therefore, they are intrinsically inter woven with ritual component and suggest the onlooker that it is a ritual theatre. The other type of performances can be called as external performances because they are meant to the entire villagers and it is they that identify the Cindu Madigas as performers. These performances are popularly known as Cindu Bhagavatams or Cindu Yakshaganams.

The Cindu Bhagavatams are full-fledged theatrical performances having a clear demarkation between the performer and the audience, having a marked performance space and text meant for performance. Most of the texts, which are performed as Cindu Bhagavatam, are from the oral epics such as Mahabharata and Ramayana and Bhagavatha. In the analysis it is found that 61 % of the text performed are from the epic tradition. It is also found that stories from epic tradition are preferred by Cindu Madigas is due to the fact that they have the

capacity to create spectacle through make-up, costume and ornament on stage and can easily appease the audience.

It is also found from the analysis of the characters in the performances that the gods and royal characters form the major component in the development of story line and therefore consume more performance time than the other characters. Make-up, costume and ornament being the main element in creating spectacle on stage these characters reasonably support the play from a much realistic point of view. The other finding in the thesis is that the characters, which appear as common characters, also gain equal importance for the play production. It is not because of the characters' involvement in narrative time but because of the fact that they support the narrative time of the prime characters as chorus. For sociological reason, the number of common characters is presented on the stage is more than required number. Owing to the flexibility of the structure of performance itself makes the common characters appearance feasible and possible:

All the members of the family of Cindus grow in size, their involvement in the performance balances inevitable for survival. As the performers are itinerary they keep moving from one place to another by giving performances and make livelihood. For this reason the bulging of characters is strategically played out through common characters. Another important finding is that the Cindu Bhagavatams did not give any scope for developing specialised make-up artist. The reason for this is that the community itself is a community of performers and their livelihood is basically on the performances. In order to avoid the

dependency on a specialised make-up artist, which only make their performance dependent, each performer himself/herself does the make-up, costume and ornament.

Another important observation is that the make-up, costume and ornament which forms the basis for the Bagavatams is devoid of differentiation among the characters especially at the level of make-up. In other words all the faces smeared with almost same colour. It is observed that colour being one of the factors for social devoid in the Indian sub-continent, as evident from the system of *varna* at its origins. The *varna* suggest social hierarchy. As far as the make-up, costume and ornament of the Cindu are concerned the characters do not have such distinctions. It is also a matter of fact that the Cindu Madigas do not have a social hierarchy within themselves and they share as kin brothers the resources of the Madigas. Since their endogamas group is devoid of any social stratification, they are not conscious of such stratification even when they take up roles as characters. Therefore their make-up is same for all the characters.

Another important finding is that the Cindu Bhagavatams do not have stagecraft. The performance space is not a proscenium kind and therefore the audience sits on all sides. This caused for no usage of backdrops on the performance space to compensate this the costumes are used in such away that they themselves form the decorative backdrops on the stage. Since there is no exit, once the characters enter the stage, all the characters remain on stage and fill the space. Their costumes designed as vertical saree falls from shoulder to toes they form the backdrops of the stage.

Since there is no separate green room for make-up, costume and ornament, the entry and exit do not occur during the performance. This style of performance infact makes the play as a continuous one without any brakes in between since there are no scenes and acts in between the play no empty space is created on stage at any given point of time.

Another interesting feature in make-up, costume and ornament of the Cindu Bhagavathm is that no stage properties are used in the play production. Only some of the hand properties are used to distinguish certain characters. Even these properties are not given much importance because of the fact that the narrative itself acts as a sign system in communicating meanings to the audience.

On the whole, the make-up, costume and ornament of Cindu Madigas have two features one feature is reflected in their performances of caste myths and it is discussed in the thesis as "Silent text". As silent text the make-up, costume and ornament goes beyond the verbal narrative of the actual performance and remains the cultural text such as myths to the audience. In this process it transforms the audience into devotees and the performers into officiators of rituals as well as gods. The make-up, costume and ornament in this regard becomes the manifestation of the myths and therefore interpretable by audience and performers.

The second feature in the make-up, costume and ornament is that it forms as visual text. The Cindu Bhagavatams when performed with make-up, costume and ornament the characters that appear on stage denote to which character

they stand. This feature of visual text, which has the quality of indicator or identifier of the character, is present in the Cindu Bhagavatams or Cindu Yakshaganams. Therefore make-up, costume and ornament in these plays become referential.

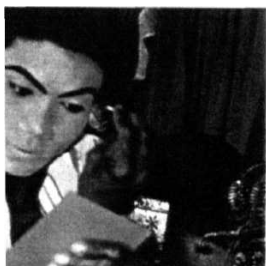
These two-basic features of make-up, costume and ornament forms the basis for the performance of Cindu Madrigas and they not only identify the community as *Chindollu* but also identify the art form itself as an ethnic genre in folk theatre.

APPENDICES

CONTENT OF APPENDICES

1. Process of Make-up (male and female)
2. Wearing of Costumes (male characters)
3. Wearing of Ornaments (males)
4. Wearing of Ornaments and costumes (females)
5. Ornaments of male characters
6. Ornaments of female characters
7. Ornaments of male/ female
8. Ornaments of female (head to toe)
9. List of performances documented
10. List of groups/ persons interviewed

PROCESS OF MAKEUP(MALE AND FEMALE)



WEARING OP COSTUMES(MALE CHARACTERS)



WEARING OP ORNAMENTS (MALES)



WEARING OF ORNAMENTS
AND
COSTUMES(Female)



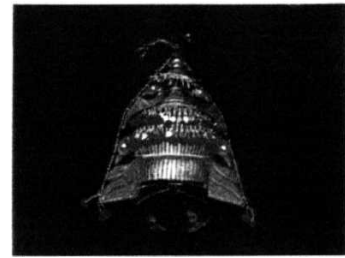
APPENDIX

ORNAMENTS OF MALE

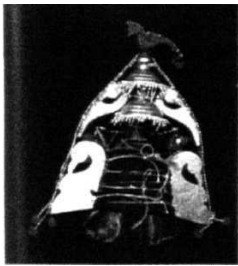


keup and ornamensts

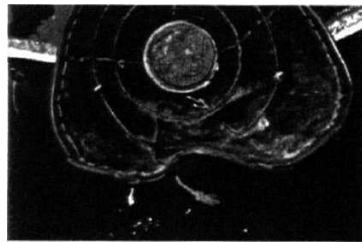
Makarakundanamulu



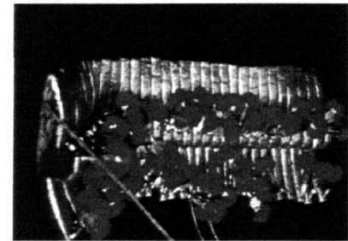
Surya keeritam



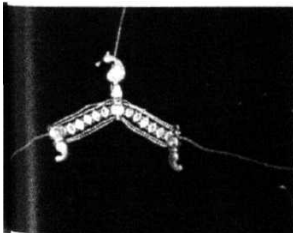
keeritam(back)



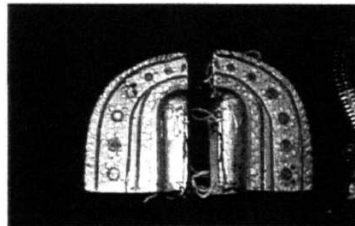
Surya keeritam(inside)



Hamsakaluvalu
with pattugundalu



Bottuseru



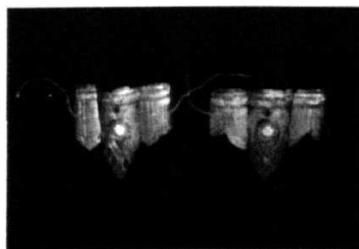
Bujakirthulu



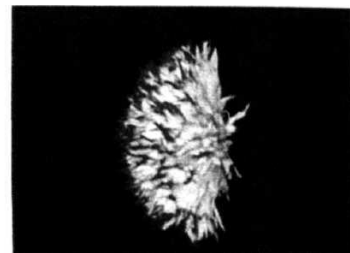
Kantasari



adagundlaperu

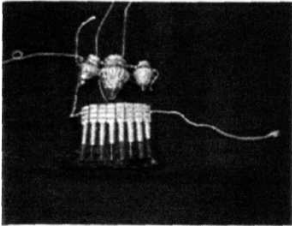


Chethipattilu

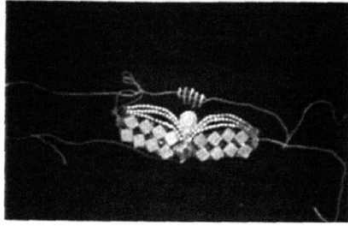


Tamarapuvu

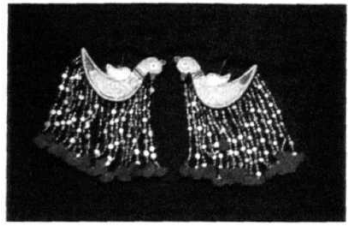
ORNAMENTS OF FEMALES



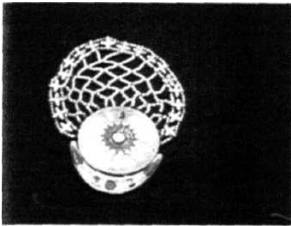
*Sigarekulu,
Koppu*



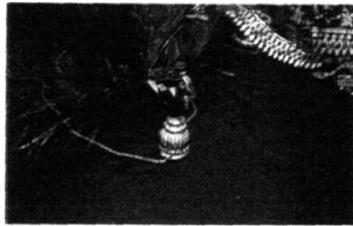
Bottusheru



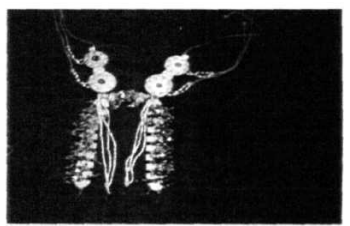
Pakkachilukalu



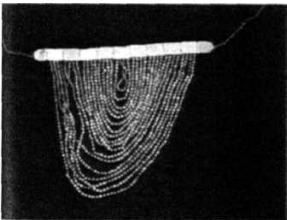
Talasikku



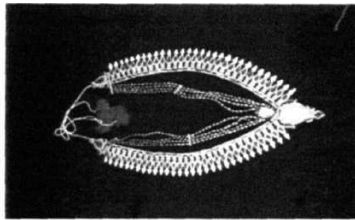
Nethimidi chiluka



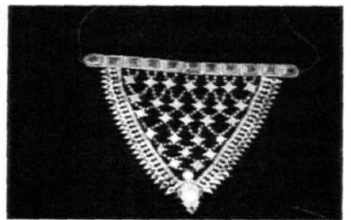
Chikkudu golusulu



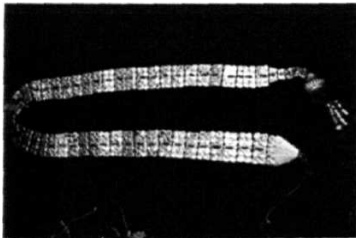
Thusha



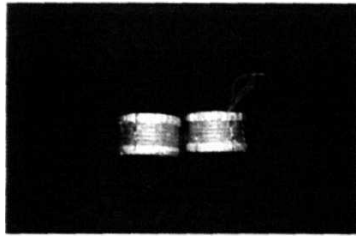
Malledanda



Vadanam/Molasikku



Jada(Bangaru)



*Bangarugajulu
(Gottlu, Chendulu)*

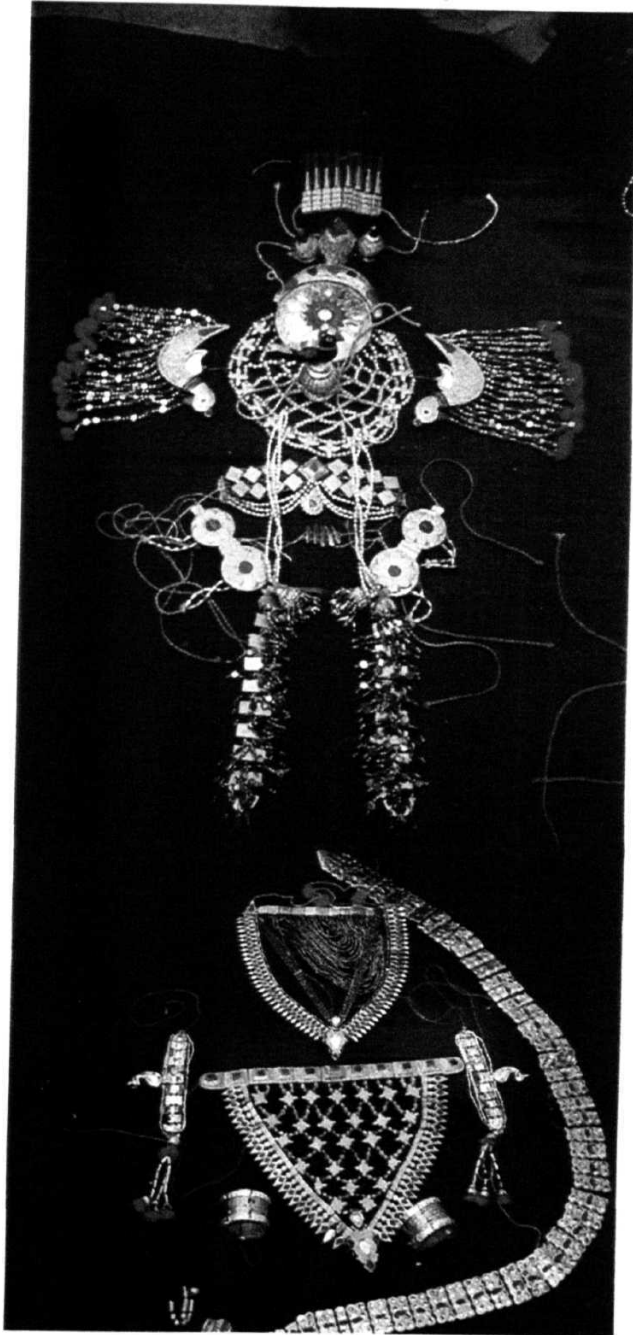
ORNAMENTS OF
MALE



ORNAMENTS OF
FEMALE



ORNAMENTS OF FEMALE
(Head to Toe)



Appendix-9:**Performances Documented**

S.N o.	Name of the Performance	Troup	Place	Date
1	Gaja Gowri Vratham	Cindula Yellamma and Party	Amdapur Nizamabad District	30.11.97
2	Sarangadhara	Cindu Shyam	Sadula Medak Dist	09.01.98
3	Chenchu Lakshmi	Cindula Shyam and Party	Gachibowli R.R. District	08.12.97
4	Sati Savithri	Cindula Sanjeeva and Party	Sajjaraopet, Aleru, Nalgonda District.	03.03.96
5	Mandhata Charitra	Cindula Balanarasaiah and Anjaiah Party	Aleru, Nalgonda District	18.05.99
6	Chenchu Lakshmi	Gajavelli Shambhu Lingam	Rasaranjani Hyderabad	08.01.00
7	Chenchu Lakshmi	Cindula Shyam and Party	Ravindra Bharathi, Hyd	03.02.99
8	Yellamma Vesham	Renuka and Balanarasu Party	Aleru, Nalgonda District.	06.12.98
9	Jamba Puranam	Yadagiri and Party	Aleru, Janagaon Tq. Warangal	12.06.98
10	Jamba Puranam	Gaddam Peddulu Swamy and Party	Jonnagiri, Bhongir Tq., Nalgonda.	09.11.97
11	Chenchu Lakshmi	Cindula Shyam, Cindula Neelamma and Party	Armoor, Nizamabad	14.04.99
12	Gaja Gowri Vratham	Cindula Yellamma and Party	Amdapur, Bhodan Tq., Nizamabad	12.08.99
13	Chenchu Lakshmi	Cindula Syam and Party	Banks of Husain Sagar, Hyd.	18.01.00

Appendix-10:**List of Groups / Persons interviewed**

TROUP	PLACE	NAME OF THE PERFORMER	AGE	DATE
CINDULA ELLAMMA AND PARTY	AMDAPUR, BHODHAN TALUQ, NIZAMABADIS TRICT	Cindula Yellamma	80	20.04.98
		Cindula Venkanna	45	20.04.98
		Cindula Peda Srinivas	35	20.04.98
		Cindula Yellaiah	40	05.12.98
		Cindula Babaiah	24	05.12.98
		Cindula Gangadhar	35	05.12.98
		Cindula Peda Babaiah	40	05.12.98
		Cindula Peddulu	35	05.12.98
		Cindula China Gangaram	40	05.12.98
		Cindula Tirupathi	28	05.12.98
		Cindula Eswaramma (Yellamma)	35	05.12.98
CINDULA SHYAM AND NEELAMMA PARTY	ARMOOR, BHODHAN TALUQ, NIZAMABAD DISTRICT (OR) NAGAPURAM, BALAKONDA (Mandal), JALALPUR - P.O.	Cindula Shyam	40	02.06.97
		Cindula Peda Shyam	61	02.06.97
		Cindula Neelamma	66	02.06.97
		Cindula Rajeswar	38	19.08.98
		Cindula Chinna Yellamma	65	19.08.98
		Cindula Veeraiah	28	19.08.98
		Cindula Yellaiah	32	07.03.99
		Cindula Premaiah	46	07.03.99
		Cindula Neelamma	65	04.01.00
		Cindula.Rajeswar B.	41	04.01.00
CINDU PEDDULU SWAMY and PARTY	GUDUR, BIBI NAGAR, NALGONDA DISTRICT	Gaddam Cindu Swamy	45	03.12.96
		Gaddam Shankar	30	04.12.96
		Gaddam Ramaswamy	60	04.12.96
		Gaddam Peddulu Swamy	65	04.12.96
		Gaddam Murali	28	04.12.96
INDULA SANJEEVA and PARTY	SAIJARAO PET, SAIGUDEM, ALERU, NALGONDA DISTRICT	Gaddam Sanjeeva	35	08.04.98
		Gaddam Rajulinga	35	08.04.98
		Gaddam Kashaiah	78	08.04.98
		Gaddam Bhikshapathi	20	08.04.98
		Gaddam Balanarasaiah	45	08.04.98
		Cindula Renuka (Yellamma)	30	08.04.98
		Gaddam Nagabhushanam	45	08.04.98
GAJEVELLI SHANBHULI NGAM and PARTY	VANGAPADU, ASNPARTY MANDAL, HANUMAKON DA,	Gajavelli Shambhulingam	50	11.01.00
		Gajavelli Moggili	35	11.01.00
		Gajavelli Saraiah	30	11.01.00
		Gajavelli Nagabhushanam	38	11.01.00
		Gajavelli Sammaiah	38	11.01.00

	WARANGAL DISTRICT.	(Somidi)	75	11.01.00
		Gajevelli Erra Sammaiah	40	11.01.00
		Gajevelli Ratnam (Somidi)	40	11.01.00
		Gajevelli Sammaiah		
		(Mucherla)	25	
		Cindula Bhumeswar	27	
		Cindula Bhumaiah	41	
		Cindula Borepalli	45	
		Gangaram	37	
		Cindula Lachanna	55	
		Cindula Paramesh	60	
		Cindula Susheela	45	
		Cindula Chinnamma	45	
		Cindula Kamala	70	
		Cindula Gangaram	71	
		Cindula Gopal	72	
		Cindula Ramaswamy	50	
		Cindula Devaiah	52	
		Cindula Peda Gangadhar	38	
		Cindula Raghavulu	26	
		Cindula Saianna	32	
		(Khanapur)	38	
		Cindula Sailu (Madapur)	32	
		Cindula Nadipi Gangadhar	28	
		Cindula Hanumandlu	28	
		Cindula Muttenna	24	
		Cindula Harischandra	24	
		Cindula Ravi	44	
		Cindula Sudarshan	35	
		Cindula Narasaiah	36	
		Cindula Baburao	40	
		Cindula Lingam	28	
		Cindula Shankar	65	
		Cindula Lacha Rao		
		Cindula Sudershan		
		Cindula Addelaiah		
GADDAM SAMMAIAH AND PARTY	APPIREDDY PALLI, JANAGAON, WARANGAL DISTRICT	Sammaiah	35	03.04.99
		Ramaswamy	70	- do-
		Srinivasa	25	- do-
		Yadagiri	25	01.03.98
		Rasala Bhujangam	40	- do-
		Gaddam Sanjeeva	32	- do-
		Gaddam Shyam Sunder	21	- do-
		Gaddam Ganapathy	28	- do-
		Gaddam Parasuram	26	- do-
		Gaddam Dharmaiah	80	- do-

		Gaddam Narsaiah Rasala Somaiah Gaddam Venkanna Rasala Yakaiah Rasala Ramesh Gaddam Mahender	60 29 29 25 20 22	- do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do-
YELLAMMA VESHAM		Gaddam Kamalamma Gaddam Chandikamba Gaddam Yellamma Gaddam Sriranjani Gaddam Sulochana Gaddam Nanchari Gaddam Radhamma Gaddam Manemma Gaddam Lalitha Gaddam Saramma Gaddam Bharathamma Gaddam Sharada Gaddam Vanajakshi Gaddam Manjula Gaddam Syamala	50 50 50 30 20 20 48 18 35 40 26 20 20 20 22	04.04.99 - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do-
PILLITLA ANJIAH and PARTY	ALERU, NALGONDA DISTRICT	Cindula Anjaiah Cindula Bala Narasaiah Cindula Yadagiri Cindula Syam Sunder Cindula Chakra Pani Cindula Mahesh Cindula Bhujangam Cindula Bhavani Cindula Bhafoon Kankaiah	40 45 40 13 14 23 23 23 28	26.04.98 26.04.98 09.10.98 - do- - do- - do- - do- - do- - do-
YELLAMMA VESHAM		Cindula Lakshamma Cindula Sujatha Cindula Sava Narasamma Cindula Ramulamma	45 25 35 50	

GLOSSARY

Glossary

<i>Adi Purusa</i>	First person in the universe
<i>Aptha Girulu</i>	Eight hills
<i>Arudalam</i>	Yellow colour also called <i>Gantachapi/ Pevidi</i>
<i>Asman</i>	Sky blue
<i>Asthana Vidvans</i>	Nominated renowned musician of a court/temple
<i>Banasaralu</i>	Neckband / <i>Kantasari</i>
<i>Bangaru Gajulu</i>	Golden bangles
<i>Basavi</i>	Girls dedicated to the goddess, Yellamma
<i>Bhakthi</i>	Devotion
<i>Bheri</i>	Wind instrument akin to beagul
<i>Bhujakeerthulu</i>	Shoulder ornaments
<i>Birudu</i>	A title of honour or distinction.
<i>Boddu Ghanta</i>	The belly bell
<i>Bolli Kodi Namam</i>	White and red streaks on the forehead
<i>Bommarukulu</i>	A line of white dots on the eyebrows
<i>Bura Kommulu</i>	Wind instrument (Trumpet)
<i>Bhuta Poligadu</i>	conductor of sacrifice
<i>Bottu Sheru</i>	Vertical streak of saffron on forehead
<i>Bottu</i>	Saffron mark on forehead ,between the eyebrows.
<i>Cakrams</i>	Wheel, one of the properties of Vishnu
<i>Candra vanka</i>	Moon shaped ornament

<i>Catra Kanna</i>	Third eye of Siva
<i>Chaudika</i>	Leather and stringed instrument , <i>jamidika</i>
<i>Celikatte</i>	An attendant of queen
<i>Cethi Dhusthulu</i>	Wrist bands
<i>Cikkudu Golusulu</i>	Ear rings with hanging chains
<i>Ciluka</i>	Parrot
<i>Cindu</i>	Footstep in dance
<i>Cinna Kaluva</i>	Small water Lilly
<i>Cintabali</i>	Glue made of tamarind seeds
<i>Cirra</i>	Instrument (percussion)
<i>Ciruthalu</i>	A hand instrument made up of metal and wood
<i>Cirutha-</i>	
<i>Kongavali Katti</i>	dagger
<i>Chuckler</i>	Leather worker
<i>Cowry</i>	Cyprecea moneta
<i>Danda tayettulu</i>	Amulets tied as ornaments of upper arms
<i>Dappu</i>	instrument (percussion)
<i>Darsanam</i>	Made up of shells stiched over the lkin of a cow
<i>Dashavejulu</i>	Records
<i>Datti</i>	Waist belt
<i>Dhovati</i>	Four metres white cotton cloth used as under garment
<i>Disti Theeyadam</i>	Warding of evil eye
<i>Dobba</i>	Lungs of goat/sheep

<i>Duddu Karra</i>	Stick used as hand property.
<i>Duntithene</i>	Gum extracted from bee wax
<i>Dwara Palaka</i>	Gatekeeper
<i>Gadda neeli</i>	Blue stones
<i>Gajjila Lagu</i>	Gungurus nicker
<i>Gallapatti</i>	Neckband
<i>Jamili Gangi Govu</i>	Sacred cow
<i>Gantashapi</i>	Yellow colour, called also as <i>pevidi/ardalam</i>
<i>Garita</i>	A spoon
<i>Garita</i>	A spoon
<i>Garuda dhvajamu</i>	Eagle flag/banner/arch
<i>Gudi</i>	Temple
<i>Gulal</i>	Pink colour
<i>Jada</i>	Tying of the hair in different shapes (Ladies)
<i>Jallu Basanthulu</i>	Back ornaments (or) back plates
<i>Jamidika</i>	Leather and stringed instrument or Chaudika
<i>Jamili kamadhenuvu.</i>	Sacred cowcow
<i>Jari Jambralu</i>	Silk Shawl with silver thread border
<i>Jari Kanduva</i>	Silk Shawl with silver thread border
<i>Jatajutam</i>	Hairs of the Siva
<i>Jatara</i>	Festival of god
<i>Jatii</i>	Caste
<i>Jatti</i>	Body builder (or) strongman

<i>Jogin</i>	The girls who are dedicated to the goddess
<i>Jubba</i>	It is like collarless full shirt
<i>Kali kommu</i>	Ankle ornament
<i>Kalikiturai</i>	It is like a feather of crown
<i>Kaluvalu</i>	Water Lilly
<i>Kalvaranti</i>	Anklelets
<i>Kammalu</i>	Ear ornaments (or) rings
<i>Kanduva</i>	Silk Shawl
<i>Kanta</i>	Neck
<i>Kantamala</i>	Neckband
<i>Kasaru</i>	Undigested food in the stomach of the dead animal.
<i>Kaselu</i>	Dhotis wearing like tight pants
<i>Katuka</i>	Eyetex used for blackning of eyes
<i>Kommulu</i>	Wind instruments
<i>Konda Namam</i>	Vertical streak drawn on forehead
<i>Kongalu Uli</i>	Hammer
<i>Koppu</i>	Hair bun
<i>Kudi varam</i>	Right hand caste
<i>Kunkuma</i>	Coloured aniline powder
<i>Kunkuma</i>	Vermillion Powder
<i>Laddha</i>	Skin Sachet of leather tanners
<i>Maddelu</i>	Percussion instrument
<i>Makara dhvajamu</i>	Crocodile flag/banner/arch

<i>Makarakundanal</i>	Crocodile Ear rings
<i>Malledanda</i>	Garland made of jasmines
<i>Manda Sila</i>	Red colour
<i>Mantri</i>	Minster of a King
<i>Margosa</i>	Melia Azadirachta
<i>Marripalu</i>	Milk extracted from Banyan tree.
<i>Marulu Chilukalu</i>	Side Parrots
<i>Masca Thitthi</i>	Leather Sachet
<i>Mayoora dhvajamu</i>	Peacock arch or flag/banner
<i>Misala Ventrakalu</i>	Mustache hair
<i>Misalu</i>	Mustache
<i>Melukolupu Seva</i>	A ritual to wake up god
<i>Merugu Patti</i>	Metal band
<i>Mettelu</i>	Foot ornament adorned to the second finger by married women
<i>Mirasidar</i>	Share holder
<i>Moggu petteda</i>	An ornament
<i>Mola vaddhannam</i>	Waist/Hip belt
<i>Mulavirat</i>	Presiding deity
<i>Mridangamu</i>	Percussion instrument
<i>Muruvulu</i>	Bangles (or) Bands
<i>Maila</i>	Pollution
<i>Nadimi Kaluva</i>	Centre water Lilly

<i>Nadumu dutti</i>	Waist Belt
<i>Naivedyam</i>	Offering food to god.
<i>Namam</i>	Sacred Vermillion streak on forehead.
<i>Neeli</i>	Native name of Blue
<i>Nemali Katta</i>	Feathers of Peacock
<i>Nemali Vanka</i>	Zinc colour beneath the eyes used as make up
<i>Nettimeedi Chiluka</i>	Crown with parrot atop.
<i>Pada Gajjelu</i>	Ankle gungurus
<i>Padaga</i>	Headgear appearing like snake hood.
<i>Padagalu</i>	Snake head shape ornament
<i>Pakka Chilukalu</i>	Side of the parrots
<i>Palakalu</i>	Plates
<i>Palm</i>	Phamix Sylvestris
<i>Pancha</i>	Four meters white cotton cloth used as under garment
<i>Pasupu Chinna</i>	Turmeric symbols
<i>Pasupu</i>	Turmeric powder
<i>Patthi Kankanam</i>	A wristband made up of cotton
<i>Pattilu</i>	Bands
<i>Pattu Gundalu</i>	Silk wool
<i>Pattu Peetambralu</i>	Silk clothes
<i>Pavalimpu Seva</i>	The ritual preparation of god to go to sleep
<i>Peda China Perulu</i>	Big small chains
<i>Peda Perulu</i>	Big chains

<i>Penty Gauwa</i>	Female shell
<i>Petta</i>	Box containing make-up, costume & ornaments made of wood or iron.
<i>Pevidi</i>	Native name of yellow powder, also called Gantachapi, Arudalam
<i>Poli</i>	It literally means as Bali or a corrupt word for Bali
<i>Pothu Gauwa</i>	Male shell
<i>Prasada</i>	A symbolic expression of union by dining with God
<i>Pravesa Daravu</i>	Music for entry of characters
<i>Pulicarmamu</i>	Skin of Tiger
<i>Pusthe</i>	Sacred ornament worn by married women
<i>Ragi</i>	Elusive Coracana
<i>Rommu</i>	Chest
<i>Roudra</i>	Furious Rasa
<i>Rudraksa</i>	The seeds of Guazuma Tomeniosa
<i>Sanku Patakamu</i>	Conch Plate
<i>Sanku</i>	Conch
<i>Sankus</i>	Conch of Vishnu
<i>Sigarekulu</i>	Hair leaves
<i>Sirodarshanam</i>	Head
<i>Sumangali</i>	Women one who is un-widowed
<i>Sungrupu erupu</i>	Sungrupu is a name of brand - red
<i>Suprabhata Seva</i>	A ritual to wake up god

<i>Surya birudu</i>	Sun title
<i>Surya dhvajamu</i>	Sun/Arch/Flag/Banner
<i>Suryavanka</i>	Sun Shape
<i>Swarna birudu</i>	Gold title
<i>Talakuppelu</i>	Head hair bands
<i>Talamulu</i>	metal instrument using with both hand fingers
<i>Tali bottu</i>	Wearing by women at the time of marriage
<i>Tangedu</i>	Cassia Auriculate
<i>Tappetalu</i>	Percussion instrument
<i>Thamara pushpam</i>	Lotus flower
<i>Theen masala</i>	Bottle green powder when mixing with water it turns pink (or) red
<i>Unnikankanam</i>	A wristband made-up of wool
<i>Vira gandham</i>	Paste of sandalwood
<i>Vira gola</i>	Rope made of jute (a whip)
<i>Veparellulu</i>	Neem leaves
<i>Vesam</i>	Attire or guise
<i>Vimana</i>	Sacred flying vehicle of gods
<i>Visa vakku</i>	Evil spell
<i>Vodisare</i>	A portion of sari with rice, tied around the waist
<i>Yaksas</i>	Song of god
<i>Yuvaraju</i>	Prinr.fi

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