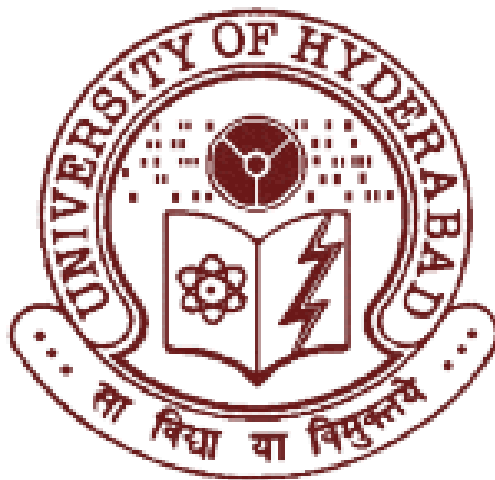


**DRAUPADI THIRUNALLU:
A STUDY OF SCENOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS IN THE
PERFORMANCES**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED DURING THE YEAR 2018 TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE
ARTS**

BY

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.....

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I hereby declare that the work embodied in the present thesis entitled “**Draupadi Thirunallu: A Study of Scenographic Elements in the Performances**” is an original research work submitted by me under the supervision of Prof. N. Jnaneshwara Bhikshu. For the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Theatre Arts from University of Hyderabad. I declare to the best of my knowledge that no part of this thesis is earlier submitted for award of any research degree in part or full to any for any other University or Institution, and that the thesis is plagiarism free. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for award of any degree or diploma.

Parts of this thesis have been:

A. published in the following publications:

1. A Scenographic Study in Draupadi's Festival, (ISSN Number: 2231-4822), Chitrolekha International Magazine on Art and Design.
2. Community Dramaturgy in the Performance of the Draupadi Festival, (ISSN Number: 2455-3662), EPRA International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research.

And

B. presented in the following conferences:

1. A Scenographic Study in Open Area Folk Theatre Performances of Draupadi's Festival. (National)
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Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfilment of coursework requirement for PhD/ was exempted from doing coursework (recommended by Doctoral Committee) on the basis of the following courses passed during his MPhil program and the MPhil degree was awarded:

Course Code	Name	Credits	Pass/Fail
1. TA 801 Research Methodology		4.00	Pass
2. TA 802 Arts and the World – Literary/Visual/Cultural Theory		4.00	Pass
3. TA 811 Performance Theory and issues in Indian Theatre		4.00	Pass
4. TA 812 Mapping the question (Exploring the topic with supervisor)		4.00	Pass

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO

MY GRANDFATHER

LATE

PEJJAI GOVINDHA REDDY

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. Introduction:

People of India, in general, and of rural parts of India are engaged themselves making the fairs and festivals as a platform on which their views and experiences of their lifestyle and belief system are shared. Mostly, these platforms are built on the religious, spiritual and devotional grounds wherein they involve themselves in the related rituals and performances through enactments. These enactments find the context/space in achieving a communion of shared and lived experience. Beverly J. Stoeltje opines that this shared experience leaves a message of the theme and the context of the festival in general:

The messages of festival concern the shared experience of the group and multiple interpretations of that experience. Shared experience may be enacted as myth, music, or drama ...; it may also be the marked representation of a segment of everyday life such as harvesting; it dominates the rhetoric as well as the action of an event clearly defined as ‘ours.’ In all socially based festivals, however, the messages will be directly related to the present social circumstances as well as to the past. Because festival brings the group together and communicates about the society itself and the role of the individual within it, every effort either to change or to constrain social life will be expressed in some specific relationship to festival. (Bauman 263)

The context/space evidently acquire a native and indigenous spirit of expression in which process the scenographic elements such as space, text, performer, colour and composition, spectators and sound become the medium of communication during the process of enactments related to the theme.

The heterogeneous nature of India paved way of establishing certain conceptual traditions of performances across it which are observed and practiced through conducting fairs and festivals.

Many festivals are celebrated in India annually. Most of the festival are related to folk and religious beliefs. Buck (1917), in *Faiths, Fairs, And Festivals*, observes few of the festivals: “Mahasiva Ratri, Rama-navami, Rali Mela, Durga Ashtami, Jagannath Ratha Yatra, Naga Panchami, Janam Ashtami, Anat Chaudash, Narali Purnima, Ganesha

Chaturthi, Dussehra, Chandra, Bali Pratapada, Bhratri Dwitya, Kali Puja, Kartika Purnima, Champa Shashti, and Koli Diali”¹. Apart from these festivals, there are few other famous rituals which include scenographic elements. They are Ramlila², Ramman³, and Draupadi festivals.

In Telugu speaking region, there are hundreds of festivals that are celebrated. In that, some of the festivals, which are locally called as Jataras or Thirunallu, are “Sri Ananta Padmanabha Swami”⁴, “Ramalingeswara Swamy Jatara”⁵, “Pedda Matham Jatara, Jala Devara Jatara, Nagobha Jatara, Mahadevum Jatara, Polakamma Jatara, Yellamma Jatara, Gangapuram Jatara, Pothuraju Devara Jatara, Pochamma Jatara, Lakshmi Devara Jatara, Jagannadhaswamy Jatara, Mallanna Jatara, Sri Akkakonda Narasimhaswamy Jatara, Triyambakeswaraswamy Jatara”⁶, “Uradamma jatara, Ganga jatara, Bommaladevuni Pochamma jatara, Mysamma jatara,”⁷ “Kanaka Somanna Uthsavam, Hanuman Uthsavam, Veeranna Jatara, Renuka Yellamma Jatara, Narasimhaswamy Jatara, Prataparudra Singariah festival, Koteswaraswamy festival, Veerabhadraswamy kalyanothsavam”⁸, “Sita Ramaswamy festival, Chinna Malleswaraswamy festival, Siripallemma festival, Veedabhadraswamy festival, Ravulamma festival, Alivelu Akkamm Jarata, Maridamma festival, Mutyalamma Jatara, Satteremma Jatara, Chintalamma Jatara, Mahalaksmamma Jatara, Gogulamma Jatara, Pallalamma Jatara,”⁹ “mathamma thirunallu, Kavamma thirunallu, Dharmaraju Utsavalu, Thirumala Brahmotsavalu, Thiruchanuru Padmavathi Brahmotsavam, Metlotsavam, Patalamm Divvelu, Ganga Jathara, Urugangalu”¹⁰ “Theppa Thirunalu, Theru Thirunallu, Thalakona Thirunallu, Shivarathri Thirunallu, Sri

¹ See pages 78-108 in Buck, Cecil Henry. *Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*. Calcutta: Thacker Spink &, 1917. Print

² See Anuradha Kapoor’s *Actors, Pilgrims, Kings and Gods: The Ramlila of Ramnagar*; and Richard Schechner’s *Performative Circumstances: From the Avant Garde to Ramlila*.

³ See <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/ramman-religious-festival-and-ritual-theatre-of-the-garhwal-himalayas-india-00281>

⁴ For more details see Sukhender 77

⁵ Ibid 153

⁶ See Sekhar, Anantaramayyar Chandra. Census of India 1961 Andhra Pradesh. Vol. 2. Andhra Pradesh: Census Publications, 1961. Print. Part VII-B (16) Adilabad District.

⁷ See Sekhar, Anantaramayyar Chandra, and Asok Mitra. Census of India 1961 Andhra Pradesh Fairs and Festival. Vol. 2. Andhra Pradesh: Census Publications, 1965. Print. Part VII-B (15) Nizamabad.

⁸ See Sekhar, Anantaramayyar Chandra. Census of India 1961 Andhra Pradesh. Vol. 2. Andhra Pradesh: Census Publications, 1965. Print. Part VII-B (17) Karimnagar District.

⁹ Sekhar, Anantaramayyar Chandra. Census of India 1961 Andhra Pradesh. Vol. 2. Andhra Pradesh: Census Publications, 1965. Print. Part VII-B (3) East Godavari District.

¹⁰ See Aruna, Genji. *The Festivals of Chittoor District A Socio-cultural Study*. Diss. Sri Venkateswara U, 2000. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Malleswaraswami Thirunallu, Mukkoti Thirunallu, Kamamma Thirunallu, Mathamma Thirunallu, Koneti Thirunallu, Utla Thirunallu, Kappa Thirunallu and Gandham Thirunallu”¹¹.

In general, the fairs and festivals are called *jataras*, *melas*, and *thirunallu* and become a context/space for the people to assemble and to participate in the performances. These performances are equipped with various tools of audio and visual properties in support of the themes and ideologies of the respective deities which bring out theatricality in achieving empathy among the participants. It is interesting to note that the inherent scenographic expression floats out when viewed in the context of finding out the theatricality, since the entire event is filled with text, performances, music, procession, myth, drama, exhibitions, rituals, offerings, worshippings, confrontations, and comforts.

The present study focusses on investigating the scenographic expression inherent in such a festival held in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh called as Draupadi Thirunallu.

2. What is “Draupadi Thirunallu” (“Draupadi festival”)?

Across Southern India, thousands of shrines are dedicated to the mythic figure of goddess Draupadi, and she is worshipped as goddess in many South Indian traditions. Worship in this context, however, means much more than prayer or an offering of devotional acts and objects. Rather, Draupadi shrines are often also sites of performances, community celebrations and gatherings. In Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh, the villages conduct an annual Draupadi festival that lasts from 18 to 30 days during March to August. This festival is a form of worship and celebration, which is rooted in history and culture of ‘Vannikula Kshatriyas’¹². Here, Vannikula Kshatriyas community shows significant role in organising rituals, narrative and theatre performances, but others also participates in the festival. Initially, Draupadi festival was a form of worship which is totally rooted in history and culture of Vannikula Kshatriyas. Now a days, other communities from Chittoor district also play significant role in worshipping Draupadi. The festival includes temple rituals, narrative performances, and theatrical performances. Narrative and theatrical performances

¹¹ See Moulana, Paidala. *Chittoor Jilla Tirunalla Geyalu*. Tirupati: Paidala Publications, 1989. Print.

¹² It is noted that “as relic of the origin of the Vannikula Kshatriyas from fire, the fire-pot, which comes in procession on a fixed day during the annual festivities of Draupadi and other goddesses, is borne on the head of a Vanniyar.”(Thurston and Rangachari. 4. K to M. 9-10)

are performed based on the Mahabharatha text. In Chittoor region, the local community from approximately 25 villages donate for the festival celebration.

Draupadi Thirunallu is also popular with other names such as “Bharatha Yagnam, Bharatham Thirunallu, Aggi Thirunallu, Nippu Thirunallu,”¹³ and Dharmaraju Thirunallu. Part of the festival, rituals are organised to worship Pandavas. Along with the rituals, there are a few folk theatre performances and narrative performances: Veedhi-natakamu; and Harikatha or Katha Kalakshepam.

The rituals are performed in day and night. While Harikatha or Katha Kalakshepam is performed in day, Veedhi-natakamu is performed in nights. The festival is sponsored by people from many villages. In some cases, the temple which hosts the festival owns farm fields. The profit of the farm fields also used to organise the festival. Hilteibeitel observes on the performances of Draupadi festival: “three performative modes through which the Mahabharatha is presented” (1:135). These performances, according to him, offer a “triangulated festival concordance”. Based on his view, it is possible to draw the following diagram which establishes a relationship among the rituals, the performances and the participants in the festival.

As it is organised and performed by local communities, performances of Draupadi festival can be called as “community-oriented performances”. As part of the festival, sacred installations, exhibitions and fairs are organised by the local community. These performances, rituals, sacred installations, exhibitions, and fairs are self-reflection of the local communities. It is observed that the performances (both narrative and theatre) and sacred installations are strongly associated with Mahabharatha text. Thus, Draupadi festival offers strong association between these communities and their myths.

Thousands of people participate in Draupadi festival in Chittoor district. According to Bhupathi, who is the one of the trustees of Dharmaraja temple, Vendugampalli, 10,000 to 12,000 people participated entire festival in 2014. Usually, Most of the people participate in the festival to devote Pandavas. Few of them come to watch Veedhi-natakamu or Harikatha. Most of the participants know Mahabharatha stories. Many of them know the meaning of the rituals, function of the idols and purpose of the processions. As the space is visually enriched with sacred installations, electrical bulbs, exhibitions, stalls, and idols,

¹³ See page number 100 in Moulana, Paidala. Chittoor Jilla Tirunalla Geyalu. Tirupati: Paidala Publications, 1989. Print.

devotees probably have various experiences such as devotional, entertaining and celebrated. These decorations also offer visual cues for devotees to follow certain actions. Beyond merely suggesting festival context, they create an environment for devotion and celebration. Devotees engage themselves temporally and physically through their participation within the created contexts of the festival.

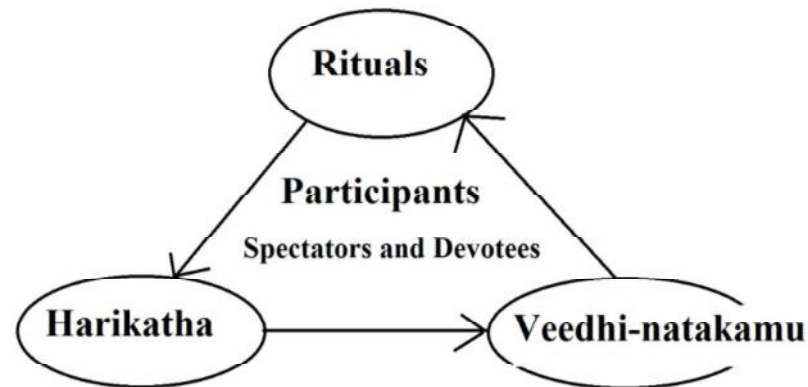


Figure 1 Most of the participants visit the performances in the direction shown here

A Draupadi temple may have a unique way of process in celebrating the festival. According to Hildebeitel, “[e]very temple has fashioned its own festival from what seems to be an amazing array of basic options and innovative possibilities” (2:11). The process of the festival is migrated from other Draupadi temples. Some of the temples try to imitate the process of the festivals of the old temples. Through this imitation, the process of a festival demonstrates distinguished features. In the process of imitation, the temples may borrow, abandon and revive few of the rites, processions, performances and exhibitions during the festival celebration. Most of the temples possibly follow core the rituals and the performances in the festivals. Apart from the ritual process, for every year, the festival adapts contemporary material in the festival. Some of the contemporary material, which is not related to the temple tradition, are even used in rituals. For instance, electrical bulbs are used to decorate idols in the rituals. Adapting contemporary material also demonstrates the uniqueness of a festival. Thus, every Draupadi festival is celebrated in its unique way.

Dharmakarthalu play significant role in Draupadi festival. They administrate the events of the temple as a social charity. In few temples, specific families are selected for Dharmakarthalu. In this case, they are selected because their ancestors were Dharmakarthalu. Thus, the tradition of Dharmakarthalu follows from their ancestors. In many cases, Dharmakarthalu is selected from other families according to the local politics.

Dharmakarthalu raise the fund to organise the festival. They collect the funds from surrounding villages to Draupadi temples. Usually, Dharmakarthalu operates the financial transactions. They choose the troupe to perform Veedhi-natakamu, the narrative performer and the local people to organise space to conduct rituals and performances. They hire local people to decorate the idols; and temple arch and premises. Dharmakarthalu face the most crucial challenges during the festival. The number of Dharmakarthalu varies from temple to temple. It may change from the festival to festival.

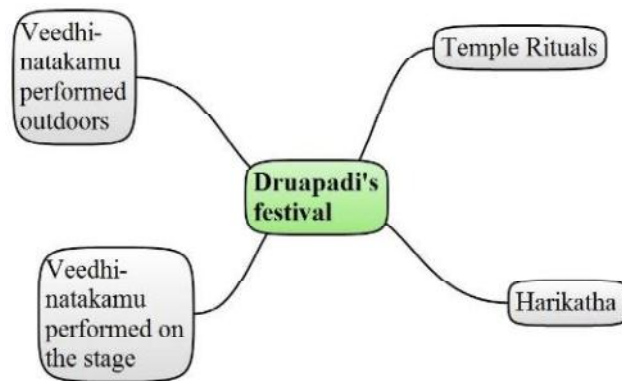


Figure 2 The categorised performances in Draupadi festival

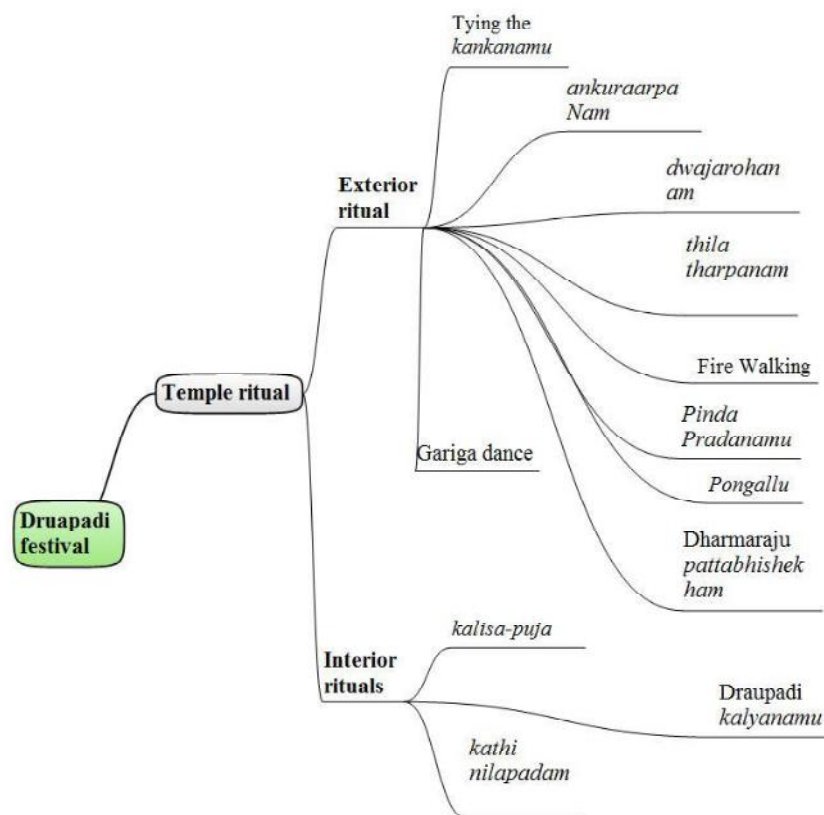


Figure 3 Rituals that are performed in Draupadi festival

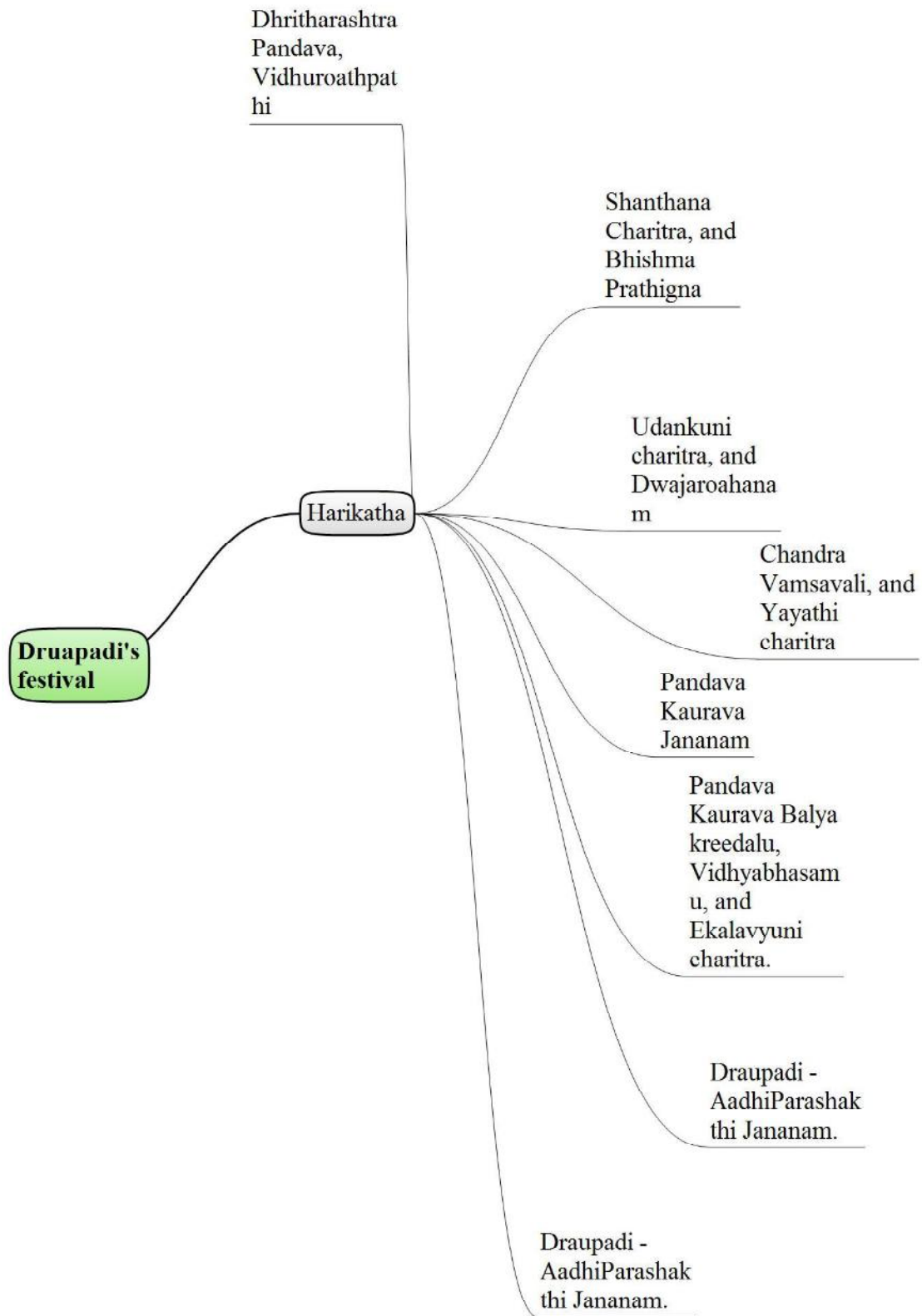


Figure 4 Stories that are performed in Harikatha

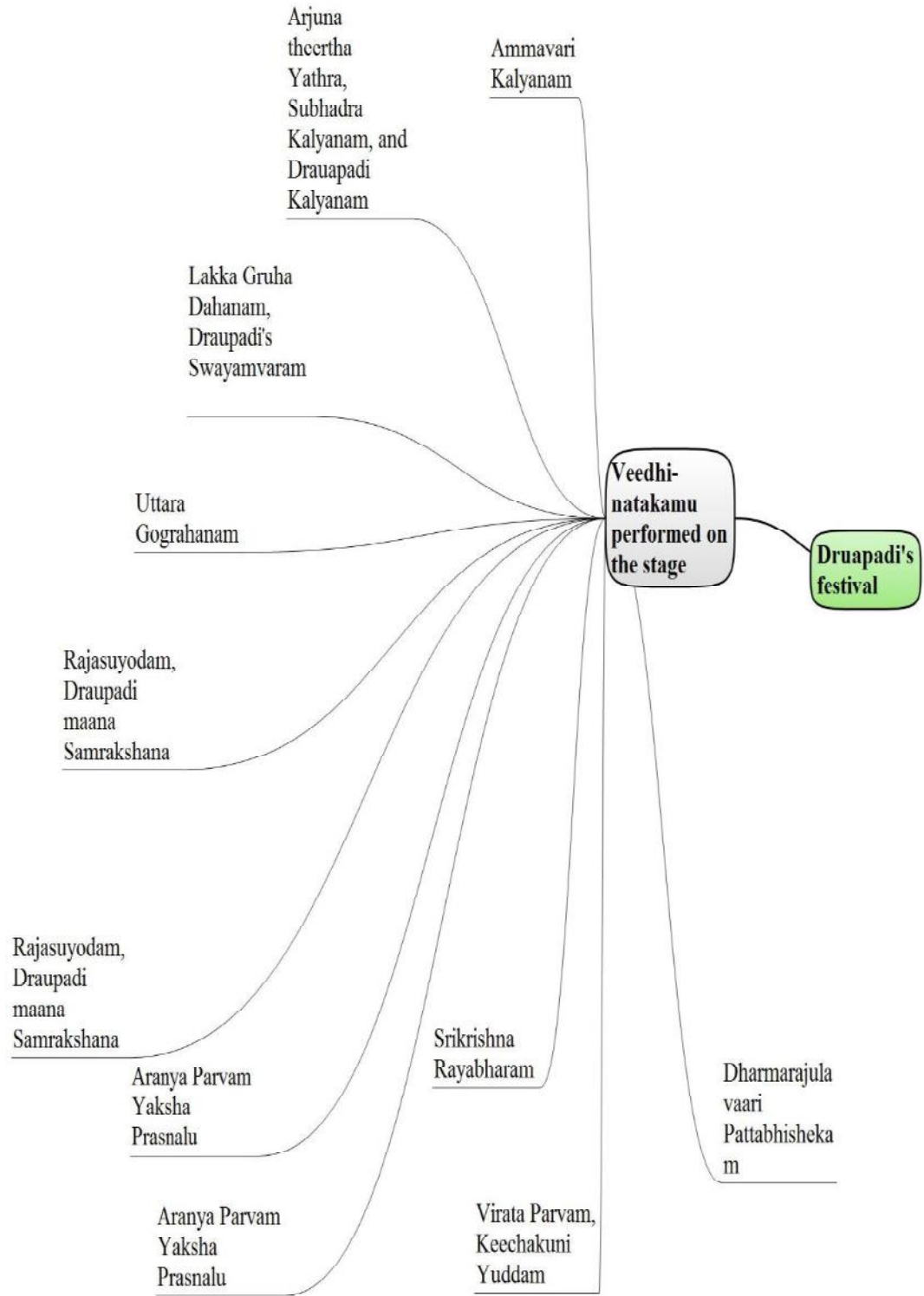


Figure 5 Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on the stage

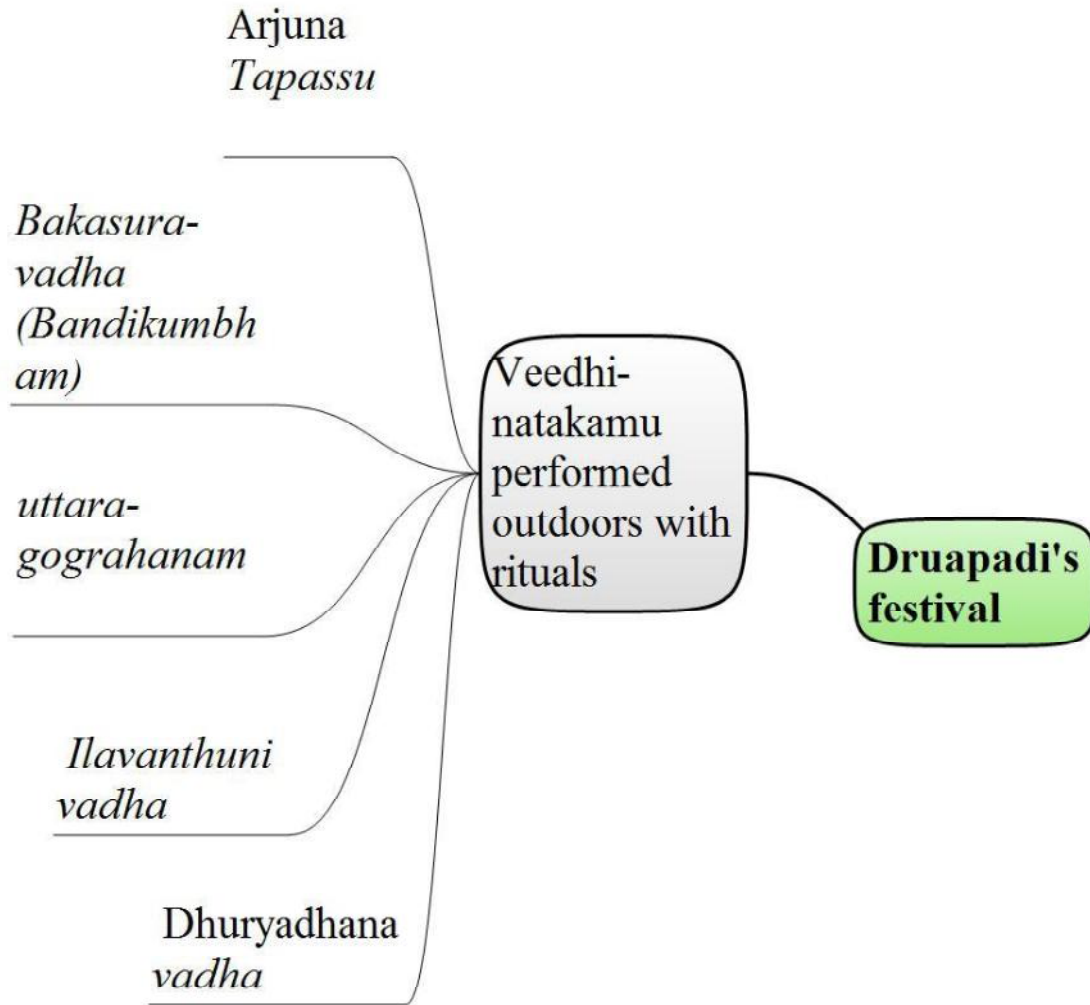


Figure 6 Outdoor theatrical performances

Before a festival is initiated, Dharmakarthalu arrange a meeting with head of the villages. Then, they may select new committee as Dharamakarthalu to organise the festival. Dharamakarthalu are men. Once Dharamakarthalu are decided, they concentrated on publicizing the festival. For this, Dharamakarthalu directs local percussion players of *dappu*¹⁴ to announce the festival to the public. After the ceremonial announcement, Dharamakarthalu approach the public to collect donations. On the next auspicious day, they fix the budget, choose the performing troupes, and meet the local decorators. Publicity for the festival includes distributing pamphlets and erecting printed flex boards. Before the festival begins, Dharamakarthalu make sure that the temple premises and performance spaces are cleaned. Later, the festival space and temple walls is decorated with locally available resources and symbolically charged materials, such as turmeric, vermilion, and

¹⁴ *Dappu* is a percussion instrument, and it is used to announce any event to public in villages.

leaves of coconut and mango. Around the temple premises is decorated with tiny electrical bulbs. Some of the icons are also decorated with the electrical bulbs. The entrance to the temple premises are also installed with decorative materials. Dharmakarthalu depends on local artists to create festival environment during the festival. Dharmakarthalu take a responsibility of the participants' safety in each and every moment. They are responsible to arrange the space for the performances, rituals and stalls during the festival. They announce the schedule of the events, performances and ritual. These announcements guides the participants in the festival. Thus, Dharmakarthalu play significant role to organise the festival.

Along with Dharmakarthalu, officiants play significant role in festival. Each Draupadi temple use to have a main officiant to conduct rituals and prayers. Along with him, there are few more officiants in the temple. While Dharmakarthalu are observed from various higher castes or from "high status among the local adherents" (Hiltebeitel 1: 22), the officiants are from the caste of Vannikula Kshatriyas. They play significant role in rituals, prayers and offerings.

Idols are most dominant figures in the festival. Its visual engagement suggests devotional feeling the participants. Draupadi festival is predominantly associated with worshipping Pandavas. Idols of five Pandavas, Draupadi, Pothuraju are often visible in Draupadi festival. Along with these idols, there are few more idols are visually appeared in the festivals: Krishna, Kuthi, Ganesh, Hanuman (icon in a flag of Dwajaroahanam), Brahmin and guardian deities. Hiltebeitel identifies five types of idols: "fixed stone [idols]...at inner most sanctum..., fixed stone [idols] at boundary points for guardian deities..., processional [idols]... made of five metals..., processional [idols] made of wood, and large wooden animal 'mount' or 'vehicles' for procession of the deities (2: 42). These five types of idols are quite common in many temple in the region. Idols that are made with five metals (*panchaloaha*) is not seen often in Chittoor region. Most of the idols are made in with the wood. The idols are meant to perform offerings, to devote, to take for processions, and to keep in the rituals. These idols are repainted for each year, and it is decorated with flowers and other sacred materials during the festival. Thus, various idols are observed in various contexts in Draupadi festival.

Draupadi festival attracts many number of participants with rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha/Katha Kalakshepa. In Chittoor region, Harikatha or Katha

Kalakshepa is performed in Draupadi festival. For this study, Harikatha is considered. To study scenography in Draupadi festival, the festival is divided into four parts based: rituals; Veedhi-natakamu on the erected stage; Veedhi-natakamu with ritual in open fields; and Harikatha. In the festival, Veedhi-natakamu is performed in two types of spaces: on the stage and in open fields. Consequently, Veedhi-natakamu performances are divided into two types. These two types of Veedhi-natakamu performances are not similar in many ways. To make the distinction between these two types of the performances, to make it clear for the reader, the two types of Veedhi-natakamu performances are referred with two names. Veedhi-natakamu performances which are performed on the stage is referred as “stage based theatre”, and Veedhi-natakamu performances which are performed in open fields is called as “outdoor theatrical performances”. As it is one of the “popular narrative performance genre” (Flueckiger 47), in Telugu speaking states of India, Harikatha is referred as “oral narrative performance” in this thesis.

a) Devotees/spectators:

In Draupadi festival, thousands of people participates. These participants play various roles in various situations. For examples, majority of the participants worship in the rituals and “outdoor theatrical performances”; and, shift as spectators to get entertainment in Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. Thus, in this study, the participants are referred as devotees, who worship in the rituals and “outdoor theatrical performances”; and spectators for Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha performances.

3. Sacred installations:

In this thesis, the concept of installation is referred when the rituals and the outdoor theatre are studied. According to an evidence, “installation art is a term generally used to describe artwork located in three-dimensional interior space as the word ‘install’ means putting something inside of something else. It is often site-specific-designed to have a particular relationship, whether temporary or permanent, with its spatial environment on an architectural, conceptual, or social level.”¹⁵ According to Bishop, installation art, which is frequently labelled as ‘experiential’ art, gives opportunity to viewer to enter physically into a space, (Bishop 6). In Draupadi festival, the community art is designed to establish the

¹⁵ See <http://www.theartstory.org/movement-installation-art.htm>

festival environments. It is three dimensional, and it drives the participants to experience devotion in the space.

Many scholars establish the significant relation between installation art and theatre arts. The common elements between installation art and theatre art are spaces and participation. Richard Schechner, a scholar and theatre artist, who coined “environmental theatre”, notices “actual relationships between the body and the spaces the body moves through’ (Environmental Theatre 2). Richard Schechner establishes the relation between environment and participation. This relation possibly resembles the concept of installation art. Relating the concept of body in three dimensional art, Draupadi ritual demonstrates installation art. The installations in Draupadi festival may exhibit the festival mood and the contextual meaning of the festival. These installations in ritual performances may present the landscapes with central characteristics of the ritual. Thus, the community art in Draupadi festival resembles the installation art.

Most of the times, the installation art in Draupadi festival is executed to create sacredness in the festival. It is designed to create sacred space. The community art becomes bridge between ordinary spaces to sacred space; this art does not allow devotees to consider as illusionistic space. The community art in the festival space also serve as background to the rituals and performances. As it is related to the concept of installation and dedicated to sacred space, the community art in Draupadi festival is referred as sacred installations.

4. What is Scenography?

Scenography originates from the Greek term *sceno-grafika*, and it is understood as “the writing of the stage space” (Howard 125). In the Renaissance theatre, the concept of scenography is observed in technique of painting a scenery (Moffitt 16). The concept of scenography is widely used in practical theatre, and it is understood various research scholars and academicians across the world.

The scenography is observed in various subjects such as architecture, theatre, site-specific arts, exhibition arts and museum of arts. Arnold Aronson identifies expansion of scenography: “In recent years, scenographic and performative borders have shifted in ways so profound as to call into question the very notion of theatre and performance as it has

been understood for over 2500 years.”¹⁶ Natalie Rewa studies scenography with the history of architecture.¹⁷ Apart from architectural scenography, Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth studies scenography emphasising on space, visuals and the participants experience; according to them, “in the twentieth century the term [scenography] has gradually gained currency by drawing attention to the way stage space can be used as a dynamic and ‘kinesthetic contribution’ to the experience of performance”.¹⁸ Ingrid Thomassen studies scenography within the context of museum arts comparing museum visitors with the performers and spectators of theatre.¹⁹ In case of exhibition art, PQ (“prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space”) views scenography as a “complex art field”; for them, it is more than decoration for a theatre; they proposes “complex creator” who transforms the space with visuals; according to them, “[scenography] will be reached as phenomenon appearing in a diversity of art and cultural disciplines-visual arts, architecture, fashion, installation, video art, new media, site specific, as well as an interdisciplinary art in itself”.²⁰ Liina Unt observes the relation between scenography and environment: “[s]cenography is discussed as an invisible form of art that changes physical, visually and connotatively filled, environments by shifting the focus, building links between existing elements and desired fictional ones”.²¹ Thus, scenography is observed in various fields.

Even though it is observed initially in the theatre field, scenography is expanded to study visual arts. Thus, most of the academicians focuses to study scenography in the contexts of visual and performing arts. For them scenography is creating “performance environment” using visual arts to engage participants. For instance, Butterworth and Mckinney emphasises on “the manipulation and orchestration of the performance

¹⁶ See Aronson, Arnold 2008 “The Power of Space in a Virtual World.” In Dorita Hannah and Olav Harsløv (eds.): *Performance Design*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculaneum Press.

¹⁷ See page 225 in Rewa, Natalie. *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers*. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2004. Print.

¹⁸ See page 3 in McKinney, Joslin, and Philip Butterworth. *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

¹⁹ See page 6 in Thomassen, Ingrid. *The Role of Scenography in Museum Exhibitions: The Case of the Grossraum at the Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology, Oslo*. Thesis. University of Oslo, 2017. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print. Also available at <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-60981>

²⁰ Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space, “Artistic Concept of PQ 2011,” 1. For more details please click on the link <http://services.pq.cz/en/concept.html> accessed 12 06 2018

²¹ See page 11 in Unt, Liina. *Landscape as Playground The Environmental Experience of Landscape as Fictional and Real in a Performance*. Diss. Aalto U, n.d. Finland: Aalto U Publication, 2012. Print. Also available at https://shop.aalto.fi/media/attachments/66997/Unt_netti.pdf

environment”²² in conceptual understanding of scenography. For another example, which establishes strong association between scenography and performance environment, Lotker and Gough notifies that “[w]hat is important is that scenographies are environments that not only determine the context of performative actions, but inspire us to act and that directly form our actions”²³. Thus, most of the academicians considers the concept of scenography to create “performance environment”.

In performing arts, the concept of scenography is studied by many scholars with theatrical elements. Howard understands that “[s]cenography is the seamless synthesis of space, text, research, art, actors, directors and spectators that contributes to an original creation.”²⁴ Rewa observes the importance of theatrical elements: “[S]cenography is what comprises all the design categories-set, costumes, lights, and sound-modulating the focus of attention onto the spatial dynamics, the active presence of the performers in the given spaces, and the choices of materials which have entered the interpretative and creative vocabulary of the production.”²⁵ According to Johnny Saldaña, “[s]cenography refers to the total visual and aural conception for theatrical productions and includes the constituent elements of scenery, set and hand properties, costumes, makeup, lighting, sound, and technology”.²⁶ Both Howard and Saldana observes the importance of theatrical elements in to study in scenography. While Howard forgets to emphasise on sound, Rewa and Saldana identifies the importance of sound in scenography.

Pamela Howard investigates scenography in various perspectives: “space; text; research; colour and composition; director; performers; and spectators”.²⁷ Rewa emphasises on “set, costumes, lights, and soud” to study scenography. Saldana recognises the importance of “scenery, set and hand properties, costumes, makeup, lighting, sound, and technology” to understand scenography. From the views of Howard, Rewa and

²² See page 4 in McKinney, Joslin, and Philip Butterworth. *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

²³ See page from 3 to 4 in Lotker, Sodja, and Richard Gough. "On Scenography: Editorial." *Performance Research A Journal of the Performing Arts* 18.3 (2013): 3-6. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13528165.2013.818306>. Web. 22 June 2016. <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13528165.2013.818306?needAccess=true>>

²⁴ See page 130 in Howard, Pamela. *What Is Scenography?* London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

²⁵ See page 225 in Natalie Rewa, *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

²⁶ See pages from 27 to 28 in Saldaña, Johnny. *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 2005. Print.

²⁷ See in Howard, Pamela. *What Is Scenography?* London: Routledge, 2002. Print

Saldana, scenographic elements can be listed as “space; text; performers; colour and composition; spectators; and sound”.

5. Indian Scenography

The word scenography is a new concept for Indian theatre, but many evidences suggest to think that the concept of scenography did exist since the ancient Indian theatre. For instances, from ancient Indian scholars, Bharatha, Dhananjaya and Nanyadeva proposed few views on theatre which has close association with scenography. Concept of scenography probably reflects in Bharatha's *Natyasastra*: “There is no knowledge, no fine art, no learning, no skill, no yoga and no activity that is not represented in Drama.”²⁸ Ayaryabhinayamu Manmohangosh Bharatha emphasises the imporatnace of fine arts in theatre, which has very close relation to scenography. Chaudhary studies Dhananjaya's reflection on drama: “Dhananjaya suggested that in all the production, dress, action and speech should be taken directly from the society and should be properly observed.”²⁹ Here, Dhananjaya emphasises significance of visual element: dress. As costumes are one of the scenographic element observed by Howard, it is possible to associate scenographic concept with Dhananjaya's proposal. Govind Keshav Bhat notes one of the concepts of ancient Indian theatre: “Bharata describes drama, in his *Natyashastra*, as a *drisya-kavya*, that is visual peotry.”³⁰ According to Varadapande, “[t]he terms '*Preksha*' and '*Rupaka*' clearly point at the visual aspect of drama.”³¹ Here, *drisya-kavya*, *preksha*, *rupaka* are resembles the concept of scenogrpahy which is strongly related to stage pictures. Chaudhary also notes Nanyadeva's commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* as “spectators' state of mind must be considered”³². Here, Nanyadeva's observation on spectators' state of mind suggests to compare with one of the scenographic element: spectator. Thus, ancient Indian theatre demonstrates the concept of scenography.

²⁸ In his book, Jagirdar traslates a *Natyasastra's sloka*. See page 16 in JAGIRDAR, R. V. *Drama in Sanskrit Literature*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1947. Print.

²⁹ See page 132 in Choudhary, Radhakrishna. *A Survey of Maithili Literature*. New Delhi: Shruti Publication, 2010. Print.

³⁰ See page 17 in Bhat, Govind Keshav. *Tragedy and Sanskrit Drama*. Bombay: Bhāsa Popular Prakashan, 1974. Print.

³¹ See page 277 in Varadpande, Manohar Laxman. *History of Indian Theatre*. Vol. 1. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987. Print.

³² See page 132 in Choudhary, Radhakrishna. *A Survey of Maithili Literature*. New Delhi: Shruti Publication, 2010. Print.

In modern Indian theatre studies, Nissar Allana, Richard Schechner, Suresh Awasthi and Christopher B. Balme propose scenography in Indian cultural context.

Nissar Allana, in *Theatre of India A concise companion*, understands the concept of scenography in the contexts of both ancient and modern Indian theatre.³³ She notes that Indian stage needs to be understood with different parameters which are different from western concept. According to her observation, traditional Indian theatre is “non-realistic, non-representational, and ritualistic in content and form”³⁴. As part of her observation, she studies spaces of Indian Sanskrit theatre and folk theatre. She observes the seating arrangement; entry and exit of the actors; actors’ movement to represent a change of location, to communicate riding a chariot; the role of the handheld curtain; masks, make-up, props, and costumes; and spectators’ spaces. She also studies the influence of proscenium theatre in eighteenth century in India. She notes influence of “the Renaissance Italianate style of painted perspective scenery” on Indian theatre. She concludes that western theatre is “indianized” with vast visuals in Indian theatre practice in 19th century. The concept of painted curtains are popular till early 1930s. She studies the role of light in traditional Indian theatre. Thus, Nissar Allana understands the concept of scenography in Indian theatre.

Suresh Awasthi studies scenography in the context of “Traditional theatre of India” in his article *The Scenography of the Traditional Theatre of India*.³⁵ In this study, he focuses performers’ and spectators’ space in traditional Indian theatre forms such as Terukkuttu, Veedhi-natakamu, Ramalila, Kathakali, Yakshagana, Rasalila, Kutiyattam, Bhagavat Puran, Bhavana, Raslila and Khyal. He studies that performers travel from one place to another place, and spectators move along with performers in few traditional Indian performances. Performers’ space is surrounded by spectators in folk theatre. Awasthi observes: “An important factor that determines the nature of scenography in [traditional Indian] theatre is the non-realistic and metaphysical treatment of time and place”³⁶. According to him, performer contributes scenography in traditional Indian theatre; the scenery is created with performers’ accessories such as exaggerated makeup, costumes, and

³³ See page numbers from 321 to 387 in Lal, Ananda. *Theatres of India a Concise Companion*. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2009. Print.

³⁴ Ibid. see page 382

³⁵ Awasthi, Suresh. "The Scenography of the Traditional Theatre of India." *The Drama Review: TDR* 18.4 (1974): 36. Web.

³⁶ Ibid. see page 38

huge headdress; and stylized acting. According to Awasthi, in Ramlila, “scenography acquires a different style in accordance with the type of performance, localized or processional”³⁷; and he also observes scenography at operating the space and spectators’ participation. He concludes that “[m]ore developed scenography occurs when the Ram-legend theatre is performed as processional drama in vast open spaces outside towns or sometimes, in larger towns, in sports stadiums”³⁸. Thus, Suresh Awasthi understands scenography in the contexts of traditional Indian theatre.

Richard Schechner, in his article *Crossing the Water: Pilgrimage, Movement, and Environmental Scenography of the Ramlila of Ramnagar*, studies scenography in outdoor performance of Ramlila.³⁹ In this study, he explores the relationship between the performances and the environments. He observes the transformation of the Ramnagar into a theatrical environment. He observes the large-scale spaces of the performances. He notes the changes of environments in Ramlila performances during a specific period. He studies relation between Indian religious performances and the participants’ emotions: “Within India’s religious and theatrical tradition there is a strong warrant for the production of large-scale, highly skilled performances representing the widest possible range of emotions, relating sacred and royal stories, and depicting interactions among gods, humans, and demons”.⁴⁰ It is possible to note that Schechner considered space as significant element to study scenography in Ramlila. Thus, Richard Schechner studies scenographic elements in Ramlila.

Christopher B. Balme referred Indian scenography in his book *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-colonial Drama*. He, referring to Tagore’s opposition to proscenium stage, observes Tagore’s practice in theatre as “a development towards rapprochement between the bare Indian stage and a stylized, anti-naturalistic scenography developed by the European avant-garde” (255). Balme’s observation suggests the folk theatre practices in India reflect the European avant-garde theatre. Thus, Balme studies Indian scenography comparing bare stage with avant garde theatre.

³⁷ Ibid. see page 41

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ See Living Banaras: Hindu Religion in Cultural Context

⁴⁰ Schechner in page 50 Living Banaras:

6. Area of Study

The Draupadi's festival is organised in Tamil speaking areas of south India: Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. The festival in these three areas are slightly different in celebration. The festival brings the local community together to lead to share the devotion. Here, the ritual spaces unite the community to nurture relations, roles and positions. The participants of Draupadi festival are allowed here to experience the devotion and entertainment. Present study is based on Draupadi festival which is organised in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh, in between 2014 to 2016. The study is focused in two regions of Chittoor district: Kuppam and Tirupathi. In these regions, three villages are selected for this study: Yamanuru and Vendugampalli, in Kuppam region, 2014; and Jeevakona, in Tirupathi, 2016. Draupadi Thirunallu, as discussed above involves large scale performances which run 18 to 30 days in which rituals, processions, Harikatha, Veedhi-natakamu, enactments of episodes from Mahabharatha exhibition stalls, and so on. Though several academicians of folklore, theatre, anthropology, and other social sciences have brought forth the information on the rituals, gods, goddesses, belief system and their fairs and festivals, there is still a scope to probe into the issues of scenographic elements that appear in these performances.



Figure 7 Geographical view of Chittoor district.⁴¹

⁴¹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:India_-_Andhra_Pradesh_-_Chittoor.svg

7. Literature survey:

The literature review focuses on the studies of Draupadi festivals; and its rituals, theatre, and narrative performances. Draupadi festival has attracted many academicians with the publications of Richard Frasca and Alf Hiltebeitel. Their works have established light in Draupadi festivals of Telugu region. Apart from Richard Frasca and Hiltebeitel, Bhakthavatsala Reddy also discusses on the performances of Draupadi festival. Bhakthavatsala Reddy has focused on both the rituals and Veedhi-natakamu which are organised in Draupadi festival. Few other scholars also explored the rituals, folk theatre, and narrative performances in Draupadi festival. The following is the synoptic view of the scholars who discussed on Draupadi festivals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha in their respective publications.

a) Cult of Draupadi volume 1

Hiltebeitel writes three volumes on “South Indian folk cult of goddess Draupadi and on classical epic, the Mahabharatha”. The three volumes are the study of Draupadi cult and its ritual, oral tradition and dramatic forms. The present book, *The cult of Draupadi: Mythologies: from Gingee to Kurukshetra*, is the first volume of the three. In this book, the author located Gingee of Tamil Nadu as the “core area” of the cult; he also refers origin of Draupadi tradition and its development. Hiltebeitel efforts demonstrates the diffusion of Draupadi tradition from the “core area”. His study is based on the sources of mythology, oral communication, manuscripts and publications.

In his first volume of the three, Hiltebeitel give two major parts: “From Gingee” and “To Kurukshetra”. First part consists six chapters, and the second part consists thirteen chapters. In the first part (“chapter one through six”), the author presents historical view of Draupadi cult; geographical view of the “core area”; social background; “myths of the Melaccheri Draupadi temple”; and the relation between Draupadi cult and Islam.

The second part of the book is organised from chapter seven to chapter nineteen. In this part, the author shifts his focus “from Gingee to Kurukshetra”. In this part, he establishes strong textual association between “northern and southern” of Mahabharatha epic. He presented textual divergence which has been drawn from “traditional materials” such as Villiparatam (p 146). In the second part, from the chapter seven to through fifteen, the author view suggests to observe a strong relation between “local epic traditions and pan-Indian epic tradition of Mahabharatha”. He analyses dramatic, narrative and ritual

traditions in Draupadi festival. In case of dramatic tradition, the author presents “Therukkuttu in historical perspective”; and “dramatic literature of Therukkuttu literature”. In sixteenth chapter, the author establishes the role of Pothurajju and Muttal Ravuttan in Draupadi cult; he analyses the “Tamil and Telugu variations in the myth of sister goddesses”. The seventeenth chapter is the study of “transformations of the mythology of the goddess and the Buffalo Demon”. The author, in chapter eighteen, studies major war episodes of Mahabharatha. Hildebeitel, in nineteenth chapter, studies the ritual “fire walking” in Draupadi cult.

b) Cult of Draupadi Volume 2

The present book *The Cult of Draupadi, Volume 2: On Hindu Ritual and the Goddess* is the second book in the series of three on Draupadi cult. While volume one is based on Gingee region, volume two is based on the cult in entire Tamil speaking areas. In this book, the author focuses on three major areas: “ritual arenas”, “battle field” and the “firepit”. The author focuses on the process of the rituals in “core area” and other regions where the Draupadi tradition is followed. He describes the process of the festival from beginning to end. As part of the study, the author identifies many relations between rituals of Draupadi festival and ancient Hindu rituals. As part of the study, the author names the outdoor theatre performances of Draupadi festival as “battle field”. As part of the study, he differentiates the process of the festival between urban and rural people. He investigates various links, diffusions in the process of the festival. He establishes the link between the rituals and Therukkuttu which are performed on stage and open field in the festival.

After first introduction, in the book, second chapter focuses on the role of the officiants in Draupadi festival. In this chapter, he identifies the role of Paratiyars who recites Mahabharatha in Draupadi festival, the local community in festival organisation, temple trustees in supervising funds, and the officiants in the offerings. In chapter three, the author studies the structure and the process of the festivals; he investigates effect of the icons in the festival. The author analyses the opening ceremonies and rituals of the festival in the chapters four and five. In chapter six, the author investigates the common aspects between Draupadi ritual and Vedic rituals; as part of this investigation, he analyses the role of “posts, altars, and demon devotees”. Thus, in last three chapters, the author studies rituals at Draupadi temples as part of the festival.

Chapter seven is the analysis of “rituals of battle” in the festival; part of this, he studies “*pathukalam* rituals”. In chapter eight, the author investigates “Arjuna’s Artifacts” in “*pathukalam* rituals”; here, he studies the outdoor performances, which is combined with rituals and theatre, of Arjuna Tappassu (“Arjuna’s bow tree”) and Uttara-gograhanamu (“Arjuna’s driving of the bull”). The ninth chapter focuses on Arvana’s history and the ritual of his sacrifice. In chapter ten, he studies “the Patukalam rites at Tidivanam”, and investigates differentiation between Tindivanam and “the core area”. In chapter eleven, the author investigates the myth and the rituals of “the Draupadi cult revival”. From chapter seven to eleven, the author gives sufficient details that relates to “Patukalam rites involving Duryodhana’s effigy”. In chapter twelve, the author presents the reasons behind keeping the Duryodhana’s effigy in Patukalam rites. He describes the rites of Draupadi’s hair at Duryodhana’s effigy at Patukalam. In chapter thirteen, the author observes the relation between Draupadi cult and classical epic texts. He also discusses differences in the process of Draupadi’s hair tying in various temples. Chapter fourteen focusses on fire walking ritual. In chapter fifteen, the author discusses the ritual that are related to close the festival: “funerary ceremonies, offerings to guardian deities the coronation of Dharma, a leave-taking with the festive and the removal of Kappu by the main officiants” (476).

Thus, Hildebeitel presents his research of Draupadi cult. Obviously, the two volumes are a major contribution to the myths of Draupadi cult; and dramatic, ritual and narrative traditions of the myths.

The Theatre of the Mahabharata Terukkuttu performances in South India

In his book *The Theatre of the Mahabharata Terukkuttu performances in South India*, Richard Frasca investigates tradition of Terukkuttu in Tamil Nadu. His study focuses on Kancheepuram region. He documents, describes and analyses the tradition of Terukkuttu in ethnographic and theatrical aspects. He concentrates on both rituals and Terukkuttu in Draupadi festival. In ritual context, Frasca investigates Victor Turner’s “communitas”.

In chapter of the book, Frasca describes historical view of Terukkuttu performances in Tamil Nadu. He refers Terukkuttu as a “musical drama”. His investigation leads him to find characteristics of Terukkuttu: “performance mode, *kuttu* (); and non-performance mode, *pattu*”. He defines the meaning of Terukkuttu, denotes the structure of the “performance, and studies the concept of *kuttu*”. In second chapter, he focuses to study “Terukkuttu troupes in Tamilandu”. For this, he classifies the troupes into three types:

“professional semi-professional, and local (or armature) groups”. He understands how the troupe sustains for a long time. He observes the importance of music in Terukkuttu. In this chapter, he describes the performance space in detailed way. He also reports performance training in Terukkuttu. In chapter three, Frasca investigates Terukkuttu performance text. As part of his investigation, he maps studies the manuscripts of Terukkuttu in various regions of Tamil Nadu. In chapter four, Frasca views on Terukkuttu presentations. In this chapter, he analyses musical elements such as *Ragas* and *Talam*. He also studies stance and dance moves of the performers in Terukkuttu. He locates makeup and costumes of Terukkuttu in chapter five. Here, he views various colours and patterns that are used in Terukkuttu makeup. He discusses the details of costumes for various characters in Terukkuttu. In chapter six, he studies Terukkuttu performances that are performed in ritual context. These performance are “Pakacuran Vatai (The killing of the Demon Pakacuran), Tiraupatai Kalyanam (Draupadi’s wedding), Arccunan’s Tapacu Maram, Virata Paruvam, Aravan Katapali, and Patinettam Por (the battle of the eighteenth day)”. In chapter seven, Frasca discusses the role of the local community in the Draupadi festival. He establishes the relation between Draupadi festivals and the concepts of Genep and Turner. In this chapter, he investigates the strong relations between the festival and Terukkuttu.

In his study, Frasca studies Terukkuttu in ritual frame. Thus, Richard Frasca investigates tradition of Terukkuttu in Tamil Nadu.

c) Kattaikkuttu The flexibility of a South Indian Theatre Tradition:

In her book *Kattaikkuttu The flexibility of a South Indian Theatre Tradition*, Hanne M. de Bruin interprets the one of the traditional theatre of Tamil Nadu: “Kattaikkuttu”. While Frasca refers the theatrical form as Terukkuttu, Bruin refers it as Kattaikkuttu. She constructs present study from the scholarly works of Richard Frasca and Alf Hiltebeitel. She studies Kattaikkuttu in many perspectives such as social, historical, textual. She presents her book in two major parts with an effective introduction. While first part focuses on “the social and historical context”, the second part emphasises on “Kattaikkuttu texts in performance”. As reveals from the title of her book, de Bruin bounds on the “flexibility” of Kattaikkuttu performances in various contexts.

d) Draupadi TiruNaLLu (dharmaraaju TiraNaaLa) by N. Bhaktavatsala Reddy

In his book *Draupadi TiruNaLLu (dharmaraaju TiraNaaLa)*, Bhaktavatsala Reddy studies Draupadi festival in ethnographic perspective. The book, which is written in Telugu language, is based on the field work done in Pachikapallam, Chittoor district in 2002. In this book, he describes ritual and Veedhi-natakamu in Draupadi festival. As part of his study, in first part, he presents the data of the rituals in chronological order. He locates outdoor theatre performances of Draupadi festival in the ritual context. In second part, he focuses on Veedhi-natakamu. In this part, he notes the list of the performances in chronological order. He gives short description of each play that is performed in Veedhi-natakamu. He also studies the entry and exit of the characters for each play performance. He views the spectators' responds in Veedhi-natakamu performances. He gives the list of names of the performers that are performed in Pachikapallam, 2002. Thus, Bhaktavatsala Reddy observes the rituals in sociological aspects and Veedhi-natakamu in theatrical aspects.

e) Chittoor Jilla Veedhi Natakalu Oka Pariseelana by Govinda Reddy

In 1998, Govinda Reddy wrote his first doctoral dissertation on “*Chittoor Jilla Veedhi Natakalu Oka Pariseelana*”. He published the dissertation in book form under same title in 2001. In his book Chittoor Jilla Veedhi Natakalu Oka Pariseelana, he studies Veedhi-natakamu of Chittoor district in theatrical aspects. This book, which is published in Telugu language, is organised in five chapters.

In first chapter, Govinda Reddy studies observes the geographical view of Chittoor district, notes tourist destinations in the region, and describes the first playhouse that is referred by Bharatha in Natyasastra. He differentiates Veedhi-natakamu with Veedhi in Dasarupakas of Dhanunjaya. To establish the meaning of the word Veedhi in Veedhi-natakamu, he explains the importance of Veedhi (street) in earlier day in the region. Finally, in this chapter, he studies the features of Veedhi-natakamu. In second chapter, Govinda Reddy presents textual analysis of Veedhi-natakamu performances. In this chapter, he observes plot structure of Veedhi-natakamu play. He categorises Veedhi-natakamu performance text into four types. They are based on Mahabharatha; Ramayana; stories of Bhagavatha; and stories of social or historical subjects. In third chapter, he describes makeup and costumes in Veedhi-natakamu. At the end of the chapter, he views the musical instruments that are used in Veedhi-natakamu. In fourth chapter, he observes performers' training, and studies spaces of performance and spectators. He presents list of Ragas used in Veedhi-natakamu. At the end of the chapter, the author keeps Veedhi-natakamu script

of Keechaka-vadha. The fifth chapter focuses on Veedhi-natakamu performance that are performed in Kuppam. He presents historical view of Kangundi Veedhi-natakalu. In this chapter, Govinda Reddy studies Veedhi-natakamu performed in outdoors. Thus, Govinda Reddy views Veedhi-natakamu in Chittoor district.

f) Kangundi Kuppam Veedhi Natakalu: Shastranusheelanam by Vasudeva Singh

In 2007, Vasudeva Singh wrote his doctoral dissertation on “*Kangundi Kuppam Veedhi Natakalu: Shastranusheelanam*”. He published the dissertation in book form under same title in 2009 in Telugu language. In this book, he studies Veedhi-natakamu in the context of Natyasastra. Study is based on the field work done in “Vedurukuppam, Pachikapallam, Jakkadana and Karvetinagaram” in Chittoor district. He organises this book in six chapters.

In first chapter, Vasudeva Singh observes historical view of Veedhi-natakamu performances in Chittoor region. He also describes the way of presentation of Veedhi-natakamu performance. In this book, from chapter two through five, he studies Veedhi-natakamu in the context of Bharatha’s Natyasastra. In these chapters, he analyses Veedhi-natakamu performances in the aspects of physical acting (*Angika Abhinaya*); Speech and voice modulation (*Vachikabhinayamu*), emotional acting (*Satvika Abhinaya*) and accessories (*Aharya Abhinaya*). In sixth chapter, the author concludes his study.

g) Chittoor Jilla Tirunalla Geyalu by Paidala Moulana

Paidala Moulana wrote his M.Phil dissertation on “Chittoor Jilla Tirunalla Geyalu”. He published the dissertation in book form under same title. The present book, which is in Telugu language, demonstrates various festival that are celebrated in Chittoor district. As part of this study, Moulana describes Draupadi festival (as Dharmaraju Thirunallu) very briefly. He just gives list of Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed in Draupadi festival.

h) Chittoor Zilla Pandugalu

Genji Aruna has done her doctoral dissertation on *Chittoor Zilla Pandugalu*. In this study she observes various festival that are celebrated in Chittoor district. In this study, she also views *Dharmaraju Thirunallu* (another name for Draupadi festival). In this study, she studies Draupadi rituals and Veedhi-natakamu performances very briefly.

i) Kuppam Veedhi Natakam: A performance Study by Medukonduru Shankar

Medukonduru Shankar studies Veedhi-natakamu performed in Kuppam region, Chittoor district. As the title of the book suggests, he studies Veedhi-natakamu in the aspect of performance study. He observes themes performed in Veedhi-natakamu. He understands the performance approach of the Veedhi-natakamu. He views the performance context of Veedhi-natakamu. He analyses briefly the text, makeup and costumes in Veedhi-natakamu. He views Veedhi-natakamu in ritual context. As part of his study, he observes how armature actors defame the popularity of Veedhi-natakamu by adding cinema songs and dances in the performances. He identifies the special aspects of “Kuppam Veedhi-natakamu”, which conserves and promotes the performance tradition to next generation.

j) Telugu Harikatha Sarvaswam by Tumati Donappa

In his book *Harikatha Sarvaswam*, Tumati Donappa studies Harikatha in the aspects of social, historical, literature and performance. He categorise the book in two major parts. In first part, he views storytelling forms in Telugu and other spoken languages. He studies the meaning of Harikatha. He examines the performance process of Harikatha. He observes the role of music in Harikatha performances. He presents the history of Harikatha. In second part of the book, he studies the social life of Harikatha performers.

k) Kathaakaalakshepa-A Study (Musical Discourse) by Premeela Gurumurthy

Premeela Gurumurthy has done her research work on “Kathakalakshepa” for her doctoral dissertation. She has published the dissertation in book form under same title. Her study is referres the “art of Kathakalakshepa” in India. She studies the performance tradition in historical and performance aspects. In her study, she observes Harikatha in historical aspects.

Though the several works contributed by the above scholars discuss about various socio-political and cultural factors of Draupadi festival, the scenographic values of the performances could not get much attention. Since the festival is full of visual arts and performing arts, the scenographic elements need to be investigated in order to learn how the indigenous and native techniques of the audio and visual tools are appropriated in these large scale performances.

8. Issues addressed

- a) What is scenography?
- b) What are scenographic aspects in Indian traditional performances?
- c) How do the participants create the festival space?
- d) Can Draupadi festival be viewed as a scenographic expression?
- e) If so, how scenography functions in Draupadi festival?
- f) How is the material identified and executed to conduct the enactment?

9. Aims and objectives:

The first objective of the study is to probe into the issues enumerated above.

The second objective is to study Draupadi festival and its performances.

The third objective of the study is to establish significant association between field of scenography and folk celebrations within the context of Draupadi festival.

The fourth objective of the study is to analyse the contribution of the participants exploring scenographic elements in the festival/celebration.

The last objective of the study is to evaluate the participants' experience within the boundaries of scenographic elements in the specific context of the festival.

10. Methodology

This study uses two types of methodology. While first type of methodology is drawn from the discipline of theatre that is related to scenography, second methodology is drawn from folklore.

First methodology is purely depended on literature survey. According to first methodology planned for this study, the concept of scenography is observed in various fields; from there, it is focused to understand scenographic elements in the festival, installation art, narrative performance, theatre, and rituals. In this method, it is understood the function of scenographic elements in festival, performances and rituals. To collect data related to scenography, literary method is used.

Second methodology, which is drawn from discipline of folklore, is focused to collect the data related to Draupadi festival, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha from literature

and field. The collection for the data associated to Draupadi festival is followed in four methods: literary method, observation method, interview method and survey method.

a) Literary method:

To understand the process of Draupadi festival from the various scholars, literary method is used. In this method, the data is collected related to Draupadi festival, Veedhi-natakamu, Harikatha, and Draupadi temple rituals.

b) Observation method:

Observation method is used to collect data in Draupadi festival to understand the process of the rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. This method is also used to investigate the participants' involvement in the festival. For this, participatory and non-participatory method is used. It is used both participatory and non-participatory observation to collect data. The participatory method is used especially in the process of the rituals and Veedhi-natakamu performances; in case of rituals, participatory observation is used while devotees are organising the rituals along with Dharmakarthalu; in case of Veedhi-natakamu, participatory observation is used while Veedhi-natakamu performers are getting makeup and costumes. Participatory observation also used to understand perception of the officiants, performers and participants. Non-participatory observation is used to collect data in rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. Non-participatory observation is used especially in documenting the data in the form of video, audio and photography. Thus, both the methods of participatory and non-participatory observation is used to collect the data.

c) Interview method:

Along with observation method, interview method is used to collect the data related to Draupadi festival, Veedhi-natakamu, Harikatha, and rituals. Interviews are done in both structure and non-structure method. The interviews are conducted individually and group.

The local community, temple officiants and Dharmakarthalu are individually interviewed to collect data related to process and importance of Draupadi festival. For specific information related to the process of Draupadi festival, they are interviewed in a group. Along with the data related to the process of Draupadi festival, the data related to Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha is collected in interview method. For this, interviews are taken from the local community; the performers and the musicians; the technicians (electrical and sound); and Dharmakarthalu with specific goals. The aim of the interviews

with Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha performers are to collect the data related to the performance text, makeup, performance space, lighting, music, sound, songs, performers' skills, and spectators' perception. Both unstructured and semi-structured interviews are the tools that used to collect the data. Individual in-depth interview from semi-structured interview process is used to collect data. Along with individual interviews, group interviews are also used to gather the data associated to Veedhi-natakamu, Harikatha and temple rituals.

d) Survey method:

Along with observation and interview methods, survey method is also used for this study. Survey method is used to gather the information related to the perception of the participants. Participants' perception is taken in rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. The primary goal to conduct survey method in the rituals are to know whether people participate for entertainment or to devote. The data is collected using personal interviews. The samples are selected randomly as they are huge. Overall, 23 questions are used in the survey. Approximately 500 people are interviewed personally during the festival; these people are selected from various age groups, cast, class and occupation. Finally, the data from the survey is used to know how various participants engage in the performances.

11. Chapterisation:

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Each chapter focuses on aforementioned issues and an in-depth analysis is attempted.

Chapter One: Introduction:

Chapter one describes the introduction of the study. It introduces the concept of the festivals in India and Telugu speaking states. The chapter introduces the Draupadi festival and its performances in Chittoor region. It explains how the participants of the festival is referred in the study at various chapters. It presents the use of the term installations in the study. It introduces the concept of scenography in general, and provides the evidences of scenographic concept in Indian theatre. It establishes the area of the study, gives a brief synopsis of the relevant literature, lists the issues addressed, offers aims and objectives, and provides a synopsis of methodology employed. This chapter summarizes what will be discussed in the following chapters. The main aim of the chapter is to provide the background and the context in which to situate the research.

Chapter Two: Ritual Scenography:

The chapter is offered into two major parts: Part A and Part B. The first part is the study of specific rituals of Draupadi festival in chronological order within the context of scenography. The second part presents the common aspects of scenography in the rituals. The reason to divide the chapter into two major parts is not to repeat common aspects of scenography in each ritual. In the first part, a ritual is analysed with the context of scenographic elements. As part of the analysis, it is explored that transformation of the space, the sacred materials impact in the ritual space, and the devotees' engagement. In the second part, scenographic elements is studied considering rituals as a whole.

Chapter Three: Scenography of stage based theatre:

In this chapter, scenographic elements are studied in the presentation of stage based Veedhi-natakamu performances.

Chapter Four: Scenography of Outdoor theatrical performances:

This chapter is presented in two parts: Part A and Part B. In the first part, it is analysed the outdoor theatrical performances individually within the context of scenography; and, in the second part, it is presented the examination of common scenographic aspects of these performances. The reason to present the common scenographic aspects separately is to avoid repetition.

Chapter Five: Chapter 5: Scenography of Oral Narrative Performances:

This chapter presents study of scenographic elements in the oral narrative performance, Harikatha. This chapter is divided into two major parts: Part A and Part B. In first part, the chapter offers meaning of Harikatha and its performances in present context. In second part, the chapter presents an examination of scenographic elements such as space; text; colour and composition; performers; spectators and sound in Harikatha. As Harikatha is an oral narrative form and the chapter is about the examination of scenographic elements in it, the present chapter is titled with "scenography of oral narrative performances".

Chapter six: Conclusion:

Chapter six is summation of the study and suggestion for further research.

Chapter Two: Ritual Scenography

Introduction

In Draupadi festival, rituals are rooted in local communities of Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh. These rituals are extended over 18 to 20 days with parts at several places: in temple courtyards, in farm fields, and in shrines. Hundreds of devotees join behind these rituals. The rituals undoubtedly permit devotees to have physical, emotional and spiritual engagement. In these rituals, performance space is visually enriched with decorated idols, sacred materials, decorations, officiants and crowded devotees. Temple walls and its decorations are part of the backdrops for few of these rituals. Most of the rituals of Draupadi festival are performed at outdoors; natural environments are the background for these rituals. These outdoors offers space for devotees to watch the rituals for longer and shorter intervals. Without installations, these outdoor spaces are empty. The presence of the idols, the sacred materials and the officiants probably create the sacredness in the empty space.

Many evidences suggest that Draupadi ritual spaces resembles theatrical spaces. Peter Brook called an “empty space” as a “bare stage”; according to him, a human “walks across this empty space” watched by some other human has accomplished act of theatre (7). This establishes the significance of viewers and the performer in theatre. If Brook’s empty space becomes a bare stage, it is possible to call ritual space of Draupadi festival as a stage because there is a live actor (the officiant) in the ritual space, and he is being watched by others (devotees). In this ritual space, officiants, people who carry idols, and temple committee, move across space during the ritual; devotees watch them. Based on Peter Brook’s concept of “bare stage”, it is obvious that these ritual spaces can be compared with a theatrical space. This evidence suggests to think that scenography in ritual space of Draupadi festival.

Ronald L. Grimes, in his book *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, refers that a ritual is an “enactment” which is performed in front of someone (243). This indicates to consider Draupadi rituals as “enactments” which is performed in front of devotees. Thus, considering the ritual space as “a large devotional stage” which is conceptually transformed to be seen, to participate and to perform (devotion), this chapter offers study of scenographic elements in the rituals. The current chapter is named “ritual scenography”

because the rituals of Draupadi festival are planned to discuss within the context of scenographic elements.

Present study, in the chapter ritual scenography, offers the examination of physical components of the sacred spectacles. Individual functions and intended meanings of these spectacles are discussed in the ritual spaces. Devotion and their belief are a key features to understand these rituals. Rites in Draupadi temple rituals appear in performative way which engages devotees and worshippers. These rites are combination of decorative idols, chanting, rhythmic sounds, sacred materials and priest's actions. These rites suggests that the followers demonstrate as the performers along with participation. The space in these rituals is animated with idols, sacred material, officiants, performers and participants.

The exploration of the chapter is instilled in a way that Draupadi ritual and its association to the installations in the ritual space: precisely, the way the temple courtyards, the farm fields, innermost shrine, idols and sacred materials are used to stimulate the devotional and spiritual environments, to communicate the context of the ritual, and to mark the devotees as a performer who worship. The chapter also studies the relation between devotees and the ritual spaces in scenographic aspect. Most significantly, the chapter understands the scenographic elements in the ritual space. The chapter is offered into two major parts: Part A and Part B. The first part is the study of specific rituals of Draupadi festival in chronological order within the context of scenography. The second part presents the common aspects of scenography in the rituals. The reason to divide the chapter into two major parts is not to repeat common aspects of scenography in each ritual. In the first part, a ritual is analysed with the context of scenographic elements. As part of the analysis, it is explored that transformation of the space, the sacred materials impact in the ritual space, and the devotees' engagement. In the second part, scenographic elements is offered considering rituals as a whole.

Part A: Draupadi Rituals and its Scenography

1. Tying the *kankanamu*:

This is the first outdoor ritual in Draupadi festival which establishes the importance of purity of soul in engaging with the festival. The importance of purity is communicated through the act of tying a turmeric amulet to officiants, a drum player and idol of Potturaja. This act of tying *kankanamu* suggests the strong bond between the festival and the participants. This strong bond gives the indication to devotees to engage purely with the

festival as officiants do. This ritual suggestively offers a threshold that leads devotees to participate in the festival.

The Telugu noun *kankanamu* means “a bracelet or ornament for a wrist”⁴²; in the verb form, the word means bound to complete an act. For all Hindu festivals in this region, the *kankanamu* is an initiative ritual centred on tying of a turmeric amulet on right-hand wrist. In the Draupadi’s festival, minimum five officiants have to tie turmeric amulet. If there are many people who represent various villages in the festival, more than five people can tie turmeric amulet. All these officiants, who tie *kankanamu*, do have intimate connection with the deity in the period of the festival; they are the people who become main officiants in every ritual prayers of Draupadi.

The “tying of *kankanamu*” is followed by a procession. This is the first procession that happens at the Draupadi’s festival on the day of first night. Idols are freshly dressed in new clothes. Temple trustees dress the female idols with yellow colour sarees and male idols with white *dhoti*, yellow turban and *kanduva*. Here, the group of hundred people with five priests move towards a pond to do the ritual *Kanakanm*. This procession is led by two drummers from schedule caste; and one drummer from Pamba caste. These three drummers are followed by few people carrying objects, such as *melam*, a *harathi*, a *diviti*, Pothuraju idol, Kalisam, sacred materials, bundles of thread, few pots, and a bunch of swords. This procession starts from the temple and ends at the pond where the ritual *kankanam* happens.

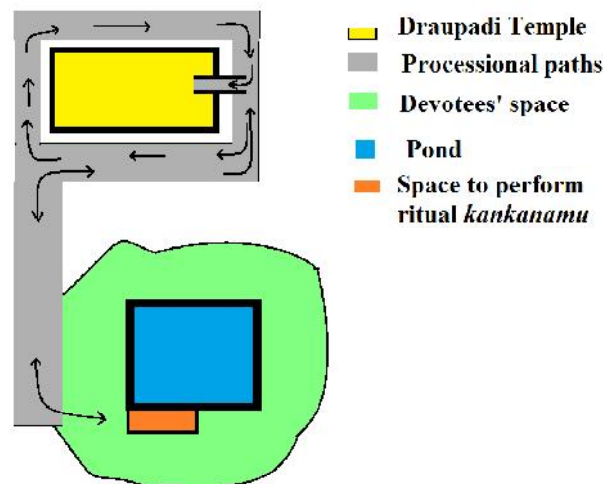


Figure 8 The main temple (Sri Dharma Rajula Gudi), the processional path and the *kankanamu* ritual space of Yamaganipalle village, Kuppam.

⁴² See page 97 in Percival, Vaadarevu P. Telugu-English Dictionary. 1862. Print.



Plate 1 Dharmakarthalu and the officiants preparing ritual objects for Kankanamu rituals at a lake in Vendugampalli, 2014. Petromax lamps are used to illuminate the ritual space.

After the ‘procession to bring the water’, the ritual of the *kankanam* happens near a tank or pond. In urban areas, this ritual is done near a tap due to nonexistence of open tanks and ponds. Officiants take bath in the tank; then they dress yellow cloth and wear a ‘sacred thread’ (*janjambu* in Telugu) on upper body. After the bath, officiants fill the water in the main pot which they bring from the temple. They apply turmeric paste on their forehead; on this turmeric paste, a thin vertical red line, locally called *thilak*, is drawn from glabella to hairline. Meanwhile, temple trustees decorate swords and pot with flowers, yellow thread and turmeric amulet. After all these initiations, temple trustees hang a flower garland around each officiants’ neck. After this, officiants sits crossed-leg and take a bow with touching a coconut. Now, temple trustees tie the turmeric amulet to officiants.⁴³ Drumming is played continuously while tying turmeric amulet and offering burning camphor. After this, temple committee ties turmeric amulet to a drum player, from *Pamba* community; and to *Potturaja*, the guardian of Draupadi. Once it is tied to the mentioned people, there is an offering of lighted incense and burning camphor to the pot which is filled with water. They use this pot for next ritual ‘*alugu nilapadam*’ in the temple. Keeping burning camphor in a

⁴³ Hildebeitel, in his book *The Cult of Draupadi On Hindu Ritual and the Goddess*, in chapter five, observed Brahmin tie the *kankanamu* to the officiants in Melacheri temple in Tamilnadu, contract to the observation, the researcher in Andhra Pradesh noticed that one of the temple trustees from *vannikuala kshatriyas* ties the *kankanamu* to the officiants.

bronze plate, they perform *harathi*⁴⁴ to the pot; once *harathi* is performed, the *harathi* is shown close to each devotee.

Officiants keep the burning camphor and vermilion powder in a plate so that they can bring the burning camphor to each and every devotee. All the devotees offer a currency in the plate, bow to the camphor flames and put a dot on their forehead with vermilion powder. Some devotees carry this vermilion powder to their homes. Once the burning camphor is brought to all devotees, the ritual *kankanam* is completed. While tying the turmeric amulet, there is a huge music with musical instruments: two *dolus*, two *nadaswaram*, *kombu pattu*, two *duppu*, temple bell, and *Pamba*. The music is echoed with devotees' recites of the word Govindha, during the proceedings of turmeric amulet, and *harathi*.

Once the *Kankanam* is tied to the officiants, they have to stay in the premises of the temple until the festival is done. They must follow the triple purity of thought, word, and deed (Telugu *thrikarana shuddi*). Until *kankanamu* is removed, they must sleep in the temple, eat only vegetarian food which was prepared by themselves, and keep away from sexual intercourse. Tying *kankanamu* and wearing the sacred dress are the symbolic representation of the officiants' purity; villagers believe that the purity protects the festival from any evil power that is possible harm.

Devotees sit around the tank to watch the ritual. The ritual space is at the edge of the tank. This space is tightened in centre of the temple trustees and devotees. During the ritual, the text is not pronounced. Because it is far from an electrical source, the performance space is illuminated with Petromax lamps or battery lights. The temple trustees clean the surroundings of the tank but they do not arrange any seats for devotees. The sacred colour yellow governs the ritual performance space. This yellow colour is exposed from the officiants' dress and marigold flowers that are used for decoration and garland. Burning camphor indicates scarification of ego. The warmth of burning camphor fills the holiness in the devotees' hands and eyes. The burning incense sticks create a devotional feeling. The sound of the musical bands produces large-scale music which helps devotees to isolate from other pointless conversation. The beliefs in the ritual *kankanamu* keep the devotees to stay divine.

⁴⁴ *Harathi* is waving camphor flames vertically three times in clockwise direction in front of an idol.

Devotees' attention is dragged by the sacred material; the presence of the material in the space creates devotional engagement through the actions of officiants. Officiants wear "turmeric-dyed clothes" which is one of the visual aid to the devotees.

The primary light source in this event is Petromax lamps or rechargeable lanterns. Yellow thread and flowers on the pot and swords create a visual impact to drag the devotees' eyes in the ritual.

Kankanamu not only bounds the devotees strongly to the festival, but it also gives signals to devotees to know the importance of purity in the festival. These signals drive them to keep away from impurity acts in the festival. As bronze plate, along with burning camphor and vermilion, acts as a sacred object, it engages the devotees to communicate their devotion. This plate acts as kinetic visual. The decorated pot and the swords are static visuals until officiants take that for the procession. Both kinetic and static visual here purely represents the sacred meaning to the devotees. Thus, these sacred meanings lead the devotees to engage with the event.

Reciting the word *Govinda* is also another tool for the devotees to reverberate the space with devotion.

1.1. Procession back to Temple with *gariga* dance:

After the performance of ritual *kankanam*, from the tank, a procession leads back to the temple to perform the rituals *anakuraarpaNam* and *alugu nilapadamu*. This procession centres with *gariga* dance; it is locally called as '*pachi gariga*' '*ammavari puja*', and '*ammavari gariga*'.

Gariga means clay pot; in the local dialect, *gariga* also is called as *gerige*, and *geriga*. In *gariga* dance, performer places a pot on his head; this pot is combined with a paper cone, and decorated with flowers. This dance tradition's presence is also observed in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka. Usually, *Gariga* dance is performed in honour of the village deities. A person from a particular cast dances to worship his clan deity.

This procession begins from the pond and ends at the temple. The procession accompanies with a large crowd: devotees, players of musical instruments, temple trustees, officiant carrying a water pot. The *gariga* performer occupies in middle of the crowd. To perform *Gariga* dance in the procession, the performer wears a yellow sari, puts women

ornaments, and tied decorated pot on his head. His dance is accompanied by *melam*; the tempo of dance is followed the *melam*'s beat.

While moving towards the temple, the *geriga* dancer stops in few places to dance. He takes ten to fifteen minutes to dance in selected places. Here, he creates himself a performance space in the centre of the crowd. The created performance space is in a stretched oval shape. Devotees always invade into this performance space. The performer's movements spread the devotees away from his performance space. In his dance, he takes his rhythmic dance moves in both the direction of the street where the procession happens. It appears that dance is with exaggerated walking; this walk, as a cycle, is taken for two to five steps forward, given one stroke on the floor with the leg and moved backward one to two step; the entire cycle is repeated for several times, and the steps are followed the rhythm of the *dappu* sound; sometimes he moves around his axis; the performer does his movement by carefully balancing the pot on his head; while dancing, he includes his special skills that he lifts a paper currency, which is placed on the floor, with his eye lashes, without dropping the pot from his head. After he performs the dance in selected places, the *gariga* performer walks in a rhythm towards the temple. Visually, he always has centre position in this procession. Conceptually the procession is to bring the water for Draupadi's *abhishakam*.



Plate 2 Gariga dance in the procession at Yamaganipalle in 2014.



Plate 3 the procession with the devotees, idols, Gariga dancer, officiants, Dharmakarthalu and dappu players in Yamaganipalle, 2014.

In some temples, the clay plot is replaced with metal one for *gariga* dance; the decoration includes with LED lights. This ritual performance is a symbolic representation of female power. In every procession, Idol Pothuraju leads the devotees. The source of the light for the above two processions is from two Petromax lights and a fire torch. Once they arrive at the main shrine, the procession takes around the temple in three times in clockwise direction; then, officiants and temple trustees enter into the innermost shrine to perform next rituals *Ankuraarpanamu* and *alugu nilapadamu*.

2. *Ankuraarpanamuu:*

This is a first ritual that is performed in the innermost shrine. In some temples, the ritual *Ankuraarpanamuu* is done at the performance of Draupadi's wedding which does not fall on first day of the festival. The Telugu word *Ankuraarpanamu* literally means sprouting the seeds. *Ankuraarpanamu* is an important ritual to commence any festival in south India. It is also performed on most auspicious events which are mentioned in Hindu calendar. It must be done in the night time. Here, devotees offer sprouts to a god for benefit of a festival or an event. The ritual *Ankuraarpanamu* is also part of the initiative rituals in Draupadi's festival. Other than for Pandavas, this is one of the rituals that is performed for other folk deities. Even it is an opening ritual in Draupadi's festival, it does not have an essential relation to the Mahabharatha text. Here, they sow nine grains (Telugu *navadhanyamulu*) in the soil which is placed on a high altar.

As part of the ritual *ankurarpanam*, the main officiant performs another ritual called ‘standing sword’ (Telugu ‘*alugu nilapadamu*’⁴⁵). In some temples, this ritual is done on the seventh day of the festival. These both rituals *ankurarpanam* and *alugu nilapadamu*, are overlapped in time.

They keep mixture of nine grains, soil and manure in a pot to perform *ankurarpanam*. In front of the Pandavas idols, they make a heap with this mixed material; on the heap, a pit is made to stand the clay pot properly. Then the main officiant keeps the clay pot on the heap of the nine grains. Here, the main officiant offers betel leaves, broken areca nuts, lemons, bananas and burning camphor to the clay pot. Now the main officiant performs the ritual of ‘sword standing’. Once the sword is stood on the pot, then both the rituals *Ankuraarpanamuu* and *alugu nilapadamu* are completed. Now the post performances ritual of *alugu nilapadamu*, is throwing turmeric and vermilion powder near to the pot. Except for temple trustees and officiants, others are not allowed to watch this ritual. Pamba music is performed in temple hall during the ritual *alugu nilapadamu*.

The performance space of *Ankuraarpanamu* and *alugu nilapada*, is minimised with the officiants, temple trustees, processional idols, and permanent idols in the innermost shrine. Space is visually emphasised with the elements such as the decorated swords with flowers, the pot covered its neck with holy grass and flowers, the sacred dress of the officiants, speckled turmeric and vermilion powder, and decorated idols.



Plate 4: Main officiant is performing the ritual *alugu nilapadam* in innermost shrine of Dharma Rajula temple in Yamaganipalle, 2014.

⁴⁵ *alugu* is a Tamil word means sword, but *nilapadamu* is a Telugu word with meaning standing. Combination of both words means standing the sword.

After the performance of *alugu nilapadamu*, temple trustees open doors of the innermost shrine. Without entering into the innermost shrine, devotees recite the word Govinda and bow to the idols. Standing in the temple hall, devotees visit the sword, stood on the clay pot; and the idols, decorated with flowers and paints. The visual image of sword and idols is represented one of the most sacred visual images in the festival. This image resembles frontal view of a performance. The gate of the innermost shrine forms a frame, and it separates devotees from the part of the image. Here, devotees are not even part of the ritual, but they are just excluded from the ritual as an observer. As devotees block others view, they move after watching the idols and sword to give an opportunity for others to watch.

This event is most eager for most of the devotees because many of them are never witnessed the ritual directly. They just hear the process of ritual from their elders, until they get the opportunity to watch it. So, devotees, who have not seen the ritual directly, may use their imagination beyond reality.

a) Distributes the *prasadam* (sacred food):

Once *Ankuraarpanamu* is performed, the temple trustees distributes the *prasadam* to all the devotees. The container of the *prasadam* is decorated with turmeric and vermilion powder. This decoration on the container enforces the sacredness of the *prasadam*. The distributor of the *prasadam* is one of the officiant dressed in yellow dress which is a symbol of sacredness here. He used to be surrounded by the devotees while distributing the *prasadam*. The act of distributing the *prasadam* creates a performance space. Here, the devotees experience the sacredness through the *prasadam*. The attention comes here with the container of the *prasadam* and the dress of the officiant. Thus, the devotees gather to the place to receive the *prasadam*. The performance for distributing the *prasadam*, is kind of spherical. The spherical space is not in one place but move from one place other. Here, the centre of the spherical is located by the officiant who distributes the *prasadam*. The bird view of this event creates a whirlwind movement of the crowd.

b) Procession to satisfy the *navagraha* (nine planets):

Once *Prasadam* is distributed to all the devotees, the officiants, along with *pothuraju*, carried by a person; a burning torch, held by an officiant; and a piece of flag cloth, carried by two devotees, move around the temple as a procession. The procession originates from the temple hall and ends at the flagpole. The procession is led by the

Pothuraju and drum players. After Pothuraju and drum players, officiants carry *balikudu*, cooked with rice; and burning camphor. In this procession, they stop at nine places around the temple to sprinkle the *balikudu*, to offer burning camphor and to break husked coconut to *navagraha*. This ritual is performed to satisfy the *navagraha* and other evil gods. This ritual is also performed for other folk deities in south India for the prosperity of the village folk. The belief here is that the evil gods eat the food and satisfy themselves so that they do not interrupt the Draupadi's ritual with their evil power.

The processional space is generated around the temple, and the devotees occupy the temple courtyards to watch the processions. Officiant yellow dress continuous transmitting the sacred feeling. This procession denotes kinetic visuals. Some of the devotees follow the procession some watch it from a distance. Here, the kinetic visuals are created by Pothuraju, with decorated flowers; officiants, wearing garlands in their neck and carrying burning camphor in a plate; drum players, carrying colourful drums; and the flag cloth, with decorated flowers and drawing of the idol. The surrounding of the processions reverberates with the sound of drums and officiants recites of the word Govinda.

3. Dwajaroohanam (flag hoisting):

After the Ankuraarpanamu, temple trustees organise a ritual of a flag hoisting on to indicate the inauguration of Draupadi's festival. As part of the ritual, main officiants hoist a yellow colour flag on this auspicious day. In local language, this ritual is called as 'dwajaroohanam' or 'bhaaratha Kodi'. As *Ankuraarpanamu*, flag hoisting is a symbolic representation of 'commencement of Draupadi's festival'.

The flag is made with approximately two meters white cotton cloth in pennant format. First, it is dipped in yellow colour, and later symbol of Anjaneya⁴⁶ is drawn with red lines on it. Using one corner of the flag, they pack sacred material such as rice; turmeric and vermilion powder; five to ten coins; coconut; betel leaves; and broken betel nuts. Mango leaves are tied around the neck of this pack. The flagpole is made with a long stick or an iron pipe. Once flagpole is cleaned with water and decorated with yellow and red dots, flagpole is combined with flag that is already packed with sacred material.

Now, they organize a prayer keeping all these objects in front of decorated Pandava's idols. Once the prayer is done, they carry the sacred materials as a procession.

⁴⁶ Anjaney is another name for Hanuman and he is devotee of Rama in the epic Ramayana.

Idol Pothuraju and a flaming torch are carried in front of the procession. This procession happens around the temple with accompany of Pamba⁴⁷ musicians. In the procession, devotees recite the word ‘Govindha’ along with the officiants. While the procession is happening, priests burn the camphor and put it on selected places around the temple. After taking two rounds around the temple, main officiants raise the flag. Once flagpole is fixed properly, they tie a branch of *Manilkara hexandra*⁴⁸ (*palachettu*) and holy grass (*dharba*) at the bottom of the flagpole.



Plate 5: Devotees, officiants and Dharmakarthalu are hosting the flag in Yamaganipalle, 2014.

As the flagpole is kept in front of the temple gate, it is always visible in the temple courtyards during the festival. Commencement of the festival is always communicated by this flag hoisting ritual. Here, the temple premises is enriched with idol of Pothuraju, flaming torch, burning camphor and mango leaves. Both Pamba music and recitation of Govinda, create atmosphere for ears to sense devotion. In Draupadi’s festival, this is the second outdoor ritual which creates a space to seek spirituality. In this ritual, the picture of Anjaneya only related to Mahabharatha text. Folk believe that the present flag, here, represents the flag which was used in Arjuna’s chariot in Mahabharatha war.

Flag hosting is one of the important ritual here because it states that the temple is hosting Draupadi’s festival. Symbolically, the flag also advertises as the temple is conducting a Draupadi’s festival. Devotees surround the flag to watch the ritual. Devotee’s horizontal relation with performance is observed when the officiants are preparing objects for *dwajaroohanamu*. Once the flag is raised, as their view reaches the flag on top. Thus,

⁴⁷ Pamba is a drum instrument played by people from Pamba cast. This drum is usually referred as sacred in the festival because it is played to praise the god or goddess. Pamba drum is made with two small cylindrical drums.

⁴⁸ For more details about *Manilkara hexandra*, visit <http://indiabiodiversity.org/species/show/31542>

the devotees view changes from horizontal to vertical in this performance. The lighting source for the ritual is from the light that is located in temple courtyard. Here, the lighting does not create any mood except making the performance visible.

4. Processions on every day:

In each day of the festival, there is a procession in morning and evening. Devotees and priest, along with idol of *Pothuraju*, get water from a pond as procession. This procession symbolically shows that the Pothuraju gets water from pond, and it is accompanied with drums.

This procession begins from temple hall with a drum player and officiants. Others, who are interested to join this procession, are allowed. This procession is led by Pothuraju, and others follow him. Here, the officiant carry the Pothuraju towards a pond. One of the officiant carry a pot in the procession. The drum player plays the drum in this procession. Once they go to pond, the officiants fetches water from the pond. Now, at the pond, they make a prayer before they start as a procession. After the prayer, from the pond, they reach back to the temple as a procession. Once they reach back to the temple, the officiants enters into the innermost shrine, and others stay at the temple hall. Here, few of the devotees, who are willing, are part of the procession to watch it. Here, the procession space is formed from temple hall to pond via village roads. As this procession happens in the morning and evening, except the sunlight, other light source is not appeared.

a) *kalisa puja*:

It is an act of worshipping the *kalisam*. The present ritual, *kalisa puja*, is available both in Brahmin and non-Brahmin cultures. The context of the ritual in Hindu religion is to invite the gods into a pot or vessel. This ritual is performed keeping water in a pot which is covered with mango leaves at its neck. Before keeping the water in the pot, it has to purify with special prayer. The pot they choose with the mouth stoppered with half husked coconut. On the mouth of the pot, the half husked coconut is placed. Between the inner rim of the pot and the coconut, the mango or betel leaves are stuck and keep it fall out. Later, they keep the water in the pot which is decorated with mango leaves around the neck. Then, they perform another prayer to invite the gods into the water. Now, they take the water and sprinkle on the participants of the ritual and objects that are placed in the ritual space. This sprinkling water purifies both participants and the objects. According to

devotees' belief, the prayer cannot satisfy the gods without *kalisa puja*; *kalisam* is kept to invite the respective gods into the water.

This ritual is also performed in Draupadi festival by main officiants in the innermost shrine. The preparation of the *kalisam* is done every evening during the festival celebration. They use 27 pots for *kalisa puja* in Draupadi festival. According to Muniraja, an officiant from Jeevakona, 27 *kalisam* are used in the ritual; one rupee coin is kept in each pot; along with mango leaves, blouse piece, flowers, thin yellow thread and towel are wrapped around each coconut.⁴⁹ After the *kalisa puja*, officiants use the water stored in nine pots for *abhishekam*. This puja is done every morning and evening during the festival. For every *kalisa puja*, they fill pots with fresh water and they decorate the pots with fresh mango leaves. As these *kalisalu* are placed in the innermost shrine, they join with the images of idols that are placed in the innermost shrine. As devotees are not allowed to innermost shrine, they watch the idols and objects from temple hall; thus, to engage, devotees have only frontal view through the innermost shrine's gate.

5. Draupadi kalyanam:

Draupadi *kalyanam*, wedding ritual of Draupadi with Pandavas, falls at evening on the 10th day of Draupadi festival. In this ritual, officiants and devotees organise wedding of Draupadi with Pandavas keeping the idols of Pandavas, Draupadi, Pothuraju and Brahmin. The ritual space is prepared by the temple committee and the officiants who are from local community. The present ritual is played by three groups: officiants and temple committee; bride's family; and groom's family. This is one of the sacred ritual performance in Draupadi festival, which involves various Hindu ceremonies such as prayers, invocations and presentations. Here, devotees appear as "scene-watchers as well as scene-makers"⁵⁰.

The ritual is performed in the temple hall, and the ritual space is decorated with flowers, mango leaves and glittery cloths which are locally available. *Pelli Pandiri* (a temporary shelter prepared with coconut leaves and sticks) is erected to perform the ritual. To keep the idols visible to all, officiants keep a platform which is approximately 15 feet long, 6 feet wide and raised 4 feet above the ground; this platform is erected under *pelli pandiri*. They use electric flood lights as light source. The carpets or mats are spread on

⁴⁹ Muniraja is a main officiant in Draupadi Temple, Jeevakona, Tirupathi. He is interviewed to understand the ritual process in Draupadi festival during the field work in September, 2016.

⁵⁰ A phrase is taken from Richard Schechner's *Environmental Theater* p. xxvi

the ground, where devotees and the officiants sit to watch the ritual. The temple pillars are decorated with flowers and covered with trunks of banana trees. The temple courtyards are occupied by small vendors who sell flowers, sweets, toys, and coconuts. Devotees make *rangoli*⁵¹ on the front yards of the house; they also decorate their house. Thus, the temple courtyards and village streets are visually enhanced on this day.

Once the ritual space is visually enhanced, the idols are brought to the platform. Before they begin the ritual, the main officiants clean the idols, and they brought it to the ritual space. They keep the idols on a raised platform to make it visible to all the devotees. After placing it on the platform, the idols are given to suitable costumes from Andhra Pradesh tradition. These costumes are sari and blouse, for Draupadi; and *panache*, white towels and turban, for Pandavas, Pothuraju and Brahmin; after that, they keep garlands in the necks of idols. These garlands are two types: one is made with flowers and other is made of Indian paper currency. They also add Indian silk to decorate idols.

Heads of the both villages, who represent the family of bride and groom, spends the expenditures for this ritual. According to Bhaktavatsala Reddy, the list of material purchased for the ritual are “seven *panchal* (rectangular white cloth for men to cover the legs), nine coconuts, 3kgs rice, ‘*mangala sutra*’⁵², sari, *pavada* (inner skirt), five *jendelu* (cross threads observed on Brahmin’s upper body), turmeric sticks, betel leaves, areca nets, lemons, sandalwood powder, eight flower garlands, *bashikal* (ornaments tied on the head of bride and groom), flowers, vermilion, banana, incense sticks, sweets, and jiggery” (20).

Along with the officiants, villagers from two villages play significant role in organising the ritual. These two villages takes side of the bride’s family and groom’s family respectively. While the decoration is happening in the village, there is a procession to bride’s family from the temple. By evening, the officiants and groom’s family, along with the Pamba players, and ‘*mangala vaadyalu*’⁵³, move from the temple to reach the bride’s family. When the groom’s family is reached to bride’s family, the women from bride’s family invites groom’s family performing a ritual: offering vermilion for groom’s family, breaks coconut, burns camphor, gives a gift of fabric and bangles. Once groom’s family is

⁵¹ *rangoli* is a Indian folk art done by women at the front yards of houses with lines and dots of different colours.

⁵² A yellow string with beads, which is placed around the bride’s neck in Hindu wedding.

⁵³ Instrumental music of south India, with drum (known as *dolu*) and wind instrument (*nadaswaram*), play at Hindu weddings.

received by the bride's family, both exchange sweets, bangles, fruits, and cloths. After that, both the families, with all the gifts for Draupadi, as a procession, moves from there to temple accompanying the musical troupe. While both families are coming to the temple, other families also join in the procession with gifts. Finally, along with devotees, both bride's and groom's families reach the temple to organise the festival.

After reaching the temple, the heads of the both villagers and their family members occupy the space right front of the officiants, where the ritual happens. As these families represent the bride's and groom's families, they also part of the ritual performance. Other devotees, with the gifts for Draupadi, sits in two vertical lines to the performance space facing each other. This ritual space resembles to thrust stage in modern theatre practice. The gifts are placed front of the devotees who sit to watch the ritual. These gifts placed in a metal plate are flowers, sarees, bangles, fruits, betel leaves, and broken areca nuts. Before the auspicious time in the day, officiants and devotees are ready to begin the ritual.

Once both families reach the ritual space, women from both groom's and bride's family keeps a *kalyana thilakamu* (an auspicious vertical line made on forehead with vermilion, from glabella to hairline) to all the idols of Draupadi and Pandavas. They tie a saree, which is prepared by the priest Brahmin. Placing it on forehead, then, the women tie the *basikalu* (marriage chaplets) to the head of the idols to protect both bride and groom from the ill omens; the women keep a garland on each idols' neck.

Now, The Brahmin priest begins the wedding ritual with the prayers of Lord Ganesh, and Kalisa. These prayers are performed to invoke Lord Ganesh and other gods. Now, a curtain is kept between bride and groom. Now, the priest Brahmin chants other wedding *matras* (Sanskrit hymns which are performed in wedding). During these *mantras*, along with *melam* and *Pamba*, the priest Brahmin conducts another ceremony locally known as *jeela-karra bellam*. This ceremony is performed with thick cream called *jeela-karra bellam*, and it is made of jaggery and crushed cumin seeds. In this ceremony, priest keeps the thick paste on top of the idols: Draupadi and Arjuna. After keeping the thick paste on the heads of the idols, the curtain, which is kept to separate the bride and groom, is removed. Now, the *akshintalu* (flowers and rice are mixed with turmeric powered) is distributed to the devotees; *mangala sutram* is also brought to each devotee to get their blessings for bride and groom; after getting back, the *mangala sutra* is shown to devotees. Now, the *mangala sutra* is given to a man from groom's family. After this, a curtain is

raised to hide tying *mangala sutra*; next, along *mantras*, *melam* and *Pamba*, one of the young boy from groom's family tie the *mangala sutra* to the Draupadi's idol. While happening the tying ceremony, devotees offer blessing with *akshintalu* throwing on the idols.

After the marriage, there is ceremony called *chadivimpulu*, which involves devotees to donate gifts to the newly married people: Draupadi and Pandavas. These gifts are cash, sarees, and sweets.

Establishing relation between devotees' space in the rituals and spectators' space in western theatre, Devotees' space in Draupadi kalyanam resembles spectators' space in Thrust stage. In this performance, devotees occupy three sides of the performance space; this occupation establishes devotees' intimacy to the performance space.

Based on its functions and accommodation, the space of Draupadi wedding can be divided into four fields: exhibitioner space, performance space, devotees' space, and mixed space of devotees and performers. The first field, the static space where the idols are placed in the performance is purely demonstrates an exhibition. This space, placing the idols here, demonstrates symbolic presence of the Pandavas, Draupadi, Pothuraju, and Brahmin.



Plate 6 Decorated idols and sacred installations at Draupadi Kalyanam in Yamaganipalle, 2014.



Plate 7 Brahmin priest is performing rituals at Draupadi Kalyanamu. Dharmakarthalu, who are standing either sides of Brahmin, holding white curtain in white dress. Yamaganipalle, 2014



Plate 8 Dharmakarthalu and the sponsors of the event (Draupadi Kalyanamu) are sitting close to the idols.



Plate 9 Female devotees are sitting at Draupadi Kalyanamu with offerings.



Plate 10 close view of female devotees who are sitting at Draupadi Kalyanam with offerings.

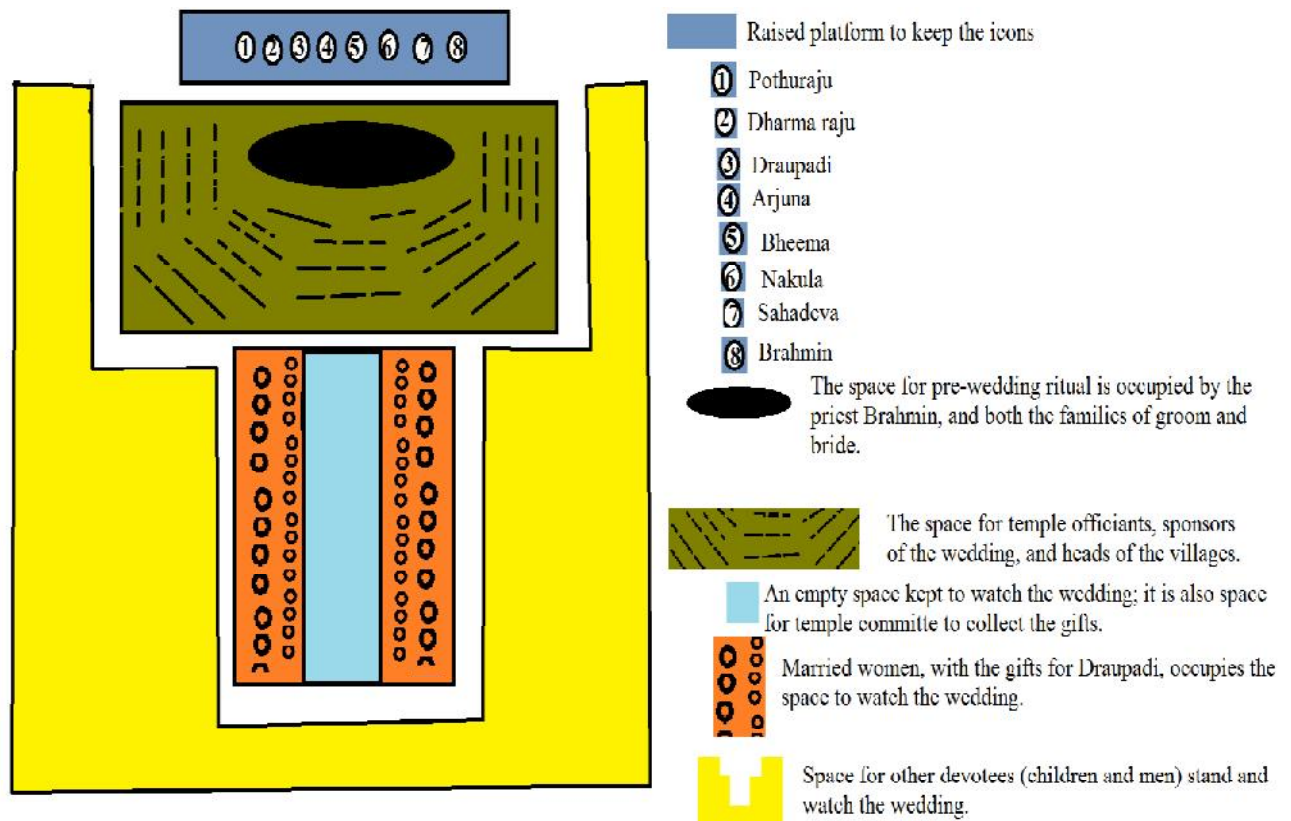


Figure 9 Ground plan of the Draupadi kalyanam performed in Yamaganipalle, 2014.

The second field in this ritual space is front of the exhibition, which is occupied by the priests, groom's family, and bride's family who perform the ritual. Third field of the space is formed by the women who get gifts for Draupadi. They sit in two parallel lines facing each other, and these parallel lines are formed perpendicular to the exhibition space. These women are plays both roles as viewers and performers. These three fields has interconnection, and it can be called a performance field. The final field is formed by viewers who are children and men, this field forms "U" shape keeping other three fields in the centre. Thus, the performance space of Draupadi *kalyanam* resembles thrust stage. Devotees' relation to the performance space is similar to spectators' in thrust stage; the

devotees who are viewers suggests the role of scene watchers. Other devotees, who are in second field of the ritual space, are scene makers because they play the role of the priest for marriage, family members of Pandavas and Draupadi. Devotees from the third field suggests both “scene watchers and scene makers” because they both watch (as devotees) and perform (as offering gifts to the Pandavas). Thus, devotees in Draupadi *kalyanam* plays both roles of “scene makers as well as scene watchers”.

a) Processions related to the Draupadi *kalyanam*:

There are two processions which are connected with the Draupadi *kalyanam*: one is related to beginning of the wedding and other is celebration of the wedding. Both the processions demonstrate kinetic visuals. The observer are also as part of these visuals.

The first procession, on this occasion, origins from the village who represent the Draupadi family, and it ends at the temple. Some of the temples organise two processions: villages of Pandavas and Draupadi; in this case, both the processions converge at the temple to begin the wedding. Here, devotees are women who carry the gifts for bride and groom. This procession is led by Pothuraju and a fire torch; this group is followed by both groups of musical bands: Pamba and *melam*; this musical band is followed by the both the villages of groom and bride. Once this procession reaches to temple, the located spaces are occupied by the devotees; women; temple officiants; and both the families of bride and groom.

The second procession is performed after the wedding. In this procession, decorated idols of the Pandavas and Draupadi are kept on a *radhamu* (temple chariot), pulled by human; bullock cart; or a carriage of a tractor. The chariot is decorated with flowers and electrical lights. This procession originates from temple, moves through the streets of the villages, and ends at the temple. This procession, as other processions in the festival, is led by the fire torch. Some of the devotees follow the procession. This procession suggests the kinetic visuals. As observer follows the processions, he is also part of the visual.

6. Agnigunda praveshamu (firewalking):

Fire-walking is one of the highly spectacular performance in Draupadi festival. It is locally called as *agnigunda pravesham*. This ritual is symbolic re-enactment of Draupadi's mythology. Draupadi's rebirth from fire is central theme for this ritual enactment. Along with the temple officiants, devotees participates in preparing ritual space. In fire-walking ritual, devotees willingly walk barefoot across a fire pit of coals. Devotees' engagement

with the ritual purely based on their belief on the symbolic re-enactment. The devotees plays both role of viewers and performers. Their engagement with the performance varies from physical to emotional.

Generally, devotees participate in the fire waling in Draupadi festival to gain blessings of Draupadi, and they also make a vow to participate in this ritual for various personal reasons such as in situations of bad health, and in offering of thanks for positive moments. They believe that the Draupadi cool the burning coals while they take walk. Their faith make them to gain new healthy position. There is no restriction for young men to participate in fire-waling, but children without their elders are restricted for safety measurements. Most of the young man participate without any personal reason except for the festival engagement.

Hiltebeitel observes fire-walking is a symbolic representation of “Draupadi’s sexual purity” before Draupadi going to live with next husband, and he also notes “Draupadi’s firewalk as rite of postwar purification” (1: 439). Devotees from the region believe that Draupadi was born from the fire, and they also trust that fire-walking is an act that represents the purification of Pandavas, Draupadi after 18 days war. Without this purification, according to their belief system, Dharmaraja’s coronation could not possible. All these evidences suggest that fire-walking is performed to remember Draupadi’s rebirth through purification.

As the theme of the ritual is based on Draupadi’s rebirth from the fire, the fire pit has a significant role to perform the ritual. The pit is prepared by temple committee or potter community from the village. According to a source, making fire pit requires expert proficiency. In the temple courtyard, the pit is dug by one of temple committee.⁵⁴ The pit has two parts: one is to fill the coal and another one is fill the water. The size of the fire pit is about twelve feet in length and five feet wide; and four inches in depth. Adjoin to the fire pit, to fill the water, the small pit is dug with approximately five feet length and one feet wide; and two inches depth. Usually, the pit is prepared in temple courtyards.

⁵⁴ Personal interview with Bhupathi, Field work Vendugampalli, 2014. Give any name.

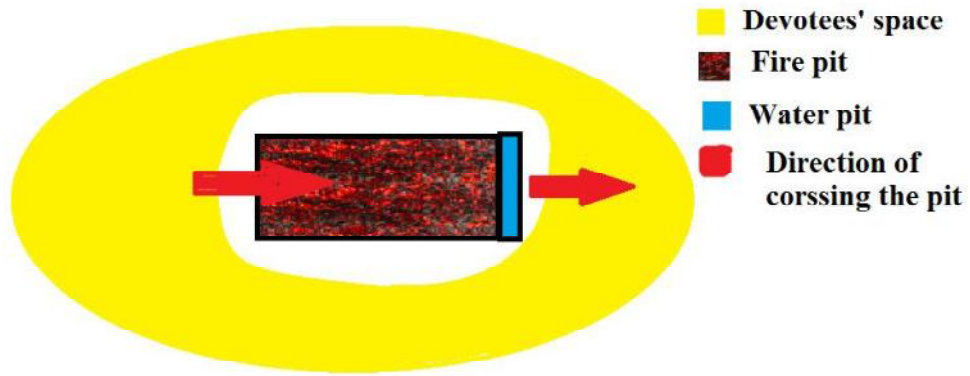


Figure 10 Ground plan of firewalking rituals at Jeevakona in 2014.



Plate 11 Female devotees with offerings are waiting to cross the firepit as part of the firewalking ritual in Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 12 Female devotees with offerings are close to the firepit to cross it in firewalking rituals, Jeevakona, 2016.

Since previous day to the fire walking, the devotees, who wish to participate in the fire walk, take few actions: sleeping on floor, and living away from spouse; and not eating non-vegetarian and taking tobacco. These actions suggest that how devotees initially establish relation with the performance on previous day to the ritual.



Plate 13 Devotees are watching the firewalking ritual at Jeevakona temple, 2016.



Plate 14 Light offerings to the the firepit before firewalking ritual begins at Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 15 Gariga dance at firewalking ritual at Dharmaraju temple in Vendugampalli, 2014

On the day of the ritual, Devotees' engagement with the ritual begins with their contribution of wooden logs, taking bath, and fasting. Each of the devotees contribute at least one wooden log for the ritual. Since morning of the day to the fire walking ritual, devotees bring the wooden logs to the performance space. The contributed wooden logs are kept in heap. Three hours early to the main ritual, temple committee prepare a ceremony to burn the wooden logs. Performing this ceremony, officiants burnt the wooden logs. This ceremony is perfumed offering water, flowers, turmeric, betel leaves, areca nuts, bananas and gee to the fire at the fire pit. After this ceremony, taking fire from it, officiant burn the wooden logs. These wooden logs are burnt at least two to three hours. After burning three hours, temple committee remove cinders and ashes to get pure burning coal. Finally, by 6 pm, the burning coals are spread in the pit, and devotees occupy surround the fire pit.

While preparing fire pit, there is ritual dance, locally called as Gariga, is performed in the temple court yard. The ritual dance follows rhythmic drum sounds which is played by local drummers. This drummers occupies a corner in the performance space while playing drums. During this dance, as a crowd, devotees surround the performing space. At the auspicious time, the ritual dancer and other devotees, as a procession, reaches to the fire pit.

As fixed by the temple officiants, approximately at 6pm, at auspicious time, officiants begins another ceremony to begin fire walking; this ceremony is inaugurated by main officiant with keeping burning camphor around the fire pit. To keep this burning camphor, main officiant takes a round and reaches ten places which is fixed around the fire pit. At each point, he burns a camphor breaking a coconut. During this time, devotees who

are surrounded the fire pit recite the word Govinda several times. Once camphor is burn in ten places, at the entry to the fire, the main officiant offers Harathi and a coconut. Then, main officiant of the ritual dancer crosses the fire pit. After main officiant, the pothuraju is carried across the fire pit; after Pothuraju, Draupadi icon is followed. Finally, devotees, who are willing to participate in the ritual, crosses the fire pit one end to another end. Other devotees watches standing remaining two ends of the fire pit. Most of the devotees who participates in the fire walking wear cloth dipped in turmeric water, and keep a garland in the neck; some of the devotees take bunches of neem leaves to hold in the hands, ties to the waist, and hang in the neck; In their hands, very few of the devotees carry small mud bowls which holds the burning camphor.

After crossing fire pit, some of the devotees go to trance; these people pucker their tongue, extremely stretch their limbs, grit their teeth, and roll their eyes; they reach trans-consciousness. According to the main officiant of the Draupadi temple at Jeevakona, he applies special chant needs to pronounce to bring the devotees back from trance.⁵⁵

In the performance of fire walking, Devotees penetrates into the performance space. Devotees who participates in the fire-walking becomes performers and other devotees become viewers. Devotees are themselves performers and viewers of the performance. As a individual, he or she exchange is role from performer to viewer. The viewers' engagement is observed in reciting Govinda word.

These viewers are also engaged with the visuals of the burning camphor and coal; and costumes of firewalkers. Evidence suggests that all the visuals in the performance space creates devotional feeling for both firewalkers and the viewers. As the major light source for the performance is burning coal, the performance space is filled with orange colour. Devotees also feel the temperature of the coal in the performance space, which also establishes devotees' engagement with space directly. Participating in the performance, as viewers and fire walkers, establishes physical engagement of the devotees. Going to the trance and interacting with devotion suggest devotees' emotional engagement with the performance. The viewers, performers and the performance space are on the same ground. So, the viewers have direct and intimate relation with the performance and performers.

⁵⁵ When researcher asked about the chant, the main officiant in Yamaganipalli (Yamanuru) told that it is most sacred and secret, and it is not allowed to be listen to the ordinary people.

In some of the festival, Gariga dance is performed after the *agnigunda-praveshamu*. This dance is performed for approximately two hours. The Gariga dance performed at *agnigunda-praveshamu* is locally called as *pulagariga* (pot with flowers). Even Gariga dance is performed after the *agnigunda-praveshamu*, Gariga dancer begins the *agnigunda-praveshamu*. The main officiant carries the idol of Draupadi, and he crosses the firepit. Then, Gariga dancer follows the idol. Finally, other officiants crosses the fire pit. Thus, these three groups crosses the fire pit for three times. Then, Devotees cross the fire pit.

After finishing *agnigunda-praveshamu*, Gariga dance happens at the temple courtyard. All the devotees occupy the temple courtyard. The performer creates his own performance space in the crowded devotees. The performance space is narrowed to five meters wide and 10 meters length. The performance space is not fixed to one area. It is moved from one place to another place in the crowded people. Devotees move back and give space for Gariga dancer. Both devotees' and performance space dissolves. It changes its shape. He performs the dance with the rhythm of the percussion instruments: *dappus* and *dolus*. The players of percussion instruments also dance around the Gariga dancer while playing the instruments.

Gariga dancer's yellow costumes and flowers are visually rich in the crowded space. It drags the devotees' attention. Along with his pot, the body of the Gariga dancer appears as it is stretched in the direction of the street. The pot size is almost three feet. As Gariga dancer performs for more than one hour without break, he demonstrates his physical strength in the performance space. Verbal text is appeared in this performance. When it is observed in Vendugampalli, men devotees dominate to watch the performance.

7. Dharmaraju *pattabhishekham* (coronation of Dharmaraju):

Dhramaraju *pattabhishekamu* concludes on last day of the festival, and it is performed in the temple courtyard. Frasca, referring to the Tamil version of Dharmaraju *pattabhishekam*, indicates that the performance as "the auspicious dramatic and ritual event of the crowning of Dharmaraja" ("The Dice Game and the Disrobing" 9). Dhramaraju *pattabhishekamu*, a ritual performrance, gives information as the festival has reached its end. This ritual enactment is about restoration of Dharmaraju to kingship, and it is locally called as *pattabhishekham*. It is significantly appeared that the restoration is established through *pattabhishekham*.

The ritual is aimed to restore the *dharama* to the villages that host the festival. As it is concluded at the end of the festival, Dharmaraju *pattabhishekham* is attended by small group of devotees. According to devotees, this ritual is performed to restore the *dharm*a (“prescribed course of conduct”⁵⁶); they also believe that the restoration of Dharmaraju to the kingship is the revival of justice.⁵⁷ Frasca comments on Tamil version of Dharmaraju *pattabhishekam* as it “represents a re-establishing of sacred law and morality which have been overturned with Dharmaraja’s and the Pandavas’ loss of sovereignty in the dice game and the subsequent outrage to Draupadi’s honor and chastity, abhorrent in the Tamil ritual and cultural context” (“The Dice Game and the Disrobing” 9); according to devotees’ belief system, with this performance, “they are restored to a state of auspiciousness”. Thus, with this ritual performance, devotees full fill their aim to restore chastity, recommended way of conduct, precept, and virtue to the village; this aim also reflects in devotees’ belief behind celebrating the festival.

On this day, the idols of Dharmaraju and Draupadi are dressed with silk cloths, and decorated with flower garlands. Instead of wooden idols, some of the temples use metal idols for this ritual. After the decoration, the idol of Dharmaraju is kept on a throne which is also decorated with flowers. Now, two different *pula pallakilu* (decorated palanquins) are used to keep both the idols Dharmaraju, with the throne; and Draupadi. These *pula pallakilu*, with the idols, are lifted by the officiants. After lifting *pula pallakilu*, the main officiant offers *deeparadhana* (waving of the lamps in clockwise direction for three times) with huge fire torches which are made in various sizes. While offering *deeparadhana*, along with *pamba*, the *melam* is performed. Then, the main officiant completes a recitation associated with the Dharmaraju *pattabhishekam*; then, the officiant ties the golden band across the forehead of the Dharmaraju. Thus, they complete the ritual to represent the Dharmaraju’s carnation. After this, Dharmaraju is taken to the procession through the streets of the villages which are part of the festival.

The performance space of Dharmaraju *pattabhishekam* is non-frontal. Devotees are part of the scene making. Kinetic visuals, for instance *harathi*, are appeared in this ritual, and these visuals lures the attention of the devotees. These kinetic visuals contextually

⁵⁶ As mentioned in the Sankaranarayana’s Telugu English dictionary, the word *dharm*a has many meanings. Here, researcher referred most appropriate meaning as “prescribed course of conduct”. For more details, see Page 406 in Sankaranarayana, P. A Telugu English Dictionary. Madras: P.Kameshwara Row Brothers, 1900. Print.

⁵⁷ Based on field work done in July 2014 Vendigampalli, Kuppam, Chittoor.

donates sacred images. The sounds in the ritual, such as *melam*, recitation of the text, also stimulates sacredness in the devotees. The lighting source of the festival is electrical lights, kept in the temple hall; and the *harathi*, offered by the main officiant. Devotees' position to watch the performance is not fixed, as they are small group, and they are allowed to move anywhere during the performance. Some of the devotees move under the *pula pallaki* during the performance, and this move, as they believe, keep them away from evil power. Some of the devotees also carry the *pula pallaki*. This kind of devotees' participation suggest to think about scene makers.

8. Tila-tarpanamu:

Tila-tarpanamu is a religious ritual which is performed by offering of water mixed with sesame to the departed souls. This ritual is performed, after the performance of Duryodhana *vadha*, on the 18th day of Draupadi festival, but some of the temples host the ritual in 19th day. According to the field study done in Vendugampalli, month of July, 2014, the temple offered the ritual on the 18th day, but the ritual was concluded in the invitation card as on 19th day. Based on an informant, *Tila-tarpanamu* can be performed on any one of the last two days of the festival after any time of the performance of Duryodhana *vadha*. In Mahabharatha text, the *tila-tarpanamu* is performed by Dharmaraju to Duryodhana. In Draupadi festival, the present ritual enactment *tila-tarpanamu* is performed, by a temple officiant, at the site where Duryodhana-*vadha* is performed. During the ritual enactment, the *pamba* is played. To perform this ritual, the idol of Duryodhana is kept facing east. Then, the officiants hang a garland in Duryodhana's neck. Duryodhana's idol is given a *namam* with vermilion. Then, officiants start the ritual by breaking coconut, ringing a temple bell and giving *harathi*. Finally, the officiant offers water with mixed with sesame to Duryodhana's idol. Thus, the officiants perform the ritual *tila-tarpanamu*.

The same ritual is also performed with milk instead of water. For instance, according to Bhaktavatsala Reddy's observation in Pachikapallam, village head offered milk to Duryodhana in the ritual enactment.⁵⁸ This ritual enactment is performed in outdoor. Devotees are very few that participate both Dharmaraju *pattabhishekham* and *tila-tarpanamu*. The reason behind few devotees participating in *tila-tarpanamu* is that most of them are very busy with taking soil from broken statue of Dhuryodhan after

⁵⁸ See page 70 in Bhakthavathsala, N., Reddy. Draupadi TiruNaLLu (dharmaraaju TiraNaaLa). Warangal: Regional Resources Centre for Folklife, 2005. Print.

performance of Dhuruodhana vadha. Daylight was used for visibility of the performance. The idol and the officiants are more sacred objects in the performance. The use of the sound appears to grab the attention of the devotees. Thus, visuals and sound play significant role to engage the devotees in this performance.

9. Pinda Pradanamu (offering rice balls):

Pinda pradanamu, a ritual, is performed immediately after *tila-tarpanamu*. Both *tila-tarpanamu* and pinda pradanamu are performed for deceased ancestors, and these rituals make souls of ancestors free from the earth. While *tila-tarpanamu* is performed in outdoor, *pinda pradanamu* is performed in temple hall. In Draupadi festival, *pinda pradanamu* is concluded on the last day of the festival, and it is performed for people who are deceased in Kurukshetra war.

10. Pongallu:

Pongallu is a ritual food boiled with rice and jaggery. This ritual food is offered to Draupadi at the end of the festival. The engagement of the women devotees to prepare the ritual food begins from the home. Even women gather as a group to make this ritual food, men devotees join at sharing food after offering food to Draupadi. The visuals that are created by women and the fire pits do not appear as visual engagement of the event.

The preparation of the ritual food is done by most of the women from each house in the villages that participates in the festival. The materials to prepare the ritual food is brought by women from home, and these materials are rice, green gram, milk, jaggery, sugar, betel leaves, broken areca nuts, coconuts and a vessel. These materials are kept in a bamboo basket or a vessel container to carry from the home. Before they keep the materials in the basket, women make sacred marks on the basket with turmeric and vermilion powder. This mark is done in two steps: a round shape is painted with turmeric powder on the outer surface of the basket, and one or there dots are made with vermilion. After keeping the materials in the basket, women take a procession to reach the temple.

Once the women reach the temple, they occupy some space in temple courtyard to start preparing the ritual food. To prepare the ritual food, first, they get three stones to prepare wood burning stove, and they give sacred mark on the stones; later, they keep these three stones in a corner of a triangle; they keep sticks or died cow dung in between the stones. Now, they give sacred marks on a vessel, and place it on the wood burning stove.

After placing the vessel on the stove, they keep water, milk, rice, green gram, and sugar (or jaggery) in the vessel. Now, they keep broke a coconut front of the stove, and pace a burning camphor on the stick which are kept in the stove. After burning sticks for some time, milk over flows from the pot. This is a symbol of *prosperity*. Till it is boiled, they keep cooking the material that are kept in the vessel. Thus, the ritual food is prepared.

Once the ritual food is prepared, half of the food is offered to Draupadi by keeping it in the temple, and remaining half of the ritual food is taken to their home to distribute to the family friends. Here, the remaining food, which is left at the temple, is measured as *prasadam*. When the ritual food is offered to her, oil lamp is lit, and saree is offered to Draupadi. The offered ritual food by women is heaped in the temple hall, and the heaped food is locally called as *kumbham*. Finally, the ritual food is distributed to all the devotees at the temple.

In the preparation of ritual food, devotees create visuals with baskets; procession; vessels, wood-burning stove and its smoke; over flow of the boiled rice from the pots; heaped food; and oil lamps. Except the smoke, all other visuals are sacred for devotees. Example for sacred visuals are the basket, with sacred mark; over flow of the boiled rice, a symbol of *prosperity*; and the *kumbham*. *These sacred visuals engages devotees in the space.*

The ritual Pongallu appears as sign for devotees to transform from the festival mode to daily life.

Part B: Common aspects of Scenography

As it is indicated in the introduction of the chapter, this part analysis the common aspects of senography in Draupadi rituals.

1. Sacred spaces:

The ritual space is organised by the officiants and the temple committee. Its function is to host the rituals and participants. The ritual space demonstrates intimacy between the officiants and the devotees. In outdoor rituals, boundaries between the ritual space and the devotees always dissolve, and the devotees become both viewers and performers. The ritual space becomes a large devotional stage where the devotees turn into performers; and this turn makes to think the devotees as stimulated spectators.

The space is cleaned before the officiants arrange sacred material and idols. Once it is cleaned, the officiants bring the sacred materials to the ritual space. Then, they decorate idols with flowers; and turmeric and vermilion powder; they arrange the sacred materials and idols in a systematic way. The arrangement of the material and the idols vary from one ritual to another. Most of the rituals are performed in outdoors such as temple courtyards and farm fields. Few rituals are performed in temple shrine; these rituals are allowed to watch by few devotees.

Performance spaces of the rituals have relation to the village and its social environments. This space, for each ritual, shows the life of growth and death. The new life in the space materializes by placing the sacred materials there. As there is no special visitors after the festival, the new space reaches to the old position. This old space is noticed as the death of the new space. The ritual space is also organised with technical materials such as LED lights, electricity, modern paints and steel pots. The impact of technical material does not effects the sacred space in these rituals.

Based on its function, space in Draupadi rituals can be separated into two: sacred space and non-sacred space. The sacred space is deserved to perform rituals by officiates. According to local belief, the usual space becomes sacred after keeping sacred material and idols. The non-sacred space is where devotees stand or sit to watch the rituals. In most of the rituals, sacred space is surrounded by non-sacred space; example for these rituals are Kankanamu, Dwajaroahanamu, *Agnigunda pravesham*, Dharma raju *pattabhishekham* and *Tila-tarpanamu*. In some of the rituals, like Draupadi *kalyanam* and *ankurarpanamu*, the non-sacred space is allocated in front of sacred space; and both of these spaces are separated with an invisible line.

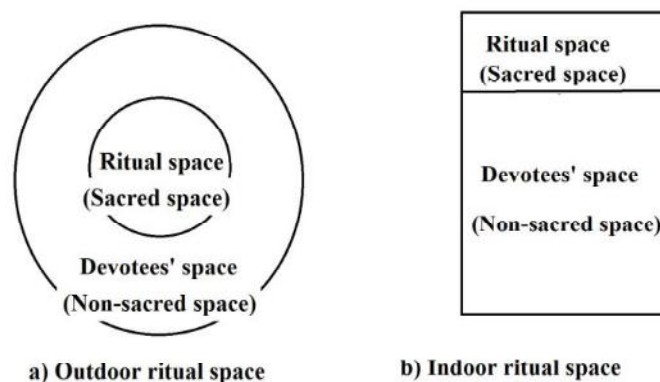


Figure 11 *The relation between ritual space and devotees' space at outdoor rituals and indoor rituals.*

The sacred space is selected with enough room for officiants to perform rituals. The non-sacred space accommodates more than 1000 devotees in the rituals that are performed in open fields. In case of interior rituals, the non-sacred space accommodates less than 200 devotees. In the non-sacred space, the carpets and mats are laid for devotees to sit. Both sacred and non-sacred spaces are on the same level. Physical barricades between sacred and non-sacred space are not appeared in these ritual spaces. As both space are not separated with physical barricades and both are on the same level, the ritual space demonstrates intimacy between the officiants (performers) and spectators (devotees).

Even some of the rituals are associated with Mahabharatha text, the sacred space does not represent any fictional location. The sacred space is just organised to perform the rituals. For instance, Draupadi *kalyanam* is associated with the story of the same title in Mahabharathaha. There is a play performance with the same name in the festival. In the ritual, the space does not represent the fictional location in any form.

The ritual space offers devotees to revisit and re-engage their community belief system, idols, their culture and their tradition. As the world is secularizing and developing rapidly, the local youth have limited exposure to their community tradition. The ritual space probably offers them to explore the community tradition.

2. Ritual text:

Text in Draupadi rituals are observed in three ways: “non-linguistic utterances”; “linguistic utterances”; and mixed with both. The “non-linguistic utterances” are observed when the officiants and the devotees are in state of trance. For instance, when the main officiant is sprinkling *balikudu* in the performance of Ilavantha-vadha, he is in trance, and he demonstrated “non-linguistic utterances”. the “linguistic utterances” are demonstrated by both the officiants and the devotees in Draupadi ritual. Example for “linguistic utterances” performed by an officiant in the ritual “*alugu nilapadu*” is observed in Bhakstavatsala’s *Draupadi Thirunallu (Dhararaju thirunala)*; the translation of the observed text follows:

Oh exalted personage! Education, Science,

Sacred text, Devices,

Vedic text, Purana text,.....are originated from Ganapathi.

You (Ganapathi) are born in Treta Yuga as form of Sitha, in Dwapara Yuga as form of Draupadi and in Kali Yuga as form of Durga. (47)

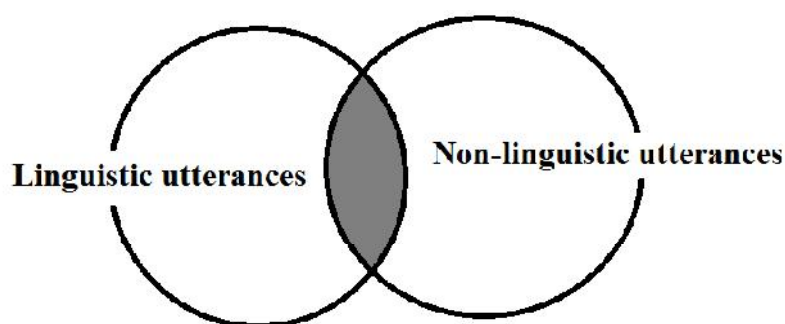


Figure: ritual text

The above text is in poetic Telugu language. It is probably associated to the initiation of the festival. It is possible to think that the prayer is to praise the Ganapathi (Lord Ganesha) to seek his blessing for success of the festival. Another linguistic text is observed in the most of the rituals is “Govinda”. The Govinda word is recited loudly by both the officiants and the devotees during the ritual performance. The word Govinda is another name for Krishna. Sometimes, officiant utters the text mixing both languishing and non-linguistic. This is usually happens when the officiant in transposition.

3. Sacred spectacle:

The sacred materials and idols can be called as “sacred spectacle” in the ritual space. Usually, the sacred materials in the south Indian rituals are turmeric and vermilion powder; jasmine and marigold flowers; camphor; banana; turmeric sticks; sandalwood powder; mango leaves; husked coconuts; *dharba* grass; betel leaves; areca nuts; and bronze plates. If some of these materials are not placed with others, it does not possess the sacredness. The sacredness of the materials is demonstrated in the conceptualised space. It is obvious that the sacred material, officiants, devotees, and idols transform the ritual space into the sacred space which is not “pre-existent abstract space”.

They are seemingly organised in a semi-structured manner. The background decorations, the religious installation, the idols and the sacred materials are the visual aids that engages devotees in the ritual space. The sacred materials are carried by the officiants and temple committee to the ritual space. The list of the material uses in the ritual space varies from one ritual to another. The sacred materials are interconnected with another

material in the ritual space. If it is seen individually, the material may not possess sacredness. For instance, turmeric is a most sacred material in the ritual context, but it is just used to cook add in south Indian curries.

The costumes of the officiants also establishes sacredness in the performance space. Officiants wear clothes soaked in turmeric during festival period. In the performance space, officiants' costumes also drive the devotees' sight.

Two types of lights are available in the performances: source to make the visible the space, ritual light. The light sources are artificial and natural. For daytime rituals, natural lights are main source to make ritual visible. For night time, artificial lights are used in the ritual spaces to make the ritual visible. The artificial light sources are generated from LED battery lights and electrical lights. These lights just illuminates the ritual space. Ritual lights are visible as part of the rituals. For instance, oil lamps, fire torches and burning camphor. These light sources are demonstrates sacredness in Draupadi rituals.

4. Ritual performers:

Based on Ronald Grimes view on ritual roles, the performers in Draupadi rituals can be divided into four groups: ritual leader, ritual follower, ritual facilitator, and ritual witness. All these groups are seemingly performers in the ritual space. Ritual leader in Draupadi festival is the main officiant who operates the rituals. Ritual followers are the officiants who helps the main officiant to operate the rituals. Ritual facilitators are members of the temple committee "who helps [to] make the ritual possible". Finally, the ritual witness are devotees who participates in the ritual. All these four groups are contributes to perform the rituals. They are the live performers in the ritual space.

Ritual performers uses their "gestures and postures" while performing the rituals. These gestures and postures also contributes to establish sacredness in the performance space. For instance, the gestures and posture that establish sacredness in the ritual space are performing *harathi*, *namaskar* (bow), and *sashtanga namaskaram* (prostration pose). Some of the devotees repeat these gestures and postures along with the officiants. Repeating gesture of the officiants suggests devotees to refer as performers. Ronald Grimes observes: "Ritual actors, unlike stage actors, are not supposed to be pretending (although they may in fact be)." His observation indicates to think that both the officiants and the devotees are not pretending in the space of Draupadi rituals. It is obvious that "they interact" each other in the space. The interaction charges the space to establish sacredness.

Devotees/viewers:

Two groups are observed in Draupadi festival: participants (devotees) and non-participants (viewers). Most of the people in Draupadi festival are come to devote goddess Draupadi. Very few people come to the rituals to view it. Participants, who worship the goddess, participate in the rituals taking *harathi*, reciting Govinda and paying homage. Non-participants watch the ritual from a distance.

Devotees does not penetrate into the ritual space, but the officiants enter into the devotees' space with a *harathi*. Devotees pay homage to the goddess in *harathi* plate. Devotees' engagement is probably strong in observing the rituals and reciting the word Govinda in Draupadi ritual. Devotees focus on the objects and idols while they are watching rituals. They try to demonstrate devotional engagement by performing bows, offering flowers, and fulfilling vows. In few rituals, devotees bring the sacred material to offer the goddess Draupadi. For instance, in fire walking ritual, devotees bring salt and flowers to through in the fire pit. The act of throwing flowers in the fire pit is a vow to the devotees.

Very few are from "other religious" (other than Hindhu religion) backgrounds visit the rituals to encounter the practice of Draupadi rituals. These people falls under the non-participants group. Young people explore their own (Draupadi ritual) tradition through participating in the rituals. They learn the tradition by observing and participating in the ritual.

Thus, two group of people engages different way with the rituals in Draupadi festival.

5. Ritual sounds:

The sounds in Draupadi rituals are observed from *dolu*, *nadaswaram*, *kombu pattu*, *dappu*, temple bells, and *pamba*. These sounds are both "prescribed and improvised" with the instruments. All these sounds, according to the local community, are considered as sacred sounds in the ritual space. These sounds established the sacredness in the space. Sound of *pamba* is most important in Draupadi festival. Without this the idols are not moved in from the temple. Michaels observes that "[r]itual spaces of sound have a particular kind of acoustics, a special soundscape that transports any listener to another world" (147). Form Michaels's point of view, it is possible to think that sounds of Draupadi

rituals keep the devotees away from their regular life when they participate in the rituals; the sounds probably engage the devotees with devotional world.

Conclusion:

The chapter has focused scenographies that temporarily transformed the ordinary spaces, such as the temple courtyards and the farm fields, into sacred environments. The chapter has also studied the interaction of the devotees in various rituals of Draupadi festival. The chapter has proved the presence of scenographic elements in sacred environments of the rituals. The chapter has been presented in two major parts. First part has concentrated on the rituals in chronological order. In first part, the rituals have been studied in the context of scenography. There are few common scenographic aspects that have been identified in the rituals. These common scenographic aspects have been presented in the second part to avoid repetition. The chapter has focused devotees' physical, visual and emotional engagement in various ritual spaces in Draupadi festival. The process to visually enrich the ritual space has been presented. The importance of sacred material and its installations in the ritual space has been studied. As part of the sacred installations in the ritual space, flower decorations, sacred material, performers, and participants transform the temple premises into ritual scenography. It is obvious that the progress of the ritual communicates with structure of images and symbols, and this progress also allows emotional responses from the devotees. This festival suggest to observe rich visual account, and celebration has narrative role in a chronological order. The ritual space is devotionally charged with the installation arts, the idols, the officiants and the devotees. Thus, the ritual scenography has been observed in Draupadi rituals.

Chapter Three: Scenography of stage based theatre

Introduction:

In relation to religion, most of the Indian theatrical traditions are having foundation from Mahabharatha. The Veedhi-natakamu is probably one of that of south India. The present folk theatre form is significantly visible in Draupadi festivals of the Chittoor. Veedhi-natakamu literally means street theatre, and the name is combination of two words: *veedhi* means street; and *natakamu* means theatre. Along with Draupadi festival, Veedhi-natakamu is also performed in other occasions such as death anniversary, celebration of birth of a child and festivals of village deities. In Draupadi festival, depending of the budget and scale of the festival, Veedhi-natakamu performances can be extended to a period of 10 to 30 days with cycle plays based on Mahabharatha. Usually, in *Draupadi's* festival, Veedhi-natakamu performances extend throughout one night for every day. Here, one book in 18 books of Mahabharatha is performed in a night. Performances of Veedhi-natakamu are amalgam of dance, songs, music, improvisations, dialogue and exaggerated acting. Costumes and props are visually rich in these performances. Even it is presented in honour of gods, Veedhi-natakamu performances are dominated with entertainment. It seems dance, music and verse holds the spectators for long time in these performances. The performers of Veedhi-natakamu are very talented to extend or shorten the performance duration. The length of the performance depends on the time a temple committee decides to begin. In Chittoor, Veedhi-natakamu is famous, because of its text; props; music; songs; makeup; dances for film songs; and performers' skills.

Veedhi-natakamu establishes a strong relation between the performers and spectators. Even they are performed on the small stage, Veedhi-natakamu performances demonstrate qualities of open air performances. Veedhi-natakamu performances are probably involved a great level of scenographic elements to engage large number of spectators. Veedhi-natakamu performances might have borrowed many elements from media and other folk theatre forms of the region. These performances might have adapted many elements over the period of time. Costumes, props, makeup and acting are central to the visual engagement of the spectators. In this chapter, scenographic elements are studied in the presentation of stage based Veedhi-natakamu performances.

1. Space:

Along with spectators' space, Veedhi-natakamu performance space is simple and flexible. As it can adapt any kind of empty space, Veedhi-natakamu performances are performed in various places: village corners and streets; temple courtyards; and farm fields. As the chapter is concentrating on stage based Veedhi-natakamu in Draupadi festival, stage buildings and spectators space is discussed in this section.

a) Stage building:

Usually, Veedhi-natakamu performances do not need any sort of formal stage; but Draupadi's temples in southern Andhra Pradesh have outdoor fixed stage for Veedhi-natakamu performances. They call this performance space as '*bharatham mitta*'⁵⁹. This stage is erected in an open field. Spectators sit on the floor facing the stage. The stage is divided into two by a hanging curtain or by a permanent wall. The space near to the spectators serves as acting area. Behind the curtain is reserved for greenroom.

To understand the performance space of Veedhi-natakamu, it is important to look at the stage of Veedhi-natakamu in earlier period. Radhakrishna Murthy, in his book *Teluguvari Janapada Kalarupalu*, observes that Veedhi-natakamu used to perform in the junction of streets, outside village which is plain and wide, and in front of a house; the performance space should be raised to the spectators' level; if such space is not available, they raise the floor putting soil; the performance space is used to cover with palm leaves on top and surroundings. A curtain, which is applied with glittery material, was hung to separate the stage and green-room; there were no stage lights, except using oil torch; before a character enter, they used to through oil in the lamp, so that they get good lighting; there were many people to watch the play, because there were no other forms are available to entertain them (184-188).

Veedhi-natakamu performances associated with two kinds of spaces: performers' space and spectators' space. Performers' space is divided into two: performance space; and green-room, a space for performers to take rest and to change costumes. Earlier days, the performance space is not built permanently. They use to perform in the junction of streets. In some cases, the performance space is temporary erected stage. In few temples, the

⁵⁹ *Bharatham* is a local word refer to Mahabharatha, and *mitta* is referred to raised ground. Totally the meaning of *bharatham mitta* is raised ground to perform Mahabharatha.

performing space was temporarily build with sticks and palm leaves; the roof was covered with palm leaves or a piece of cloth. Now a days, performance space for Veedhi-natakamu is built permanently in the temple courtyards. The function of the permanent structure is to host the performance and to function as greenroom.

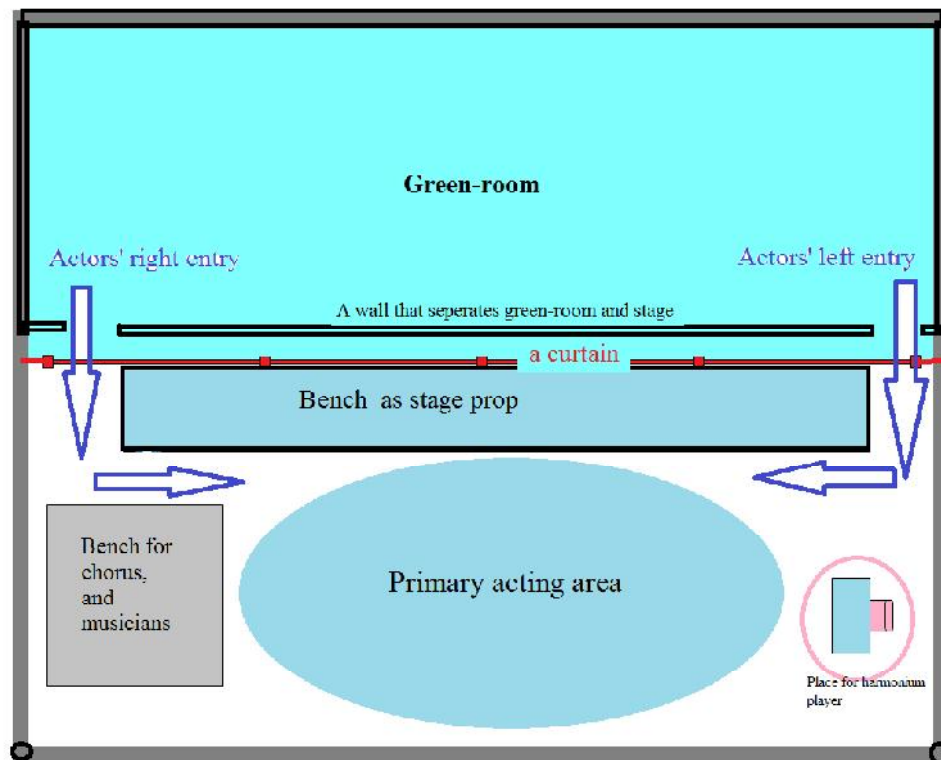


Figure 12 Ground plan of the Veedhi-natakamu stage building.

The permanent structure is built with a foundation of nearly square shape. The square shape is divided into two equal parts. One part is accommodated for performance, and another part is dedicated to green-room. These two equal parts are divided by a permanent wall with two doors for actors' left entry and actors' right entry. Remaining three sides of the greenroom is covered with permanent walls. Other three sides of the stage space is left without any structure. The separated wall, which is built between the green-room and the stage, hides the green-room activities. The two equal parts, both the stage and the greenroom, are covered with one permanent ceiling. In the green-room, performers keep all the props, costume and make-up.

The stage space is raised for approximately 2 foot, and it accommodates both musicians and actors. Floor of the performing space is covered with soil. Usually, the stage space is a 12-foot by 18 foot rectangle. In front of the separated wall, leaving 3 feet distance, a permanent stone is raised for 1.5 foot, and it is fixed in the shape of a bench. This

stone bench is used as prop in the performances. Performers use the bench to represent different objects in the play. For example, the bench is represented as chariot, bed, wagon, cart and king's throne. Between the stone bench and the separated wall, a curtain is hung. This curtain is locally called *Tera*⁶⁰. Left and right side of the stage are accommodated for musicians. Right side of the stage is dedicated for chorus and musicians. Left side is accommodated for harmonist. Between these two areas, approximately 70 percent of the stage space, is used for acting area. Performers enter on the stage from left door or right door. Usually, left door serves for entry, and right door serves for exit. Now a days, many of the troupes are not following this tradition. Performers can enter or exit in both sides. For instance, in Vendugampalli and Yamanuru, the performers used both the sides for entry and exit.

During the performance, the performers use a painted curtain for background on the stage. The painted curtain contain a plain colour or a scenery which depicts a palace or forest. The painted curtain does not contribute a location that relates to fictional scenery. Although there are several locations in the story, Veedhi-natakamu performers use only a single curtain as generalised setting for all the performances. Veedhi-natakamu probably have not attempted to introduce scenery to represent a fictional location in the story. The role of the conventional designer is not seen in Veedhi-natakamu because these performances can be performed in any empty space. Thus, the curtain does not attempt to demonstrate realism.

A piece of cloth is hanged on the position of upper part of the stage. Although, the performing space does not look like proscenium stage, the piece of cloth acts as teaser which is hung in front of the stage; both side pillars of the stage and teaser possibly suggests as proscenium arch. The proscenium arch is decorated by the local community with coconut leaves, flowers, mango leaves, banana plants with plantains and coloured papers. Coconut leaves and banana plants are tied to the pillars. Mango leaves are hung between the pillars. Coloured papers are hung to the ceiling. Dharamakarthalu arrange a decorative piece with electrical bulbs in the area of proscenium arch.

b) Spectators' space:

⁶⁰ Tera is a local name for background curtain.

The permanent structure of Veedhi-natakamu is built in the temple courtyard. Infront of the stage, the huge open area accommodates spectators to watch Veedhi-natakamu. The average size of an open area in front of stage is between one and five hectares. Seating arrangement at Veedhi-natakamu is not fixed, but rocks and small stones are removed there. Spectators sit on mats or bedsheets in the open area to watch the performance. Spectators bring their own mats and bedsheets. The spectators sit around three sides of the stage. In some cases, the spectators' space is sloped down towards stage space; either performance space is raised or spectators' space is sloped down to the stage to get vertical sight lines. The horizontal site lines are not maintained properly; in few cases, both vertical and horizontal sight lines are not maintained during the performance. Entrance and exits are taken through both sides of the curtain that divides the performance space and greenroom. In some temples, a barricade in spectators' space is kept to separate men and women. According to Dharmakartha of Jeevakona temple, this partition ensures women safety from risky sexual incidents causes by drunken men.

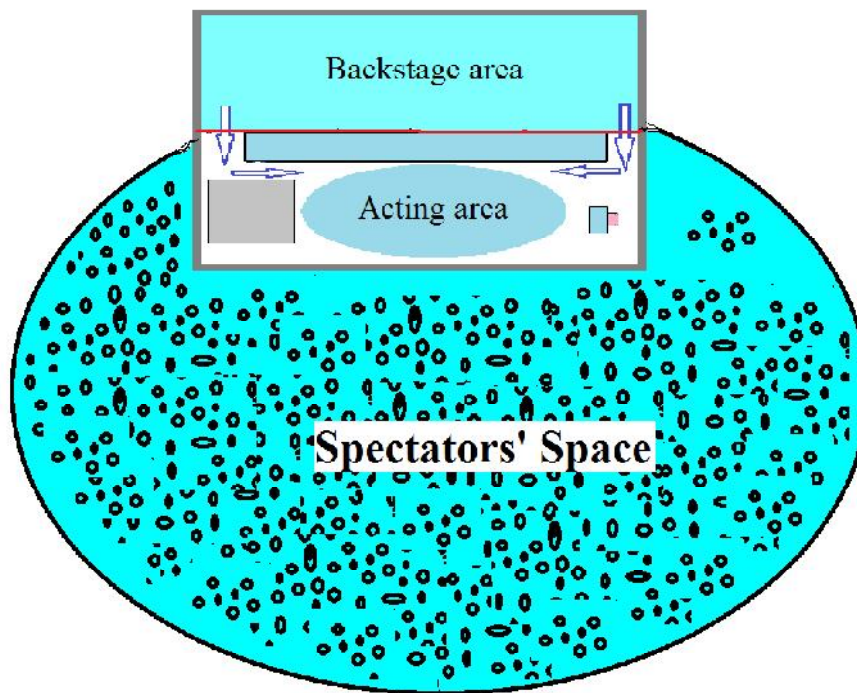


Figure 13 Ground plan of Spectators' space, acting area and greenroom at Veedhi-natakamu performances.

The performance space of Veedhi-natakamu appears as proscenium stage, but it does not function as proscenium stage. The performance space of Veedhi-natakamu does not allow side wings on the stage. The curtain that separates greenroom and stage acts as

side wings. In proscenium theatre, the performance visuals and spectators are separated, and kept in opposite sides. In case of Veedhi-natakamu, the spectators occupy three sides to the stage; the performance visuals are part of the spectators' space. In proscenium theatre, spectators' space is darkened, and they are not allowed to see each other during the performance. In contrast to proscenium stage, in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators are allowed to move in flood lights during the performance; they are permitted to see each other; this allows spectators to share their experience with each other in Veedhi-natakamu. Thus, performance space of Veedhi-natakamu allows spectators to be active participant and to share their experience during the performance.

c) Extention of performance space:

Along with stage space, spectators' space is also used to perform special scenes. When the performers enter into the spectators' space, spectators move away to give space for the performers. This extended performance space is not shaped before the performance. It is spontaneously formed by the performers during the performance. The extended performance space is created when the performer penetrates into the spectators' space, and it disappears when the performer goes back to the stage. The extended performance space is formed by the character buffoon in most of Veedhi-natakamu plays. The buffoon runs into the spectators' space to improvise the scene. In case of Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu, Bheema chases Duryodhana and Dusyasana in the spectators' space. After one or two rounds of chase, the performers reach back to the stage to continue the performance. The extended performance space is also used for the entry of demon characters such as Bakasura and Hidimbi.

Thus, the stage building of Veedhi-natakamu accommodates both performance space and greenroom. Spectators' space is a place of gathering to witness the Veedhi-natakamu. In this space, spectators meet and see each other. Here, both the performance space and the spectators' space establish an association among the spectators. This association is undoubtedly demonstrated by spectators by sharing their responses in the space.

2. Text

Even it is performed on the occasion of devotional celebration, Veedhi-natakamu is to entertain the local community in the festival. The stage space of Veedhi-natakamu does not use any scenic elements that demonstrate a locale. As there are no realistic scenery is used in the performance of Veedhi-natakamu, it is necessary to observe how the locale is

communicated with the text. The text also plays significant role to engage devotees for long duration. In this section, it is discussed that how classical text is adapted to engage spectators, and how visuals are communicated through the text. For this, first the discussion focuses on the types of the plays that are performed in Veedhi-natakamu in general and as part of Draupadi festival; it is explored that how the text is adapted to engage local community in the context of Draupadi festival; second, it is presented that text that demonstrates the locales in the performance. To demonstrate the quality and style of the text in Veedhi-natakamu, synopsis of the plays that are performed in Veedhi-natakamu are presented; scenic order of selected plays are also demonstrated in this section.

In general, Veedhi-natakamu performance text is divided into four categories; they are based on stories of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharatha*, *Bhagavatam* and social subjects (Govindhareddy 42). In Draupadi festival, performance text of Veedhi-natakamu is adapted from the books (*parvas*) of Mahabharatha. As Govinda Reddy observes, Mahabharatha is available in the form of Telugu poetry in three parts: Kavitrayamu, Dwipada Bharatham, and Sri Krishna Bharatham. In the first quarter of 20th century, Tirupathi Venkata Kavulu wrote six plays in Telugu based on Mahabharatha text: “*Pandava Jananamu*, *Pandava Pravasamu*, *Pandava Rajasuyamu*, *Pandava Udyogamu*, *Pandava Vijayamu* and *Pandava Aswamedhamu*” (Krishnamurthi 66). These Telugu translations of Mahabharatha text probably influenced Veedhi-natakamu performance text.

Few temples organise complete *Mahabharatha*: from the episode of ‘birth of Vyasa’ to ‘death of Duryodhana’. Some of the temples organise a play that is not related to Mahabharatha text. This play is usually performed on the last day of the festival, and it is called as Inam-katha or Inam-natakamu. This performance is commonly selected from comic theme to celebrate end of the festival.

Veedhi-natakamu performance text is combined with poetry and dialogues. The dialogue part is added with lot of humour. Usually, in Veedhi-natakamu, a *parva* is presented in a play, and it is performed for 6 to 10 hours in a night; thus, these 18 *parvas* are used to perform in 18 nights in the form of *Veedhi-natakamu* in Draupadi’s festival. Performance text of *Veedhi-natakamu* is flexible to extend or reduce the length of the performance. The performance duration is extended by adding scenes or reduced by deducting scenes. Sequence of the scenes are followed a pattern of songs and improvisations. These sequential scenes assist devotees to follow the performance, even if

they miss few scenes. The stories are adopted to communicate its meaning to local spectators.

Even the performance text is following tradition of Guru-sisshya parampara, most of the play structure are probably similar in the region because they are reflecting similar tittle for a Parva. For instance, when it is viewed the scholars' observation on Veehi Natakamu, various scholars, in various time periods, have refered similar titles for a Parava. These scholaras are Pothugunta Venkata Seetharamaiah, Govinda Reddy, and N. Bhaktavathsala Reddy.

According to Pothugunta Venkata Seetharamaiah, in his book Rayalaseemalo Rangasthalam refered the following list of the plays (30) in Veedhi-natakamu:

1. *Veda vyasa jananam*
2. *Bhishma prathigna*
3. *Bhishma vijayamu*
4. *Pandava jananamu*
5. *Hidimbha sura vadha*
6. *Bakasuravadha or bhandi Kumbam*
7. *Draupadi swayamvaram*
8. *Subhadraparinayam*
9. *Rajasuya yagam*
10. *Drauapdi vastrabharanam*
11. *Arjununi thapovrksharoahanam*
12. *Saindava parabhavam*
13. *Keechakavadha*
14. *Uttaragograhanam*
15. *Srikrishna rayabaram*
16. *Bhishmaparvam*

17. *Yuddam-padmavyuham-dhuryodanavadha*

According to Govinda Reddy, the following list of the plays are based on Mahabharatha performed in Draupadi festival (49).

1. *Pandava Jananam*
2. *Vaarannavatham/Hidimbhasura Kadha*
3. *Drauapadi kalyanam/Bhakasura Vadha*
4. *Drauapadi Vastra Baranam*
5. *Mayasabha*
6. *Drauapadi Maana Samrakshana*
7. *Aranya Parvam*
8. *Arjuna Tapassu*
9. *Sasirekha Parinayamu*
10. *Gayopakyanam*
11. *Virata Parvam / keechaka Vadha*
12. *Uttara Gograham*
13. *Srikrishna Rayabharam*
14. *Srikrishna Arjuna Yuddam*
15. *Yudda Panchakam / Dhuryodana Vadha*
16. *Kacha Devayani*
17. *Yayathi Charitra*
18. *Panduraju veta*

Bhaktavathasala Reddy, in his book, refers the following list of the plays.

1. *Sri Krishna Leelalu and Kamsavadha*
2. *Kavruvas Pandava Janam and Pattabhishekam*
3. *Varanavatham, Lakka gruha Dahanamu Hidimbasurevadha*

4. *Gatothgaja Jananam* and *Bakasuravadha*
5. *Draupadi Swayamvaram* and *Draupadi Kalyanam*
6. *Draupadi Vasthrapaharam*
7. *Gayopakyanam* and *Krishnarjuna Yudham*
8. *Kichaka vadha*
9. *Uttara Gograhanam*
10. *Sri Krishna Rayabharam* and *Mahabhartha Yuddam*

Recent field study done in 2014 has explored the following list of the plays:

1. *Lakkagruha Dahanam* (The house of Lacquer)
2. *Bakasuri Vadha* (Bakasura's death)
3. *Draupadi swayam varam* (Draupadi participating in "the ceremony of choosing a husband"⁶¹)
4. *Draupadi Kalyanam* (Draupadi's wedding)
5. *Salahini Charitra* (history of Salahini)
6. *Draupadi purva Janna Vruthantham* (story of Draupadi's previous incarnation)
7. *Arjuna therda Yatra* (Pilgrimage of Arjuna)
8. *Subhadra Kalyanam* (Subhadra's marriage)
9. *Rajasuya yogam* (Rajasuya sacrifice)
10. *Draupadi vastrabaranamu* (the disrobing of Draupadi)
11. *Aranyaparvam* (The forest episode)
12. *Yaksha Prasna* (" the riddles of the Yaksha")
13. *Viratparvam* (Virata episode)
14. *Keechakavadha* ("The slaying of Keechaka")
15. *Uttaragograhanam* ("Seizure of the cattle in the north")

⁶¹ A phrase taken from page 401 in Morris, John Brande. *An Essay Towards The Conversion Of Learned And Philosophical Hindus*. London: J.G.F. & J. Rivington, 1843. Print.

16. *Srikrishna rayabharamu* (“ Lord Krishna’s message”)
17. *Kurukshetra yuddamu* (Kurukshetra war)

These scholars have explored the list of the plays in the region based on the performances of various groups. When it is compared to present field study done in 2014, most of the groups in the region reflects similar title for an episode in the Mahabharata. This suggests that these plays probably follow a kind of dramatic structure in their performances. There is a possibility to think that the titles of the plays are reflecting the title of the Parvas in Mahabharata.

a) Synopsis of Veedhi-natakamu plays:

As it is impossible to analyse all the plays that are performed in Veedhi-natakamu, few of Veedhi-natakamu plays are considered for this study. It is also difficult to understand the text without knowing “the synopsis” of all Veedhi-natakamu plays that are performed in Draupadi festival. For this reason, the synopsis of the plays are presented in the textual analysis. The synopsis of these plays are explored from different performances in field work done in 2014 and 2016 at both Kuppam and Tirupathi region. When 2016 field study is compared to N. Bhaktavatsal Reddy’s study done in 2005, the synopsis of these plays are identical. Because of the reason, the synopsis of the plays are presented based on N. Bhaktavatsal Reddy’s observation on Veedhi Natakamau done in 2005. But, the order of the scenes of these plays are presented based on field study at Jeevakona in 2016. As it is a huge text, four plays are selected from the Veedhi-natakamu cycle to present “order of the scenes”. These four plays are Sri Krishna Leelalu, Pandava Jananamu, Draupadi Vastrabharanam, and Keechaka Vadha. The reason to select these four plays is that they are from the list of popular plays in the region. Synopsis is presented for all the plays that are performed in 18 days festival.

i) Sri Krishna Leelalu (“Krishna's Mischief”):

In most of Draupadi festival, Sri Krishna Leelalu is an “introductory play” (Hiltebeitel 1: 184) of Veedhi-natakamu cycle. The play is an enactment of Krishna’s life from “birth to youth”. As Hiltebeitel observes, the play does not belong to Mahabharata; in wider sense, it belongs to Mahabharata epic. As part of Krishna Leelalu, the part where Krishna steal the sarees of the Gopikas is also enacted. The performance ends with the scene when Krishna kills Kamsa.

(1) Synopsis of Sri Krishna Leelalu / Kamsavadha:

Kamsa is a king of Madhura Kingdom, and he is the maternal uncle of Lord Krishna. When Kamsa is watching dance performed by his royal dancer, Narada (Vedic sage) in his invisible form, as *Akashavani*, warns Kamsa: “the person who will assassinate Kamsa is living in Gokula and he is Krishna, son of Devaki and Vasudeva”. To conform facts of the message, Kamsa calls Vasudeva. Once he confirms the facts of the message, Kamsa tries to kill Vasudeva. Then, Narada appears and suggest not to kill Vasudeva. Narada provokes Kamsa: “Kill Krishna if you can, but not the old man, Vasudeva.” Kamsa plans to kill Krishna on the day of Dhanuryagam⁶². Then, Kamsa sends his friend Akkrurudu to bring Sri Krishna. Akkrurudu brings Krishna and Balarama to Madhura. They, both Krishna and Balaram, borrow clothes, ornaments, garlands and scents. They both are dressed as prince. Krishna comes to the place where Kamsa performs Dhanuryagam. Krishna breaks the bow which is used to perform Dhanuryagam. Then, Krishna reaches to Kamsa, and he assassinates Kamsa.

(2) Order of the scenes of play performance “Sri Krishna Leelalu”:

1. Kamsa enters with his ministers and fiend Akrurudu. The scene describes how Kamsa knows people welfare in the kingdom.
2. Buffoon enters. There is a comic scene between Kamsa and Buffoon.
3. Court dancer dances in the court. Buffoon dances with courdancer. Comic scene between court dancer and buffoon. They exit from the stage.
4. Narada enters. He introduces him self with three songs. Buffoon enter. The comic scene between buffoon and Narada. They leave the stage.
5. Then, Kamsa enters lonely on the stage. He introduces his character again with song and dance. After Kamsa, Narada and buffoon enters on the stage. Buffoon creates comic atmosphere criticising Kamsa. Afer the comic scenes, Kamsa comes to know through Narada as he is going to be killed by Krishna. Then, Buffoon and Kamsa leaves the stage. Finally, Narada leaves the stage singing a song.
6. Vasudevudu and Devaki enters on the stage. They introduces their characters singing a song. They leave the stage.

⁶² Dhanuryagam is scarification of a bow before it is given to competitors for a display of their skill in archery.

7. Kamsa and buffoon enters. Kamsa orders buffoon to bring Devaki and Vasudevudu in the court. First, buffoon brings Vasudeva. Kamsa inquires about new born baby of Vasudeva. Kamsa kicks Vasudeva and he tries to kill Vasudeva.

8. Devaki enters on the stage, and she stops Kamsa from killing her husband, Vasudeva.

9. There is long scene with comic actions with Kamsa, Devaki, Vasudeva and buffoon. Kamsa asks the details of new born baby of Devaki and Vasudeva. As both Devaki and Vasudeva hides their son, Kamsa punishes them a lot.

10. Kamsa tries to kill them. Then, Narada enters on the stage and he stops Kamsa from killing Devaki and Vasudeva. With lot of angry, Kamsa promises that he is going to kill Krishna and Balaram. Kamsa leaves the stage.



Plate 16 The performers are performing a scene where Gopis squeezing milk in the play Sri Krishna Leelalu. Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 17 The scene where Makaranda and Krishna interacts in the play Sri Krishna Leelalu. Characters from left to right are first villager, Makaranda, Krishna and second villager. Jeevakona, 2016

11. Then, the scene with Narada, Devaki and Vasudeva. Narada explains the strength of Krishna. Narada leaves the stage. Devaki and Vasudeva sing a song which describes their sad situation. They leave the stage.

12. Kamsa enters on the stage. He calls his two servants. He sends them to plan to organise the Dhanuryagam. He also sends them to bring Akrurudu. According to his plan, he wants to kill Krishna while performing Dhanuryagam. First, the two servants exit; then, Kamsa exits from the stage.

13. Akrurudu enters on the stage. Later, Kamsa enters on the stage. Both present a scene which describes their friendship. Kamsa explains his plan to kill Krishna, and he asks Akrurudu to invite Krishna to Dhanuryagam. Then, Kamsa leaves the stage. Akrurudu feels blessed as he is going to see Krishna. He explains his happiness in the form of a song. After the song, Akrurudu takes exit.

14. Four villagers enter on the stage. They introduce Krishna with both song and narration. They leave the stage.

15. Krishna enters with his flute. He sings a song to introduce himself. Then the four villagers enter on the stage. The four villagers enact as do not know even the natural numbers till four. Along with Krishna, they four enact few comic scenes.

16. Then, Makaranda enters on the stage. There is a comic scene with Makaranda.

17. Krishna expresses his desire to Makaranda to steal the sarees of Gopikas. They both exit the stage.

18. Six Gopikas enter on the stage. They sing and dance. They enact as they are squeezing out the milk from udder of cows. They discuss the quality of the collected milk. They create humour on the quality of the milk. Makaranda enters on the stage. Gopikas offer milk to Makaranda. Krishna enters on the stage. Comic scenes between Krishna and Makaranda in the presence of Gopikas. All Gopikas leave the stage. Krishna expresses to Makaranda as he is tired and he wants to sleep. Then Makaranda leaves. Krishna sleeps on the bench.

19. While Krishna is sleeping on the bench, Akrurudu enters on the stage. Akrurudu sings a song praising Krishna. Akrurudu introduces himself to Krishna. Krishna asks how his parents are in Kamsa's kingdom. After sometime, Balarama enters on the stage. Three of them leave to Kamsa's kingdom. They leave the stage.

20. Again, they enter on the stage. This scene establishes that they are in Madhura. Again, they exit from the stage.

21. Kubja, a hunchbacked woman, enters on the stage with a song. After, her Krishna, Balarama and Akrura enters on the stage. Krishna asks Kubja for scents and sandalwood paste. She applies scents and sandalwood paste to Krishna. She leaves the stage. Krishna and Balarama plans how to kill Kamsa in Dhanuryagam. They leaves the stage.

22. Kamsa enters on the stage. He asks where Krishna and Balarama are. From chorus replies that they are sitting in your (Kamsa's) throne. Kamsa leaves the stage.

23. Krishna and Balarama enters on the stage. They sit on the bench. Kamsa enters on the stage. Kamsa argues with Krishna and Balarama. Both Krishna and Balarama kills Kamsa on the bench. Play ends with song: *mangalam*.

ii) Pandava Jananam (‘‘Birth of Pandavas’’):

The play ‘‘birth of Kauravas and Pandavas’’ is the second play in Veedhi-natakamu cycle. Along with Sri Krishna Leelalu, the play ‘‘birth of Kauravas and Pandavas’’ is vibrantly visible only in the region of Tirupathi. In Druapadi festival of Kuppam region, these two titles are not visible, but these stories are visible in another plays, such as Lakkagruha Dahanam (The house of Lacquer) and Draupadi Swayamvaram. For example, when it is observed Draupadi festival in Vendugam palli, 2017, Lakkagruha Dahanamu is the first play in the festival, and the play contains the scenes from the play of Sri Krishna Leelalu and ‘‘birth of Kauravas and Pandavas’’.

(1) Synopsis of the play ‘‘birth of Kauravas and Pandavas’’

The story begins from the marriage of Panduraju and ends when Pandavas are sent to exile. Initially, Panduraju is the King of Hasthinapura. One day he asks minister many questions regarding the well being of people in the country. Then minister presents the problems of farmers in the country: farmers complain about wild boars destroying their fields. They request King to save their fields from the wild boars. Then, King goes for hunting wild boars. While hunting in a forest, King Pandu sees a couple of stags (Srungi and Brungi) and shot arrows at them. The stags transform into their original form which is sage Kindama and his wife. Sage Kindama curses King Pandu that when he (Pandu) approaches any women with the intent of making love, he will die. Because of the curse, Pandu does not meet his wives, and he is childless. One day Kunthi comes to know the sage's curse. Kunthi shares the *mantra* (secret spell) that has been taught by sage Durvasa. She explains that she can invoke a god with the *mantra*, and she can have a son with the

god without having any marital affair. After Pandu accepts to have children, Kunthi invokes three different gods and gets three different children: Yudhishtira by the god of Dharma, Bheema by the god of Wind and Arjuna by Lord Indra. The mantra is also shared to Madri. Then, Madri invokes twin gods Ashwinis, and gets twins Nakula and Sahadeva from. One fine day, looking at beauty of Madri, king Pandu tries to make love with Madri. Because of the sage's curse, he reaches the death. Madri also sacrifices her life as she feels guilty for her husband's death. Kunthi reaches Hasthinapura with Pandavas. Druthrashtra decides to appoint Dharmaraju (Yudhishtira) as prince. But, Shakuni influences Duryodhana to be the prince. Then, Duryodhana plans to kill Pandavas. He orders to build a palace with lacquer.

(2) Order of the scenes of play performance “birth of Kauravas and Pandavas”

1. Panduraju (king Pandu) comes on the stage and introduces himself with a song. Then minister enters on the stage. Panduraju asks minister many questions regarding the people's welfare in the country. Then, both leave the stage.

2. Farmers on the stage describes in the form of song as wild boars destroy their crops.

3. Then minister and king Pandu enter on the stage. Farmers explain that crops are destroyed by the wild boars. Pandu promises that he will kill the wild boars. Then villagers leave the stage. After villagers, the minister and the king leave the stage.

4. King, along with minister, enter on the stage with his bow and arrows. They enact as they are hunting wild boars in the farm fields. Then, they leave the stage.

5. Then sage Kindama and his wife (locally known as Shrungi and Brungi) enter on the stage. They both plan to make love. They change their forms into stags, sit on the bench, and hug each other.

6. King Pandu enters on the stage. He stares at the stags. He draws his arrows on the stags while they are mating. The stags turn out as sage Kindama and his wife. In front of King Pandu, Kindama's wife breathes her last. The dying sage Kindama curses the king that Pandu saying that he (Pandu) dies the moment he makes his love with any woman." The sage and his wife fall behind the curtain which means as they have reached their death. King Pandu grieves alone on the stage. Then he takes exit from the stage.

7. Now, Kunthi and Madri enter on the stage. They introduce their characters by singing a song. They sing and dance. Finally, they leave the stage.

8. King Pandu enters with hermit costumes. He becomes a hermit. Then, his minister enters on the stage. He leaves the stage after giving the message as Kunthi and Madri are here. Then, Kunthi and Madri enters on the stage.

9. Both women grieve looking at King Pandu in a hermit costumes. Pandu asks his wives to live in the palace lavishly. But both women refuse to stay in the palace without him. Then, Pandu and his wives leave to forest to lead simple life.

10. One day Pandu express to Kunthi his distress at the view of dying childless. He narrates to Kunthi the episode of the curse by the sage. Pandu is told by Kunthi not to worry to get a baby. She explains how she has been blessed by sage Durvasa to invoke gods for children. As Pandu requests, Kunthi invokes Yama to give birth to a boy called him Dharmaraju. Then, Kunthi invokes Lord Vayu for Bheema and Lord Indra for Arjuna. Kuthi teaches the secret spell, which has been taught to her by Durvasa, to Madri. Then, Madri invokes gods twin Ashwins for two boys: Nakula and Sahadeva. The five children enters on the stage one after another. After performing a song with five Pandavas, Pandu and his wives leave the stage along with five sons.



Plate 18: A scene from the play Pandava Jananam. Characters from left to right are Kunthi in white sari; Pandu Raju in red pajama and heavy wig standing at back; five Pandava brothers; Madri in red sari. The present scene is introduction of young Pandavas. Yamaganipalle, 2014.

11. Madri enters on the stage. Then, Pandu enters on the stage. Looking at the beauty of Madri, Pandu can not control his senses. He forgets sage's curse. With a great desire, he approaches Madri. When he touches his wife, Pandu dies with the sage's curse. Pandu lies on the bench to demonstrate as he is dead. Kunthi enters. Both women mourns. Madri decides to die, and she jumps into funeral pyre of Pandu. Kunthi plans to go to Hastinapuram with her five children, Pandavas. She leaves the stage.

12. Dhrutharastra and Vidura enter on the stage, and they introduce themselves with a song. Dhrutharastra decides to organise coronation to appoint Dharmaraja as crowned prince for Hastinapura. Dhrutharastra asks Vidura to bring his wife to discuss about coronation. Both, Dhrutharastra and Vidura, leaves the stage.

13. Then, Dhrutharastra's wife, Gandhari enters on the stage. She introduces herself singing a song. Vidura enters and informs that Dhrutharastra wants to discuss regarding coronation. Then, both Vidura and Gandhari leaves the stage.

14. Dhrutharastra enters on the stage, and he sits on the bench. Now, both Vidura and Gandhari enter on the stage. Gandhari bows to her husband, Dhrutharastra. She asks Dhrutharastra for calling her to his court. He replies that he wants appoint Dharmaraju as crowned prince. She also accepts Dhrutharastra's wish. Then, Dhrutharastra directs to call the Talari to announce date and time of Dharmaraju's coronation in the country.

15. Talari enters on the stage. Talari character demonstrates a drunken fellow. He introduces himself singing a song. Dhrutharastra orders Talari to announce the information, date and time of Dharmaraju's coronation. Talari accepts to announce the information. He picks one of the Tabala from orchestra, and he uses as drum to announce the information. He makes many mistakes while announcing the information. Then, Vidura corrects his mistakes while Talari is announcing. Dhrutharastra and Gandhari are also on the stage while Talari is announcing the information. Talari character seems to be designed to create humour. Then, four of them exit from the stage.

16. Now, Duryodhana enters on the stage with his five brothers of hundred.⁶³ He leads the five brothers on the stage in a circular movement. He introduces himself and his brothers in a song and dance. Then, Talari enters on the stage. They come to know the information from Talari. Then, they take exit from the stage.

17. Shakuni enters on the stage. He introduces himself with a song. Then, Talari enters on the stage to announce the information. Once Shakuni comes to know that Dharmaraju's coronation, he calls Duryodhana and his brothers. Duryodhana with his brothers enters on the stage. Shakuni insists Duryodhana to become prince. After long discussion with Shakuni, Duryodhana is convinced to be the prince. Then, all of the characters leave the stage.

⁶³ The selection of five brothers is seemingly done because the stage can not accommodate hundred characters on the stage. There may be another reason that hiring 100 actors may be difficult for them to perform such a small scene.

18. Dhrutharastra and Vidura enters on the stage. Vidura introduces Duryodhana's entry in a song. Then, Duryodhana enters on the stage. Duryodhana requests Vidura to leave the stage as Duryodhana wants to discuss an important issue. Vidura leaves the stage. Duryodhana expresses that he wants to be the prince. If Duryodhana refuses, he would not leave the kingdom and go to Kashi to be a saint. Then, Dhrutharastra accepts Duryodhana to be the prince. Duryodhana leaves the stage.

19. Gandhari enters on the stage. Duryodhana with his brothers enters on the stage. They ask Gandhari to appoint Duryodhana as the prince. She replies that she follows her husband's words. Then, Dhrutharastra enters on the stage. After Gandhari discusses with Dhrutharastra, both accept to appoint Duryodhana as the prince. Except Duryodhana, all the characters leave the stage.

20. Duryodhana alone on the stage. Again, his brothers enter on the stage. He orders his brothers to call the Purochana, an architect. Then, his brothers leave the stage. Purochana enters on the stage. Duryodhana orders Purochana to build a palace for Pandavas at Varanasi with highly "flammable material", lacquer. Purochana leaves to build the palace with lacquer. Duryodhana also exits the stage after Purochana. Play ends.

iii) Lakkagruha Dahanamu (Fire to Lacquer Palace) or Hidimbasura-vadha (Slaying of demon Hidimba):

Lakkagruha Dahanamu or Hidimbasura Vadha is performed on the third day of the veedhinatakmau cycle. The play begins when Duryodhana requests Dhrutharastra to bring Pandavas to lacquer palace, and the play ends when Bheema weds Hidimbi.

(1) Synopsis of the Lakkagruha Dahanamu:

According to Shakuni's plan, Duryodhana directs Purochana to build a palace with lacquer. Duryodhana requests Dhrutharastra to bring Pandavas to the lacquer palace, so that Duryodhana can kill Pandavas. As instructed by Duryodhana, Dhrutharastra goes to Pandavas. Dhrutharastra informs them that Pandu has come in his dream, and he has asked to free his soul by performing last rights. Thus, Dhrutharastra suggests Pandavas to perform last rights to king Pandu in Varanasi. As Dhrutharastra directs, along with Kunthi, Pandavas reach to Varanasi. Purochana accommodates Pandavas in lacquer palace. Pandavas does not have a clue of the plot that has been hatched by the Duryodhana, but Vidura comes to know Duryodhana's plan. Vidura sends Kanikudu, a digger, to save Pandavas. Kanikudu makes a huge tunnel, from the lacquer palace into the nearest forest, for Pandavas

to escape through the tunnel. Bheema burns the lacquer palace, and Pandavas escape through the huge tunnel. Thus, Pandavas escape through the tunnel and reach the forest.



Plate 19: A scene from Hidimbasure-vadha. Hidimbi and her brother Hidimbasure are sensing the human flesh. Picture taken at Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 20 Hidimbi is expressing her love to Bheema in Hidimbasure-vadha

As Pandavas are tired and thirsty, they take a nap under a tree in the forest. Except Bheema, they take a nap under the tree. Bheema escorts his mother and brothers in forest

while they are taking a nap. The forest is ruled by a demon Hidimba. Hidimbi and her brother Hidimba smells human beings. Hidimba orders her sister Hidimbi to bring the humans for food. Hidimbi approaches Pandavas. When she sees Bheema's muscular body, Hidimbi is mesmerized, and falls in love with him. She proposes for marriage to Bheema, but he rejects that he can't marry a demon. Meanwhile, Hidimbasura approaches there. As Hidimbi delays bringing food, Hidimba gets angry, and he begins fighting with Bheema. Bheema kills Hidimba.

iv) Bakasura-vadha (Killing of Bakasura):

Bakasura-vadha is usually performed in 3rd and 4th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle. Even the story Bakasura-vadha begins in Ekachakra (locally called as Ekachakrapuram), the performance begins when Hidimbi proposes Bheema for marriage. The performance ends when Bheema kills Bakasura. In some festivals, Sri Krishna Leelalu, Pandava Jananam, Lakkagruha Dahanamu and Bakasura-vadha are performed on the first day of Veedhi-natakamu cycle. In some festivals, Lakkagruha Dahanamu and Bakasura-vadha are performed in first day. For example, in 2014, Veedhi-natakamu cycle in Yamanuru began with Lakkagruha Dahanamu and Bakasura-vadha. When it is observed the invitation of the festival, the same village publicises three plays such as Kamsavadha, Lakkagruha Dahanamu and Bakasura-vadha to perform in first day.

(1) Synopsis of Bakasura-vadha:

After the death of Hidimba, his sister, Hidimbi transforms as a beautiful woman. Hidimbi again proposes Bheema for marriage. Even Bheema refuses her proposal, she tries several times to convince him. Enraged Bheema attempts to kill Hidimbi. Dharmaraju stops from killing Hidimbi. Hidimbi pleads Kunthi to convince Bheema to marry her. Dharmaraju and Kunthi explain him about her previous birth and secret of being a demon, which is learnt from Vedavyasa. In previous birth Hidimbi was beauty of heaven and due to sage curse, she is demon now. Dharmaraju and Kunthi convince Bheema to marry Hidimbi. Due to curse, she lives a life of normal woman for one year, and survives as demon for another year. Bheema marries Hidimbi, and Gatotkaja is born to them. All bids farewell to Hidimbi and Gatotkaja, and they instruct Hidimbi to train her son to become successful warrior. Pandavas leave for Ekachakrapuram.

In Ekachakrapuram Pandavas are disguised as Brahmins to hide their identity. They stay in small Brahmin's (Dharmaseela's) home. In Ekachakrapuram, there is a demon

called Bhakasura; every day one human with full bullock cart of rice is sent to him for calming down his hunger. As mutually agreed by villagers every day one person from a family goes to Bhakasura as prey. One day, it's turn of Dharmaseela's family. With this reason, Dharmaseela's family are deeply saddened. Kunthi comes to know the reason behind the sadness of Dharmaseela's family. Kunthi consoles the family and promises to send Bheema instead of Dharmaseela's son. Then, Kunthi orders Bheema to be prey for Bhakasura. Bheema takes the food in a bullock cart, and reaches Bhakasura late. Instead of offering food to Bhakasura, Bheema starts eating the food. Annoyed Bhakasura begins to fight with Bheema. Bheema overpowers Bhakasura and kills him.

v) Draupadi Kalyanam (Draupadi's wedding):

Draupadi Kalyanam is performed as ritual enactment and theatrical performance separately in Draupadi festival. The theatrical performance of Draupadi Kalyanam is usually performed on the 4th or 5th day of Veedhi-natakamu cycle in Draupadi festival; it also performed with another popular titles such as Draupadi Swayam-varam (choosing a husband by Draupadi) and Draupadi Purva Janna Vruthantham (story of Draupadi's previous incarnation).

(1) Synopsis of Draupadi Kalyanam:

Drupad, the king of Panchala, vows to her daughter, Draupadi, to perform her marriage with Arjuna. When he hears the news from Brahmin family that Pandavas has been burnt alive in lacquer palace, Drupad regrets that his dream of marrying his daughter to Arjuna being a dream only. He insists Draupadi to marry Dhuryodana as he decides Pandavas are not alive. She does not agree to marry Duryodhana. She strongly believes that Pandavas are alive. According to his astrologer, Drupad gets information that Pandavas are alive. Drupad announces the *swayamvara* (ceremony of choosing a husband) for Draupadi. He also announces who ever shoots arrow on fish by seeing its shadow in water marries Draupadi. Arjuna and his brothers, as disguised Bhramins, come to Draupadi *swayamvara*. All the Kings try to shoot arrow, but they fail. Arjuna shoots the arrow, and Draupadi chooses him to marry. Thus, Arjuna and Draupadi unites.



Plate 21: The scene is from the play *Bakasura-vadha*. Here, *Bheema* is eating puffed rice, and killing *Bakasura*. The arrow mark is made to point the puffed rice.

When Pandvas arrive to home to introduce Draupadi to Kunthi, they inform Kunthi that Arjuna has won a fruit at a competition. Listening that, without knowing the fact, Kuthi asks them to share it equally. The motherly command leads the five brothers to become the five husbands of Draupadi. When he comes to know the news of the escape of the Kunthi and her five sons from the lacquer palace, Duryodhana is dreadfully disappointed. Dhrutharastra is pretends to be cheerful for Pandavas' escape. Dhrutharastra gives half of the kingdom to Pandavas. With lot of effort and divine grace, Pandavas built Indraprastha, then they plan to perform Rajasuyayagam (*imperial sacrifice*) which is usually performed by a successful king.

vi) Arjuna Theerdhayatra (Arjuna's piligrimage):

The play Arjuna Theerdhayatra is also known as Chitrangada Pendli (Chitrangada's wedding). It is performed on 4th or 5th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle.

(1) Synospis of the play Arjuna Theerdhayatra:

After marrying Draupadi, as suggested by sage Narada, five brothers decides that Draupadi stays for a year with each brother. During Draupadi stay with one of Pandava, other Pandavas are not allowed to interrupt the the privacy of the couple. If any one disobeys the proposal suggested by Narada, they have to "commence a piligrimage" for one year. One day, for help, a Brahmin comes to Arjuna; he requests Arjuna to recover his stolen cow. As he promises to help the Brahmin, Arjuna approaches *Ayudhasala* (and arsenal) to bring his bow and arrows. When Arjuna reaches the *Ayudhasala*, Dharmaraju and Draupadi are spending their privacy time in that place. Arjuna takes his weapons and chases the thief who has stolen the cow. Arjuna kills the thief and recovers the cow. Once

he give the cow to Brahmin, Arjuna approaches Dharmaraju, and he informs him that he goes on pilgrimage for one year to expiate for disobeying. Eventhough Dharmaraju not happy for Arjuna's piligrimage, Arjuna starts on the piligrimage, and Arjuna is guided by the Brahmin.

In the progress of piligrimage, Arjuna reaches Ganges and marries Ulupi. Later, he reaches south and marries Chitrangada. Finally he marries Subhadra.

vii) Rajasuya Yagam: The play Rajasuya Yagam is performed along with Chitrangada Pendli. It is performed on 4th or 5th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle.

(1) *Synopsis of Rajasuya Yagam ("Rajasuya Sacrifice"):*

Narada suggests Dharmaraja to Rajasuya Yagam. Then, Dharmaraja decides to perform Rajasuya Yagam; he meets Krishna to obtain his consent to it. Krishna promises to perform Rajasuya Yagam after killing Jarasandha who rules Magadha. Along with Bheema and Arjuna, Krishna disguises as Brahmins, and they reach Magadha. They challenge with Jarasandha to fight; Bheema is chosen as Jarasandha's opponent. Bheema and Jarasandha fights for a long time, and Bheema kills Jarasandha. After killing Jarasandha, Pandavas perform Rajasuya Yagam at Indraprastanam.

viii) Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu ("disrobing of Draupadi"):

Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu is performed on 6th or 7th day of Veedhi-natakamu cycle. It is also performed with another story Rajasuyayagam ("Rajasuya sacrifice"). For instance, in Yamanuru and Vendugampally, 2014, the play performances of Rajasuyayagama and Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu are performed in one night. But, in Jeevakona, 2016, temple committee organises only Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu seperately. Both Rajasuyayagama and Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu are from Sabha Parva. Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu emotionally engages most of the female spectators. The performance demonstrates power of woman's anger. It is possible to think that female spectators reflect their own econamical, emotional and sexual exploitation in the society throught the performance. Spectators' interpretaion of the performance depends on their sex. For examples, women spectators possibly interpret sexual harassment; male spectators recognise politics and war. Hiltebeitel observes that Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu is "the scene of intense audience possession rituas" (Hilbeitel 2: 37).



Plate 22 A scene from Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu performed in Jeevakona, 2016. Present scene is when Duryodhana and Dusyasana are praying and offering husked coconut for asking forgiveness for playing such an inauspicious scene.



Plate 23: The theatrical space temporarily converts as devotional space in Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu. Devotees penetrate into the performance space to devotee Draupadi. Here, devotees are performing Dhakshina and offering blouse pieces, turmeric and vermillion powder. Picture taken from the festival at Jeevakona in 2016.

The performance space offers rituals during the performance. During the scene of disrobing, the performance is stopped; temple committee offers a prayer to the character

Draupadi on the stage as the scene is inauspicious. According to their belief, offering a prayer to character Draupadi on the stage makes the scene from inauspicious to auspicious; if the prayer is not performed, there is opportunity to occur ill-fated events such as fire accidents during the ritual of firewalk.

(1) Synopsis of Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu:

Dharmaraju invites Duryodhana to Rajasuyayaga. After participating in Rajasuyayaga, Duryodhana takes a tour of *Mayasabha* (“the palace of illusions”). In his tour, while enjoying many illusions, Duryodhana does not recognise a pool of water, and he steps into the pool. Along with Pandavas, Draupadi laughs at Duryodhana’s awkwardness. Thus, Duryodhana is humiliated by Draupadi in *Mayasabha*. Frustrated Duryodhana decides to leave the country, but Shakuni stops him. He says that we can win them by game of dice. They built a new house and invites Pandavas for house warming ceremony. Four of his brothers object Dharmaraju, but Dharmaraju attends house warming ceremony along with brothers and Draupadi. Draupadi is left at Gandhari’s palace for staying. Dharmaraju loses all his properties, brothers and Draupadi in the dice game.



Plate 24: A scene from Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu. Here, Duryodhana is disrobing Draupadi

As Draupadi is his slave, Duryodhana sends Prativami to get Draupadi to court. Draupadi replies that she cannot come without her husband’s permission. Then, Duryodhana sends Duryodhana to get Draupadi. Duryodhana orders to Draupadi to come to

the Duryodhana's court; she refuses. Dushyasana verbally abuses Draupadi. Gandhari objects Dushyasana that he can not harass a woman in that manner. Dushyasana explains her that how Duryodhana got humiliated. Dushyasana holds Draupadi's hair, and he pulls her holding the hair. She explains that she runs to wards Gandhari and requests her to stop him as she (Draupadi) is having her periods. But he neglects her plead, and pulls her holding the hair to the Duryodhana's court. Duryodhana orders Dushyasana to disrobe Draupadi. Draupadi prays to Krishna to protect her; Krishna appears there to protect her. To save her modesty, Krishna blesses her to grow her sari endless. As the five brothers and the court looks away, Dushyasana continues to unwrap layers and layers of Draupadi's sari. As her sari grows, after sometime, Dushyasana becomes tired. He stops disrobing Draupadi, and she remains clothed. Dharmaraju is given one last chance to win everything back in the game. Again, Dharmaraju plays the game and loses, in which the losers will have an exile of 12 years (*Aranyavasam*) followed by a year of incognito life (*Agnathavas*). After losing the game, Pandavas cast off their royal dresses and jewels. They wear simple garments of ordinary people. Finally, they go to the forest to finish 12 years exile.

To win Kauravas, Arjuna tries to perform penance on Indrakeeladri to obtain Pashupatastra. On his way to Indrakeeladri, Arjuna is stopped by Birundi. She follows Arjuna and tries to persuade him. Arjuna tells her that he is on an important work, and he rejects her advances. Dissappointed Birundi sends her husband to fight with Arjuna. Arjuna fights with them, and wins. Finally, Arjuna forgives them.

(2) Order of the scenes of play performance Draupadi Vasthrapaharanamu:

1. Duryodhana and his brothers enters on the stage. Duryodhana introduces himself with a song. He explains how Draupadi insulted him in Mayasabha. All of them uses vigorous movement in this scene to establish Duryodhana's angry. Duryodhana is distressed because he has been insulted by Draupadi. Karna and Duryodhana brothers hinder him.

2. Shakuni enters on the stage. He promises that he can play dice game with Pandavas, and defeat them. According to his plan, he asks Duryodhana to build a house to invite Pandavas on the occasion of Gruhashanthi (purification of the home). Then, they leave the stage.

3. Pandavas enters on the stage. Dharmaraju decides to go to event, but his brothers and his wife stop him to go to the event. When Dharmaraju insists, they follow him. Then, they leave the stage.

4. Duryodhana and Sakuni enters on the stage. Dharmaraju and his brothers enter on the stage. They start playing dice game. Dharmaraju loses his kingdom, his brothers, and his wife in the game. Duryodhana sends Pratikami to bring Draupadi to the court. All of the characters leave the stage.

5. Draupadi enters on the stage. She introduces herself with a song. Pratikami enters on the stage. Pratikami explains how Duryodhana has won Pandavas. He requests her to come to the court. She refuses because she does not have her husband's permission. He leaves the stage. Then, Draupadi leaves the stage.

6. Duryodhana enters on the stage. Then, Pratikami enters on the stage. He explains to Duryodhana why Draupadi has refused to come to the court. Duryodhana orders Pratikami to bring Dussasana. Pratikami leaves the stage. Then, Duryodhana leaves the stage.

7. Dussasana enters on the stage. He introduces himself with a song and a dance. Then, Buffon enters on the stage. Buffon comments Dussasana to create humour. They both exit from the stage.

8. Duryodhana enters on the stage. Then, Buffon and Dussasana enter on the stage. Buffon comments on the status of Duryodhana and Dussasana. Buffon argues with both Duryodhana and Dussasana. With his comments and arguments, buffoon creates humour in this scene. Duryodhana orders Dussasana to forcibly bring Draupadi to the court. Dussasana and buffoon leave the stage. Then, Duryodhana takes exit.

9. Draupadi enters on the stage. She explains her situation. Then, Dussasana and buffoon enter on the stage. Buffoon continuously comments and argues with Dussasana. Here, he supports Draupadi. Dussasana disrespects Draupadi. He pulls her to the backstage through right exit. Buffoon follows them. Gandhari enters on the stage from left exit. Mistakenly, Dussasana holds Gandhari's hand and pulls her. Buffoon asks loudly why you are pulling your mother. Buffoon comments Dussasana for disrespecting Gandhari. Dussasana explains how he has made the mistake. Dussasana leaves the stage, and buffoon follows him.

10. Draupadi enters on the stage. Dussasana enters on the stage, and he asks his mother to leave from here. She leaves the stage. Dussasana drags Draupadi to the court. They both take exit from the stage.

11. Duryodhana enters on the stage, and sits on the bench. Dusyasana pulls Draupadi on to the stage. He explains to his brother how he has dragged her from the guest room. Now, Padavas enters on the stage.

12. Pandavas are not in royal costumes. They are wearing ordinary costumes. Dharamaraju prays to Krishna for help. While Dharamaraju is praying, Pandava brothers stand by folding their hands. Dharmaraju repents for playing dice game. He apologises to his brothers for keeping them in this situation. Duryodhana disrespects Draupadi here. Bheema is irritated for this.

13. Four Pandava brothers hold Beema with a rope to avoid killing Duryodhana. According to local community, the power of Bheema may kill the actors who play Duryodhana and Dusyasana in this scene. To avoid this, Bheema is held with a rope until they finish the scene.

14. Bheema escapes from the rope, and he chases Duryodhana and Dhuryasana to kill. Bheema also chases buffoon for supporting Duryodhana. Along with buffoon, Duryodhana and Dusyasana run into the spectators' space. Here, the spectators move back and offer space for them to enact in the spectators' space. Bheema is not able to control his anger, and he goes to the state of possession. Others carry him to the backstage. In back stage, senior actor performs a rite to bring back Bheema to the normal status. Duryodhana, Dusyasana, Draupadi and buffoon continue the performance.

15. Dusyasana removes flowers from Draupadi's hair. He takes out her bangles. Draupadi recites Govinda several times. Dusyasana tries to pull Draupadi's saree. She runs back to the back stage. Vikarna, brother of Duryodhana, enters on the stage. He tries to stop Dhuryodhana from disrespecting Draupadi. He warns Duryodhana: the king cannot disrespect a woman this way. Both, Duryodhana and Dusyasana, push Vikarna out of the stage. Vikarna leaves the stage. Now, the performance is halted.

16. At this minute, temple committee organises a ritual on the stage. As part of the ritual, Pamba is played. Harathi plate is kept in the hands of Draupadi. Dhuryodhana lights the camphor in the Harathi plate. Dusyasana offers a husked coconut to Draupadi. Thus, actors, who play Duryodhana and Dusyasana, appeal for forgiveness for playing the scene of the disrobing.

17. Draupadi holds Harathi plate, and an officiant holds another plate filled with sacred ash (Vibhudi) and vermilion. Then, women enter on the stage from the spectators' space. They bring offerings to Draupadi. These offerings are sarees, blouse, flowers, fruits, powders of vermilion and turmeric, camphor and garlands. Most of the

women spectators offer currency in the form of *dhakshina*. The *dhakshina* is offered in the Harathi plate held by Draupadi. After offering *dhakshina*, some of women spectators touch the feet of Draupadi to seek her blessings. Then, they collect the sacred ash and vermilion from the plate held by the officiant.

18. After the ritual, they resume the performance. Here, usually, Draupadi is covered with many sarees on covered one. Dhusyasana pulls Draupadi's sarree. Dusyasana extends half an hour to take out the sarees that has been weared by Draupadi. While removing sarees, Draupadi prays to Lord Krishna, and she recites Govinda for several times. Some of the devotees recite Govinda along with Draupadi. Dusyasana pulls many sarees. He is tired now. Draupadi leaves the stage reciting Govinda. Dusyasana falls on the stage floor. Thus, disrobing scene is performed.

19. After disrobing is performed, Arjuna enters on the stage to perform the journey to Indrakeeladri. He introduces himself with a song. Then, Menaka follows him. She runs behind Arjuna to marry him. He rejects her proposal. She gets angry, and calls her husband to fight with Arjuna. Both, Arjuna and Menaka's husband fight each other. Menaka's husband loses the fight. Arjuna forgives them. Play ends with a song Mangalam by Arjuna.

ix) Gayopakyanam –Krishn-Arjuna Yudham:

Gayopakyanam is usually performed in 7th or 8th day of Veedhi-natakammu cycle. Gayopakyanam is also performed with a tittle Krishn-arjuna Yuddam. The story establishes dispute between Lord Krishna and Arjuna. The dispute between Lord Krishna and Arujana is orginated when Arjuna tries to save Gaya, the king of Gandharvas. Even the character Gaya is having small portion in Mahabharatha, the play has wider significance in Veedhi-natakamu perfomrances.

(1) Synospis of Gayopakyanam

Lord Krishna is the king of Brindavanam. One day Vanapalaka, a gardener, invites Krishna to visit his (Vanapalaka's) garden. When Krishna reaches the garden, Vanapalaka offers fruits and flowers. In the garden, at the dawn, Lord Krishna plans to perform morning prayers to the Sun. In the same morning, Gaya, a Gandharvas' king, travelling in his chariot in the sky. While Lord Krishna is offering prayers to Sun God, Gaya spits. It falls on the palms of Sri Krishna, when Krishna is spread his hands to perform the prayer. Krishna gets very angry, and he vows to kill Gaya before sun set. Gaya learnt about Krishna's vow

through invisible voice (*akashavani*). Frightened Gaya first approaches Lord Shiva, and later Lord Brahma for help. Gaya pleads Lord Shiva and Lord Brahma to save him from Lord Krishna. Both, Lord Shiva and Lord Brahma, express their helplessness. Finally, Gaya approaches Narada, and Narada suggests Gaya to approach Arjuna. On advice of Narada, before revealing about the fact, Gaya seeks Arjuna's assurance of protecting him (Gaya). Arjuna after learning the truth goes to Dharmaraju for advice. Dharmaraju suggests Arjuna to stand on his promise that he has given to Gaya. Subhadra, after learning about incident, tries to stop Arjuna, but Arjuna does not change his mind. Then, Subhadra pleads Lord Krishna for her husband's life. Both, Arjuna and Lord Krishna, start to fight each other. When they reach peak of the fight, Arjuna raises his *pasupatastra*, and Lord Krishna aims *Sudharshana-chakra*. When they are aiming deadly weapons, Lord Siva appears before them and stops further disaster. Arjuna realises his mistake, and he asks apology to Lord Krishna. Lord Krishna accepts Arjuna's apology, and he explains the situation as a test for Arjuna before the participating in Mahabharatha war because Arjuna's cousins will be fighting with him.

x) Keechaka-vadha ("The slaying of Keechaka"):

The play *Keechaka-vadha* is derived from *Virata Parva*. The play is also popular with the titles *Narthanasala* (the dancing hall) and *Keechakuni Yuddam* (fight with Keechaka). Usually, the play is performed on 8th and 9th day of the *Veedhi-natakamu* cycle. The play is very popular for entertainment in *Veedhi-natakamu*.

(1) Synopsis of Keechaka-vadha:

After spending 12 years in exile in the forest, Pandavas plan to spend one year exile incognito in Virata's kingdom. To conceal their identity, Pandavas and Draupadi approach the Virata's Kingdom in their individual disguises: Dharmaraju as *Kankubhattu*; Bheema as *Valaludu*; Arjuna as *Brihannala* ("half male, half female"); Nakula as *Damagrandhi*; Sahdeva as *Tantripaludu*; and Draupadi as *Malini*.⁶⁴ They live one year in Virata's kingdom as servants. One day, Keechaka visits Virata's kingdom to see his sister, Sudeshna, queen of the Virata. Then, he sees Draupadi disguised as *Malini*, and falls in love with the beauty

⁶⁴ These Telugu names are referred from page 41 in Bhakthavathsala, N., Reddy. *Draupadi TiruNaLLu (dharmaraju TiraNaLa)*. Warangal: Regional Resources Centre for Folklife, 2005. Print.

of Draupadi. He loses his senses, and could not control his lust. He sexually harasses Draupadi. Then Draupadi complains to Bheema who is disguised as the principal chef, and he swears that Draupadi will be avenged. To execute Bheema's plan, at one night, Draupadi invites Keechaka to the dancing room. On that night, Bheema disguises as Draupadi's disguise to kill Keechaka. Unaware of the plan, Keechaka reaches to the dancing room to meet Draupadi. Then, Keechaka is crushed to death in the hands of Bheema.

xi) Uttara Gograhanamu ("Seizure of the cattle in the north"):

Uttara Gograhanamu is performed in both ways: on stage and in outdoors. The theatrical performance of Uttara Gograhanamu is usually performed on the 9th or 10th day of Veedhi-natakamu cycle in Draupadi festival. Even though they are derived from Virata Parva, Uttara Gograhanamu and Keechaka-vadha are performed in two different days in Draupadi festival. Along with Keechaka-vadha, Uttara Gograhanamu is also emphasises humour.

(1) Synopsis of Uttara Gograhanamu:

While Pandavas spending their exile incongnito in Virata's kingdom, Duryodhana tries to expose Pandavas to send them back to the exile in the forest. He sends messengers to expose the Pandavas presence. He finds two clues to prove that Pandavas are hiding in the Virata kingdom. The first clue is that murder of Kichaka, and the second one is Virata kingdom's fertility. Duryodhana deduces only Bheema could kill the Kichaka. Bhishma announces that Pandavas' presence in any kingdom would bring "happiness, fertile lands, and good rains". Duryodhana searches for a country that is possessing richness and happiness. Then, through his ambassadors, Duryodhana comes to know that only Virata's kingdom is possessing greatest prosperity around. So, he deduces that Pandavas are staying in Virata's kingdom. Then Duryodhana's plans to provoke Pandavas into the war, so that he can send them back to exile in forest for 12 years.

To execute his plan, Duryodhana decides to attack the "Virata's kingdom from the South". For this attack he ally himself with Susasana who is king of Trigarta. According to Duryodhana's plan, while Susasana's army attacking south, Duryodhana's army astonishes Virata's in the north. As he is unaware of Duryodhana's plan, king Virata leads his army to the south to defend the Susasana's army. Meanwhile, Duryodhana's army attacks Virata's kingdom from the north, and they rob the cattle.

As the king Virata is away for the war against Susasana, a messenger of Virata's kingdom communicates the message to young prince Uttara, the son of Virata. As he is asked for help in front of women, Uttara flushes with pride, and decides to fight against to Kauravas. Then, Uttara takes Brihannala (Arjuna in disguise) as charioteer. Both Uttara and Brihannala drives chariot to the battle field at the north. Seeing at the Kauravas army, Uttara is terrified, and tries to run away from there. But, Brihannala stops him and influence him with motivational speech. Brihannala brings Uttara to the Jammi tree where they have hidden the armaments. Brihannala discloses his identity to Uttara, and he shows Pandava's weapons to Uttara. Uttara cannot see the weapons except snakes in the tree. Arjuna brings down the weapon from the tree. Now, Uttara takes the charge of charioteer, and Arjuna takes Uttara's place to fight with Kauravas. Even they suspects that it is Arjuna, Kauravas have not identified him. As Arjuna employs his Gandiva, Kauravas lay unconsciousness. Uttara and Arjuna wins the battle against Duryodhana.

xii) Sri Krishna Rayabharam (Lord Krishna's intercession):

The play Sri Krishna Rayabharam is usually performed on 10th or 11th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle. The play is derived from Udyoga Parva. In few of the festivals, Sri Krishna Rayabharama and Kurukshetra Yuddam (Kurukshetra war) are performed in one night; in this situation, the play is publicised with the title Sri Krishna Rayabharam. For example, in Kuppam region, Yamaganipalle, 2014, both the plays are performed on 10th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle with a title Sri Krishna Rayabharam. When it is observed in Tirupathi region, the both plays are performed separately. For example, in Jeevakona, 2016, both the plays are performed on two separate days.



Plate 25: A scene from Sri Krishna Rayabharam performed at Jeevakona in 2016. Krishna (who is standing), in Duryodhana's court, is requesting five villages for Pandavas to stop the war. Dusyasana is sitting in the chair, and listening to Krishna. Sakuni and Duryodhana's brothers are also sitting in the court.

Sri Krishna Rayabharam emphasises the role of Krishna in Mahabharatha. The play demonstrates the role of Krishna as an initiator of the peace. The plot of the play revolves around four major turns: Pandavas demand their half of the empire, Duryodhana refuses Pandavas demand, Lord Krishna's effort for the peace, and Duryodhana's intention for the final war. The play is popularised in the community because of its Bhakti theme. The actions of the play signify Draupadi's revenge for her sexual abuse.

(1) Synopsis of Sri Krishna Rayabharam:

After 12 years in exile and one year in incognito, Pandavas demand their half of the kingdom. Duryodhana refuses to give Pandavas' half of the kingdom. Both, Pandavas and Kauravas decide to start the war. When Duryodhana seeks Lord Krishna's support in the war, Sri Krishna replies Duryodhana: "I will help who come first to Dwarka and who meet me first for help". Before Arjuna, Duryodhana reaches dwarka while Sri Krishna is having nap at his palace in Dwarka. Duryodhana sits near Sri Krishna head. Arjuna too arrives there and sits near Sri Krishna feet. When Sri Krishna is awake he sees Arjuna first. Then, Krishna promises Arjuna that he supports Pandavas in the war. Duryodhana argues for that as he reaches first. Then, Sri Krishna plans to share his support for both Pandavas and Kauravas. He divides his support into two: himself on one side and his army on the other side. First, Krishna gives offer to Arjuna to choose one part. Then, Arjuna chooses Krishna, but not his army. Arjuna asks Sri Krishna's presence in the war as his charioteer. Duryodhana feels very happy to choose Krishna's army.

Even Duryodhana demands the war, Pandavas send Lord Krishna as an ambassador to negotiate for peace. Krishna meets Duryodhana, and Krishna requests five villages for Pandavas to stop the war. Duryodhana rejects the offer. Then, Sri Krishna finalizes to start the war. Sri Krishna also meets Karna and reveals him that he (Karna) is the eldest son of Kunthi, and therefore, the eldest Pandava. Sri Krishna asks him to support Pandavas in the war. Karna refuses to support Pandavas, and he wants to support his friend Duryodhana in the war. Sri Krishna meets Kunthi and asks her to meet Karna and reveal his birth secret. Kunthi meets Karna and asks him to join the Pandavas. She reveals his birth secret and about his father. Learning that Karna will fight against Arjuna, Kunthi asks him not to use Nagashtra (serpent missile) twice against Arjuna. Karna promises that he will not use Nagashtra twice. He also assures that he will not kill any of Pandavas except Arjuna so that

at the end of the war she would have five sons, the fifth one be either Arjuna or Karna himself. Both parties decides to start the final war, Kurukshetra.

xiii) Kurukshetra Yuddam (Kurukshetra war):

Kurukshetra Yuddam is performed on the 11th or 12th day of the Veedhi-natakamu cycle. This is the last play that associated with Mahabharatha text in the Veedhi-natakamu cycle. The play is popular with other titles such as Yuddam, Mahbaharatha Yuddam and Kurukhetram. The play text is probably derived from three Parvas: Bhishma Parva, Drona Parva and Karna Parva.

(1) Synopsis of Kurukshetra Yuddam:

Pandavas select Dhrishtadyumna as the commander of their army. Kauravas and Pandavas arrive to the battle field. Bheeshma fights against Pandavas for nine days. When Arjuna asks Bheeshma's support, Bheeshma says that Arjuna can kill me when



Plate 26: from the play Kurukshetra Yuddam. Dharmaraju is convinced to scarify Ilavantha before the final battle. Characters from left to right in first row: Nakula, Dharmaraju, Krishna and Bheema. In the second row, Arjuna is standing with his arrow and bow.

Bheeshma drops his weapons. To drop his weapons, Bheeshma needs to face Shikandi. Initially, Pandavas are not interested for that cheap tactic, but they are convinced by Lord Krishna. Bringing Shikandi in front of Bheeshma, Arjuna shoots Bheeshma. When Gatodgaja kills Kaurava's army, Karna is asked to draw Nagastram to kill him. Lord

Krishna plots Abhimanyu's death. Abhimanyu is killed by Saindava in Padmavyuham. Then, Arjuna kills Saindava who has killed Abhimanyu. Dhrishtadyumna kills Dronacharya. Bheema kills Duryodhana. When Karna stands alone in the war, Arjuna kills Karna. Nakula kills Shakuni. Finally, Duryodhana leaves the war and reaches under the water.

b) Structure of the play text:

Veedhi-natakamu play text is circulated among the actors in the form of manuscripts. It is written by Guru. The text is combined with short poetry and dialogues. The poetry part is meant to sing in a tune. The details of tunes, *talas* ("beating time in music") and ragas are also referred in the script. It is obvious that the script is written following Telugu grammar. Veedhi-natakamu play text is apparently written to entertain spectators in both "audible and visual form". It is written to guide the performers to a theatrical performance. It is embedded with emotions. It is meant to create "verbal, musical and visual expressions" (Bruin 167) through performances. The performance text has deeper meaning. It is intended to explore by the performer. The text possibly drives the actors to approach non-realistic acting.

A Veedhi-natakamu play is begun with a prayer song. The prayer song is usually written to praise Lord Ganesh. For instance, in Jeevakona, 2016, the prayer song to praise Lord Ganesh is sung for the play performances of Bakasura-vadha, Sri Krishna Leelalu and Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu. In few play texts, the prayer song is written to praise Lord Venkatesha. For instance, the play text of "Virata Parva"⁶⁵ included prayer song to praise Lord Venkatesha (Virata Parva Natakamu 3). Kotturu Ramalinga Reddy gives seven prayer songs for play Adi Parva, in his book, titled Sri Mahabharatha Natakam; these prayer songs are to praise Lord Ganesh, Lord Brahma, Lord Vishnu, Lord Shiva, goddess Saraswathi, goddess Lakshmi, goddess Parvathi, Sanskrit poets, Andhra poets and Gurus respectively (5-8).

In the performance text, major characters such as kings, queens, and ministers are introduced by comic characters such as Chopudarudu or buffoon. Most of the scenes are connected by buffoon and Chopudarudu. After prayer songs, each character introduces

⁶⁵ The playwright's name of the Virata Parva Natakamu is not available in the script. It is believed that the playwright is from the village Vemulapalle. It is also believed that Vemulapalle is the name of the playwright. For more details, see *Virata Parva Natakamu*. Tirupati: Chukkala Singaiah Chetty Sri Balaji Book Depot, n.d. Print.

herself/hiself with a song. This songs is written in a pattern. The character also introduces the scene with the introductory song. Then, other characters enters on the stage. In many cases, a character which is already on the stage indicates another characters entry. For instance, in Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu, buffoon indicates the entry of Draupadi when Dusyasana drags her to Duryodhana's court.

In Veedhi-natakamu text, the conversation is written in classical Telugu language. The play script ends with a song which is locally called Mangalam. Along with prayer songs that are meant to be sung in the beginning of the performance, Mangalam is also considered auspicious.

c) Language:

The scripts are available in the form of both printed and manuscripts. The manuscripts are used by the actors. Based on the printed scripts, some of the plays are written by a Guru for a disciple. The printed scripts are available in classical Telugu language. Few of the printed scripts are Sri Egudur Krishnavijaymanu's Kamsa-vadha, Beduduru Ramaccharya's Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu, Kotturu Ramalingaiah's Mahabharatha Natakam (with ten Parvas) and Vemulapalle's Draupadi Kalyanam, Gayopakyanamu and Virata Parvam. The manuscripts are written in both classical and contemporary Telugu language. The classical Telugu is used for songs and dialogues of principal characters. The dialogues written in classical Telugu is usually repated in contemporary Telugu language for spectators. The comic part is written in contemporary Telugu; they also follow local slang to write these comic dialogues. The songs are written in the form of peortry. Tunes and beats of the songs are also given in the scripts. The songs are written in a formate to repeat easily by chorus.

d) Punning:

Veedhi-natakamu performance text uses puns. Recent manuscripts are dominated with punnings in comic scenes. It has loose plot structure. To create humour, character pretends as he misunderstands the opposite character's speech. This misunderstanding leads to punning. The punning confusions are most popular in Veedhi-natakamu. Because of the punning, in many cases, the plot structure changes from one performance to another performance. Some of the punnings are written by misrepresentation of the normal articulation. For example, in Uttara-gograhanamu, buffoon calls Uttara as *uchchala* which means urine. Most of the punnings are written for buffoon character in Veedhi-natakamu.

e) Adaptation of classical text to engage spectators:

The performance text is available in the form of manuscript. The performance text is written based on the Mahabharatha stories. Now a days, according to Mohana Naidu, a Veedhi-natakamu performer, most of the troupes adapt the published scripts that are available in the local region. The adaptation of the script is usually done by a Guru. Thus, the performance text is transmitted from Guru. A Guru enhances his imagination to add comic scenes. Initially, the text was probably in poetic Telugu, but now it is adapting the spoken Telugu language. The additional work done by a Guru dilutes the originality of previous text. These changes does not suggest to call Veedhi-natakamu text as “prepared text”⁶⁶. This procedure of adapting the classical text suggests that Veedhi-natakamu performance does not follow “authorship of the literary text”. It is obvious that the performance text of Veedhi-natakamu is a “performer ownership of mythological text”. To refer an example, the published plays of Veedhi-natakamu were written in classical Telugu for different spectators. Now, it is adapted for contemporary spectators. Adapting the published text demonstrates the ability of the Guru. This ability to ‘re-invent’ the Veedhi-natakamu text is undoubtedly originated from the idea to attract contemporary spectators. The reinvention of the text suggests the collaborative creation. Thus, Guru, as a collaborator, demonstrates scenographer’s role by “re-envisioning an extant text”⁶⁷.

The adaptation of classical stories suggest to call Veedhi-natakamu text as “cultural text”. The adaptations are done probably keeping the spectators’ perception. Thus, the Veedhi-natkamu text reflects the ideas of the spectators who are from the local community. The similar kind of influence on the text is observed by Bhikshu in his book *Semiotics of Oggu Katha*. Bhikshu comments Oggu Katha as a “cultural text”; according to him, “it [Oggu Katha] refers to the cultural level of the community with its entire ethos and ideas” (33). Relating it to Oggu Katha, Veedhi-natakamu can also be called as cultural text.

Even it does not suggest to call as “the prepared text”, performance text of Veedhi-natakamu is apparently tied to a dramatic structure. While adapting the text, Guru probably demonstrate his precise ideas to stage the story. He apparently concentrates on the number

⁶⁶ Thought taken from Schechner, Richard. "Group V: Improving Design for the Technical Function: Scenography, Structure and Function." *Educational Theatre Journal* 20.2 (1968): 311-16. Web. See page number 314.

⁶⁷ A phrase is taken from Poll, Melissa. *Robert Lepage’s Scenographic Dramaturgy: The Aesthetic Signature at Work*. Diss. Royal Holloway, U of London, 2014. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Web. 15 Aug. 2018. <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/84153502.pdf>>. See page 1.

of songs, comic scenes, improvisations and dialogues. When it is analysed performance text of Keechaka-vadha that is performed by different troupes, many similarities are observed in songs, comic scenes, improvisations and dialogues. For instance, Keechaka-vadha performance in both Tirupathi and Kuppam region demonstrate similar kind of comic scenes, songs and dialogues. These similarities suggest to think that the Veedhi-natakamu follows a dramatic structure in Chittoor district.

Thus, working with an existing script for contemporary spectators puts greater pressure on Guru. In this sense, Guru does not have freedom to follow his pure imagination. He has to adapt the script with in the limitation of the spectators' demand and the pre-existing text. The adaptation of the classical text by Guru is probably influenced by the spectators. He, the Guru, may have re-arranged the text for contemporary spectators. This process of re-writing the existing text for better performance "suggests scenographic dramaturgy" (Howard 30).

f) Sacredness and secularism:

As Veedhi-natakamu text is from Mahabharatha, it exhibits religious aspects. Besides its religious aspects, veedhinatakmu performance text contains secular elements also. Even it has a significant association with religion, the performance text allows movie songs that relates to secular subject. These songs allows the performance space to transform from religious to secular. The dialogues in Veedhi-natakamu contain sexual jokes on women. These sexual jokes establishe secular ideas instead of religious one. The performance begins with devotional songs which are strongly connected to the religion. Later, the same performance text diverts from religious aspect to secular aspects. Although it is surrounded from sexual jokes, secular elements contain humanistic values that echo an acceptance in human dignity. For example, in Keechaka Vadha, buffoon comments on Keechaka's lust in a comic manner. He, the buffoon, even warns Keechaka to keep distance from Draupadi. Even this part in the performance demonstrates humour, it establishes the humanity that needs to respect a women. Devotees always connects these kinds of humanistic values with performance text of Veedhi-natakamu.

g) Folklore to popular text:

G. N. Devy observes differences between folklore and popular text (76); according to him, folklore text is "[o]ral" and "[r]ecorded in written form subsequently"; popular text is "[s]ometimes written but usually reproduced". Based on his observation, Veedhi-

natakamu text was initially falling under folklore because the text was orally transformed and written on palm leaves. Now a days, the text may be considered under the popular tradition because it is reproduced orally by the Guru.

h) Visual text:

As it is observed in western play scripts, Performance text of Veedhi-natakamu does not exhibit stage directions and other details, except songs, name of the tunes, characters, and dialouges. Text is properly employed with songs, tunes, stanzas and dialogues. The visual details such as environments of locations are explained in the songs and the dialogues. These details are meant to present verbally and physically by a performer. For instance, in Keechaka-vadha, when Pandavas arrive to Virata kingdom, Dharamaraju says, “oh Bheema, we have arrived to Virata kingdom”.

3. Colour and composition:

Colour and composition plays significant role in the visuals of theatre. As Howards (2002) observes, “[c]olour and composition are the crux of the scenographer’s art” (51). Howards emphasise the importance of colour and composition in theatre: “The integration of composition with colour enables the artist to draw the spectator’s eye to the focal points of each scene as the performance progresses”. Colour and composition can be understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. In this section, colour and composition of Veedhi-natakamu is studied through the elements of costumes, make-up, props, lighting, scenery and composition.

a) Costumes:

Veedhi-natakamu, like most folk theatre forms of south India, is specifically well known for their peculiar costumes. Most of the costumes in Veedhi-natakamu are made with glowing colours by the actors. Veedhi-natakamu costumes are part of the visual image of the performance. To change the costumes, a performer needs five to ten minutes. As the background curtain is not changed during the performance, costumes only create various stage pictures during a Veedhi-natakamu performance. On the stage, Veedhi-natakamu costumes enriches the actors’ performance.

Modern Indian theatre practice follows the western trend that the costumes appears as reinforcing character; these costumes try to give information of social status of the character. Contradiction to costume practice of modern Indian theatre, costumes of Veedhi-

natakmu are perhaps prepared to lure the spectators' eyes. It appears that these costumes are made not to establish the social and the emotional status of characters. For instance, when Pandavas in exile, Draupadi needs to be represented with a saree of a poor woman, but Draupadi character wears glitter saree in Veedhi-natakamu. These costumes are possibly symbolic representation of the character. It gives signals to the spectators to understand 'who' and 'what' a character.



Plate 27 Performer is taking rest in greenroom. Sri Venkateswara Natyamandali troupe at Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 28 Performer with his headgear. Sri Venkateswara Natya Mandali at Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 29 Costumes of female characters in Veedhi-natakamu. Sri Venkateshwara Natyamandali at Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 30 Performer of Sri Venkateswara Natyamandali is showing shoulder strips at Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 31 Performer of Sri Venkateshwara Natyamandali is showing Nadumpatti at Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 32 Performer showing Paijama at Jeevakona, 2016

Veedhi-natakamu performers use stylized and realistic costumes. Stylized costumes are used for demons, kings and mythological characters, and realistic costumes that is close to everyday dress are used for characters from village. Women characters are represented

with realistic costumes, but it is exaggerated a little. Except the costumes that represent villagers, other costumes in *veedhi-natakamu* does not serve time period as in realistic theatre performances. It is just a glittery and exaggerated set of clothes. The footwear's are used from their daily life. The purpose of costumes, properties and makeup in *Veedhi-natakamu*, is just a symbolic expression of a character from Mahabharatha. It separates performers from the spectators. It enhances the actor's movement for all characters. It is basically worked, here, as saying him/her instantly as a performer. In *Veedhi-natakamu*, costumes suggests a character, but it does not suggest the time period. For instance, kings and queens characters are represented with glittery fabric while servants are communicated with ordinary daily wears such as *dhoti*, *lungi*, *Pajama* and shirts.

Some of the troupes hires costumes from the costume suppliers. Most of the costumes are made by the performers of the troupe. The material for these costumes are purchased from Chennai and Bangalore. All these costumes, except buffoons, are said to be historical, but it is just glittery ones. It is possible that some these costumes are from the imitation of mythological characters from the regional movies. Guru's suggestions are significant in making costumes. And few costumes are mixed with imitation of mythology characters in movies; and following the *Veedhi-natakamu* traditional costumes.

Most of the costumes are adjustable, and it can fit to various performers. Various pieces of costumes are grouped and placed for a character. These pieces are dressed on the body in an order. Some of the pieces of costumes are made to tie, and other to wear. In his book *Chittoor Jilla Veedhi Natakalu Oka Pariseelana*, Govinda Reddy refers few kinds of garments that are used in *Veedhi-natakamu* (68-71). These garments are *kalicheddy* (a kind of pant), *pavada* (a petticoat), *angavastram* (a kind of shawl), *anchugudda* (a piece of cloth tied at each ankles), *kucchugongadi* (a black blanket), *keepasu* (a kind of dhoti), *serval* (a kind of leggings, but free at thighs), *alpi* (a rectangular cloth hangs on the body), *juldipavada* (a kind of skirt), *washcoat* (a kind of jacket for men), *nadumpatti* (a decorated cloth to tie at waist), *arada/oddu/paradagudda* (a piece of cloth to hung at back), and *chethigudda* (handkerchief to use as decorative piece).

Along with costumes, various types of headgears and ornaments are used in *Veedhi-natakamu*. They are glittery like gold. They are very shiny even in low light intensity. In earlier days, the headgears and ornaments were made with light weight wooden material and coated with shiny substance. Now a days, they are made with *papier mache*

or cardboard sheet papers. Vasudeva Singh comments on recent ornaments of Veedhi-Natakamu : “When compare to ornaments of earlier period, now a days Veedhi-natakamu ornaments are less glittery”(315).

Govinda Reddy has referred six different types of headgears in Veedhi-natakamu: *maanikireetam*, *naaga-kireetam*, *ara-kireetam*, *sadhaarana-kireetam*, *makutam* and *turayi-kireetam*. As he observes, first these headgears are made with lightweight wood; later they are attached with mica, beads and broken pieces of mirror (62-64). Now a days, most of the headgears are not made with lightweight wood, but they are made with *papier mache*; most of the ornament are purchased in Veedhi-natakamu. They are necklaces, earrings, rings, bracelets, and *vaddanam* (“a type of ornament worn to the waist”). For instance, in Krishnaleelalu, Gopikas uses ornaments that are purchased in the local market: garlands, earrings, nose rings, *papitabilla* (an ornament worn on the head and suspends on forehead) and bangles.

b) Makeup:

Makeup plays significant role to represent some of the characters in Veedhi-natakamu. The performers do apply makeup themselves. Veedhi-natakamu performers use colourful and mask-like makeup. Based on the character, the performer selects a suitable colour for his facial makeup. As it is observed in other folk theatre forms, the makeup materials in Veedhi-natakamu are chosen from the availability in local market. Govinda Reddy observes various local material for Veedhi-natakamu makeup: *addalamu*, *Gaddneeli*, *boggu*, *saamulu*, *deepam masi*, *kalabanda saandu*, *ingileekam*, *abarakam*, *sapeta*; *addalamu* is a kind of material gives bright yellow colour when it is dipped in the water; it glows in bright light; *gaddaneeli* is locally available in local market; it is a kind of powder in blue colour; this is usually applied for the characters Bheema and Krishna; *boggu* is local name for coal; the coal is used for eye lines and moustache; *saamalu* is local name for little millet; *saamalu* is boiled and dried; then, they add sufficient water to make it thick paste; they use this paste for eyeliners; *deepam masi* is a dark powder which is collected after burning a cloth; it is mixed with oil; then, it is used for eyeliners and moustache; *kalabanda saandu* is made from Aloe-Vera plant; first the plant is cut into pieces, and the liquid is collected from the plant; the liquid is heated in oil; then, it is used for black colour; *ingilikamu* is a substance in brick colour; red paste is made with mixing the substance in the water; the red colour is used on the face; *abarakam* is local name for mica; the mica is

crushed into powder; the powder is applied on the face to get glitter effect in the light; *sapetha* is white substance, when it is mixed with blue colour, it turns into red (59-61). Now a days, performers are not making these materials for makeup. They are purchasing primary colours for makeup. The primary colours used for the makeup are black, red, yellow, blue and white. To obtain other colours, primary colours are mixed in appropriate quantity. Each colour probably have symbolic meaning. For example, Krishna and Bheema are given blue colour paint on the face. Demons are applied with majority of black and red colour. For female characters, the colour of the makeup is bright and attractive. Few of the characters are not recognised through the facial colours. For instance, many of the characters are not representing with colour in Veedhi-natakamu. If someone does not follow the text or does not have knowledge of the performance, it is difficult for them to distinguish the characters' makeup in the story. For instance, Duryodhana and Dusyasana in Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu are used bright face colour, but they both have different types of headgears. Except Buffoon, Male characters' makeup is stylized. When compare to the male characters, female and Buffoon character's makeup are slightly exaggerated. This makeup is usually applied with fair skin tones as base. After applying base, they give slightly exaggerated eye brows, eye lines and lip colours; to get sparkly appearance, they apply powder made with mica on cheeks, chin and fore head.



Plate 33 A stone is used to perform ritual before applying makeup, and used to mix the makeup material on it. At Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 34 Makeup material are keeping at the stone to apply on the face. At Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 35 Performers are removing makeup with coconut oil. At Jeevakona, 2016

Performers believe that the makeup and costumes of Bheema is gifted with the power of Bheema. According to the performers⁶⁸ from Vendugampalli, somebody must escort the performer portraying Bheema to prevent him from hurting himself or from hurting co-performer portraying Duryodhana, especially in fighting scenes. Here also, performers are escorted by temple committee and other actors when he finishes the performance of Duryodhana-vadha. Here, one of the actor from the troupe conducts a ritual to the actor who played Duryodhana. This ritual aim is to bring the actor to the normal stage from the character. Some of the characters, like Krishna and Narada, are transformed into icons of divinity; this transformation is done with the costumes and makeup.

i) The process of applying makeup:

Veedhi-natakamu makeup is a procedure to transform the performer into an idealized character. The greenroom is usually near the stage or behind the stage. Before two hours of commencing the performance, performers clean the greenroom; they keep the costumes and makeup material open. Usually each performer carry his own makeup and costume box. There is a prayer before they apply the makeup on the face. This prayer is performed keeping a cuboid approximately with length 40 cm, width 30 cm, and height 15 cm. On this cuboid, Hindu sacred symbol Om is drawn with white paint. On this symbol, three red dots are applied with vermilion. Now, they perform a prayer for Lord Ganesha⁶⁹ and Vishnu. After the prayer, performers begin applying makeup. The cuboid also used to mix the primary colours to get other colours and shared.

Performer applies makeup himself without depending on other actors. Performer sits in cross-legged while applying makeup. In few cases, other help a performer in getting makeup, but performer takes little help from co-performers in wearing costumes.

As part of the makeup, performers use “long and short dark wigs”. These wigs are purchased in Chennai, Tamil Nadu; or in Bangalore, Karnataka. Some of the wigs are made by local people at Putturu in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh. The wigs are used by both male and female characters. Male characters uses short dark wigs.

⁶⁸ A Group interview is conducted with M. Govindaswamim, N.Narayanaswamy, C.M. Munirathnam, and Sudhakar in Vendugampally in 2014.

⁶⁹ God with elephant head.

c) Props:

Props, along with costumes and makeup, plays a significant role in visuals of Veedhi-natakamu performances. When compare to male characters, female characters use less props. Two kinds of props are available in Veedhi-natakamu; they are set props and hand props. Set props are a stone bench which is fixed for all the performances in Veedhi-natakamu cycle.



Plate 36 A whip in the props. At Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 37 A performer is posing with a sword, a prop for kings and ministers in Veedhi-natakamu. At Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 38 Character Keechaka in the play Keechaka-vadha is using beer bottle as a prop. At Jeevakona, 2016

The stone bench is used to represent various objects in the performance. For instance, with mimic actions, performers represent a chariot, a throne or a hill. While only one set prop is appeared, many hand props associates with Veedhi-natakamu performance. The hand props are light weighed to carry for hours on the stage. It is also made to illuminate on the stage. The hand props represent a symbolic meaning in Veedhi-natakamu. For instance, various characters are represented through various props: Arjuna, bow; Duryodhana, mace; kings, swords; and Narada, Tabura.⁷⁰ The hand props are made with light weighted wood or paper Mache. Most of the hand props are coloured with golden colour.

d) Lighting:

As it is observed in modern theatre, lighting does not play significant role in Veedhi-natakamu. Lighting is just used to illuminate the stage; for this reason, they use flood lights for Veedhi-natakamu. These flood lights brightens the stage. It seems that these lights creates atmosphere of entertainment in Veedhi-natakamu. The light visually enhance the glittery costumes, headgears, props, ornaments and shoulder strips of the performers. The light also creates huge shadows behind the performers. These light are operated with direct switches, but not with the dimmers that is available in modern theatre practice. These lights are hung at top of the head of the performers; or at the stage arch of the stage; or kept at the foot of the performers exactly below the arch; or at three.

⁷⁰ Tambura is four string instruments with long neck;

e) Composition:

Visual composition is not probably applicable for Veedhi-natakamu. In general, composition means arranging things in specific order. In theatre, Monta and Stanely have referred similar kind of meaning: “Composition involves arranging the actors and other visible materials in a visual plan to illustrate the dramatic action in the best possible way” (103). The composition is not probably appropriate word to use for Veedhi-natakamu as Veedhi-natakamu is a folk theatre form which is improvised a lot during the performance. These improvisations does not allow to follow specific spatial arrangement on the stage in these performances. In most of the cases, few of the trustees and the spectators are on the stage along with the performers. During the performance, Performers are interrupted by spectators who pay homage to the performers. These interruptions does not allow to follow specific visual composition. These imbalanced visuals does not suggest to think about the composition. When there are many performers on the stage, few are blocked by others. The performers are not visually balanced the stage. Some of the moves of the performers are choreographed, and it is performed for certain scenes. These choreographed moves suggest to think about the composition. Thus, it suggests that visual images are not balanced and composed aesthetically in Veedhi-natakamu.

4. Performers

Performer is central to Veedhi-natakamu which can be performed without scenery. Without the presence of a performer, Veedhi-natakamu performance cannot be imagined. Like other live performances, Veedhi-natakamu depends on the live performer. In her book *what is Scenography*, Howard observes the importance of a performer as “[a] play can happen without scenery, but there is always at least one performer to be considered” (87). It is obvious that performer is part of stage environment, and he is meant to be watched. Stressing on importance of a performer in scenography, Damiani says that scenography is probably difficult to observe without a performer: “It only comes to life when the dynamism of the human body penetrates the space” (Howard xv). According to Howard, “[s]cenography is always incomplete until the performer steps into the playing space and engages with the audience” (xix). Thus, Howards has refered the importance of the performer in scenography. Present section *Performer* focuses on how performer translate verbal text into visual text in Draupadi festival; and how he engages the spectators with the verbal text and visual text.

a) Veedhi-natakamu performer:

Veedhi-natakamu performer obviously creates theatrical environment. He is not individual; he/she represents the mass of the spectators, devotees, and the character in the story. Now a days, one can notice Veedhi-natakamu performers are from different castes and religions of South Andhra Pradesh: Harijan, Yandhi, Jangala, Baliya, Gollalu, and Reddy from Hindhu; Christians; and Muslims. Actors get the training from a well experienced performer who is locally called as Guru. A Guru must be good in play writing, characterisation, music, tunes, costumes, make-up, dramatic instincts, movement, literature, and poetry. He has to be aware of each and every line in a script which is performed in Veedhi-natakamu. Sometimes, he, a guru, acts as standby actor. Veedhi-natakamu performers get proper training from Guru. They learn performance techniques from Guru in practical approach that allows the performer to play each character trained by Guru. Performers also perceive the performance techniques from observing Guru and other senior performers enacting a character on the stage. They note all the dialogues and movement in a notebook, and practice in leisure time. Some actors use to take training for two to three months. There are few basic movements are available in *Veedhi-natakamu* performances. Many observations revealed that few village folk learnt the art form from a popular actors of *Veedhi-natakamu*. As in theatre practice, village folk has to remember the dialogues which is given by their trainer, Guru. Part of the training, Veedhi-natakamu performers learn vocal music, character's movement and make-up.

All the characters in Veedhi-natakamu use to perform by men. Some actors keep their hair long to perform female characters. Actors use wigs to portray the female characters. There were few cases where a women played female character in *Veedhi-natakamu*. Usually actors are well trained to project voice and acting. They are capable to play all the characters in the script. Some actors, they have learnt *Veedhi-natakamu* performance skills from their elders. Although, few actors not able to have clarity in speech they are popular in Veedhi-natakamu. One can see 70 years old actor performing vigorous movements on the stage here. For children roles in the performance, they use to take any boys from the village. These boys get make-up for the characters and come on to the stage, but they don't deliver any dialogue. Actors are capable to improvise any scene at any situation. All the actors know dialogues and verses of every character in the play. Co-actors prompting dialogues from back stage or musical pit are common in these performances. The performers are usually interrupted by donors with offering presentations to goddess

Draupadi. These interruptions do not show any inconvenience to the actors to perform. The actors are physically and mentally trained to extend or reduce the performance duration for several hours. Few of the performers are famous for specific character. Some of the performers are selected for a lead character based on performer's reputation in the region. Women and children are not banned to perform in Veedhi-natakamu, but their presence is very less when compare to men. Women is allowed to play female characters, and children are allowed to play to various characters. For instance, in Mangalam, Tirupathi, a boy, who is well trained as a Veedhi-natakamu actor, played a buffoon and a minister character in Veedhi-natakamu.⁷¹ In Yamanuru, 2014, five boys are selected to represent young Pandavas. These five boys are not trained in Veedhi-natakamu. They are just to be appeared on the stage.

b) Training of Veedhi-natakamu performers:

Dialogue, song and dance have equal opportunity in Veedhi-natakamu; each character's movement is designed with songs and dance. Veedhi-natakamu troupe includes actors, musicians, singers, and dancers. Guru who teaches Veedhi-natakamu must be good in playwriting, characterisation, dialogues, music, tunes, costumes, make-up, dramatic instincts, movement, and improvisations. Actors are trained under a Guru for at least six months to get on the stage. This intense training includes learning to know the text by heart, understand the plot, improvise the scenes, remember rhythmic movements, sing the songs and project the voice.

Performers' training includes noting dialogues, practising songs, copying movements. They imitate all characters taught by Guru. After his training, actor performs a play in front of Guru. Later, the actor is recognised to perform a minor role for spectators. By his observations, the actor is taught to grasp other characters dialogues and movement. Each and every famous actor, after his long contribution to Veedhi-natakamu, becomes a Guru for young learners. When an actor becomes a Guru, he begins his Veedhi-natakamu troupe. Here, Guru has his unique representation in providing dialogues. Songs and movement are same as he learnt from his Guru, but significant modification is noticed in passing the knowledge of dialogues and plot structure. Guru adds his imagination in teaching dialogues. This probably leads to change the dialogues and plot structure for a

⁷¹ A video is collected in an interview with K. M. Maheshwara Raju who is interested to explore Veedhi-natakamu and other regional performing forms. In this video, the boy performed buffoon. It was said that video was captured in Mangalam, Tirupati, 2007.

play from one Guru to other. Even though the performance text is based on Mahabharatha, it is purely adopted by Guru and disciple. The adaptation of the text includes adding cinema songs, and contemporary social issues. Thus, Guru plays a key role to create a unique performance.

c) Portraying a character in Veedhi-natakamu:

Veedhi-natakamu performer adapts classical Telugu language to represent a mythological character. To present buffoon and village characters, performer uses contemporary Telugu language. In case of poetry, the performer re-tell the meaning of it in spoken Telugu. Performer represents a character with choreographed dance, stylized body poses and slightly exaggerated hand gestures. As it is observed in realistic acting, performer becoming character is may not prescribed in Veedhi-natakamu. He always breaks the character during the performance. While othe performer is performing a lengthy scene, a performer allowed to take rest. He can drink water or tea, or he can smook. Performer drinks a tea or water, or he smooks on the stage. In this case, Drinking a tea or smooking a cigarette is not part of character's representation, but it is a habit of relaxation for a performer in Veedhi-natakamu.

d) Physical movements of the Performer:

Performers are physically well trained to perform for approaximately three to five hours. They are capable to perform on any given space such as famr fields, wooden stage or temple courtyards. Some of the performers are specially trained for physical humour for few characters such as buffoon and Uttara Kumara to entertain spectators. Along with acting skills, performers are well trained to sing and dance.

Physical movements of the performers enables the spectatots to identify the chatacter and its emotions. For instance, Bheema takes vigourous moves when he is fighting with Dusyasana. To potray buffoon, performer may project quick moves with jumps and jerks. Like in other folk theatre of South india, performers' movement preceeds dialogues, and sometimes follows. In some cases, performers freezes his movment and dialogues for fraction of seconds. This frozen actions suggest a pose of a character on the stage. Performer repeats this frozen actions by changing his body postions. This kind of pose is observed in representation of mytholocial characters in Veedhi-natakamu. For instance, when he is angry, Dhuryodhan touches his mustoutch with his right hand, and he raises his head above to his normal sight line.

Performers allowed to move freely on the stage except for the movements of dances. Foot and leg moves of the performers are accompanied by the thrythm of Tabala and cymbal. In case of the dance, performers follow choreographed steps. The movement of the dance is dominated by foot and leg moves. As Govinda Reddy observes, these foot and leg moves are locally called as *adugulu*; these foot and leg moves, along with hand gestures, attracts most of the spectators; depending on the character, performer adapts his foot and leg moves; for instance, to represent Dharmaraju who is calm, performer uses noramal human walk; to represent Dhurydhana, performer uses exgagurated walk with many circular foot moves; Bakasura character is represented by acrobatic moves; these foot and leg moves are five types: *addadugu*, *nidivadugu*, *katteradugu*, *penadugu*, *ontimelikal* (90-91). It is obvious that performers establish their characters using these foot and leg moves. It is possible to think that many of Veedhi-natakamu troupes are continouing the tradition of using these foot and leg moves. As few characters demand vigourous movements, the performers need to follow a strong physical discipline. For instance, Duryodhana, Bheema, Bakasura, Hidimbi characters demand vigourous movement.

Planning and executing performers' moves and position on the stage is called as 'blocking' in western theatre practice. In early stages of the rehearsal, the director of the play collaborates with technicians and designers to block the play. He uses his skills in blocking to keep all the performers visible on the stage to the spectators. The performers' moves and positions, which are blocked by director, communicates both characters and its emotions. Both performers and directors are responsibility to hold blocking plans till the end of the performance. As visual terms, blocking always describes the characters' qualities. Blocking is a detached concept for Veedhi-natakamu, but the idea of blocking is applicable to analyse in Veedhi-natakamu. Because, characters in the Veedhi-natakamu establishes its quality though movement and position. For instance, as discussed in the above paragraph, while buffoon uses slightly eggagurated walking, Bheema moves vigorously.

e) Mind of the Performer:

Veedhi-natakmu performers possibly perceive the quality of the character during their training; he seemingly attains a specific 'state of mind' berfore entering on the stage. Along with body, their minds are also trained to perform for aproaximately 2 to 5 hours continuously. Their mind seem to have reation with spectators' response. In other words,

their mind is opened to observe the spectators' view towards the performance. They are well spontaneous to improvise scene with given situation. For instance, they can improvise the scene with spectator during the performance. They are multitalented; along with the physical movements, they are well trained to enact multi-characters. They are capable to memorise large text.

Veedhi-natakamu performers are very talented to extend or reduce the duration of the performance. During the performance, they experience countable interruptions. Most of the times, trustees pause the performance. They halt the performance any time to announce the next day event. Each day, they announce the names of donors of the events and festival. Trustees watch the play from the acting area; approximately, they are visible on the stage thrice during the performance. Along with trustees, spectators also interrupt the performance. They come on the stage to pay homage to their favourite actors. In few cases, actors need to follow the instruction of the trustees; they are advised to add or remove the scenes. For instance, in a performance of Draupadi's wedding, Jeevakona, 2016, because of time limitations, three scenes were suggested by trustees to remove. In another example, the entry of a buffoon character was delayed until the maximum number of spectators arrived; in this situation, actors were advised to extend a scene until expected spectators were arrived. Thus, with these limits, actors are talented to extend or reduce the duration of the performance.

f) Voice skills of the Performers:

The performers usually elaborate the meaning of classical text. They also interpret the meaning of the text for contemporary spectators. For instance, in Keechaka-vahda, Bheema comments on Keechaka's lust. In this case, Bheema gives suggestions to the spectators to respect a woman. The performers use their vocal and physical skills to create "verbal, musical and visual expressions". The performer explores deeper meaning of the text. They use movement and gestures to communicate hidden meaning of the text. During their training period, performers have practiced the rhythm of the poetic text that is given to mythological characters in Veedhi-natakamu. They are also trained to deliver the speech in fast and slow without spoiling the clarity of the text. Their way of speaking is observed

in different speeds to communicate the emotions. Performers are trained to speak both poetic and spoken Telugu. In the dialogue part, performers use English, Hindi, Tamil and Kannada words. These kinds of other language words are not used frequently.

A male performer uses his voice for female characters; he does not try to change his voice to represent other characters. Even though they use their own voice for various characters, performers seemingly conceal their own personality to demonstrate the character. For instance, in Jeevakona, 2014 Kiran played various characters during the festival. He used his own voice for both male and female characters.

Performers sing at maximum volume of their voices. As number of microphones on the stage is not sufficient, they depend on their vocal power. Earlier days, microphones are not used in Veedhi-natakamu. Now a days, Veedhi-natakamu performers are utilising modern technology. To demonstrate demon characters, performers use loud voices which awakes sleeping spectators. They use both high and low pitch of their voices to deliver dialogues, but they sing most of the songs in high pitch. Performers' voices draw the attention of the spectators, and it also holds the spectators to engage with the performance for long time.

Very few performers' voices become shrill on the stage. Few of them deliver their speech indistinct for hard words. For instance, in fight scenes, performers' speech develops indistinct. A person who has just become a performer in the troupe may not follow the rhythm of the music, and he may not deliver words properly. In this situation, senior performer helps him during the performance. In case of singing songs, it is possible to think that performers' voice just create the mood instead of conveying the meaning of words.

g) Brecht's performer:

It is possible to observe Brecht's theory in Veedhi-natakamu. It seems Brecht's concept had employed long back in Veedhi-natakamu. Margaret Eddershaw understands "[Brecht's] concept of the appropriate emotional distance between performer and role and between audience and performance" (8). Brecht attempts to break the illusion of fourth wall in his theatre. Similarly, in Veedhi-natakamu, performers break the fourth wall in many scenes by entering into the spectators' space and interacting with spectators. For instance, in Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu, the antagonist, Duryodhana, stops the performance, and he offers prayer to Draupadi along with spectators. Buffoon is another character to break the

illusion. He always comments on a scene and a character. This comments reminds spectators as they are watching a play. He also destroys the boundaries between stage and spectators by entering into the spectators' space. Buffoons' invades into the spectators' space also breaks the fourth wall. Performers also accept homage from spectators during the performance; this interaction between spectators and performers also breaks the fourth wall in Veedhi-natakamu. Thus, Veedhi-natakamu performance banishes the realism in acting.

h) Performing scenery:

In Veedhi-natakamu, performers do not change background curtain during the performance or erect realistic scenery. They do not use any scenery that represents a location for a scene. They use a curtain as a performance background. Even if it is painted a scenery that is not related to the scene, the purpose of the curtain is possibly left to the spectators' imagination. The location is communicated through verbal text, physical actions or combination of both. To present a scene such as drinking water from a lake in Hidimbasurevadha, Veedhi-natakamu performers do not create impression of a lake on the stage, but they mimic the action of drinking water in the lake. Riding a chariot is mimicked on sitting the stone bench that is placed at the upstage. Thus, Veedhi-natakamu performers do not represent realism. They represent fictional locations with physical actions.

i) Improvisation:

In Veedhi-natakamu, performers improvise in many scenes. These improvisations attract most of the spectator. The improvisations can generally happen anywhere in the scene as it is not pre-fixed. They are performed to entertain, comment on socio-political issues. They are capable to improvise on any given situation. Most of the improvisations happen in comic scenes. It is possible to think that the performers' improvisations are "imaginative bricolage of learned material"⁷². For instance, improvisations of buffoon with other characters in a play are repeated for another performance with similar dialogues. These dialogues are not repeated in the similar way, but repeated similar meaning within the context. The repetitions of the similar meaning in various performances is visible when buffoon is criticising other characters on the stage. For instance, in Keechaka-vadha,

⁷² A phrase is taken from page 4 in Wilbourne, Emily. *Seventeenth-century Opera and the Sound of the Commedia Dell'arte*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2016. Print.

buffoon comments on Keechak's lust; buffoon also suggest Keechaka to respect women. The dialogues in the scene are changed from one performer to another in various performances, but the meaning of the dialogues are similar in various performances for the play, Keechaka-vadha. In few of the improvisations, performers make humorous recommendations; for example, when the performers are performing the play "Kurupandava Jananam", buffoon recommends to spectators: "you need to have family planning; otherwise you will experience lot of troubles as Gandhari".

In many scenes, buffoon and other characters improvise short scenes with spectators. These improvisations happens when the performer penetrates into the spectators' space. These improvisations are not exceeded more than ten dialogues. In these improvisations, the performers does not have dialogues that are related to the Mahabharatha text. They just have conversation with the spectators where they ask spectators' opinion on the scene or character's state of mind. For instance, buffoon, in Sri Krishna Leelalu, at the scene where Kamsa interrogates Devaki and Vasudevudu, buffoon irritates Kamsa; then, Kamsa gets angry, and he chases buffoon; buffoon runs into the spectators' space; Kamsa comes back to the stage; buffoon stays at the spectators, and he interacts with them; here, buffoon asks spectators: " king is treating me bad. Can you talk to him?" When the performer improvising a scene with spectators, the dialogues are not audible for entire spectators, but it is visible to a group of people near the performers. For these improvisations, performers use the local dialects. In these improvisations, the performers are open-minded to refine the text and actions to suit the contemporary spectators' sensibility. Thus, the performers use improvisations to drag the attention of the spectators.

j)Enacting buffoon:

Buffoon is one of the famous character that attracts various spectators: children, women and men. Buffoon character is not associated with Mahabharatha text; but, the character is designed to make jokes on duties, rights, and social practice. Each troupe use to have only one performer who performs buffoon. He is the only one to play buffoon character for entire festival. After delivering the prose by principal characters, the buffoon used to describe the meaning of the prose in the local dialect. This description helps illiterate people relate to the classical text.



Plate 39 Buffoon with Keechaka in the play Keechaka-vahda. Buffoon is at left, Keechaka is at right. Buffoon is performing puns, and criticising Keechaka.

The performer who portrays a buffoon improvises massively in his part. Not only buffoon character represents the quality of *Veedhi-natakamu*, but also it contributes in holding the spectators in these lengthy performances. Even though it is a comic character, buffoon demonstrates different views, such as philosopher, spectator, and critic on a scene. It always has a dialogue with spectators to comment on a scene or a character. Buffoon even passes his comments on spectatorship. It is intended to appear in the opening play, boring scenes and late at night. As a result, using his improvisation skills, the actor portraying buffoon collaborates to create a space for active spectators and unique performance in *Veedhi-natakamu*.

k) Casting a character in Veedhi-natakamu:

Casting in theatre is a method to choose an actor for a suitable character. In *Veedhi-natakamu*, casting is done by the Guru or the manger of the troupe. Most of the performers are selected for double roles in a *Veedhi-natakamu* play. In some cases, a performer is selected for more than two character in a day. After two to one hour performance, an actor takes rest for an hour. During the rest, he changes his costumes and make-up. Then, he performs another character in the play. For instance, in *Hidimbapura-vadha*, Jeevakona, 2016, a performer played a character *Hidimbi*; after two hours, he appeared as *Dharmaraju* in the same play. A character is played by more than one performer in a *Veedhi-natakamu* play. For instance, in *Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu*, Jeevakona, 2016, *Duryodhana*

character is played by three actors. In specific situations, the trustees cast the actors for specific roles. For instance, in the performance of ‘Duryodhana-vadha’, trustees tend to cast a popular actor for character Duryodhana in the hope of drawing large crowds. Thus, casting in Veedhi-natakamu is done by Guru, troupe manager and the trustees.

1) Musicians:

Musicians play key role in Veedhi-natakamu. They are aware of both folk music and classical music of south India. Except harmonist, musicians sit at right stage. They are always visible to the spectators during the performances. Harmonist sit at the left stage. Musicians play Tabala, a pair of percussion instruments made with leather; cymbals, a percussion instrument made with metal; and pedal harmonium. Along with the musicians, two to three people sit and accompany the songs and music. Musicians are not actors, but the chorus who accompany the songs are from the actors. In Veedhi-natakamu, chorus, along with the narrator, takes various stands such as philosopher, spectator, and critic on the scene. After performer sings a song, chorus repeats it. Chorus have dialogues with the performers. In few performances, the role of the chorus is not visible. For instance, in Jeevakona, 2016, Veedhi-natakamu is performed without chorus. In case of Yamanuru and Vendugam Palle, 2014, few of the actors take the role of chorus. The musicians are well trained to accompany the performance by providing mood, rhythm, and tempo. Folk, classical, and popular cinema tunes are used for songs in the plays. ‘*Vaadhya prabandhas*’⁷³ are probably used to accompany for rhythmic movement in Veedhi-natakamu.

5. Spectators

Spectators’ space always represents the rural culture, a practice of indigenous culture that views their native folk performance. Even electronic media has become a popular entertainment, Veedhi-natakamu is real entertainment for these rural people in these region. Spectators of Veedhi-natakamu are from the local community. Most of the spectators are from surrounding villages to the temple that hosts the performance. The spectators are from various sections of local community and various age people. Male and female spectators play equal role in spectatorship of Veedhi-natakamu. Most of the children are interested to watch their favourite characters on the stage: buffoon and demons. More than thousand spectators watch a Veedhi-natakamu performance in Draupadi festival.

⁷³ *Vadya prabandhas* are pure instrumental music with rhythmical composition. See page 58 in Sambamoorthy, P. *History of Indian Music*. Madras: Indian Music House, 1960. Print.58).

Few spectators come from a long distance to watch their favourite character such as Duryodhana, Karna and Bheema, and to witness their favourite plays such as Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu, Duryodhana Vahda and Keechaka Vadha. Few of the spectators come from long distance to watch their favourite performers on the stage. Most of the female spectators come to worship the goddess Draupadi in Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu and the Lord Krishna in Sri Krishna Leelalu. Some of the spectators are bound to watch dance performance for film songs which is not associated to Mahabharatha text. At Veedhi-natakamu performance, approximately 25 percent of the spectators leave after midnight. Some of them take a nap and wait for their favourite scene. If it is not a popular play, 50 percent of the spectators leave after midnight.

Draupadi festival is a socially engaged art form. Different caste people collaborate to celebrate this festival. Spectators are from village communities who donate money for the festival. A person who donates a high amount of money shows his dominant presence during the festival. Spectators have been watching veedhi-natakamu since their childhood. Most of the aged people know half of the veedhi-natakamu text. They even recite their favourite part of the text along with the performers. There is always pressure from spectators to add cinema songs and cinematic comedy scenes in veedhi-natakamu performances; this pressure leads to a change in the tempo of the performances. Interludes for children offer entertainment that highlights the buffoon character on stage. Scenes addressed to young adults tend to emphasise sexually loaded jokes and innuendos. As a result of these spectators' demands, stage-based veedhi-natakamu performances create significant space to entertain all kinds of spectators.

Veedhi-natakamu has been surviving as purely entertainment, and has also demonstrated teaching human values through its performances. Spectators are familiar with the philosophical subjects that are embedded in the performance text. Along with philosophical subjects, spectators seek for double meaning scenes. Spectators enjoy scenes such as satire, comedy, and double-meaning scenes. Few of the spectators express their discomfort when a performer performs double meaning scenes, but most of the spectators enjoy these kinds of scenes. Spectators consider few characters in Veedhi-natakamu as their role models. For instance, Dharmaraju, Karna, Arjuna are the role model for most of the male spectators. While watching these performances, most of the spectators identify themselves with a character in the plays.



Plate 40 Spectators are captured from the point of the performer. At left, Veedhi-natakamu performer is performing, and at right, Tabala player is taking rest during the performer is delivering lengthy dialogues. At down left is kept Pothuraju idol.



Plate 41 Spectators are watching Veedhi-natakamu. Few of the spectators are sleeping during the performance at Jeevakona, 2016.

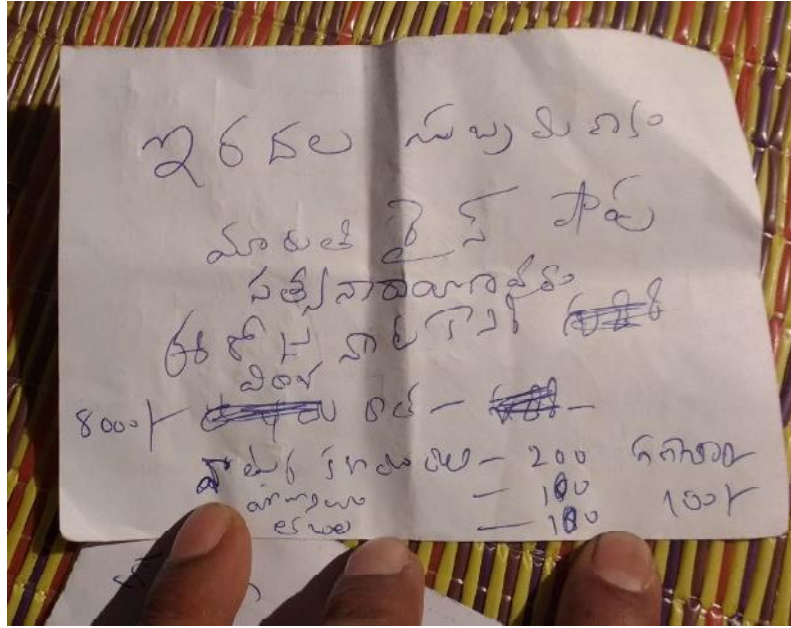


Plate 42 A slip of the details of homage. In this slip, a devotee paid homage 800 rupees to the entire performance. He specially paid homage 200, for drama troupe; 100, for each harmonium and Tabala players; and 100, for Ganachari. At Jeevakona, 2016.

Carrying a Pothuraju serves as an announcement to the spectators in Veedhi-natakamu because it is the first stage preliminary. Veedhi-natakamu performance begins with three stage preliminaries. Firstly, a rite with Pothuraju is performed; in this, Pothuraju is carried to the stage accompanying Pamba; Pothuraju is kept besides the stage facing the spectators. Secondly, another rite is performed with burning a camphor on the stage; finally, three prayer songs to praise and evoke the gods are performed. After the three stage preliminaries, Veedhi-natakamu performance begins. Before the performance begins, most of the spectators reach the temple courtyard, and they socially engage with others. Approximately 10 percent of the spectators reach the temple courtyard an hour before to the performance; they try to occupy a place for best view of the performance. Once they hear Pamba sound played while carrying Pothuraju, Approximately 50 percent of the spectators occupy the spectators' space. While performing the prayer songs, approximately 20 percent of the spectators occupy the spectators' space. Remaining spectators join in the spectators' space while performance is performing. In some cases, the prayer songs are extended for another 30 minutes to wait for sufficient spectators. In certain rare cases, performance is not commenced until the important people comes.

Performers considers spectators' suggestions for next show in Veedhi-natakamu. Each play performance ends with a benedictory song, which is locally called *mangalam*,

an auspicious end. After each performance, there may be an informal interaction or after-talk between performers and spectators. This interaction may lead to having suggestions from spectators for future performances. For instance, in Jeevakona, 2016, spectators suggested to arrange an extra microphone for better audibility. Thus, spectators' advices are taken in Veedhi-natakamu performances.

Each *Veedhi-natakamu* performance ends at morning. Half of the spectators' hurry to reach the home, but few of them participates in post-performance rituals. They sing a benedictory song along with performers. Some of the spectators help performers to replace the musical instruments.

a) Spatial effects on spectators:

The entrance establishes the context of the festival celebration in Draupadi festival. Here, the entrance is decorated with small electrical bulbs. The decoration also includes icons of Krishna and name of the temple. Along with this, the temple courtyard is also filled with these kinds of decorations. Motivation of such decorations in Draupadi festival emerged from the cultural practice of other celebrations. In South India, on the occasion of any celebration, the entrance of the premises decorates with electrical bulbs. This practice has emerged in 20th century after the local people were able to afford these decorative lights. The decoration of electrical bulbs here establishes the mood of celebration. In Draupadi festival, these decorations adds more information of festival. These decorations probably creates celebration mood in the spectators.

b) Physical and mental Exhaustion:

Special scenes are organised to wake up the spectators at the early hours. Duration of Veedhi-natakamu performance is longer than five hours. The performance extends throughout one night. Most of the spectators are not engaged continuously with entire performance. It is suggested that some of the spectators are physically exhausted during the performance. This kind of physical exhaustion is observed between 2 am and 4 pm. To give energy for such kind of spectators, the performers perform special scenes or dance for film songs to energize them. The special scenes are most probably with buffoon or demons. For instance, in Hidimbasura-vadha, performers perform a scene that kills Hidimbasura between 2 am and 4pm. In this performance, character Hidimbasura enters into the spectators' space, and he sprinkles water on the spectators who are not awake. With his loud screams, Hidimbasura awakes the spectators who has slept. Along with physical

exhaustion, emotional exhaustion is visible in Veedhi-natakamu performances. . In these scenes they reach state of trans. For instance, few of the female spectators are emotionally exhausted in few scenes such as birth of Draupadi and disrobing Draupadi.

c) Spectators' sight lines:

The spectators sit in the open field. The spectators occupy three sides of the stage. Some of the spectators do not have proper stage picture. The sight lines of these spectators are abstracted by the pillars of the stage or other spectators who stands near the stage. Children move across the stage; few of the spectators stand on the stage to pay a homage to a performers; all these incidents visually interrupts the performance. It seems that these visual distractions do not effect in the spectatorship in Veedhi-natakamu.

d) Transformation of a performer in Spectators' view:

Spectators observe the transformation of a performer from himself to a character and character to himself. During the performance, spectators are allowed to pay homage to their favourite performer or character. When a performer is paid a homage, he pauses the performance, he comes out from the character, and he receives the homage. Here, the performer announces the names of the people who has paid homage. Then, the performer re-enters into the character to continue the performance. The entire process happens on the stage. Thus, spectators observes the transformation of a performer from himself to a character.

e) Imagining the Invisible:

As scenic visuals are not operated to change on the stage, performers describe a fictional location in the form of a song are a dialogue. Thus, spectators imagine the visuals through the verbal description of the location. Along with the fictional locations, spectators also imagine the props. For instance, in the play Kurukshetram, the performers describe the war props, and spectators imagine these war props based on the description given by the performers. There are some descriptions about a character that is not on the stage. In this scene, they describe the physical quality of the character. For instance, in Sri Krishna Rayabharam, Krishna describes Duryodhana when Duryodhana is not on the stage. This description also allow the spectators to imagine Duryodhana character.

f) Spectators' mediations:

Performing a dance for Telugu cinema songs are common practice in the Draupadi festival. These cinema songs are not related to the Mahabharatha text, but they are performed for their popularity and entertainment value, and are not perceived as incongruent to the performance of Veedhi-natakamu. Local youth or professional dancers, who are locally called as 'recording dancers', are called to perform. The list of these dance performances varies from songs of sexually provoking to popular cinema stars. These songs are observed in romantic scenes in the plays, such as 'Sri Krishna's frolic', 'birth of Pandavas' 'death of Keechaka', 'killing of Hidimba' and 'wedding of Sasirekha'.

Spectators' suggestions are taken to choose a troupe or an actor to perform in these theatrical performances. Their suggestions extend to replace a play performance. For example, in Jeevakona, 2016, on the last day of the festival, temple committee planned to perform play Satyharichandra, but they replace the play with Sampurna Mahabharatham; here, the temple committee replaced the performance in the festival because of the spectator's pressure.

During a performance, spectators invade into performance space to pay homage to their favourite performers and characters. Some of the spectators sit on the stage to watch the performance. Along with actors, without any invitation, spectators participate in improvisations. For instance, in the play performance killing of Keechaka, a spectator penetrated into the performance space to punish Keechaka. Spectators also interrupt the performance to request to repeat the favourite scenes. During *Veedhi-natakamu* performances, selected spectators are invited to perform a dance for at least two to four cinema songs. These performers are amateur in dance, but enthusiastic to perform on the stage. All these interruptions bridge the gap between performers and spectators in *Veedhi-natakamu*.

Apparently few spectators also learnt and performed few characters in Veedhi-natakamu. It is witnessed that the spectators invited a Guru to train them for a role. In this situations, Guru teaches a role or a scene to a spectator who wishes to learn Veedhi-natakamu. Spectators who are trained for a scene were allowed to perform for a short scene; in this case, they may get in the costumes and the make-up, or just perform with the costumes that represent the character in the play.

6. Sound:

Sound plays significant role in Veedhi-natakamu performances. Sounds at the performances are created by the both spectators and performers. The performance sounds are amplified through an amplifier to reach the corners of the village. Performance sounds are brought to the audience through microphones which is broadly visible to the spectators. These micro phones are hung from ceiling or placed on stands. The amplified sounds of the performance creates festival atmosphere and loudness. The music of these performances creates tone of entertainment and pleasantness. It is also used to accompany the performers' movement. It is possible to think that sounds at Veedhi-natakamu performances consciously take the spectators into festival world. The sounds acts as a medium for them to reach the festival mood. This may be the reason, the festival space is always filled with loud devotional songs.

a) Sounds that are produced by spectators:

Before the performance begins, some of the spectators reach the performance space. They socially interact with each other. Some of the children cheer, scream, giggle, and play at the performance space. After the performance, spectators cheer, whistle or laugh at particular scenes. Here, the sound that are produced by the spectators stimulates others to respond for it. The sounds establishes a shared experience of the spectators, and it leads the spectators towards mood of celebration.

b) Performance sounds:

Performance sounds of Veedhi-natakamu can be categorised into two: sounds that are produced by musicians and performers.

(1) Sounds by Musicians:

The musical instruments that accompany the Veedhi-natakamu are Tabala, cymbals and pedal harmonium. Musical instruments play a significant role in Veedhi-natakamu. It is played to enhance the mood of a scene in a Veedhi-natakamu performance. The musical instruments follow a specific tune and rhythmic pattern for a scene. It is also drives the performer to follow a specific melody to sing a song in the performance. The rhythmic pattern of the musical instruments such as Tabala and cymbals leads the performers' movement in a rhythmic pattern. It is possible to think that musical instruments controls the development of the performance.

Along with musicians, one or two performers takes the role of chorus. They repeat a song after a performer sings it. Sometimes chorus communicates inner meaning of the text as a philosopher. They also describes complex meaning of the text. They respond the way spectators are expected to think. The chorus and the musical sounds seemingly enforces the spectators to focus on the visuals of the performances.

(2) Sounds of performers:

Sounds of the performers include dialogues and songs. Two kinds of songs dominate Veedhi-natakamu performrances. First, some of the songs relate to Mahabharatha text. And, the second, some of the songs are not related to Mahabharatha text; they are from cinema songs. Along with sounds of musical instruments, sounds of performers are amplified by an amplifier. The loud speakers connected to the amplifier is arranged at various places in the village. If a spectators is only interested in audio part of the performance, he can enjoy the audio of Veedhi-natakamu sitting anywhere in the village. Performers' songs and dialogues are accompanied by musical instruments. The songs sets the mood of a scene. It re-enforces emotions of the scene. The songs give the visual information of a location. It assists the spectators to visualise a location in a scene. Some of the songs set the mood of the scene. Many of the songs assist to follow the context of a scene in the perofmrance. The songs emphasis performers' actions and movements.

First entry of a character is performed with three devotional songs. Then, the character sings a song to introduce his or her character. For each entry, the character sings a song to introduce the character and the scene. According to Govinda Reddy, songs are sung by the performers taught by guru; nine emotions are effectively seen in songs; these emotions are "*Shringara* (love), *Hasya* (laughter), *karuna* (sorrow), *Raudra* (anger), *Veera* (heroism), *Bhayanaka* (fear), *Bibhatsa* (disgust), *Adbutha* (wonder), and *Shantaha* (tranquillity)"; Govinda Reddy observes various melodies (*ragas*) in Veedhi-natakamu: *Shivaranjani*, *Bageshri*, *Kalyani*, *Kedaram*, *Mohana*, *Maya Malavagoula*, *Shokaavali*, *Kaamaksi*, *Thodi*, *Anandabhairavi*, *Madhyamaavathi*, *Mandu*, *Mandugarba*, *Hamsadwani*, *saveri*, and *natu*.

Telugu cinema songs are played to perform dance. These songs are performed to reach the younger generation. These songs are included between the longs scenes. Some of the spectators think that these songs are diluting the quality of Veedhi-natakamu. Few thinks that these songs are performed to draw large number of spectators. Adding Telugu

cinema songs in these performances establishes dialogue between folk media and broadcast media; and between modernity and folk tradition.

The songs assist the duration of the performance. To extend or reduce the length of the performance, the songs are added or removed respectively. Along with songs, music and dialogues are designed to communicate the text, to create mood and to entertain.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused to examine the scenographic elements in Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on a stage. As part of the study, the chapter has studied the stage space and spectators' space in Veedhi-natakamu. The chapter has established the importance of the text in Veedhi-natakamu performances. Colour and compositions has been identified in the spectators' engagement. The chapter has understood the role of the performers in Veedhi-natakamu. In this chapter, it has been studied the spectators' engagement in such a lengthy performances. As it is one of the scenographic element, sound has been studied in Veedhi-natakamu performances. The chapter has established that aim of Veedhi-natakamu is to entertain the spectators in the festival. In these performances, the complicated set devices are not employed. The scenery is not changed during the performance. It is obvious that set props are neutral. Even it is visually rich, Veedhi-natakamu is suggested to call as a poor theatre because lack of technology in its performances. Simply, scenography of these performances are not similar as in modern theatre. These performances strongly associated with the local folk life.

Chapter Four: Scenography of Outdoor theatrical performances

Introduction:

Outdoor theatrical performances in Draupadi festival are probably not meant for entertainment, but seemingly emphasised for devotion. It is performed in temple courtyard and farm fields. These performances are the combination of rituals and performances of folk theatre (*Veedhi-natakamu*). Example for outdoor theatrical performances in *Draupadi's* festival are killing of *Bakasura*, *Arjuna's* penance, *uttara-gograhana* (seizure of the cattle in the north), Sacrifice of *Ilavantha*, and Dhuryadana's death. These performances are purely connected to Mahabharatha text. The aim of this chapter is to study scenography in outdoor theatre of Draupadi festival. This chapter is presented in two parts: Part A and Part B. In the first part, it is analysed the outdoor theatrical performances individually within the context of scenography; and, in the second part, it is presented the examination of common scenographic aspects of these performances. The reason to present the common scenographic aspects separately is to avoid repetition. The first and foremost apparent interrogation that rises is: if scenography is observed in outdoor theatrical spaces using visual presence, how is it thinkable to ignore uninvited visuals that are as part of the public space? The second question that arises is: how do they organise temple courtyards and farm fields to present these performances? And, the final question is: how does performance space demonstrate location for a performance in outdoor theatrical performances?

Part A: Outdoor theatrical performances and its scenography

1. Bakasura-vadha (Killing of Bakasura):

Bakasura-vadha performance at outdoors is locally popular with the name *bandi-Khumbham*. Bakasura-vadha story is performed in Draupadi festival in two different spaces: on stage and outdoors. The stage-based Bakasura-vadha in *veedhi-natakamu* cycle appears after the outdoor theatrical performance of Bakasura-vadha. While stage based is performed purely for entertainment, outdoor theatrical performance of Bakasura-vadha is performed to express the devotion. Outdoor theatrical performance of Bakasura-vadha can

be called as an introductory performance of *veedhi-natakamu* cycle in Draupadi festival, as *veedhi-natakamu* cycle begins immediately after outdoor theatrical performance Bakasura-vadha. This performance spreads its theatrical space into streets of villages that hosts the festival. When it compares to other outdoor theatrical performances, “the Baksura-vada”⁷⁴ is a “large-scale enactment”, for its space is extended from temple to the streets of villages. Hiltebeitel concludes the Bakasura-vadha, which performs in Tamil Nadu in Draupadi cult, as “the exemplar of village ritual street drama” (1:171). Frasca observes that Bakasura vadha, in Draupadi festival context, as “a direct extension of the sacred context of the epic into the present” (Theatre of the Mahabharata 145). Thousands of devotees participate in the performance.

Bakasura-vadha performance appears as a processional enactment. The preparation of the performance begins from the houses of devotees. The Sacred displays demonstrate significant role here, and musical band enhances the performance. Devotees’ contribution is significant during the performance. Religious rites are part of the processional enactment. Bakasura-vadha begins with a rite and ends with another rite. When compare to other outdoor theatrical performances in Draupadi festival, Bakasura-vadha allows the devotees to have close contact with the performers.

The entire village is part of the performance. Village folk, according to their belief system, purify their houses by cleaning and decorating it with the sacred material (mango leaves; and turmeric and vermilion powder) for this event. Villagers also keep *rangoli* at the door-way and the front yard of their house. On the day of performance, they prepare food and sweets to keep in a bullock cart that is used for the performance.

a) The sacred bullock cart:

Bullock cart plays a significant role in the performance, and it is also part of sacred image which dominates entire visuals of the performance. The temple committee borrow a bullock cart, and they wash it. Then, they bring the bullock cart to the temple courtyard; they decorate it with flowers; leaves of banana, neem, and coconut; and powder of turmeric and vermilion. Temple officiants make a sacred marks on forehead of two bulls which is brought to pull the bullock cart. Horns of two bulls are decorated with vermilion and turmeric pastes to establish the sacredness. At approximately by 2:00 P.M, the temple

⁷⁴ To avoid repeating lengthy phrase for several times, I have used “Bakasura-vadha” to refer “outdoor theatrical performance Bakasura-vadha” in this chapter.

committee makes sure that bullock cart is ready with decoration, and they place wooden idols of Bheema and a Brahmin in the bullock cart; these idols are preserved in the temple, and brought out on the day of the performance. The actions of Bheema and Bhakasura are performed by two performers. One performer represents the Bheema in Brahman disguise, and the other the demon Bakasura. Before the performance commence, both performers are ready with makeup and costumes of the respective characters. Once the actors are ready with make-up, they reach the temple courtyard from the makeup room. Now, officiants perform Harathi, and break a coconut in front of the bullock cart to begin the procession.

b) Processional enactment:

The entire performance is accompanied by music band with *melam*, *pamba* and *dappu*. From temple, the performance begins as a procession with a music band, and it is followed by the bullock cart. In front of the bullock cart, the two actors perform as both characters are fighting. As part of his actions, the Bakasura performer “cavorts about the cart demonically, leaping, jumping, and screaming” (Hiltebeitel, 1: 171). Along with the both actors, music band and the bullock cart, the procession takes in streets of the villages. When the procession reaches a house, the people from the house perform a rite. This rite includes sequence of actions: throwing water, which is mixed with turmeric powder, under the bullock cart; offering burning camphor, boiled rice, vegetable curry, *kudumulu*⁷⁵ and sweets. After the rite, people from the house join the procession. Devotees’ movement in the procession demonstrates the mass march. The procession reaches all the houses in the village to receive the food.

After receiving food in the village, the procession reaches back to the temple courtyard. The procession moves around the temple. Then, the collected food is spread out on a huge white cloth. Both the performers sits, phasing each other, opposite sides of the huge cloth. The idol of Bheema is placed near the performer who plays the character Bheema. Then, Bheema (performer) begins eating food instead of giving the food to Bakasura. At this point, Bakasura is irritated a lot for this insult; they both fight each other. The battle between Bheema and Bakasura is enacted for approximately one hour, and it is included with comic actions. In the epic, strongly suggests that Bheema kills Bakasura. After comic actions, Bheema kills Bakasura here. While comic actions are performed long

⁷⁵ *Kudumulu*, a south Indian traditional food, are kind of cakes made of rice flour, jaggery, coconut, and Bengal gram. Local folk belief that *kudumulu* is a favourite dish for Bheema.

time, the action of killing Bakasura is symbolically represented in a short time, approximately a minute.

After the fight, Pothuraju idol is brought to the place with *pamba* and *dappu* sounds. The Pothuraju is placed near the Bheema idol. A rite, with performing Harathi and breaking a coconut, is performed to the idols: Pothuraju and Bheema. Now, the food considered as *prasadam* is shared by the all the devotees who reach to watch the episode. The sharing food is the last rite in Bakasura-vadha. Devotees' participation in the performance is observed in performing rites, joining procession, offering foods, and sharing foods. These kind of participation suggests to call Bakasura-vadha as people performance, created by the participants, for the participants.

Bakasura-vadha, as all other theatrical performance in Draupadi festival, always adopts new things. For instance, nowadays temple committee is using tractor's trolly and mini truck instead of bullock cart for these performance. In few of the Draupadi festivals, the death of the Bakasura is performed by local villagers instead of professional actors. Most of the temples invites more than three villages to participate in the performance. In this case, the food is sent in a bullock cart from each village. These extra bullock carts, which are not directly used by the performers, are decorated and brought by the respective village heads along with respective villagers. In village streets, devotees watch the performance following the procession. Devotees' space is not fixed in these processions. In the temple courtyard, at the final actions between Bheema and Bakasura, devotees stand and watch the performance. Devotees are also part of the performance visuals. The performance space is formed in crowded devotes.

As Bakasura-vadha covers processional enactments, the performance space is spread to the village corners. Its processional routes are fixed with temple committee. The boundary of the space is decorated with *rangoli* art and the crowd who covers the processional performance. With the presence of the performers, the bullock cart and the icon of the Bheema, the processional path contextually converts a 'sacred way'. As the procession moves away, the 'sacred way' dissolves back to the original status. Most of the devotees are static and joins while the procession takes from temple to village corners. When the procession reaches back to the temple, most of the devotees follows the procession that demonstrates mass march. Devotees becomes the part of the spectacle in this performance. The processional participation suggests the devotees as performers. Thus,

participants in this procession becomes both spectators and performers simultaneously. Streets corners and intersections of the village becomes the temporary theatrical spaces for these processional enactments. Performers improvise the actions with bullock cart, village streets and temple courtyards. It appears that these actions are not choreographed, but improvised. As this performance engages large segment of village, performances' images are part of the village landscapes. The performance allows interactive spectatorship. For instance, devotees offer food, threw flowers, and follows the procession.

Rites are integral part of this processional performance: the rites includes offering camphor and food, throwing water under the cart, putting sacred mark on the bulls head. These rites, along with the sacred images of the performance, establishes devotional communication which is referred as devotional scenography. Not only visuals devotionally engages the participants, but also performance text. According to the local community, the theme of the performance Bhakasura vadha establishes the moral values; the community believe that Pandavas had tendency of helping others. According to the community, "we [the community] always reflect through the performance that we help others when they need help"⁷⁶. This suggests that the performance text promotes moral values.

The scene performed in the village streets is that Bheema collects the food. As Bheema's actions are "cavorts about the cart demonically, leaping, jumping, and screaming" (Hiltebeitel, 1: 171), they are easily followed by devotees to connect with narration. Bakasura's actions similar to Bheema's. Their physical fight is performed with symbolic actions.

It appears that two theatrical images play significant role in the performance: image of the bullock cart and Bheema; and Bheema fighting with Bakasura. While first image represent sacredness as devotees donate the food to Bheema, second image establishes the humour and fun as the actions are involved with funny actions. Apart from these two theatrical images, the last image of the performance, sharing food, establishes devotees' interactivity with the performance. Devotees performing the rites in Bakasura-vadha is also suggests the devotees' interactivity with the performance.

⁷⁶ Few of the devotees reflected in Draupadi festival conducted in Yamanuru, 2014.

2. Tapasmaanu/Arjuna tapassu (Arjuna's penance):

Arjuna Tapassu, Which is the story of Arjuna obtaining the “deadly weapon Pasupatha”, is also one of the “large-scale enactment” performed in the temple courtyards. On commenting this performance, Hiltebeitel uses the words “innovations and adaptations” (1: 283), and these words are frequently used in modern western theatre practice in the context of scenography. This performance is combined with ritual and theatrical elements. Arjuna Tapassu begins with “the end of Arjuna and Apsarasa scene” in Veedhi-natakamu of stage based. Even the performance has association with the Veddhinatakamu that plays significant role for devotees’ entertainment, Arjuna Tapassu begins and ends with rituals.

a) Background story:

Vyasa suggests Pandavas to obtain “Pasupatha Weapon”. Following Dharmaraju’s instruction, Arjuna decides to perform penance to satisfy Lord Shiva. For that, Arjuna approaches to mount “*Indrakeeladri*”. On his way to reach climb the mountain, Arjuna is interrupted by number of tests and tempted by many charms. These tests and tempts develops the structure of the performance. According to the performers, Arjuna is tempted to distract from the penance by Apsaras⁷⁷: “Urvasi, Rambha, Menaka, and Thilottama”. Hiltebeitel refers that the story was adopted from *Villiparatam* (283). Referring to Iramaccantira Kavirayar’s work, Hiltebeitel notes that Vishnu as Mohini seduces Arjuna to distract from the act of penance. Irrespective of both versions, it is obvious that the aim of the performance is to demonstrate the Arjuna Tapassu.

After these tests and tempts, Arjuna reaches the *Indrakeeladri* to perform penance. Watching his penance, Goddess Parvathi asks lord Shiva to see the fortunate “fish-mark” on Arjuna’s back. Then, both Shiva and Parvathi descends to the earth in the guise of hunters. Shiva sends Muka, a demon, in the form of wild boar. While Arjuna is performing penance, the wild boar interrupts him. Arjuna draws his arrow to shoot the wild boar. According to his plan, lord Shiva also draws an arrow. Both, lord Shiva and Arjuna shoots the boar at a time. As Arjuna could not recognise lord Shiva, both begins fight each other over the argument of killing the wild boar. Arjuna shoots lord Shiva with many arrow. At one point in the fight, Arjuna realises that his quiver is empty. Then, he tries to hit Shiva with Gandivam (“Arjuna bow which come from fire”), but Arjuna is discouraged. Lord

⁷⁷ Apsaras are celestial nymphs found in the court of Indra, the King of the gods.

Shiva takes Gandivam. Then, without losing his courage, Arjuna begins to wrestling and fistfight. Arjuna loses the fight, and falls unconscious. Lord Shiva shows to goddess Parvathi the “fish-mark” on Arjuna’s back. After a while, Arjuna recovers consciousness. Meanwhile, Lord Shiva and goddess Parvathi returns to their original states from disguise hunter. Arjuna realises that he has been fighting with lord Shiva, then he asks for forgiveness for his ignorance. Shiva is pleased by Arjuna’s devotion and bravery, and Shiva grants Arjuna the *pasupatastra*.

b) Performance space of Arjuna Tapassu:

Arjuna Tapassu is performed with a huge vertical wooden pole fixed with small logs. This pole is locally called as *tapas-maanu* which is combination two words *tapassu* (penance) and *maanu* (means tree). This pole is made by a skilled carpenter. Temple committee preserve this pole in the temple, and they bring it out when there is a performance. This pole is permanently made of Palmyra palm or Saraca asoca. The length of the pole is approximately between 6 to 30 meters. The pole usually painted with red and white horizontal stripes, form down to up. These horizontal stripes are painted with artificial paints. The pole is usually fixed with minimum 15 or maximum 30 small logs to function as steps. Size of each log is about 36 inches length and 2 inch in diameter. These logs are connected perpendicularly to the pole in two rows. The distance between each log is approximately 2 feet. At the top of the pole, a flat wooden plank, one meter length and 2 feet breadth, is fixed strongly. This wooden plank is also given red and white stripes. This wooden plank is dedicated to enact Arjuna’s penance on Indrakeeladri. Keeping this wooden plank as base, a triangle structure is arranged on the top of the pole.

As this performance hosts large number of devotee, Arjuna’s penance requires one hectare land. This space is usually from the temple courtyard. At the centre of the space, the pole is erected. Around the pole is smoothen without stones and hard material. Boundary of the performance space is not prepared. Devotees can watch the performance anywhere from temple courtyard, but most of the devotees surround the pole to be part of the ritual. Devotees make formation of circular disc around the pole, from top view, during the performance; the radius of devotees’ inner circle begins at 6 feet; the outer radius ends approximately at 40 feet.

c) Erecting the sacred pole:

On the day before the performance of Arjuna Tapassu, temple committee washout the dust on the pole. They apply turmeric paste to the small logs; later they give sacred dots (*bottlu*) on these coloured logs. They make sacred marks on the white stripes of the pole, with vermilion and turmeric pastes. The pole and the logs are tied with “tiny yellow marigold flowers” and mango leaves. The triangle structure, which is joined at the top of the pole, is decorated with mango and banana leaves; flowers; and a piece of cloth filled in turmeric water. The vertex point of the triangle shape joins exactly the top of the pole, and this point is covered with globular metal pot made of copper.

The raising of the pole commences around 4:00 pm on the day before the performance of Arjuna Tapassu. A five feet deep hole is dug in the temple courtyard to keep the pole. After digging the hole, a rite is performed: breaking a coconut, burning camphor, offering flowers, and keeping coins in the hole. Once the rite is performed, the pole’s base is kept into the hole; then, the pole is lifted by the people. Two lengthy ropes are tied to the top of the pole to balance while lifting the poles. After lifting the pole, the gap in the hole is filled with stones and mud. Now, the ropes are taken away. While the pole is lifting, music band with *dappu* and *pamba* is played. Devotees who participate in this rite shouts “Goivinda!”. Finally, one more time, camphor is offered to the pole after the installation. This is the first view of the *tapas-maanu*. After this rite, the pole is left in the temple premises until Arjuna Tapassu is commenced.

d) Devotees’ arrival:

One hour before the performance, half of the devotees reach the temple courtyard to participate in the performance. Remaining devotees reach temple courtyard after the procession begins, with main officiants and actors, from temple to the pole. Once they reach the performance space, devotees surround the pole. Some of the devotees bring offering: coconut, camphor, instance sticks, banana and flowers. Women devotees take a dip in water before reach the pole. With wet cloth, they take three pradaksanas⁷⁸ around the pole. After pradaksana, they perform the offerings to the base of the pole. These offering includes placing fruits at the pole; keeping sacred marks on the bottom of the pole with vermilion and turmeric paste; breaking coconut, burning camphor and instance sticks; and doing

⁷⁸ *Pradaksha* is a rite done by a devotees with “circumambulation keeping sacred object (*tapas-maanu*) to their right by walking clockwise three times.

sashtanga namaskaram (“a full length prostration”). Then, they sit in circles keeping some empty space around the pole. This space is used by the officiants to conduct the ritual and theatrical performances of Arjuna Tapassu. Most of the men stand behind the women.

e) Procession from the temple:

Outdoor theatrical performance of Arjuna Tapassu has significant connection with the stage based performance of Arjuna Tapassu. “Performance transformation” from stage to the *tapas-maanu* is suggestively represents fictional actions of Arjuna which demonstrates his determination and his march towards Indrakeeladri. The performance transformation is established with processions: from the stage to the temple; from the temple to the pole; *pradakshanas* around the pole; and performing a worship to the Pole.

The performance is performed by four *veedhi-natakamu* actors and few musicians; and three to five officiants. Arjuna is represented by two persons: an actor and a temple officiant. Actors, who portrays Arjuna, Shiva and Parvathi, gets makeup and costumes. Both the actor and the officiant who represent Arjuna wear costumes, but in different way. While actor who represents Arjuna wears *veedhi-natakamu* costume, the officiant who represent the same character wears saffron colour *dhoti*. Meanwhile, the officiants prepare *prasadam* and pack it in a cloth dipped in turmeric water. *Prasadamu* includes various materials: flowers; turmeric and vermilion powder; *vibhudi* (sacred ash); banana; limes; coconuts; *borugulu* (puffed rice); goa fruit; and leaves of bel tree. To perform the ritual, before Arjuna Tapassu, the officiants depend on “sacred material”: yellow marigold and jasmine flowers; *kalisamu* on an altar; two husked coconut; instance sticks; vermilion and turmeric powder; coins; two plate; betel leaves; areca nuts; rice; and camphor.

After *prasadam* and other sacred material is ready, on an auspicious time, actors are brought to temple accompanying music band: *dappu* and *pambai*. Once the actors reach the temple, there is a worship to the goddess Draupadi performed in the temple: breaking coconut and offering burning camphor. Then, the actors and the officiants, along with the music band, take a procession from temple to the pole. This procession is led by music band. The music band is followed by two people: main officiant, playing temple bell; and a man, carrying fire torch. Finally, actors and the other officiants, who carry *prasadam* in a saffron cloth and sacred material in a plate, follows the procession.

The minute it reaches the pole, the procession takes *pradakshana* around the pole. After the *pradakshana*, the “sacred material is kept at the base of the pole. Then, main

officiant begins a rite: offering burning camphor and instance sticks; breaking a coconut; and performing a *harathi*. After this rite, actors, the officiants, and devotees take a bow to the pole. Finally, after these rites, the actors begins the theatrical actions of Arjuna Tapassu. These theatrical actions includes two lengthy scenes: first Arjuna fighting with Lord Shiva; second Arjuna performs penance.

f) Fight between Arjuna and Shiva as disguised hunter:

The scene “Arjuna fighting with Lord Shiva” is performed with standard folk humour. In this scene four actors represent four characters: Arjuna; Shiva and Parvathi, as hunter disguise; and a wild boar respectively. According to folklorist Bhakthavathsala Reddy, the theatrical enactment is based on *kiratarjuniya*⁷⁹ text (Draupadi thirunaallu, 2005, Bhaktavatsala Reddy). To represent Arjuna character, performer depends on makeup and costumes: hair is tied in a turf (*koppu*); feathers are included in the hair; saffron colour shirt and dhoti are given for costumes; bow and bunch of arrow are given in the hand. Parvathi wears a colourful saree; a wig of typical south Indian women; heavy makeup and jewellery; and flowers in the hair. The wild boar is usually enacted with regular men costumes of *veedhi-natakamu*.



Plate 43 A procession from temple to performance space of Arjuna Tapassu. At Yamaganipalle, 2014.

⁷⁹ *Kiratarjuniya* is narrative poem of “Arjuna’s penance and fight with Shiva who is in the guise of a hunter”.



Plate 44 Ritual objects, sacred material, and flowers are at the sacred pole to perform ritual before begin the Arjuna Tapassu. Yamaganipalle, 2014.



Plate 45 Main officiant is performing ritual at the sacred pole before Arjuna Tapassu. The main officiant is offering Harathi and playing temple bell. Other two wearing garlands are from the local community climbs the sacred pole.



Plate 46 Veedhi-natakamu performers are performing fight fight scene where Arjuna argues with Lord Shiva. Yamaganipalle, 2014.



Plate 47 A boy from the village is invited to act as wild boar in Arjuna Tapassu. Here, he holds the two arrows that represent the arrows of Arjuna and disguised Shiva. Yamanganipalle, 2014.



Plate 48 Arjuna, who is from temple officiant, is at the top of the pole. at the middle, another officiant helps the top one in carrying Prasadam. At the down, the Veedhi-natakamu performer who enacts the character Arjuna. Yamaganipalle, 2014. .



Plate 49 Devotees at Arjuna Tapassu



Plate 50 Arjuna is throwing Prasadam from the top of the pole.



Plate 51 devotees are trying to catch the Prasadam. Yamaganipalle, 2014.

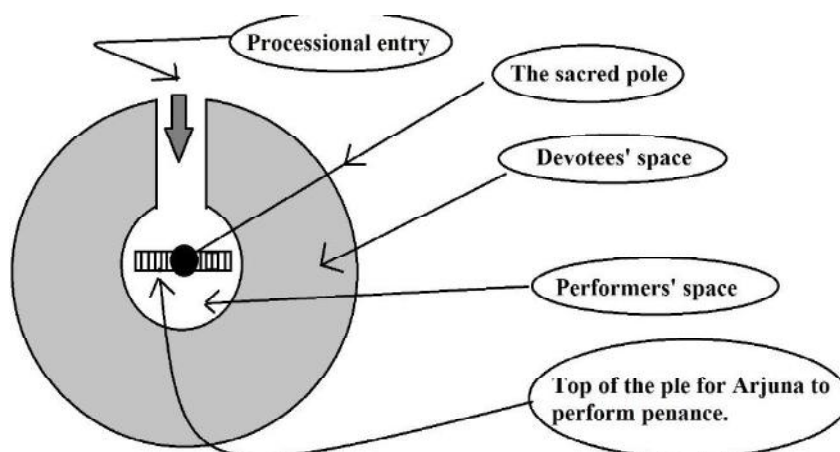


Figure 14 Performance space of Arjuna Tapassu from birdview.

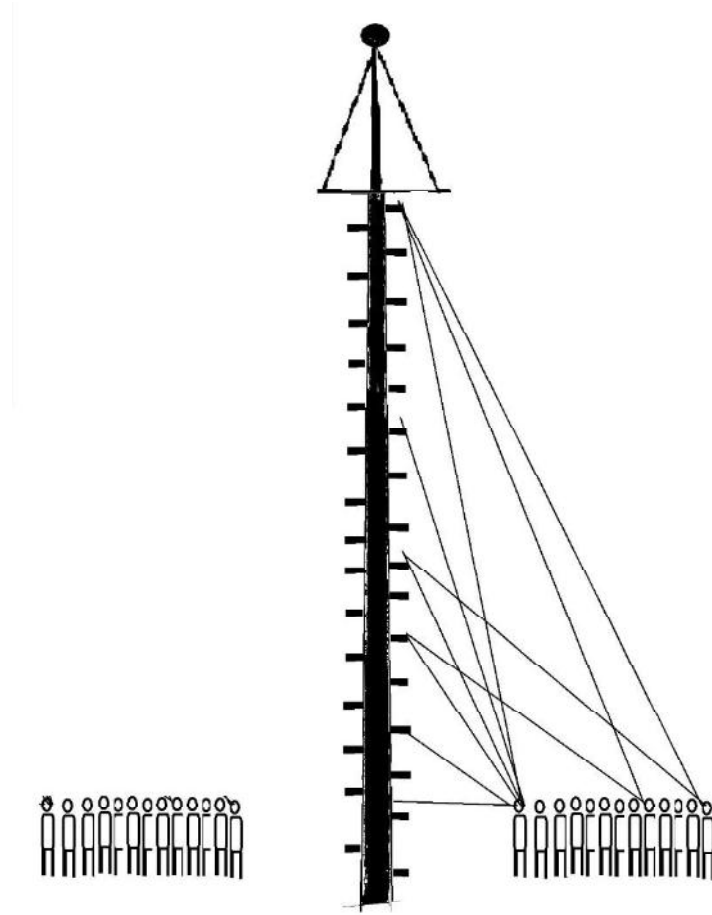


Figure 15 Side view of Arjuna Tapassu. Devotees and their sight lines are shown.

At festival of Yamanuru, in 2014, the wild boar was enacted by a child without theatrical costumes. Disguised hunter Shiva character was performed with professional *veedhi-natakamu* performer without theatrical costumes, with daily wear dress. Another Shiva character was presented by an actor with theatrical costume of Shiva, who is not disguised hunter. The scene started with an argument between Arjuna and Shiva, disguised as hunter. Then, they both fought each other. Finally Shiva appeared in original form in front of Arjuna; the original form of Shiva was demonstrated with *veedhi-natakamu* costume. After this scene, Arjuna went to perform penance. During this performance, Parvathi character was not appeared; two actors, who represent disguised Shiva and the original form of Shiva, appears on the pole. When compared to the classical version of Mahabharatha, the fight between Arjuna and Shiva happens after Arjuna performs penance, but in Yamanuru it happened in reverse where first Arjuna fights with Shiva, and later went to perform penance. When it was inquired, a professional actor explained that both versions were done in the region of Chittoor.

The below sequence of theatrical actions observed in the field work at Yamanuru in 2014:

1. Actors, along with chorus, sung prayer song, *parabrahma parameshwara... ..*
2. Arjuna and Shiva as disguised hunter shot wild boar.
3. Both Arjuna and the hunter argued each other about who had killed the wild boar first.
4. Both of them fought each other shooting arrows.
5. Afterward, as they both were exhausted all the arrows, Arjuna tried to fight with Gandivam. Shiva threw it away from Arjuna
6. Then, both Arjuna and Shiva began fistfight and wrestling. Arjuna lost the fight, and he fell unconscious.
7. Shiva shown the auspicious mark on Arjuna's back. After this, Arjuna recovered consciousness.
8. Shiva and Parvathi appeared in their original form.
9. Arjuna was directed by Shiva to perform penance.
10. Then Arjuna climbed the pole.

g) Climbing the pole

After they performs fighting between Arjuna and Shiva, the two officiants, first one who represent Arjuna and another who helps the first one while climbing the pole, take bow to the pole. The actor, who represents Arjuna, keeps his arrow and bow at the base of the pole and prostrates himself there. Finally, three people takes step by step climb: first the officiant who represent Arjuna, second another officiant who helps first one at the top of the pole, and finally the actor who portrays the character Arjuna.

While climbing the pole, the actor, who represents Arjuna, sings songs which are the prayers to the Lord Shiva. There are many songs, and each song is sung at each step. The duration of the songs is approximately 3 to 5 minutes. Until he finishes a song, the actor and officiant pause their climbing. This "step-by-step ascent" takes approximately sixty minutes to reach the top (the triangular structure). Once the officiant who represent Arjuna reaches the top of the pole, he sits in phasing south on the flat wooden plank; for

safety measures, he crosses his legs around the horizontal plank, and holds the pole with his left hand. Then he starts offerings to Lord Shiva: first he burns the instance sticks; second he breaks coconut on the surface of the pole; and finally he burns camphor on the plank. While this offering is performing, second officiant helps the first officiant on the top of the pole. After his offerings to Shiva, the officiant who represent Arjuna opens the bag that contains *prasadam*.

It is a common practice in Draupadi cult that Arjuna's penance is performed by one of the temple officiant along with *veedhi-natakamu* actors. In some cases, only temple officiant climbs the pole, dialogues and songs are delivered by professional actors at the bottom of the pole. The performance is also performed only with *veedhi natakamu* actor. Both kind of practices are available in Chittoor region. When it is performed by *veehinatakmu* actor, he performs all the rites done by the officiant who represent Arjuna.

h) Throwing the *prasadam* in the air

After offerings to Lord Shiva, character Arjuna throws down *prasadam*, which is already carried in a saffron cloth. The falling *prasadam* from the top of the pole is collected by devotees keeping umbrella in reverse or holding the cloth in hands. The women devotees at the base of the pole spread the *kongu* (hem of the saree) to catch the *prasadam*. The men devotees spread towel or shawl to catch the *prasadam*. According to devotees' belief, if a women gets a fruit here, she will be blessed with a baby boy; if she get a leaf, she will be blessed with a baby boy. Devotees stand on the ground and watch entire performance. Arjuna carries back some of the *prasadam* from the top of the pole. He distributes the remaining *prasadam* to the devotees.

Prasadamu usually meant for women devotees. According to their belief, women who get the *prasadam* will be blessed with a baby. Even it is women centred performance, the performance gives space for men and women. Both women and men equally try to seize the *prasadam*. *Prasadam* that is thrown by the character Arjuna from the top of the pole establishes significant devotional connection between devotees and the performance.

i) Purity engagement:

Both performers and devotees demonstrate purity in this performance. As in ritual performance, devotees purify themselves, by taking dip in the water, to participate in the performance. They also perform few rites at the pole as mentions in the section Devotees'

arrival. These rites also suggests their devotional engagement. Along with devotees, actors also need to purify before they perform the performance. This purification is done by performing a rite near the pole, and by praying a song. In Chittoor region, the scenes of sexual temptation to distract Arjuna are not performed at the pole, for sexual acts impure the penance.

Actor who plays Arjuna wears “saffron-coloured shirt and dhoti”⁸⁰ for the performance. In Indian context, the saffron colour denotes isolation from the world; the isolation leads to purity.⁸¹ Thus, in this performance, the saffron-colour costumes symbolically represent the renunciation and purity of Arjuna to obtain *pasupatastra*. The pole is coloured with red and white stripes. Hildebeitel refers Beck’s article to connect the red and white stripes on the pole (2: 218). According to Beck, “Red substances symbolise ‘heated’ states and white substances ‘cooled’ ones.”(553); he also observes white as symbol of stability. Beck’s observation on colour and temperature is referred by Hildebeitel in the context of Arjuna’s Tapassumanu: “Change or transformation is represented by the alternation of [red and white] colours and is always desired over stasis.” (2: 218). Based on Beck’s opinion, Hildebeitel also concludes that stability and heat is perceived on the top of the pole based on the colour given at the top; for instance, he mentions, the top of the pole establishes stability if the top of the pole ends with white colour; and it establishes heat and sexual abstinence if the top of the pole is filled with red. Thus, the colours on the pole appears to represent the transformation of Arjuna from his regular life to spiritual.

j) Horizontal space to Vertical:

In Arjuna Tapassu, performer uses multiple levels of performance space, horizontal to vertical. It seems that devotees establishes different levels of associations with the space at different levels. The first theatrical scene, fight between Arjuna and Shiva as disguised hunter, uses horizontal surface on the earth. The second scene, performing prayers to praise Lord Shiva, is performed purely in vertical surface. As the actor uses vertical surface, devotees’ view changes from horizontal to vertical. In first scene, as performer and devotees are bounded on same surface, the horizontal space is direct and intimate. The

⁸⁰ A Phrase is taken from page 228 in Hildebeitel, Alf. *The Cult of Draupadi*. Vol. 2. Chicago and London: U of Chicago, 1991. Print.

⁸¹ Referring to untouchability and Brahmanism, David Dean Shulman refers ‘the renunciation and the purification’ which are appears to refer in present research. See page 18 in Eisenstadt, Shemuel Noah, Reuven Kahane, and David Dean Shulman. *Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and Dissent in India*. Berlin: Mouton, 1984. Print.

devotees' intimacy gradually vanishes while actor moves from horizontal space to vertical. As the character Arjuna climbs up to the top of the pole, devotees' view changes to upward direction from horizontal. The upward view of devotees seems that Devotees' urge for *prasadam*. The fact that the performance is to represent Arjuna's urge to get *pasupatastra*. As both, devotees and performer, demonstrate their urges in the same performance, it is tending to think that Arjuna's penance (urge) is amplified with the devotees' urges.

For each devotee, when the actors are on the ground, the pole, sacred materials, actors and other devotees are part of the visual image. While Arjuna character goes up, devotees' view ignores sacred material, other devotees, and the bottom of the pole as part of the visual image. In this case, devotees focus goes to the pole and Arjuna. When Arjuna on the top of the pole, the visual image contains the pillar, Arjuna, and the sky.

k) Set prop connects the celestial world:

Usage of the pole suggest as it is a set prop in Arjuna Tapassu. If it is assumed as set prop, it is obvious that the prop was adapted and invented by local community for the performance. To explain Arjuna Tapassu, Hildebeitel "concentrated...on the innovation and adaptations" (1: 283). The necessity of the pole can be observed in the actions: raising step by step for each song, and representing the top of the hill Indrakeeladri. First and foremost observation is representing the top of the Indrakeeladri. As Indrakeeladri belongs to celestial world, the location might had demanded to represent such a height. Another notable observation is singing serval prayer songs to reach the top. For this action, it seemed community desired some space to represent the action travelling from one place to another. This action could be done on the stage using folk devise, but it appeared they needed to innovate different way. So, they could had adopted vertical pole to perform for the performance. The community's innovation and adaptation for the performance describes the role of scenographer. The pole represents mount Indra Keeladri/ Kailasa. This space, in fiction, is referred for fighting between Arjuna and Siva. This is the place where Arjuna obtains "ultimate missile", the *pasupatastra*. This pole also a representation of a path where the celestial world and the real words meets in the story. This assumption arose from the concept of Arjuna reaching Indra' world to get the deadly weapon Pasupata. This is the link between human world and the Indra's, which is celestial. This relation between human and celestial, which was established by Arjuna, suggests Arjuna as "super human". Performance space for "the super human" character is designed by local community.

3. Uttara goagrahanamu (“Seizure of the cattle in the north”):

Virata parva describes how Pandavas and Draupadi disguised in the Virata’s Kingdom. Temple committee organises two play performances from Virata Parva: Keechaka-vadha (“The slaying of Keechaka”); and Uttara-gograhanamu. While Keechaka-vadha is performed purely in Veedhi-natakamu style, Uttara-gograhanamu is presented in outdoors with combination of rituals, processional actions and Veedhi-natakamu performances. Performance of Uttara-gograhanamu is usually a sequel to Keechakavahda. Uttara-gograhanamu is also a large-scale enactment like Bhakasura Vadha. When compare to other theatrical performances, Uttara-gograhanamu demonstrates a lot of comic actions. In some temples, both Keechaka-vadha and Uttara-gograhanamu are performed at night in the form of *veedhi-natakamu*. In this case, Uttara-gograhanamu is performed till the scene where Arjuna and Uttara goes to retrieve the cattle from the Kauravas. Even it is performed in the folk theatre form on the stage, Uttara-gograhanamu is repeated again as outdoor theatrical performance.

a) Background story:

After spending “12 years of exile in the forest”, Pandavas reaches to Virata’s Kingdom to finish one year exile incognito. As their armaments expose their identity, Pandavas hide their armaments in a Jammi tree before they arrive kingdom of Virata. To protect their armaments, Pandavas invoke Kalika (Durga), and request her to protect their armaments until they return for it. Except Arjuna, as Kalika promises, if anyone approaches to touch the armaments, he will turn into snake. Thus, Pandavas conceal their armaments. After that, Pandavas and Draupadi approach the Virata’s kingdom in their individual disguises: Dharmaraju as *Kankubhattu*; Bheema as *Valaludu*; Arjuna as *Brihannala* (“half male, half female”); Nakula as *Damagrandhi*; Sahdeva as *Tantripaludu*; and Draupadi as *Malini*.⁸² They live one year in Virata’s kingdom as servants. One day, Keechaka visits Virata’s kingdom to see his sister, Sudeshna, queen of the Virata. Then, he sees Draupadi disguised as Malini, and falls in love with the beauty of Draupadi. He loses his senses, and could not control his lust. He sexually harasses Draupadi. Then Draupadi complaints to Bheema who is disguised as the principal chef, and he swears that Draupadi will be avenged. To execute Bheema’s plan, at one night, Draupadi invites Keechaka to the dancing room. On that night, Bheema disguises as Draupadi’s disguise to kill Keechaka.

⁸² These Telugu names are referred from Bhaktavatsala Reddy’s Draupadi Thirunallu. Pg. 41.

Unaware of the plan, Keechaka reaches to the dancing room to meet Draupadi. Then, Keechaka is crushed to death in the hands of Bheema.

Meanwhile, Duryodhana tries to expose Pandavas to send them back to the exile in the forest. He sends messengers to expose the Pandavas presence. He finds two clues to prove that Pandavas are hiding in the Virata kingdom. The first clue is that murder of Kichaka, and the second one is Virata kingdom's fertility. Duryodhana deduces only Bheema could kill the Kichaka. Bhishma announces that Pandavas' presence in any kingdom would bring "happiness, fertile lands, and good rains". Duryodhana searches for a country that is possessing richness and happiness. Then, through his ambassadors, Duryodhana comes to know that only Virata's kingdom is possessing greatest prosperity around. So, he deduces that Pandavas are staying in Virata's kingdom. Then Duryodhana's plans to provoke Pandavas into the war, so that he can send them back to exile in forest for 12 years.

To execute his plan, Duryodhana decides to attack "Virata's kingdom from the South". For this attack he allies himself with Susasana who is king of Trigarta. According to Duryodhana's plan, while Susasana's army attacking south, Duryodhana's army astonishes Virata's in the north. As he is unaware of Duryodhana's plan, king Virata leads his army to the south to defend the Susasana's army. Meanwhile, Duryodhana's army attacks Virata's kingdom from the north, and they rob the cattle.

As the king Virata is away for the war against Susasana, a messenger of Virata's kingdom communicates the message to young prince Uttara, the son of Virata. As Uttara is asked for help in front of women, Uttara flushes with pride, and decides to fight against Kauravas. Then, Uttara takes Brihannala (Arjuna in disguise) as charioteer. Both Uttara and Brihannala drives chariot to the battle field at the north. Seeing at the Kauravas army, Uttara is terrified, and tries to run away from there. But, Brihannala stops him and influence him with motivational speech. Brihannala brings Uttara to the Jammi tree in which Pandava's have hidden the armaments. Brihannala discloses his identity to Uttara, and he shows Pandava's weapons to Uttara. Uttara cannot see the weapons except snakes in the tree. Arjuna brings down the weapon from the tree. Now, Uttara takes the charge of charioteer, and Arjuna takes Uttara's place to fight with Kauravas. Even they suspects that it is Arjuna, Kauravas have not identified him. As Arjuna employs his Gandiva, Kauravas lay unconsciousness. Uttara and Arjuna wins the battle against Duryodhana.

Then, Arjuna keeps the armaments again on Jammi tree. Both, Uttara and Arjuna exchanges their places on the chariot. Arjuna returns to the town as a charioteer of young prince Uttara. As Arjuna stops the Kauravas taking the cattle away from the Virata, Uttara gograhanamu seems to be the first connection established towards final battle. The power of Pandavas' weapon is also established again here.

b) Processions with Uttara's chariot in the performance:

Usually, there are two processions are associated with outdoor theatrical performance of Uttara-gograhanamu. First procession happens with actors from the greenroom to inside temple hall. After getting makeup, as a procession, actors in their respective characters move from the greenroom which is usually backside of the stage. The procession continuous to take *pradakshana* around the temple. After *pradakshana*, actors enters into the temple hall to seek the blessings of Draupadi. According to Vendugampalli field study, 2014, there were seven actors taken part in Uttara-gograhanamu. These actors were representing characters, such as Brihannala, Utara, Duryodhana, Karna, Dusyasana. Incontrast to Vendugampalli, Temple of Yamanuru allowed two actors for this performance, and they did not give space for theatrical actions except to drive the cattle.



Plate 52: Performers are taking blessings of Draupadi at her temple. From here, the performers take a procession to the performance space of Uttara-gograhanamu. Vendugampalli, 2014.



Plate 53 Dappu players are leading the procession to the performance space. Vendugampalli, 2014.

All the actors enter into the temple hall to worship the Draupadi idol, and Draupadi is offered a prayer with giving *harathi* and breaking coconut. Then, the actors keep their palms over the flames of camphor (*harathi*), and then place on their eyelids. They seek the blessing of Draupadi. After that, actors are honoured with a garland. Their props are pasted with the vermilion that is in the *harathi* plate. The props are decorated with flowers. Temple officiants take sacred material for a ritual that they perform at the main performance space (paddy field). The sacred material are flowers; lemons; pumpkin; banana; betel leaves and areca nuts; turmeric and vermilion powder; husked coconut; camphor; and instance sticks. Next, both actors and officiants take another procession from the temple to paddy field. In this procession, Brihannala and Uttara occupies a bullock cart or a tractor's tally. The vehicle, the bullock cart or tractor, represents the chariot that is driven by Arjuna for Uttara-gograhanamu. The officiants and remaining actors take walk in the procession. The entire procession is accompanied by music band: with *dappu* and *pamba*. The musical band leads the procession; the vehicle follows musical band; and devotees, along with remaining actors, follow the vehicle till the paddy field.



Plate 54 Brihannala and Uttara are representing a ride in their chariot. Here, the tractor represents the chariot in the fictional story.

The vehicle is driven by a person from the village. Here, the driver is not associated with the performance text. He is just a person who operates the prop (the bullock cart or the tractor). His physical appearance does not do anything with the performance. As Mahabharatha text suggests, Arjuna needs to drive the chariot. Since the vehicle represents the chariot in the performance, the character Arjuna needs to drive the vehicle; but a person who is from the village drives it without any character costumes. Uttara and Arjuna stand in vehicle to demonstrate the action as they are travelling in the cart. Then, procession approaches to the farm field, the main performance space.

The procession is halted in several places while they are on the way to the performance space. At these halts, the musical band stands in a round in front of the vehicle, and play rhythmic sounds. Few of the devotees dance with the rhythm of the musical. At these halts, the procession presents three major actions: Uttara showing fear in the chariot to face the battle with Kauravas; Uttara try to run away when he observes Kauravas approaching the chariot; and Arjuna and Uttara exchanging their places in the chariot. The first processional action, which Uttara demonstrates fear, is presented throughout the processional halts. When the procession reaches to the performance space, the procession takes final halts for few minutes. Here, actors perform remaining two processional actions: Uttara try to run away when he observes Kauravas approaching the chariot; and Arjuna and Uttara exchanging their places in the chariot. Then, again the procession continuous to reach the performance space. Both the processions, from greenroom to temple and from temple to paddy field, are directed by the idol of Pothuraju.

c) Performance space:

Outdoor theatrical performance of Uttara-gograhanamu is performed in paddy field which is dried after the harvest. Approximately four to six hectare of paddy field is selected to perform Uttara-gograhanamu.

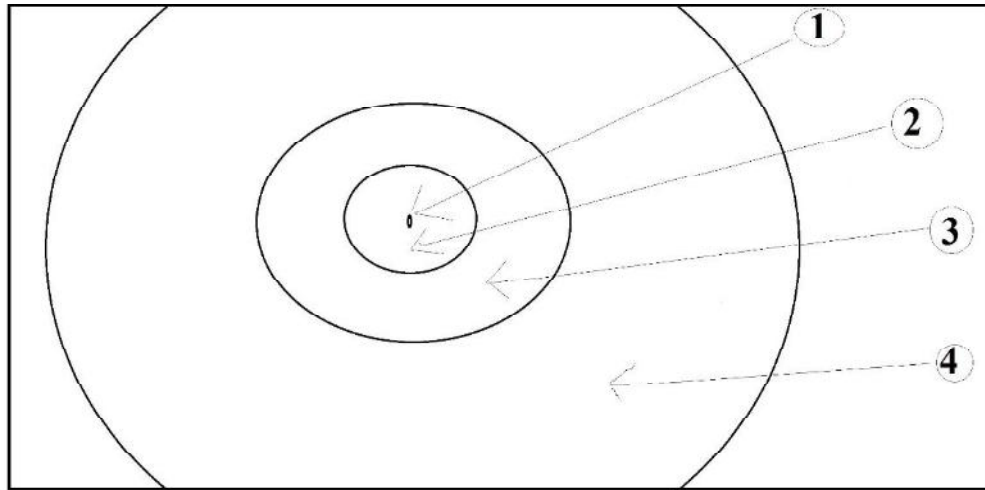


Figure 16: Ground plan of Uttara-gograhanamu performance. Here, 1 is the position of erected branch of Jammi tree, 2 is the ritual and performance space, 3 is reserved to drive the cattle, and 4 is the spectators' space.

At the centre of the selected paddy field, temple committee erect a branch of Jammi or Indian blackberry tree. As a suggestive prop, this branch represent a Jammi tree in Mahabharatha, which is used to hide their armaments by Pandavas. Temple committee smooth circular space having a radius of approximately five meters surrounded to the erected branch. They use this circular space to organise the ritual connected commence the performance and to conduct comic theatrical enactment associated to the performance. Another space around the tree is dedicated to drive the cattle; this space starts at radius of approximately five meters from the erected branch and is followed until approximately 30 meters. After this space, devotees, who does not participate in driving the cattle and who came to watch, stand to watch entire performance.

Devotees reach the performance space in two ways. One way is that few of devotees follow the procession. Another way is that more than 80 percent of devotees directly come to the performance space. At the performance space, there are two kinds of devotees' participation is observed. One is active participation by few devotees who bring the cattle and drive them in the performance. Another is passive group participation by devotees who comes to witness the performance. Devotees stand entire performance. Passive participants varies from different ages of both genders as it is seen in other performance of Draupadi festival, but active participants are above 16 years old men. The performance accommodate approximately 500 to 1500 devotees. The cattle used in the performance varies from 50 to 100. Before the procession reaches the paddy field, the cattle are brought to the there.

d) Ritual at the erected branch:

Once procession reaches the paddy field, the officiants and actors take *pradakshana* around the erected branch. After *pradakshana*, actors tangle the props in the erected branch. These props are a sword, a sceptre, and a bow with arrows. The officiants also keep the sacred material, which is carried from the temple, at the east side of the erected tree. Then, they place Pothuraju idol at the tree. Then, they give sacred marks (*bottulu*) on bottom of the branch with vermilion and turmeric paste. The officiants offer banana, break coconut, and perform *harathi* to the erected branch. Then, they break the pumpkin. After this ritual, flowers, bananas, and betel leaves feed to few cattle. Some of the cattle are show to the *harathi*.

e) Uttara fetches down the armaments - a comic enactment:

After the ritual at the erected branch, two actors, who portray Arjuna and Uttara, perform a comic enactment that Uttara fetches down the armaments from the Jammi tree. The comic enactment begins where the stage based theatre leaves off the performance of Virata Parva. While they are performing this comic enactment, male devotees are crowded around the performance space. Here, both characters follow *veedhi-natakamu* style to perform this comic enactment. They use songs, dialogues and movement of *veedhi-natakamu* style. The actions and interaction between two characters includes both humorous and philosophical. Most of the comic actions are dedicated to the Uttara, and philosophical interactions are demonstrated by Arjuna. The comic actions are as follows: first, standing at the erected branch, Uttara enacts as he cannot see any armaments; second, Uttara observes clearly and sees snakes and scorpions instead of armaments, and he runs away from the erected branch; third, inspiring Arjuna's speech, Uttara approaches the erected branch, he finds decomposed dead body, vomits, and faints; fourth, Uttara gets up, and request Arjuna to take him back to home; finally, Uttara reaches Pandavas' armaments, brings it down, and he cannot lift it properly. While this comic scenes are performing, Uttara moves in crowded devotees. He is brought back to the performance space by the devotees. Along with this comic actions and interactions, Arjuna demonstrates philosophical and inspirations dialogues. For instance, his final dialogue *Dharmamey Jayyammu* (legitimacy wins) is an inspirational and philosophical dialogue delivered by Arjuna to educate Uttara.



Plate 55: The scene where Uttara and Arjuna fetches down the armaments. A symbolic representation of the armaments in the Jammitree is represented through keeping the props in the erected branch. Devotees are surrounded to watch the performance. Vendugampalli.



Plate 56 Character Uttara is showing fear to approach the Jammi tree. Other characters, who are not involved in the fictional scene, are standing and watching the performance along with the devotees. Vendugampalli, 2014.

While this comic scene is performing, actors representing Kauravas stand along devotees, and wait until it comes their part. Here, characters Kauravas is visible to devotees while actors are performing the actions of fetching down the armaments. These actors representing Kauravas prompt the dialogues and songs for the actors representing Arjuna and Uttara. The actors represents Kauravas do not have considerable dialogues and songs as part of their actions in the performance. They demonstrate characters physical presence in the performance.

f) Fight between Arjuna (“disguised as the eunuch Brihannala”) and Kauravas:

After enacting scene “Uttara fetches down the armaments”, actors perform another scene which demonstrates fight between Arjuna and Kauravas. This scene also presents many comic actions such as Dhuryodhaa falls down and begs for life; Duryodhana and his party was assaulted by Arjuna; and their moustache and head was shaved half. Shaving their moustache and head was a symbolic action to demonstrate this symbolic action, character Arjuna erases half painted moustache, and removes the wigs of the characters of Kauravas. This action demonstrates that Kauravas lose the battle against Arjuna and Uttara. Thus, actors perform comic enactment which is centred around a scene, “the fight over the cattle raid” (Hiltebeitel 1: 299). After this final action, Arjuna and Uttara commence “driving cattle”.



Plate 57: A scene where Kauravas are defeated in the fight by Brihannala and Uttara. Here, the comic scene is performed where Brihannala insulting Kauravas by removing moustatch. Vendugampalli, 2014.

g) Avulu tholadam (“driving cattle”):

As part of Uttara-gograhanamu performance, devotees bring several cows, bulls, and calves for the performance in rural areas. In urban area, number of cattle are reduced to five to six because lack of them in that area. Along with Arjuna and Uttara, devotees also drive the cattle in the fields. The diving the cattle is also observed in other celebrations, like Sankranthi, in Southern Andhra Pradesh. Hiltebeitel observes driving cattle is “literally frightening” (2: 233) them in south Indian festivals, such as Sankranthi and Draupadi festival. While driving the cattle in the performance, the owners of the cattle themselves drive them.



Plate 58 Devotees with the cattle at the performance space of Uttaragrograhanamu. Vendugampalli, 2014.

Before bringing the cattle to the performance space, devotees decorate the cattle's body parts such as horns, legs, and body. This decoration is done with flowers, cloths, paints, glittery material, balloons, flags or leaves. These kind of decorations demonstrates active participation of devotees in the performance. After decorating the cattle, devotees perform a prayer to the cattle; this prayer includes offering camphor, breaking husked coconut, and keeping sacred marks with vermilion and turmeric paste on fore heads of the cattle. After decorating the cattle and performing prayer at home, devotees bring the cattle to the performance space one hour before to commence the performance.

After enacting the comic scenes by professional actors, devotees, along with Arjuna and Uttara, drive their own cattle with loud noises such as cheering and whistling by devotees; and playing drums by musical band. As part of this enactment, the cattle is driven three times around the erected branch of Jammi tree. Then, the cattle is driven away from the performance space. Once the cattle is driven away, actors leave the performance space. Then, devotees rush to pluck the leaves of the erected branch of Jammi or Indian blackberry in the performance space. After collecting the leaves, devotees leave the performance space. Thus, the entire outdoor theatrical performance of Uttara-gograhanamu ends.

Even driving the cattle frightens them, it appears that the act of "driving cattle" is performed to the honour of the cattle. According to their belief system, these leaves becomes sacred material after the performance; they preserve the leaves in their home; it seems the leaves ensures their wellbeing if they keep it in home. This belief system demands the devotees to carry physical object (the leaves) to their home from the

performance space. This physical interaction with the performance allows devotees to be active participants.

Paddy landscape becomes the stage for Uttara-gograhanamu. As the paddy landscape is not representing any historical or architectural qualities, it does not meet any location in the fictional story, but it offers a space for the “large-scale enactment”. As it hosts the performance of Uttara-gograhanamu, the entire paddy field becomes part of performance image. Since it is large space, the paddy field permits devotees to move freely during the performance. The relationship between the paddy field and the performance Uttara-gograhanamu is interconnected with devotion. For instance, devotees bring the cattle to the performance space to seek the blessings of the Pandava for cattle’s wellbeing. For another example, after the performance, devotees pluck the leaves of the erected branch for their wellbeing; placing the leaves of Jammi tree in their house keeps evil power away. In both examples, the performance space is connected with devotional context. Thus, the space of Uttara-gograhanamu amplifies devotional elements.

h) Variations in performance of Uttara-gograhanamu:

Few variations were noticed in the performance of Uttara-gograhanamu at various temples, and these variations influenced the performance space. Some of the temples included comic theatrical actions in Outdoor performance of Uttara-gograhanamu, and others just organised event “driving the cattle” with two *veedhi-natakamu* actors. For example, while Vendugampalli temple focused on comic theatrical actions in outdoor performance of Uttara-gograhanamu, Yamanuru preferred only “driving cattle”. In Yamanuru, rejecting theatrical action and preferring the event of “driving the cattle” appears to change the performance space from circular to linear. In this case, temple committee of Yamanuru built a barricade with wood to keep away the cattle from devotees who just come to watch the performance.

Draupadi festival of Yamanuru conducted procession with temple chariot, and organised the driving the cattle with two professional actors. They did not offer theatrical actions in this performance. They did not show the performance that “Arjuna’s retrieval of his weapons from the tree to win back the cattle from the Kaurava raiding party” (Hiltebeitel 2: 235). The actors’ existence demonstrated only characters’ physical presence. The performance space extended from temple to paddy field. Arjuna’s idol was carried in the performance space. The temple committee built temporary barricade in the temple

courtyard to perform “the cattle driving”. This temporary barricades were made to ensure devotees’ safety while diving the cattle. Some of the youth crossed the barricades and tried to touch the cattle to show their courage.

In Yamanuru, the performance began with a procession around the temple with temple chariot. The temple chariot was decorated with flowers and banana trees. Idols of Arjuna, Pothuraju, and the Uttara were placed in the temple chariot. Then, the chariot is pulled by the devotees for *pradakshana* around the temple. After that, the chariot was placed at the temple courtyard. Main officiants offered burning camphor and broke a husked coconut. Then the actors got in the temple chariot. Then, the temple chariot was pulled by devotees till it reached the paddy field which was at 500 meters to the temple. Meanwhile, the music band plays loud thythemtic music with *pamba* and *dappu*. Once the temple chariot was pulled to the paddy field, the Arjuana’s idol was lifted to a palanquin. Now, the palanquin with Arjuna’s idol was carried to the paddy field where the performance of “driving the cattle was performed”. Along with palanquin, two actors who represented Arjuna and Uttara reached the performance space. Then, temple officiant performed a ritual: offered burning camphor and broke a husked coconut to the cattle. Then, the characters Arjuna and Uttara drove two cattle for hundred meters. After Arjuna and Uttara, owners of the cattle drove their cattle. As many cattle were brought to the performance space in Yamanuru, the duration of “driving the cattle” took more than one hour. After all cattle were driven, Arjuna idol brought back inside the temple. Then, the performance ended.

The performance space is linear in Uttara-gograhanamu performance of Yamanuru. The linear space is stretched from temple to paddy field. The cattle were driven in this linear space. Most of the devotees stood both sides of the linear space while driving the cattle. Few of male devotees, who were the owners of the cattle, were running along the cattle. The temple chariot was the primary visual element that engaged devotees. As most many devotees participated in pulling the temple chariot, the active participants were many. While pulling the chariot, most of the devotees recite the word Govinda for several times.

4. *Ilavanthuni bali* (“sacrifice of Ilavanta”):

Ilavantha bali presents self-sacrifice of Ilavantha to Kalika Devi before the final battle *kurukhetra* begins. *Ilavantha bali* is one of “the large scale enactment” in Draupadi festival. When compare to other outdoor theatrical performances, *Ilavantha bali* is

dominated with rituals. As performance of *Ilavantha bali* has less theatrical values, one must know the story of Ilavantha in Mahabharatha to understand the performance. According to myth, “sacrifice to the battle field” is a ritual performed before the battle to secure victory. The term Kalappali is not visible apart from Tamil versions of Mahabharatha (Hiltebeitel vol 2, 284). As Draupadi cult is spread in Tamil speaking regions, Kalappali is also observed in Chittoor district with the name Kadabali. Ilavantha is also called as Kadabli Ramudu in Chittoor region. Hiltebeitel comments that Ilavnatha’s grotesque features demonstrates character’s “gruesome task” (2: 291). As part of the performance, goat is sacrificed to the Kalika Devi. The performance begins with procession from temple, rises with ceremonies, and ends with theatrical actions.

a) Background story:

Ilavantha is son of Arjuna and Ulupi who is daughter of serpent king. Ilavantha is also observed with different names: Iravan, in sankrit Mahabharatha; and Aravan, in Tamil Mahabharatha. Iravan is referred in Bhishma Parva which is sixth book of Mahabharatha. When the Kurukshetra war is imminent, Lord Krishna wants Pandavas’ victory. Meanwhile Duryodhana plans human sacrifice to Kalika Devi on the day of *amavashya* (dark moon) to ensure a victory against Pandavas. As he is directed to find a person with “32 physical attributes” to sacrifice, he recognises two persons: Krishna and Ilavantha. Since Krishna refuses his request, Duryodhana depends on Ilavantha to sacrifice. Noticing the plan of Duryodhana, Krishna approaches Ilavantha to request. On Krishna’s request, Ilavantha approves on one condition to sacrifice himself to Kalika Devi to ensure Pandavas’ victory against Kauravas. Ilavantha wishes to watch the war after his sacrifice. Krishna grants Ilavantha’s boon that he will be alive after his sacrifice, to witness the *Kurukshetra* war. As Krishna plans to perform Ilavantha’s sacrifice day before real *amavashya*, he tricks both the sun god and the moon god to bring them to one place. Bringing both the sun god and the moon god to one place expounds *amavashya*. On this night, Ilavantha goes to Kalika Devi’s temple to sacrifice himself. Then, “the pre-battle sacrifice” is performed; the blood of Ilavantha is applied to the weapons of Pandavas. Ulupi approaches there, and weeps for Ilavantha.

b) Performance Space and installations of Ilanatha Vadha:

Ilavantha-vadha is performed in the temple courtyard, and the space for performance needs at least half a hectare. Two temporary installations demonstrate

essential role in the performance. These installations are an effigy of Ilavantha and a shrine to Kalika Devi in cubic structure. At the centre of the selected space, temple committee flat the surface of 15square feet area. This flatten area is used to keep the Kali idol, to erect the Ilavnatha effigy and to perform ritual at Ilavantha effigy. These two installations are erected by one of the village member from the family of *ganachari*.

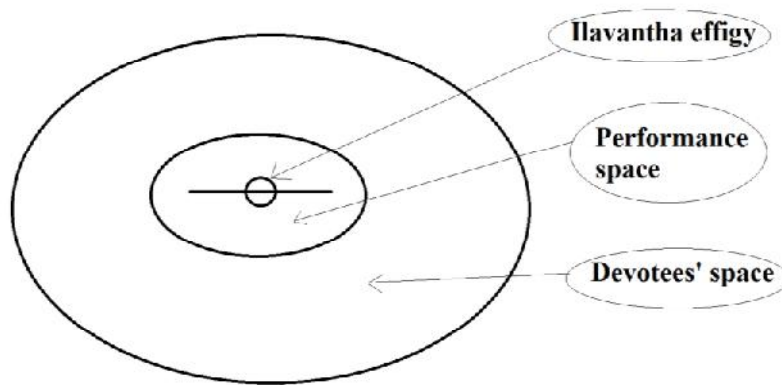


Figure 17 Ground plan of Ilavantha-vadha performance space.

The first installation, body of Ilavantha's kneeling effigy without head, is prepared one day before to the performance of Ilavantha-vadha. This structure is made with sticks, grass and mud. The body of effigy is supported with three sticks kept in three corners of a triangle shape. These "three sticks"⁸³ are fixed vertically to the ground. One lengthy stick is used to support the body of the effigy and other two short sticks are to support the two hands of the effigy; after fixing the three sticks, the lengthy stick is joined with another stick to make a cross; at the ends of this cross stick, another horizontal sticks are fixed to make hands of the effigy; kneel down leg is arranged with another two sticks joining to the lengthy stick.⁸⁴ Then the lengthy stick is covered with a long rice grass rope and with dry grass to make a shape of the body of the effigy. Once body is prepared, the hands and legs are prepared with a long rice grass ropes and with dry grass.⁸⁵ Once the body and hands of the effigy is formed with long rice rope and with dry grass, it is layered with mud. Most of the temples cover white cloth on the body of the effigy in the performance of Ilavantha. The hands are coloured with yellow and white stripes. In Yamanuru, the hands of the effigy

⁸³ Bird view of the sticks' position is shown in step 1, figure 18.

⁸⁴ See the figure 18. To find out the step by step process of the sticks that arranged to make the skeleton of Ilavantha's effigy.

⁸⁵ Step 5 in figure 18 demonstrates how the grass is covered to make the body of the Ilavnatha's effigy.

is covered with polythene covers of yellow, orange and green colours. Thus, headless effigy of Ilavantha is prepared by temple committee.

c) Installation of Kalika's shrine:

After installing the headless effigy of Ilavantha, the second installation is the shrine prepared with a wooden structure to keep the idol of Kalika Devi. The size of the shrine is approximately 1 cubic meter, and the size of the Kalika Devi's idol is approximately six inches. the shrine is covered with neem leaves. Kalika Devi's idol is prepared with mud, and it is placed inside the shrine; the idol is also decorated with turmeric and vermilion paste. The Kalika Devi's idol is not markedly visible to the devotees because it is inside the shrine which is covered with neem leaves. The idol's function is associated with rituals which is performed as part of Ilavantha-vadha. The second installation, the shrine, is prepared two hours early to the performance. It is installed in front of the headless effigy of Ilavantha.



Plate 59: Kalika's shrine is being installed by a person from Pamba cast at Ilavantha-vadha performance space. Jeevakona, 2016.

d) Processions to the performance space:

Once the installation of the Kali is prepared, there is a procession that begins from the temple. First this procession completes the *pradakshana* around the temple. Later it reaches the headless effigy of Ilavantha. The procession is led by musical band with *pamba* and *dappu*. After the musical band, Pothuraju and the torch is carried by two persons. Finally, remaining people, including temple committee, main officiant, and *ganachari*,

follow the procession with carrying the sacred material, head of the effigy, flowers, garland, grey pumpkin, fruits, husked coconuts and ten meters of white cloth. The sacred material includes vermilion and turmeric powders; betel leaves and areca nuts; and camphor and instance sticks. The head of Ilavantha's effigy is covered by a white cloth while carrying to the procession. The Ilavantha's face is not shown to the devotees until ritual of eye opening of Ilavantha's effigy is performed. Once the procession reaches to the performance space, the procession takes Pradakshana around the headless effigy of Ilavantha; then the material and the head are kept in front of the headless effigy of Ilavnatha. Pothuraju is kept between the installations of Ilavantha and Kalika Devi.

Before the procession begins to reach the performance space, half of the devotees reaches the performance space. After the procession, listening sounds of musical band, remaining devotees reaches there. They surround both the installations to be part of the performance. Some of the devotees sits on the floor. Seating arrangement is not provided for the performance. As the performance happens at the night, along with performance space two to four flood lights are used to bright devotees' space. As the dresses of officiants are yellow *dhotis*, which is not used in regular life in the region, emphasises their action in the crowded area. They also apply sandalwood paste on their body, turmeric paste on the face. The red mark on the officiants' forehead is marked with vermilion powered.

e) Completing the incomplete effigy:

In the presence of the devotees, the completing the full form of Ilavantha effigy is done in four steps: first, covering white cloth on the body of the effigy; second, adding the effigy's head on its body; garlanding to the effigy; and decorating the effigy with flowers. Adding the head to the body of the effigy needs professional skills; here, the lengthy stick, which is used to support the body of the effigy, grips the head of Ilavantha's effigy. All these efforts are executed by temple officiants and *ganachari* in the views of devotees. Then, the main officiant keep two sets of betel leaves at the legs of Ilavantha's effigy, and places areca nuts and four bananas on the betel leaves. Then he keeps ash pumpkin (*boodida gummadi kaya*) in front of the effigy. He offers burning camphor and instance sticks; and breaks husked coconut. Meanwhile, *ganachari* arranges sacred material in front of the Kalika Devi's idol to perform a *puja* for the devotee. He also decorates the wooden structure, which is prepared to keep the Kalika Devi's idol, with flowers. He is garlanded

by the temple committee. His wrist is covered with flowers. Then, he offers burning camphor, lightening instance sticks; and breaks husked coconut to the Kalika Devi.

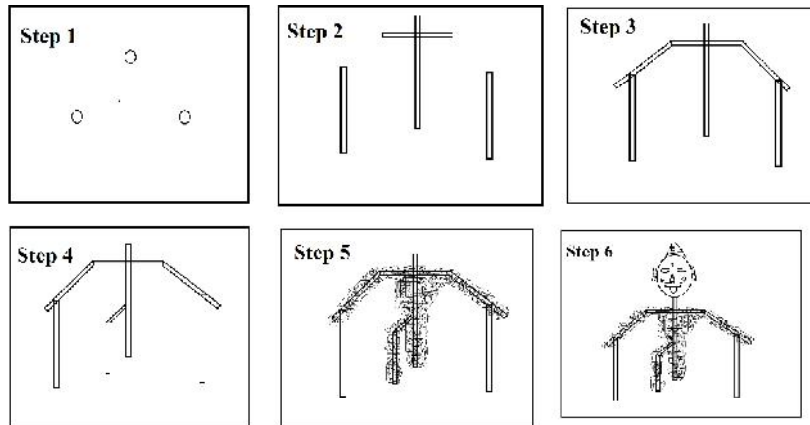


Figure 18: The steps of making Ilavantha effigy.



Plate 60: Body of Ilavantha effigy before sacred installations and the head. Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 61: the officiants and Dharmakarthalu are installing the head to the body of Ilavantha effigy. Devotees are watching the process. Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 62 Offering grey pumpkin at the eye opening ceremony. Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 63: Ilavantha effigy after sacred installation. At left, Pothuraju idol is kept. At the rear Dappu players are playing Dappu, and devotees are watching the performance. Jeevakona, 2016.

Now the main officiant performs a ceremony of “eye opening”. After offering to both Ilavantha and Kalikadevi, the main officiant performs *harathi* to both Ilavnatha and Kalika Devi keeping burning camphor on a lemon. Now, he takes the grey pumpkin, places a camphor on the pumpkin, and burns the camphor. Carrying grey pumpkin, he takes a *pradakshana* to both Ilavantha and Kalikadevi. After the *pradakshana*, he performs *harathi* with the burning camphor which is already placed on the grey pumpkin; he breaks the grey pumpkin into two pieces in front of Ilavantha after performing *harathi*; he adds vermilion powder to pulp of the grey pumpkin. He sprinkles the pulp on the head of Ilavantha. Finally, he removes the white cloth covered on the head of Ilavantha. Then, he vertically gives “sacred mark” (*tilak*) on forehead of Ilavantha’s effigy. Thus, the main officiant performs

the ceremony of “eye opening” to Ilavantha. Devotees witness Ilavantha’s face after the ceremony of “eye opening”. Generally Ilavantha’s head is depicted with “red face, bulging eyes, huge lips” (Hiltebeitel 2: 291), a large moustache, a lengthy red tongue, and long ears.

f) Ceremony of *balikudu*:

Cooked rice mixed with blood of sacrificed animal is known as *balikudu*. The ceremony of *balikudu* is popular in the worship of village deities in south India. After conducting ceremony of “eye opening” to Ilavantha, the main officiant and *ganachari* commence the preparation of *balikudu*. To perform the ceremony of *balikudu*, temple committee bring a male goat or sheep to the performance space. They keep a garland around the goat’s neck. *Ganachari* sprinkles water on the goat, and they urge Kalika Devi to accept the gift of the sacrificial animal. Once the goat shakes its body, it is considered as a sign as Kalika Devi accepts the animal as a gift. After the positive sign by the goat, the goat is scarified to the Kalika Devi, and the blood of the goat is collected in a clay pot. Then, cooked rice is mixed in the pot. While *balikudu* is being prepared, small intestines of the sacrificed goat is taken out from the body. The intestines is cut in pieces approximately one meter long. These intestines pieces are knotted to *ganachari*’s wirtist, hanged in his neck, and tied cross to his both shoulders. Few of the intestines pieces are hanged in Ilavantha’s neck. Now, a procession begins with *ganachari* carrying the bloody rice in the clay pot. The procession is led the musical band (by *dappu* and *pamba*) and fire torch. The bloody rice is sprinkled by *ganachari* around the temple courtyard. While sprinkling bloody rice, *ganachari* looks dazed, and he is guided by temple committee in the temple courtyard. Thus, *ganachari* and the main officiant performs ceremony of *balikudu*.

g) Ceremony of the sacrifice:

After sprinkling *balikudu* in the temple premises, the procession reaches back to the Ilavantha’s effigy, and the main officiant offers a coconut at the Ilavantha’s legs. *Ganachari* removes the flowers and the intestine of the goat. He himself pours water on his head. He removes the yellow dress which is used for the ceremony of *balikudu*. Now, the sacrifice of Ilavantha commence with a sword. For that, one of the officiant brings a sword to perform symbolic act of cutting the body parts of the effigy. First, the officiant cuts once at neck; twice on each hand; once at the legs. These cuts, which done by the officiant on the effigy, demonstrates symbolic bleedings at “thirty-two attributes of beauty” (Frasca,

Theatre of the Mahabharata 157) of Ilavantha. Then, the officiant slightly turns the position of the Ilavantha's head. Now, the sacrifice of Ilavantha is completed.

h) Theatrical weeping:

After performing symbolic cuts, *veedhi-natakamu* actor performs theatrical actions as Ulupi weeps for his son Ilavantha. Entire performance dominates with the actions of weeping and singing songs. The chorus accompanies the performance. Here, the actor touches the effigy of Ilavantha, and weeps with a rhythmic way. The songs are focused to convey the pain of mother for her lost son; it also establishes how Ulupi raised her son; few of the songs demonstrates his braveness. In Jeevakona, entire theatrical action was concentrating on pathos; there was no comic actions included. In some temples, buffoon character is included in the actions of weeping. As Bhaktavatsala Reddy observes, buffoon character interferes the actions of Ulupi to create humour (59). Devotees, who are crying while watching the performance, has opportunity to have humour in pathetic performance by watching buffoon. Bhaktavatsala Reddy refers that buffoon character is introduced to reduce “*karuna rasa*”, the pathetic sentiment.



Plate 64: A scene from *Ilavantha-vadha*. Ulupi is weeping. Devotees are at the background.

The song which was recorded at Jeevakona follows as:

Ulupi: *orey nayana. ha kumara* (my son)...*Ooo Ilavantha...asahaayasura*
(helpless hero)

Chorus: *Ooo.. Ilavantha... .. asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *muddu kumara*(dear son).. *oo Ilavantha, nuvvu ika leva* (you are not in the word)... *oo Ilavantha*

Chorus: *Ooo.. Ilavantha... .. asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *muddula kumara... muddu iyyavemayya* (why do not you kiss me?).. *oo Ilavantha*

Chorus: *Ooo.. Ilavantha... .. asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *muddula kumara... muddu iyyavemayya.. oo Ilavantha*

Chorus: *ooo.. Ilavantha..... asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *puttaku ne pujinchi* (as I did not have a baby, I prayed for one)*oo Ilavantha, puthruda ninu ganti* (son, I given birth to you)

Chorus: *ooo.. Ilavantha... .. asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *bangaru kotallo hayiga untivi* (in golden forts, you were living happily).. *oo ilavantha. Balagopaludu ninu bali pettinadu* (Lord Krishna sacrificed you)

Chorus: *ooo.. Ilavantha..... asahaayasura.*

Ulupi: *odigatti saakithi* (I raised you in my lap)... *oo neelavarna* (oh,blue skin boy), *astra sastralaku balaipothiva* (you were sacrificed for weapons)

Chorus: *ooo.. Ilavantha... .. asahaayasura.*

In Jeevakona, the lines were repeated several times. In between the lines, sounds ‘laba, laba, laba’ were added by chorus along with the text. Entire theatrical actions took 30 minutes.

The theatrical actions begin with chorus creating sounds tapping their mouths with fingers and exclaim ‘laba, laba, laba’. Along with ‘laba, laba, laba’ sounds, devotees whistles and shouts. Then, the actor who is playing Ulupi continuous making ‘laba, laba, laba’ sound for few minutes. After that, the actor begins singing songs and weeping for Ilavantha. Each line of the song is repeated by chorus. Chorus repeats the sound ‘laba, laba, laba’ with the rhythm of *tala* during the performance. During the performance, some of the devotees denote money to the actor who plays Ulupi character; some of women devotees

touches the feet of Ulupi to seek blessings. Devotees penetrates actors' space to reach him to denote the money. After singing the pathetic songs for few minutes, the actor ends performing. The main officiant offers a coconut to Ilavantha effigy. Pothuraju is carried to the temple. Then, the performance of *Ilavantha bali* ends.

In Jeevakona, there was an argument to keep direction of head of Ilavantha's statue; the argument was to keep the head position towards the stage or towards the space where the Duryodhana-vadha was performed. Some of the officiants were arguing that the war scenes are enacted on the stage, so they wanted to keep the head position towards the stage. Remaining officiants and organisers were arguing, along with the *veedhinatakmu* performers, that to keep the head position towards the space. Finally they kept the position towards the stage. In Vendugampalli, the head of Ilavantha was not kept in the both direction: the stage and the space, but kept in the direction of the North.

5. Duryodhana-vadha (assassination of Duryodhana)/Duryodhana Gadha yudham ("mace combat between Bheema and Duryodhana")

After performing of the play *Kurukshetram* ("eighteenth-day war") on the stage, the next day, Duryodhana-vadha is performed in temple courtyards. One of the main components of the Duryodhana-vadha is "an effigy of Duryodhana for Draupadi's hair tying" (Hilbetel 2: 320). Usually, Duryodhana-vadha falls on 18th day of the festival. It is also one of "large scale enactment" in Draupadi festival. It draws more than 3000 devotees. When compare to other outdoor theatrical performances, Duryodhana-vadha is dominated with theatrical actions.

It seems that the story of Duryodhana-vadha demands a large effigy. The spatial organisation of the performance is done by local community. It seems Duryodhana's honour is represented through the effigy. Without previous knowledge of the performance, it is not possible to understand the performance. Devotees' presence significantly associated with the performance. The locale is demonstrated by Bheema and Duryodhana with their dialogues and songs. The effigy, in the performance, accomdates two different places: a lake for Duryodhana's penance; and a ground to fight each other. Breaking the thighs of Duryodhana is represented with symbolic actions. Finally, the performance ends when blood is applied to Draupadi's hair.

a) Background story:

After “eighteenth day war”, Dharmaraju kills Salya who commands Kauravas on the last day of the war. All the Kaurava’s supporters are dead in the war. Duryodhana loses his hope for victory in the war. He wants to take rest in “Dvaipayana lake (*hrada*)”, and leaves the battle field to take rest in the lake. While taking rest in the lake, he remembers “a special mantra” (Hiltebeitel 1: 415), *sanjivini mantram* (“mantra of regeneration”), which will revive his warriors from dead. As the process is lengthy, he hides in the lake to bring the dead people back. He begins to perform penance with the special mantra.

Meanwhile, Pandavas search for Duryodhana. As he knows where Duryodhana is and what he is doing, Krishna directs Pandavas to reach the lake. Krishna and Pandavas reaches the lake, and Pandavas challenges Duryodhana to fight with them. Neglecting Pandavas’ instructions, Duryodhana continuous his penance. Pandavas taunt that it is improper for a warrior to act like a coward. Rejecting the harsh words spoken by Pandavas, Duryodhana rises from the lake. Duryodhana challenges back to fight with Pandavas. He chooses the weapon mace to fight with them. Bheema comes forward with his mace. They both begins fight with their maces. While they are fighting, Bheema falls down many times from blows of Duryodhana’s mace, and resumes fight.

When Bheema is about to lose the fight, Krishna gives a signal to Bheema patting his (Krishna’s) thigh. Immediately, Bheema understands the signal and hits on the right thigh of Duryodhana. Duryodhana, with his broken legs, falls on the battle ground. Bheema takes Duryodhana’s blood, and anoints the blood on the hairs of Draupadi. Thus, both Draupadi and Bheema fulfils their oath by “anointing her hair with the blood of Duryodhana” (Iyengar 203).

b) Performance space and recumbent effigy

Approximately four hectare open space is selected in the north side of the temple to perform Duryodhana-vadha, and the space accommodates 3000 to 4000 devotees. A recumbent effigy is installed for the performance. It is prepared with approximately four to six tons of the soil. The size of the effigy is approximately 30 to 40 feet, and it occupies approximately 15 square meters area. Making of the recumbent effigy commence at around 4pm on the previous day to Duryodhana-vadha. Making of the effigy continuous while performing the play “eighteenth day war”. First the huge load of soil is dumped in the temple courtyard. Around 4 pm, two to four people from potter community begin to sculpt

the effigy. It takes around 12 hours to finish the recumbent effigy without added colours on its surface. The effigy's right hand is raised and left one is down; a mace is added in the right hand, and a shield is put in the left hand. In some places both the hands are raised. While the effigy's left hand is down in Jeevakona, both hands are raised in Vendugampalli. In most of Draupadi festival, the tongue is kept out for the effigy. Except head and hands, the body and the legs of the effigy is flattened a little. This flatten surface is reserved for Duryodhana to walk on it and for him to perform combat with Bheema. After making the effigy with soil, around three hours are required to decorate it with different colours.

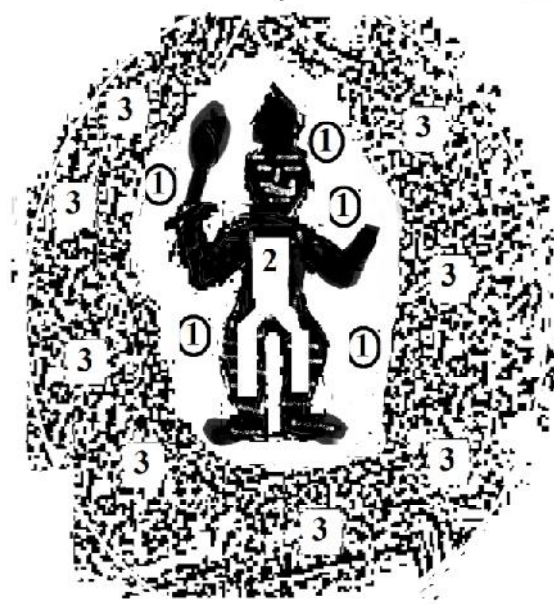


Figure 19: Ground plan of Duryodhana-vadha. Area 1 is primary acting space for Bheema and his brothers, Draupadi, and Krishna. Area 2 is on the recumbent effigy reserved for primary acting space for Duryodhana. Area 3 is dedicated for devotees' space.

The effigy is decorated with colours of blue, red, white, yellow, black, and pink. Yellow colour used on the face of the effigy, and black is used for eye brows, eye balls, moustache and goatee. The body is covered with horizontal stripes with red, yellow, blue and white. In some temples, the body is coloured with only red colour. The crown of Duryodhana is decorated with blue, yellow and pink triangles separated with white colour. Adding colours to the effigy purely resembles the art of *rangoli*. In few Draupadi festivals, the effigy's body is decorated with flowers. The effigy is also garlanded with marigold flowers. A white cloth is arranged on the body of the effigy.

Totally, the recumbent effigy is prepared “bulging eyes, protruding tongue, right arm raised, left arm lowered, legs separated, feet splayed to the outside, a mace in his raised right hand and a shield in his lowered left” (Hiltebeitel 2: 321).

The space which accommodates both devotees and the performers can be categorised into three different zones based on its function. These zones are first, the body of the effigy, for Duryodhana’s penance; second, the space around the effigy, for Bheema’s performance; and third, the devotees’ space, for them to witness the performance; second and third zones are almost in same level, but first zone, the body of the effigy, is raised four feet height. It appears that purpose of the effigy is to separate Bheema and Duryodhana physically until the combat scene happens. Contextually, the effigy demonstrates *Dwaipayana* lake where Duryodhana performs penance. It is possible to think that the quality of the character Duryodhana is established giving higher level to Duryodhana.

The death of Duryodhana is strongly connected with his blood and Draupadi’s revenge. To demonstrate the blood of Duryodhana, the local community depends on the vermilion water. This vermilion water is stored in a pot, and is buried in thighs of the recumbent effigy. On the effigy’s thigh, a stick is kept to smash the thighs at the end of the performance. As the effigy is large, it is possible to think that the effigy is a symbolic representation of the quality and status of Duryodhana in Mahabharata. The effigy of Duryodhana visually dominates in “the large scale enactment”.

Around 9 am the day of the performance, sound technician arranges a stand-mounted microphone on the body of the Duryodhana. He also arranges two more stand-mounted microphones in the devotees’ space for chorus and Pandava’s characters; and one wireless microphone for Bheema. He plays devotional songs in an audio player until the performance begins.

In some Draupadi festivals, devotees are “restrained by a long barrier of rope tied a fair distance” (Frasca, Theatre of the Mahabharata 161) from the effigy of Duryodhana. For instance in Jeevakona, temple committee tied a long rope between the effigy and devotees’ space. In other Draupadi festivals, like in Yamanuru and Vendugampalli, devotees are not restrained by any barriers to separate them from the performance space in Duryodhana-vadha. They are trained to sit keeping fair distance from the effigy. This empty space is allocated for processions around the effigy and for Bheema’s actions.

c) Devotees' arrival

On day before to the performance of Duryodhana-vadha, temple committee announces the schedule of the performance in microphones. They also announces the name of the actor who plays Duryodhana and the name of the troupe that performs the performance. As following schedule of the performance, 50 percent of the devotees reach two hour before to the performance of Duryodhana-vadha, and remaining devotees arrive one hour before. They use the time to socialise with others. Some of them listen the devotional songs that are played in the loud speakers. Devotees try to occupy a suitable place for best view. Most of the women and old men sit around the recumbent effigy leaving 3 to 5 meters around it. Most of the young men stand behind the people who are sitting on the ground, and view the performance. Very few climb the trees or buildings near to the performance space to watch the performance.

d) Procession from the temple

At an auspicious time, after make-up is applied and costumes are put, performers move from the greenroom to the temple. Here, temple officiant perform a puja to seek the devotee's blessing to avoid harm form the evil power. Then, they put garlands in actors' necks. From there, a procession begins to the recumbent effigy. The procession is led by the musical band: *dappu*, *pamba*, and *nadhaswaram*. After the musical band, main officiant carry sacred material to perform a *puja* at the feet of the recumbent effigy; performers and others follow the officiants. . Finally, the idols of the Krishna, Draupadi, Pothuraju, Dharmaraju, Arjuna, Bheema, Nakula and Sahadeva follow the procession in their respective palanquins. These idols are stopped at the north-west zone of the performance space. Except these idols, the procession moves around the effigy in clockwise direction. After one round, procession stops at the feet of the recumbent effigy. In the presence of both Pandava's and Duryodhana's characters, the main officiant perform a *puja* at the feet of the recumbent effigy. The puja extends from feet to other parts of the body: at thighs, at shoulders and at the head of the effigy. At these body parts of the effigy, the officiants offer burning camphor and instance sticks; and breaks coconuts. After performing the *puja*, character Duryodhana occupies a space on the stomach of the recumbent effigy to begin his penance.

e) Duryodhana's penance:

Duryodhana's penance commences with representation of Duryodhana's regrets, and ends when Bheema provokes Duryodhana. After performing the prayer to the effigy, characters Krishna, Dharmaraju, Bheema and Draupadi stand near to the chorus at the Devotees' space, besides the recumbent effigy. Character Duryodhana bows to the effigy, and enters into his performance space, on the recumbent effigy. Even he is an antagonist in the story, Duryodhana's entry draws significant attention from the devotees, and his first appearance amplifies performance space with devotees whistle, cheers, and shouts.

Actor, who plays Duryodhana, introduces himself, announces his troupe name, and praise the temple committee for giving an opportunity to perform in the final performance. Character Duryodhana begins the performance with a prayer song which is to invoke the Lord Shiva. Then, he continuous singing other songs and narrating the situations of past and present. These songs presents the description of his past: his rich life and his dignity, his lost in the war, and his loneliness now. His narration explains how he lost his friends and relatives in the war. He regrets remembering his friends and relatives whom he has lost in the war. After performing regrets, Duryodhana's penance is commenced.

Duryodhana's penance is performed in sitting cross-legged in *Dwaipayana* lake. This action is demonstrated by the actor on the recumbent effigy. First, Duryodhana offers burning camphor to the goddess Bhavani (another name for Parvati) with a *Harathi* plate, and he performs a *puja*. The aim of the *puja* is to seek blessings from the goddess to succeed the penance. Seeking for blessings is presented in both narration and songs. While he is singing songs⁸⁶ to seek the blessing of the goddess, he adds camphor in the Harathi plate, and he offer flowers plucking from a garland. Then, he begins the penance reciting *om namah shivaya* repeatedly. Thus, Duryodhana performs the penance in *Dwaipayana* lake. During Duryodhana's penance, other characters, such as Dharmaraju, Draupadi, and Krishna, stand beside the effigy. Even these characters are visible to the devotees, Duryodhana's penance is viewed by most of the devotees.

⁸⁶ One of the song is refer here "Duryodhana's prayer as part of the penance". Upload and give youtube link here.

f) Bheema provokes Duryodhana

During the performance of Duryodhana's penance, most of the time, Bheema and Duryodhana share two different physical spaces: surface of the recumbent effigy is for Duryodhana; and the space around the effigy is for Bheema. These two spaces are commonly used when Bheema fights with Duryodhana. Finally, performance ends destroying the effigy by the devotees.

While Duryodhana is performing penance in the lake, Bheema provokes Duryodhana to bring him (Duryodhana) out from the lake. Provoking Duryodhana is demonstrated with character Bheema's dialogues, songs, and movement. Example for the provoking dialogues: Bheema says "Hey Duryodhana, where did you hide... If you are real man, come out... Hey, coward... If you are born for Kshatriya, you will come out from the lake... Oh. Dishonoured man...you thief, you widower..."⁸⁷ First, Bheema takes acrobatic moves around the effigy in both direction; he stops at some places to deliver "the provoking dialogues and songs". He approaches near to Duryodhana, hits Duryodhana with the mace. After sometime, Bheema and Duryodhana begin verbal fight. This verbal fight describes each one physical strength. As part of the verbal fight, Duryodhana says: "Bheema, how could you kill an unarmed person in the war? How could you kill Bhishma by telling a lie as his son is dead? How could you kill Karna when he was not pushing his chariot which was stuck in the mud?". Then, Dharmaraju interrupts them; he calls Duryodhana for the final fight with Bheema. He promises to Duryodhana to that he gives back the kingdom to Duryodhana after Duryodhana wins the fight.

g) Mace combat between Bheema and Duryodhana:

Hearing Dharmaraju's voice, Duryodhana replies that he does not want to fight with Bheema. After sometime, Bheema insults Duryodhana. Then, Duryodhana come out from the lake to fight with Bheema. In the performance, Duryodhana removes his headgear and shoulder straps. It seem that Duryodhana taking out these costume accessories donates a meaning that he has come out from the lake. Then, Bheema arrives on the effigy's body to fight with Duryodhana. Then, they both fight each other. Here, the fight between Bheema and Duryodhana demonstrates "acrobatic choreography and forceful singing that gives a real feeling of combat" (Frasca, Theatre of the Mahabharata 160). Both the

⁸⁷ These dialogues are translated from the field work done in Vendugampalli, May 2014.

characters jumps, threatens one another, and presents combative text. Bheema runs around the effigy; steps on it, crosses it. To challenge Duryodhana, he walks on the legs and between the legs of the effigy..They both fight with their respective maces on the effigy. In the entire performance, Duryodhana does not come down from the surface of the effigy. Initially, it appears that the effigy represent the lake. In this scene, where there is a mace fight between Bheema and Duryodhana, the surface of the effigy apparently transforms to the bank of the lake. The verbal arguments and physical struggle reaches to break the Duryodhan's thighs.

h) Breaking the thighs of the recumbent effigy:

Breaking Duryodhana's thighs is a symbolic scene which is "suffused with symbolic death and bloodshed" (Frasca, Theatre of the Mahabharata 161). The scene is represented by breaking the thighs of the recumbent effigy in the performance. To break the thighs of the effigy, Bheema leaves his mace, and grabs a stick which has been coated with vermilion paste.

During the physical battle, Bheema falls down on the floor for twice. Then, Krishna gives a signal to Bheema to break Duryodhana's thighs. At this moment, Bheema leaves Duryodhana; Bheema screams and runs around the effigy for one round; he reaches the thighs of the effigy; he jumps on it; he hits the thighs of the effigy; finally he smashes the mud pot which has already been buried there. Then, Duryodhana falls down on the effigy.

After breaking the thighs of the effigy, actor who plays Duryodhana, reaches a state of possession. He is carried out by the temple committee. A *puja* is performed to take him back from the possessed position.

i) Blood and hair:

After smashing the thighs of the effigy, the idols of Krishna, Draupadi, Pothuraju, Dharmaraju, Arjuna, Bheema, Nakula and Sahadeva are carried in their respective palanquins to cross the effigy. here, musical band leads the idols. Once they are crossed the effigy, the idols are carried around the effigy for once; it is carried back to the temple. While idols are carried at the effigy, Bheema performs Draupadi's vow at Duryodhana's thighs. He takes the red colour, which represents the blood of Duryodhana, in his hands from the pot which has been buried in the thighs of the effigy. He applies the red colour to

the hairs of the Draupadi; he knots her hair. Then, Draupadi's vow, which was made by her during the Draupadi's Vastrabharanam, is fulfilled.

Once the Duryodhana's blood is applied to Draupadi's hair, the excited devotees invade into the performance space. They march on the recumbent effigy; they stamp on it. Then, they collect soil that has been used to make the effigy; they leave the performance space with the collected soil. After devotees march on the effigy, except a long heap of soil, nothing remains of the effigy. According to the local community, the crippled effigy, in the performance space, demonstrates that how his Duryodhana's evil deeds destroyed him.



Plate 65 Recumbent effigy of Duryodhana at the performance of Duryodhana-vahda. Jeevakona, 2016



Plate 66: Procession from temple to the effigy before the performance. Vendugampalli, 2016.



Plate 67 Offering husked coconut and burning camphor around Duryodhana effigy.



Plate 68: Performing a ritual at the legs of the effigy before beginning the theatrical performance.



Plate 69: Duryodhana on the effigy, and Bheema at the right side corner wearing theatrical costumes. One of the officiant, wearing white shirt and orang Dhoti, is standing near the effigy. Devotee are watching the performance. Vendugampalli, 2014.



Plate 70 Devotees are watching Duryodhana-vadha. Vendugampalli, 2014.



Plate 71: Devotees are watching Duryodhana-vadha at Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 72: Performer is receiving homage from a devotee during the performance of Duryodhana-vadha. Jeevakona, 2016.



Plate 73: Performer is performing a scene where Duryodhana performs his penance in the lake.



Plate 74 Duryodhana is carried by the devotees after Bheema breaks Duryodhana's thighs.



Plate 75 Devotees are participating in smashing the thighs of Duryodhana's effigy.

The performance is dominated with the Duryodhana's actions and dialogues. His effigy visually dominates in the performance space. After the performance, devotees grab the soil from the effigy. They give preference to Duryodhana. While Duryodhana enacting, most of the devotees from male cheering and whistling. When compare to other outdoor theatrical performances, Duryodhana-vadha draws a large number of people. All these evidence suggests to think that Duryodhana is accepted as a hero by most of the devotees.

The story of Duryodhana-vadha suggests to adopt such a huge space for the performance. It is also possible to think that the effigy's adaptation in the performance is one of the spatial adaptation by the community.

Duryodhana-vadha appears as a scenography centred performances. It may be possible to think Dhuryodana-vadha is best example to offer productive feminism to explore through scenography. To visualise the character of Draupadi, anyone from the local community can consider the image of Draupadi's swear which is to wash her hair in Duryodhana's blood. It presents a basic evidence to accept women who they are. Draupadi's character has a dominant figure of female strength and authority. This scene shows the punishment for male sexual behaviour towards a woman. Most of the audience contemporise this scene to eve-teasing. They explain to teens how Duryodhana was punished because of his sexual behaviour with Draupadi. According to one of the devotee, "If anybody does not respect women, they get punishment as Dhuryadana got."⁸⁸ Watching this event, they remind the moral of the scene. Performing Mahabharatha stories is a method of **social control**. Draupadi's festival is medium to transfer a product of family's religious beliefs and world views to other generations. Draupadi's festival theatre has enhanced community people's ability to understand deeper meaning of Mahabharatha's text. They exploits the beliefs and values inherent in text of Mahabharatha. Even though the story is plotted with war and conflict, one can visualise that Mahabharatha has more to do with its complex moral philosophy.

Part B: Common aspects of Scenography in outdoor theatrical performances:

1. Space:

a) Outdoor theatrical space:

The outdoor theatrical performances take the devotees to outdoors such as paddy fields, street corners and temple courtyards. The performance spaces for these outdoors theatre are temporarily created. Without the installations done by the community, these spaces represent just an empty space, and its function is to accompany large number of crowd. The belief system, which stimulates the devotees' personal memories, is strongly associated to the installation art in these environments. It seems that the visuals of a

⁸⁸ A 66 years woman, Lakshmamma from Jeevakona expressed her view to the theme of Duryodhana.

performance space at the Draupadi festival, as a complete image, activates emotions of the devotees. These outdoor spaces demonstrate purely religious significance. Most of these performance spaces are not designed for entertainment, and these performance spaces are organised with sacred material to bring the divine environment. For instance, both Arjuna Tapassu and Dhuryodha Vadha offers divine atmospheres. Devotees visit the outdoor spaces to fulfil the vows or to get a boon from the respective gods which are central to the performance. In this way, outdoor theatrical spaces of Draupadi festival are intended to have devotional engagement.

Like in Ramlila, few of the outdoor performances of Draupadi festival demands devotees to move one place to another to watch the performance. For instance, in both Uttara-gograhanamu and Bhakasura-vadha, the performers' actions happens in various places. Uttara-gograhanamu performance begins at the temple premises, from there, along with performers, devotees move to the paddy fields. In case of Bhakasura-vada, the performance begins at the temple, reaches the village corners, and ends at the temple courtyards; devotees also follow the procession in this performance.

Spaces for outdoor theatrical performances in Draupadi festival can be considered as "found spaces"⁸⁹, because these spaces are transformed as temporary theatre spaces. Spaces are used pragmatically in open area theatre performances in Draupadi's festival. Except in the theatrical episode of 'death of Dhuryodana', all other open theatrical performance spaces are not elevated; all these performance spaces are, obviously, distanced for many devotees. This distance seemingly does not affect in devotees' engagement. Because it is on the same level to the viewers, the performance spaces of the outdoor theatre demonstrates intimate relationship between viewers and performers. The large scale space demonstrates communal art practice because the spatial art is organised by the local community. Environments of the outdoor theatre is shared with the performers and viewers (devotees). Richard Schechner's concept of environmental theatre signifies the incorporation of spectators into the performance space.⁹⁰ Environmental theatre focuses on the interactions between spectators and performance space. Here, the performers' zone is slightly distinguished from the devotees by the community installation art.

⁸⁹ Found space, according to Mackintosh, are spaces "that had not designed for theatrical performances, whether place, village clearing or quarry" (81).

⁹⁰ See Schechner, Richard. *Performative Circumstances: From the Avant Garde to Ramlila*. Calcutta: Seagull, 1983. Print.

Outdoor theatrical performances of Draupadi festival are performed within the natural environments of fields and architectural environments of village, but these environments are not part of the fictional text. Obviously, the fictional time and fictional place of Mahabharatha completely different from visuals. These environments encloses the devotees and the performers. It is obvious that these environments invites uninvited images for these performances such as houses, modern vehicles. These uninvited images cannot be removed, darkened, or masked, as it is removed in proscenium theatre stages. Presence of environments are visible in the visuals of the performances. It is possible to think that the uninvited images are ignored in the presence of the sacred images: characters and sacred materials. Even the representation of the characters played by performs are fictional, they physically share landscapes of the sties with the devotees. Performers and devotees take moves on the same landscapes of the environments.

The environments of these landscapes does not fall as subject of the performances. The performance space is not designed as duplication of a place, but it is symbolic representation of a fictional locales for few performances. For instance, in Bakasura-vadha, the village that hosts the performance symbolically represents the Ekachakra in the frictional world; in Uttara-gograhanamu, the Jammi tree demonstrate the fictional Jammi tree in Mahabharatha. For few performances, designs does not communicate locales in the performance space. It appears that the landscapes of the outdoors are also does not represent the locations of the fictional world. Location is communicated only with verbal text, but not in the space. For instance, the outdoors that does not represent the location for the performance are Duryodhana's effigy, which needs to represent a lake.

The designs of performance spaces does not denotes historical accuracy. Most of the performance spaces are asymmetric. These designs concepts were probably established by the ancestors of the local community. Historical evidence are not available for that who designed first and how they designed. When the designs are observed, it is possible to note that it is made based on the text and folk beliefs. For example, the performance space in Arjuna's penace (Arjuna tapasu) uses an erected pole. This pole is representation of the hill *Indra keeladri*. Thus, the design here is probably formed based on the text. At the same time, the design functions seems to fulfil the belief of the devotees. For instance, in the same performance, Arjuna throws the flowers from the top of the pole. These flowers are picked up by devotees considering it as *prasadam*. If the pole is a symbolic representation in the performance, they might have used small pole. But, they used lengthy pole here. The

reason behind using lengthy pole may be to spread the *prasadam* for large crowd. Another reason can be analysed here that the character Arjuna has many songs to sing to reach the top of the pole. He uses one song for to climb one step here. Adding the number of songs also possibly leads to keep the long pole. The execution of the each design is conceivably based on the belief of devotees. In case of Duryodhana-vadha, the recumbent effigy is very huge. The reason may be to keep such a large sculpture is to show the blood of the Duryodhana for the large crowd, as the performance theme is based on the blood. For another evidence to analyse the design is Ilavantha-vadha. In this performance Ilavantha sculpture is needed to keep till the end of the festival since it is installed. It has to look the direction where Kurukshetra war is performed. When they show the killing of Ilavantha, they turn the direction of the head of Ilavantha. To fulfil these needs such as twisting the head, keeping it to be visible for long time, they might have adopted to use a sculpture instead of a live actor for the performance of Ilavantha-vadha.

b) Shades of “environmental theatre” in the spaces of outdoor theatre:

The spaces of outdoor theatre resembles qualities of Ricard Schechner’s environmental theatre. Richard Schechner, in his article *Improving design for the Technical Function: Scenography, Structure and Function*, allocated “environmental theatre” in three categories (315); According to him, in the first category, environmental theatre that happens in the “streets, factories, in castles and so on” are the examples for adopting the space to create an environmental theatre; these kinds of performances are designed to bring the performance to the people instead of they come to watch it; here the designer combines the text and “found space”. In another sense, as Schechner reflects, environmental theatre is a theatrical performance that happens based on a found space; here, the environment is significant, because complete performance advances out of the space. The third type of environmental theatre, as Schechner proposes, is not a theatrical performance, but it is a “social ritual, political demonstration, controlled public even, Church services and procession”.

Bhakasura vadha falls in first or third category of environmental theatre proposed by Schechner. As Bhakasura vadha is performed with dialogues and characters; in this sence, Bakasura-vadha falls under the first category of environmental theatre. Even though it is a theatrical performance, the Bhakasura Vadha is dominated with procession to collect the food; in this sence, as it is dominated with procession, Bakasura-vadha is also

considered to observe in third kind of Environmental theatre. Thus, Bhakasura-vadha falls in both first and third category of environmental theatre.

Uttara-gograhanamu, Dhuryodhaa vadha, Ilavantha-vadha falls under the first category as they perform in 'found space'. These performances are performed in an actual environmental space. The devotees and the performers share these environments. Except costumes and props, distinction is not observed between the devotees and the performers. The actions of the story are performed in the in real time and real space. The sun is the source of the light for the performance. Half of the devotees' cheering in the performance space is part of the environment.

2. Text:

Text is similar as it appears in stage-based theatre, but it does not give much opportunity for humour. When compare to stage-based theatre, text does not allow for many improvisations. It is possible to think that the performance text is strictly attached to devotion in the outdoor performances. The text also used to communicate visual information such as fictional location and props. It is possible to assume that some of the performances' text is adopted for the outdoors. For instance, songs in Arjuna Tapassu which are many sung by Arjuna while climbing the pole is seemingly added many.

The text in these performances also communicates visual information. For example, in Duryodhana-vadha, the actor communicates lake with verbal text. For another example, in Arjuna Tapassu, the actors communicates a forest and the Indrakeeladri with verbal text.

Unseen role of the scenographer is visible in the outdoor theatres. The scenographer role is possibly reflects in the work of *dharmakarthalu* because they play significant role in creating spaces for outdoor theatre. The space transformed by *dharmakarthalu* offers visual images. These visual images are purely reflects the community beliefs that is associated with Mahabharatha text.

When it is analysed the performance text of outdoor theatre, some of the performances' text seemingly fits in the environments of the outdoors; the fictional locations of these performances are symbolically reflects in these environments. Example for the plays that fit fictional location in the environments of the outdoors are Uttara-gograhanamu and Bhakasura-vada. In case of Uttara-gograhanamu, the performance text

demands a huge paddy field as a location, and this performance also uses paddy field. In case of Bhakasura vadha, performance text demands streets of a village as background location. As it demands village streets as background, the Bhakasura-vadha uses environments of village as its location. The demand of the streets and village is also fulfilled with the actions of devotees' donation of food to Bheema in streets and villages.

3. Colour and composition:

a) Costumes, props and makeup:

Costumes and make-up are same as it is visible in stage based performances (Veedhi-natakamu). The performers use mask make-up, decorated props, exaggerated wigs, and glittery costumes. Costumes, props and makeup does not communicate character directly, but visually lures the devotees. Obviously, all the material in these performance spaces, including costumes, make-up, props and sacred material have an instant impact on devotees. Even though all these material doesn't establish the time and place for action, it acts as visual code here. In this performance, many signs can produce a sense of the character of the performance. The most important dramaturgic aspect here is spectator's preconceived knowledge of the characters, scene, costume, make-up and props. It suggests that the preconceived knowledge drive devotees to interpret the performance.

Along with installations of outdoor theatre, performers' costumes and properties assists as a scenery for outdoor theatre. As both performers and devotees are on the same ground in most of the outdoor performances, for example in Uttara-gograhamamu, Ilavanthavadha and Bakasuravadha, the performers has to be emphasise visually to be watched. This emphasis is surely done with the costumes. Thus, costumes distinguish performers from participants.

While installations in the outdoor theatre is static visuals, costumes offers kinetic visuals in the performance space. The costumes of the kings and queens probably vanishes the actors personality, and demonstrates qualify of character.

b) Lighting:

In most of the temples, outdoor theatre performances are performed during daylight hours. These performance are illuminated by natural light. They are performed when sun is approximately shining from one side: between 6 a.m. to 11 a.m. or between 3p.m. to 6 p.m. During this time, the weather shade probably gives pleasant experience for the

devotees; long shadows of the actors and trees are the part of the visuals. Arjuna Tapassu gives pleasant experience for most of the devotees because it is performed between 6 a.m. to 11 a.m. Some of the performances are performed when the daylight effect is pointless. In this case the daylight effect is just to illuminate. The outdoor performances does not create theatrical effects because presence of daylight suggests to experiences the location as an environment which is close to regular life.

4. Performers:

As these performances are “large scale enactments”, the performers need to have great physical and vocal strength to charge the space. He also demonstrates his physical strength in taking lengthy moves in the performance space. For instance, performer takes such kind of lengthy moves around the large effigy in Duryodhana-vadha. His vocal strength is visible in Uttara-gograhanamu while his voice is reaching majority of the devotees. Performers’ body movements and gestures enhance the dramatic essence of the performance. In Bakasura-vadha, for example, Bheema’s character adapts acrobatic moves to charge the space with humour.

The performers also improvises in Outdoor theatrical performances of Draupadi festival. These improvisations happen based on the performance space and the situations. For instance, Brihannala added local slang when Dhussasana falls accidentally while he was performing. The improvisations allow performers to utilise the space without physical boundaries of the selected space. In many cases, he invades into the devotees’ space. This kind of performers’ freedom in using the space demonstrates his skills to adapt the selected spaces (paddy field or temple courtyard). Along with text, performers also improvises his moves in the space. These improvised moves are the results of his responses to the space and to the co-performer. These improvisation suggest the performers control over the space, and it establishes artistic freshness.

With the absence of the performers, these spaces probably a sacred place for devotees. Performers are embedded into the space, and they are part of the performance visuals. Pamela Howard stresses the importance of the performers’ collaboration in the performance as “[s]cenography is always incomplete until the performer steps into the playing space and engages with the audience” (Howard xix). As she observes the importance of a performers to understand scenography in modern theatre, their (performers’) presence is important for devotees to interpret the performance holistically.

All the above evidences in this section suggest that performers' collaboration refines scenography in the outdoor theatrical performances.

5. Spectator (devotees⁹¹):

In Draupadi festival, Outdoor performances invites wider range of devotees as participants. The outdoor theatrical performances begin with a procession from the make-up room to the temple to seek the blessing of the Draupadi. From there, they go the performance space as a procession. Here, all the characters, both protagonists and antagonists, follow the procession together. And, some of the devotees follow the procession from the temple to performance space to witness the performance. For all outdoor theatrical performances, temple committee announces date, time and place of the performances in microphones. The devotional songs are played until the performance is commenced.

For devotees, participating in outdoor theatre performances is an act of remembering the myths. This remembrance of the myth is purely a reflection of the belief system of the community. Devotees are emotionally and physically stimulated with the visuals of the outdoor theatre. The devotees' stimulation are noticeably associated with their belief system. The belief system, which stimulates the devotees' personal memories, is presented with installed art in the outdoor spaces.

Devotees engage with these performances in few ways: sharing the sacred space with performers, paying homage to Pandavas, representing characters, interacting with devotion, being part of the performance visuals.

a) Sharing sacred space with performers:

Devotees share the performers' space at the end of the performances of outdoor theatre in Draupadi festival. Example for the performances that shares space with devotees are Bakasura-vadha, Arjuna Tapassu, Uttara-gograhanamu and Duryodhana-vadha. Here, the equality in sharing the space happens when devotees invades into the performers' space at the end of the performance. Examples for these invades at the end of the performance are in Baksura-vadha, devotees enter into the performance space to get the collected food; in Arjuna Tapassu, devotees enter into the performers space to collect the *prasadamu*; in Uttara-gograhanamu, devotees drive the cattle along with Arjuna; and in Duryodhana-

⁹¹ As it is referred in the introduction chapter, participants are called as devotees in this chapter.

vadha, devotees invades into the performance space, march on the recumbent effigy, stamp on it. This sharing space by devotees demonstrates their engagement with the performances, and it also establishes the freedom of the spectators (devotees) in the performance space. Here, the freedom of the devotees in the performance space resembles “audience in immersive theatre”⁹². Here devotees are as much active players as the performers; they are having similar role as the participants have in environmental theatre, who are “scene-makers as well as scene-watchers”.⁹³

b) Performing homage:

In all the outdoor theatrical performances, as in the stage based theatre performances, temple committee announces the names of the devotees who pay homages to the goddess Draupadi. In these performances devotees pay the homage at the beginning and at the end of the performances. Devotees pay homage by donating small amount of money to the performers. When the homage is paid by a devotee, the performer passes the performance to announce the name of the devotee who pays homage. After that, performers resume the performance. Here devotees’ interact with performer and temple committee by paying homage. This interaction with devotees interrupts the fictional world of the performance.

c) Devotional interaction:

In Arjuna Tapasu, Uttara-gograhanam, and Bhakasura-vadha, devotees are not fixed to specific space. They are allowed to move during the performances. Here, devotees are not only part of performance space, but also they are part of performance visuals. Devotees in these performances construct narratives through their presence. For instance, devotees indirectly represents as the village folk of Ekachakra in Bhakasuravadha. in Arjuna tapassu, devotees devote along with Arjuna, which can be called as devotional engagement. Taking mud from the performance space of Dhuryodhaana-vahda, after breaking the legs of Dhuryodana statue, is also can be referred as devotional engagement because devotees carry the mud (as sacred material) to home. Some of the devotees bring their cattle to the performance of Uttara-gograhanamu. In this performance, the cattle are is can be referred as symbolic representation of the cattle that were in the text. Here, the

⁹² Rose Biggin observes visibility of immersive theatre in “the ability of an audience to wander with apparent freedom through a spatially innovative environment” (Biggin 2).

⁹³ See page xxvi in Schechner, Richard. *Environmental Theatre: An Expanded New Edition including Six Axioms for Environmental Theater*. New York: Applause, 1994. Print.

villagers are operators of the props (cattle) for the performances. In reality, these cattle are brought as part of the devotion. According to their belief, bringing cattle to these performances secures the cattle from diseases. But, the cattle are the part of the performance. And the devotees, who operates these cattle, are engaged with theatrical elements. But, this theatrical engagement is also resonates the devotion in the festival.

d) Devotees as part of the performance visuals:

As these performance spaces are “large scale enactments”, devotees, in a particular time, engage with part of the holistic image of the performance. As some of the actions happens simultaneously in the large space, it is difficult for them to cover all the actions at a time. In these cases, devotees have freedom to select their favourable actions to watch. For instance, in Duryodhana-vada, when Bheema provoking Duryodhana, both characters stand at 50 feet distance. It is difficult for the devotees to cover the both characters. In this case devotees chose their favourite action to watch. While they are watching the performance in these large scales, devotees are part of the scenic environments. They are being watched by other devotees.

6. Sound:

Before the performance begins, the performance space is amplified by devotional songs which is played in a music player. When the performance is about to start, a processional music is played from temple to the performance space by the *dappu* and *pamba* players. This processional music is a sign for the devotees that the performance is about to start. These sounds drag the large crowd. Thus the sound in the space prepares the devotees to watch the performance. It indicates that music construct impactful relation with sacred material in the space.

Conclusion:

This chapter has focused to study outdoor theatrical performances in the context of scenography. The chapter has been presented in two major parts. In first part, the chapter has studied the processions, the rituals and the theatrical actions in the context of scenography in these performances. In second part, the chapter has identified the common scenographic aspects in these performances. The chapter has established the role of the participants, officiants, performers and Dharmakarthalu to transform the space for the outdoor theatre performances. The chapter has shown that the adaptation of the text to

engage the devotees in these performances. Costumes, props and makeup has identified to establish the performer in the large space. The chapter has emphasised the relationship between the performers and devotees in the large scale enactments. The chapter has proven that the scenographic elements plays significant role in engaging devotees in outdoor theatre performance of Draupadi festival.

Chapter 5: Scenography of Oral Narrative Performances

Introduction:

It was afternoon at around 3pm on 15th September, 2017 at the entrance of main gate of the Draupadi Temple in Jeevakona, Tirupathi. The song, music and narration were loud enough to reach five kilometres. The sound was so screeching for a person who was new to the festival. Because of *screeching* sound, one could shut his ears and run away from there. When anyone stepped inside the main gate, he could see few people were sitting and watching a performance under a large shed which was made with palm leaves. He might not yet noticed the performer because he was listening the audio of the performance from multiple directions. After walking few more meters in same direction, he might notice the performer enacting a solo performance. Still, he could be confused to trace the relation between the sound and the voice because loud voice was coming from multiple direction. Suddenly, he could see spectators together reciting the word ‘Govinda’. After narration, one of the spectators, with a smile and gesture, could invite him to sit by sharing his mat. This was the sign for him to join in the community of the spectators. Once, he enters into the shed, he could get good quality of the audio. Then, he could recognise the performer holding *chidatalu*⁹⁴ in his hand, wearing garland in his neck, dancing with ankle bells in his legs, and narrating the performance with gracious movement. Yes, the performer was performing a solo narrative text. Locally, the solo performer is called as Haridasu, and the narrative form is locally known as Harikatha. If one do not occupy right position in the temple, he cannot adore the oral narrative performance. He may not get good quality of sound and visuals if he occupies wrong place in temple premise; but, when anyone take

⁹⁴ It is similar to castanets; it is made with two pieces of wood. Each piece is the length of 25cm and breadth of 7cm; each piece is curved outer side; smoothed; given a grip to hold with fingers; and loosely attached with brass discs and small bells. These pieces are held in a hand to play rhythmic sound in Harikatha.

right position in the temple premises, he can surely adores narration, songs, music and solo actions of the oral narrative performance, Harikatha.

Even though it does not depend on background curtains, makeup, costumes and props as observed in folk theatre forms, Harikatha engages thousands of the spectators during its performances. The themes and its presentations are simple in Harikatha. The context of the performances is to spread the devotion. It is obvious that Harikatha plays significant role in communicating knowledge and morals. Even though it is performed by a single performer, Harikatha may have a great scenographic elements to engage thousands of the spectators. It might have adapted scenographic elements from the media. Thus, the present oral tradition suggests to think scenography in their presentations. This chapter presents study of scenographic elements in the oral narrative performance, Harikatha. This chapter is divided into two major parts: Part A and Part B. In first part, the chapter offers meaning of Harikatha and its performances in present context. In second part, the chapter presents an examination of scenographic elements such as space; text; colour and composition; performers; spectators and sound in Harikatha. As Harikatha is an oral narrative form and the chapter is about the examination of scenographic elements in it, the present chapter is titled with “scenography of oral narrative performances”.

Part A: The Oral Narrative Performances

1. Harikatha:

Harikatha is one of the ancient storytelling form from India. According to Ransome, storytelling concept rooted back to the oral tradition where elders were narrating cautious examples to the children and their family members (6). Ransome’s illustration on the origin of storytelling is appropriate to compare with the origin of Indian storytelling because the ancient Indian story telling was focused on themes of Dharma (ethics and the code of conduct of the individuals), which is also rooted back to ancient civilisation. Thus, Harikatha is storytelling form from ancient civilization of India.

There are various solo narrative forms are available in various regions of India. Harikatha is one of those popular narrative forms. Harikatha performances are performed for centuries in various regions in India: Maharastra, Tamil Nadu, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. It adapts the regional languages in its performances. According to previous scholars, in India, Harikatha is also known as “*Harikatha kalakhepam, Hari Keerthanam, Harikatha ganam, Samkeerthanam, Sathkatha kalakshepam, SathkaDha gaana,*

Sangeethopanyasam, Akshaganam, Yakshaganam, Geyaprabhandam, kalakhepam, katha, Kathaprasangam, Katha gaanam, and Katha kalapkekam”⁹⁵. But, in Telugu region the present narrative form is known as Harikatha, Harikatha kathanam, and Katha kaalakhepam. The Harikatha is rooted back to Yakshagana. Most of the Harikatha performances narrate the stories from Puranas (the sacred text to teach wisdom) and epics.

Initially, the main purpose of Harikatha was to spread devotion on the gods among the people; the performance text was from Hindu religion. Later, Harikatha has adapted secular and other religious stories. Now a days, Harikatha is performed for various purposes: to propose devotion, to spread the religious culture, to educate on various issues, to inspire, to influence and to entertain. Thus, the Harikatha is performed for both religious and social occasions.

Harikatha is usually performed by single performer. He sings, dances and narrates the story. Milton Singer, in his book *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, observes that “[H]arikatha is a kind of concentrated drama, ‘a mono-drama’, in which one gifted actor enters swiftly a whole series of characters, moods and manners” (158). Harikatha, the present popular performing art form, as other dramatic forms of India, is an amalgam of text, music and acting. The performance nature of Harikatha is extraordinary to the contemporary spectators. It is not observed heavy costumes, lights and set for these performance.

2. Harikatha performance in the context of Draupadi festival:

Harikatha is performed in many auspicious days in Hindu calendar. It is also performed on the occasion of marriage, death ceremony, auspicious day, birth ceremony, wedding, birth celebration, death anniversary, meritorious act, vow and feast. As it is performed in various contexts, Harikatha is also performed in Draupadi festival. This performance, in the context of Draupadi festival, is called as Harikatha or ‘*Pagati Katha*’. *Pagati Katha* is a Telugu word formed by two words: *Pagati* means day and *katha* means story. *Pagati katha* means the story which is performed in the day. Thus, the word, *Pagati Katha*, explains that Harikatha is performed in daytime in Draupadi festival. Even though Harikatha is performed in other occasions, it is purely a devotional performance in the

⁹⁵ See in both Donappa, Thoomati. *Telugu Harikatha Sarvaswam*. Hyderabad: Telugu Academy, 1978. Print.; and Gurumurthy, Premeela. *Kathaakaalakshapa (musical Discourse): A Study*. Chennai: U of Madras Publications, 2009. Print.

context of Draupadi festival. According to local community, the reasons behind organising Harikatha are to purify the premises and to keep the devotees' sins away. It is obvious that Harikatha is performed in Draupadi festival to transmit the devotion on Pandavas. Julia Hollander observes the relationship between Draupadi festival and the storytelling form (136); she writes: "Hiltebeitel dates the storytelling tradition in Draupadi Amman temples to circa AD 600–700"; she also refers Hiltebeitel's argument as "the present practice of using a Classical Tamil text by Villiputurar for the storytelling sessions probably goes back to the fourteenth century".⁹⁶

In Draupadi festival, Harikatha performances are organised for 18 days from the stories of Mahabharatha. Each day is intended to perform one Parva from Mahabharatha. Thus, 18 Parvas are performed in Harikatha form for 18 days. For 18 days Draupadi festival, 18 Parvas are performed in Harikatha. Each Parva demands more than three hours to narrate in Harikatha form. In Draupadi festival, Harikatha begins at 2pm and ends at 6pm. It is possible to think that some of the Parvas are effective to perform in theatrical form; it may demand number of characters; it may demand less theatrical qualities; this may be the reason to organise Harikatha in Draupadi festival. It is also thinkable that some of the devotees are interested in Harikatha. To full fill their demand, the temple committee may organise Harikatha in Draupadi festival. Here, Harikatha is undoubtedly organised in the context of devotion. The narration of Harikatha resembles a ritual because the performance includes offerings and prayers to Draupadi.

In present context, Harikatha is patronised by temple committee and the villagers who donate money for the festival. During the performances of Harikatha, spectators offer homage to the performer or to the goddess Draupadi. At the end of the day of the festival, temple committee presents flower garland, headgear which is decorated with flowers, a silk shawl, a sari and a blouse to the performer. Some of the temples, which are having lot of funds, donate valuable things such as a gold ring, bracelet, headgear or watch.

Part B: Scenography of Harikatha

⁹⁶ Julia Hollander, in her book, observes from pages 14–15 in Hiltebeitel, Alf. *The Cult of Draupadi*. Vol. 2. Chicago and London: U of Chicago, 1991. Print.

1. Space:

a) Performance space:

It is believed that Harikatha is not allowed to perform in open stage. The performance space must not be seen by the sky. According to Bala Brahmanandadasu, the performance space of Harikatha must be at least in a shed made of palm or coconut leaves (qtd. in Purushottama, “Chittoor Zillaloni” 50-51). Usually, Harikatha does not need well organised stage as it is seen in modern theatre. It just need a raised platform to elevate the performer from the spectators, and it demands a cloth on top of the stage. Usually, the performance space is also raised up with wooden benches and decorated with flowers and mango leaves. The stage is wide enough to accompany the movement of the performer. As it does not demand heavy make-up, Harikatha stage is not accommodated with greenroom in Draupadi festival. The performance space is temporarily erected in the temple hall. If the stage is not erected, they lay a carpet on performance space. As Harikatha performer does not take entry or exit during the performance, the stage is not covered with back curtain or any other curtains.

Usually, the stage is raised for approximately 2 foot, and it accommodates both musicians and Harikatha performers. The stage is covered with a carpet. In general, the stage is approximately 10 foot by 6 foot rectangle. In front of the stage, approximately 3 square foot is left to keep Pothuraju idol. Usually, the stage is divided into three parts. The stage centre is dedicated for the performer. Both sides to the centre stage are occupied by musicians. It seems that right side of the stage is occupied by musician who plays Tabala and left side is for harmonist and violinist. Almost 80 percent of the stage is used for acting area. Both performer and musicians are in same level. In some cases, the musicians’ space is raised a bit. For example, in Jeevakona, 2016, musicians’ space were raised of three foot; Space for both musicians and performers were covered with mats; the performers’ space was just raised for one foot to the spectators’ space; the background of the stage is not covered. In general, the Harikatha is performed in the temple hall in Draupadi festival. As it is not raised much, the performance space demonstrates intimacy between the performer and spectators.

b) Spectators’ space:

spectators’ space at Harikatha is wide enough to accommodate 500 to 1000 people. The spectators’ space is not lodged with chairs, but it is cleaned well to sit on the floor. Seating arrangement at Harikatha is not fixed. Usually, the spectators bring mats from their

home to the spectators' space. They sit on the mats to watch the performance. After watching the performance, the spectators carry back the mats. As in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators at Harikatha sit around three sides of the stage. The barricade to separate male and female spectators is not observed in spectators' space at Harikatha. Spectators' space is also under a roof. As Harikatha is usually performed in temple hall, the spectators' space also falls under the temple room. Since few of the temples have small halls, temple committee arrange temporary sheds or tents for spectators.

2. Text:

A Harikatha performance text is locally called as Harikatha, and it is derived from a story to perform as a single performance. If a text deals with multiple performances and multiple stories, then it is called as "Harikathalu", which is plural of Harikatha. The word Harikatha is also known to storytelling form of Andhra Pradesh. Thus, the word Harikatha denotes both meanings: a solo performance tradition and a performance text of the solo performance tradition.

The Harikatha performance text is written based on various subjects. It seems that Harikatha text initially bound with Hindu religion. Later, Harikatha text has been written to entertain, to spread other religions, to teach social themes, to impose patriotism and to educate people. Prameela Gurumurthy, in her book *Kathakaalakhepa-A study*, comments on Telugu Harikatha literature: "A look at the Telugu Harikathaa literature as it exists today will reveal that there is hardly any subject which is left untouched" (135). Donappa refers Srinivasa Chakravarthy's view on the purpose of Harikatha in society: "Harikatha was performed by Andhra Praja Natya Mandali to educate local people" (71). Donappa also observes that few of the performances of Harikatha is derived from English poets, and it is also incorporated with English passages by Adibatla Narayana Dasu, Anakapalli Balajidasu and Chittimalla Rangaiahdasu (100). Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar, author of *andhra harikatha vangmayamu*, stresses the relation between Harikatha and devotiona: "Harikatha means the story which expel human from sin and wickedness" (1). Apart from focusing on Hindu religion, Harikatha performance text is also focused to spread other religions such as Christianity and Islam. For instance, Donappa has observed Harikatha text form religions of Christianity and Islam (207-214). Thus, Harikatha performance text deals with multiple issues.

Within Hindu religion, Harikatha is performed based on Ramayana, Mahabharatha and *Puranic* stories. In Draupadi festival, Harikatha is bound with Mahabharatha text, and Harikatha adapts Mahabharatha stories to spread devotion on Pandavas. Some of the stories in Mahabharatha are probably not effective to perform on the stage; to present these stories to the spectators, temple committee seemingly depends on either Harikatha or Kathakalaksepa in Draupadi festival. It seems that Harikatha performance text of Draupadi festival is mixed with social and mythological themes. In Draupadi's festival, narration of Harikatha is in both classical and spoken Telugu language. Since the translation of Mahabharatha in Telugu is no longer spoken, every line of classical text is translated by Haridasu into contemporary spoken Telugu language for spectators.

Initially, the Harikatha performance text was circulated in the form of manuscripts. Later it is available in the forms of both manuscripts and prints. The performer himself writes the most of Harikathalu. Sometimes, he borrows from other writers. The performance text is selected keeping the spectators' interest on the subject. Even, the selection of the text depends on its style of writing. Various spectators display interest on various style of texts: from classical Telugu to contemporary Telugu. Some of the spectators are able to understand classical Telugu language even it is no longer spoken Telugu language. Some of them purely depend on contemporary spoken Telugu. Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar divides Harikatha performance text into two groups based on the spectators' perception: for literate and illiterate; for literate people, the performance text of Harikatha is in classical Telugu poetry; for illiterate people, the performance text has to be in daily usage language (1).

The writer who writes for Harikatha does not special name, but he is called as Bhagavathar. At the same time, the word Bhagavathar is used to refer the performer of Harikatha. This evidence strongly suggests that Harikatha performance text is written by the performers. In Harikatha performance text, the writer must show appropriate knowledge in literature, poetry and music. As it is observed most Harikathalu that are performed in the temples are derived from Mahabharatha, Ramayana or *Puranic* stories. In Draupadi temples, Harikatha performance text is based on Mahabharatha. These Harikathalu that are based on Mahabharatha are available in many numbers. Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar has mentioned that Parimi Subramanyam wrote 24 Harikathalu which are based on Mahabharatha; Mullukunta Punnaiah Sastri has written 40 Harikathalu based on Mahabharatha (27). There are few other Harikathalu that are locally available, and these

Harikathalu are probably available in both the form of manuscripts and prints. These Harikathalu are also performed in the context of Draupadi festival. They are Uttara-gograhamu, Kachadevayani, Kurukshetram, Krishnarayabharam, Gurudakshina, Ghoshayatra, Dhurvasaathidyam, Draupadi Swayamvaram, Draupadi-manasamrakshana, Nala-charitra, Padmavyuham, Pandava Jananam, Pandavaashwamedham, Pasupatha-labdi, Bakasura-vadha, Bheeshma-charitra, Maharadi-karna, Yaksha-prasnalu, Raja-suyam, Shakunthala-kalyanam, Shasirekha -parinayamu, Sanjaya-rayabharam, Savithri-charithra, Subhadra-parinayam, Saindhava-parabhavam, Saindhava-vadha and Sougandiga” (Donappa 200). It seems that the performers depend on these Harikathalu to perform Harikatha in Draupadi temples.

Usually, the performance is longer than two hours. It has to possess some special quality to engage the spectators for such a duration. For this, along with the main story, the performance text is incorporated with short humorous stories and passages of holy text. Usually, these humorous stories are a resources of social commentary. The humorous stories also attract spectators from various classes. Along with humorous stories, passages of holy text is visible in Harikatha. The passages of holy text are purely drawn from epics and *puranas*, and the holy passages are also included with hymns, verses and poems. After presenting it, the hidden meanings of the holy passages are explained to the spectators in local dialect. Thus, the main story is incorporated with humorous stories, passages of holy text and hymns. Purushottmachari comments on humour in Harikatha: Harikatha is inactive without humour; even it is important, humour is needed to use properly in Harikatha; if humour is not appropriate, then the performance text fails to impress the number of spectators (136).

a) *Pittakathalu* (side stories):

In Harikatha performance text, *pittakathalu* play a significant role to engage spectators. During Harikatha performance, the side stories energises the spectators. Some of the performances are based on serious subject. In this case most of the spectators are deeply disturbed and tired. To energise them, the side stories are performed in between the main performance. Donappa acknowledge that *pittakathalu* is told in other narrative forms such as *Purana pravachanam* and *Burra Katha* (130). The function of *pittakathalu* is to elaborate a scene, an incident, a situation or an expression in a story. Side stories are short, and the purpose of these stories to create humour and educate people. These humorous stories are intended to educate the spectators with praising the good deeds and disrespecting

the bad deeds of a character. These stories are narrated to refresh the spectators from listening the heavy story for long time. The stories are very short, but plays significant role to hold the spectators in lengthy performance. The side stories, sometimes, are spontaneously selected by the performer during the show. Sometimes, the side stories are taken from classical Telugu language; in this case, the text is contemporised to add humour in the performances. For instance, to create humour in the side stories, “G. Balaji added English songs in his Telugu Harikatha performance, Parimi Subramanyam included a Telugu poetic text which resembles children’s speech and Challa Ramalingaiah replaced classical text with local dialect in songs.” (Sitaramanjaneya 32-33). Purushottamachari, in his doctoral thesis *Harikatha Kadhana Vidhanam-Harikathakulu*, refers a side story which is narrated in Harikatha to create only humour: “A doctor give medicine to a patient; he asks patient to take two tablets now and take another two tablets today night; take other two tablets on next day morning if you are alive” (149). Obviously, the side story is created to entertain the spectators. In other perspective, the side story might have created to educate the spectators not to depend on medicine for basic types of diseases. It is obvious that these stories are not related to main story. Contrast to this, some side stories, which are relevant example to the scenes in main story, are mostly created from Puranas. All these side stories are purely meant to comment on existing social issues and the behaviour of humans. Thus, the narrator, while performing, establishes a relation between the main story and the contemporary society.

b) Plots and its structure:

As Harikatha performance text leads a story, it demonstrates few scenes of a main story and some side stories. Apart from these scenes and side stories, there are some hymns, songs and poetry meant to give additional information to teach morals. Thus, Harikatha performance text can be divided into two categories: stories and non-stories. In the part of the stories, Harikatha performance text contains main story and side stories. In the part of non-stories, the hymns, songs, poetry which may not demonstrate a direct relation with the main story. Thus, a story is adapted for many unique performances in Harikatha. It is adapted by various writers in Harikatha form, but the plot of a story is probably similar for various performances of its. Here, the Harikatha performance text is composed from a story in various ways by various writers. This compositions is based on the writer's imagination. The writer uses his techniques to lengthen or shorten the performance text for a story. To lengthen the performance text, he adds few side stories and passages of holy text.

Shortening the performance text is most difficult job for these writers. In this case, the quality of the writer reflects in the shortened text as he incorporates large meaning of the text in less lines using piety literature.

Few Harikathalu are mixed with popular and imaginary stories. Here, the writer uses his imagination to create the imaginary story and to adapt the popular story. These kind of mixed work also observed in side stories. Some of the side stories in Harikatha are mixed with popular and imaginary stories. The aim of the mixed stories in Harikatha is to draw large number of spectators. There are many Harikathalu that are mixed with writer's imagination. for instance, in a story based on an incident where Pandavas are in exile in forest, sage Durvasa is invited to have food; Durvasa goes to take bath before having food; while he is having food, Durvasa is cursed by Krishan, Durvasa has indigestion because of Krishna; so, without having food, Durvasa runs away without having food (Purushothamachari, 199, 162). Here, Basivireddy has created the scene of indigestion; the concept of indigestion is not available in original story. The scene is obviously projecting humour, and it is also mixed with original and imaginary stories. Another example for mixed plot is Lakkagruha Dahanam (The house of Lacquer). In this story, Donappa observes a different version to classical text, Mahabharatha; the story follows: “ when Kauravas assumes that Pandavas are dead in the house of Lacquer, Drona conspires to kill Duryodhana to offer the kingdom to Ashwaddama; to execute his plot, first, he, Drona, diverts Karna to another place in the War; then, he plans to murder Duryodhana; Drona also plans to kill Karna; but Karna's wife (chaya) saves Karna from Drona” (Donappa 206). It is obvious the story is mixed with both the popular and imaginary stories. Thus, many Harikathalu with mixed plots are observed.

A Harikatha performance text can be seen in three parts: introduction, middle and conclusion. The introduction part demonstrates the songs for stage preliminaries, and it introduces the story, performance context, and sponsors of the performance; it also acknowledges the spectators. For instance, in his thesis *Harikatha Kadhana Vidhanam-Harikathalu*, Purushothamaachari notes the introduction of Harikatha performance text which is based on Draupadi Swayamvaram:

Oh devotees! today is an auspicious day. Today is a ceremony of choosing a husband by Draupadi. It is virtuous that today we (performer referring himself with spectators) recollect and devote Draupadi in her temple. On this auspicious day,

temple committee and devotees have requested me (the performer) to narrate the story Draupadi Swayamvaram. Goddess Draupadi approves welfare and happiness to the Devotees who listen this story carefully. (127)

In the middle part of Harikatha performance text, the main story is presented with verses, conversations, hymns, passages of holy text, songs, poetic text and side stories. In the conclusion part, *namasankeerthanam*⁹⁷ and a *mangalam*⁹⁸ song are given in the text.

c) Scenic allusions:

Harikatha probably dominates to entertain the ears of the spectators; Music and verbal text engages much in Harikatha when compare to visuals of the performance. The visuals are created by the performers' body. Scenic visuals are invisible in Harikatha, and it is verbally communicated. These verbal information about scenic environments are described in the Harikatha performance text according to a story. Thus, the performance text does not depend on scenic design as theatrical performances.

3. Colour and composition:

Colour and composition plays significant role in the visuals of theatre. As Howards (2002) observes, "Colour and composition are the crux of the scenographer's art" (51). Howards emphasise the importance of colour and composition in theatre: "The integration of composition with colour enables the artist to draw the spectator's eye to the focal points of each scene as the performance progresses". Colour and composition can be understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. Many scholars observe that Harikatha is a solo performance. For instance, Ilapavuluri Kameshwara Rao, in the forward note of the book *Andhra Harikatha Vangmayamu* by Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar, comments that Harikatha possess theatrical values and it is a solo performance (vi). As Harikatha performance resembles solo performance of modern theatre, colour and composition is studied through the elements of costumes, make-up, props, lighting, scenery and composition in this section.

a) Costumes:

Costumes in Harikatha plays significant role to create devotional environment. Musicians do not wear a special costumes. They appear in daily wears. The performer wears a typical costumes to communicate spiritual and devotional environment to the

⁹⁷ *Namasankeerthanam* is explained in the section of Performers in this chapter.

⁹⁸ *Mangalam* is described in the section Sound in this chapter.

spectators. An example for Harikatha costumes communicate devotion is a performer appears as Narada who descent on earth as human being in the costumes. The costumes includes *Chidatalu*, *Dhothi*, *Gajjalu* (brass shaking bells), flower garlands, Tulasi-mala (a garland of Basil plant), Rudraksha-mala (a garland with Rudraksha beads) and *kanduva* (a piece of cloth measuring two meters in length and 0.5 meters in wide occasionally bordered with golden thread).

He uses musical instrument *Chidatalu* to create rhythm in text and body movement. Usually, Haridasu (a Harikatha performer) dresses himself up with silk *Dhothi*⁹⁹, and a waist band. He wears a flower garland on neck and wrist. His ankles are covered with *Gajjalu*. Now a days, instead of using Dhoti, some of these story tellers are wearing some colourful Indian shawl with light embroidery design. Some of the performers includes Tulasi-mala, Rudraksha-mala and *kanduva* in their costumes. In case of Bhagavatharini¹⁰⁰ (a female Harikatha performer), the performer wears a saree instead of Dhothi. Her costumes appear as typical south Indian woman. Along with her costumes, she includes other elements such as *Chidatalu*, *Gajjalu*, flower garlands, Tulasi-mala, and Rudraksha-mala.

In his autobiography Nayeruka, Adhibatla Narayanadasu comments on costumes of Harikatha performer:

‘Gajja thagilinchu chiruthala karamuna nidi

Pula dhanda kantambuna paalarangu

Pattu puttumbu gattiyu parimalinchu

Punugu kasturi menanu pusiknuchu

Raga thala Dhanulathoda Ramyamaina

Vedha Bhashala meppinchi vedi kaasta

Lambujeredi Haridasu lavu Tivi

⁹⁹ A silk or cotton garment used by Indian men to cover lower parts of the body.

¹⁰⁰ In his book, Donappa concludes the word Bhagavatharini for female Harikatha performer (113).

Chuchi Varnimpa tarame trisulikaina' (qtd. in Purushothamachari, "Harikatha Kadhana Vidhanam" 110)

According to Adhibatla Narayanadasu, Gajjalu, Chidathalu, flower garland are very important in the costumes of Harikatha performer. As Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar observes, Harikatha performer needs to put a Tulasi-mala in his neck, to mark sacred mark on his forehead, to tie Gajjilu to his legs, to carry Chidathalu, and to wear pure silk dress (45). Thus, most of the scholars stresses to include *Chidatalu*, *Dhothi*, *Gajjalu* (brass shaking bells), flower garlands, Tulasi-mala, Rudraksha-mala and *kanduva* in the costumes of Haridasu.

Costumes are not glittery as it is in Veedhi-natakamu. Probably, costumes represent the sacredness in the performance of Harikatha. The primary function of the costumes is to announce him or her as a Harikatha performer. The costumes also represent the meaning of God. As Harikatha performance does not use any background curtain for its performance, the performer's costume is major source for visual of Harikatha performance. Since costumes does not represent a character in the story, the performer does not change his costumes until he finishes to perform Harikatha. Thus, costumes functions a major role in Harikatha.

b) Makeup:

Makeup in Harikatha is not visible as in Veedhi-natakami. Since they perform in natural light, most of the performers do not even apply a foundation for face. A sacred mark is very important on the performer's forehead. Some of the performers use light eye liners and lip paint. Thus, makeup in Harikatha is simple and expressive.

c) Props:

Harikatha performer does not utilise props as it is observed in Veedhi-natakamu. In his right hand, the performer carries Chidathalu, but it does not act as a prop. The performer depends on mime to establish a prop in a story. For instance, while he is narrative the story of Kurukshetram, the performer mimes as he carrying a mace to represent Bheema. The performer creates many invisible props in a story by mimicking appropriate actions.

d) Lighting:

In Draupadi festival, Harikatha is performed in the day. Natural light is a major source for the Harikatha performance. In few temples, if natural light is not reaching inside the hall, temple committee arranges flood lights to illuminate the performance space.

e) Scenery:

Using scenery in Harikatha is not observed. Most of the performances are performed without a background curtain. In some cases, a banner is tied as background to announce the details of the sponsors.

f) Composition:

Visual composition is both relevant and irrelevant to Harikatha. In general, composition means arranging things in specific order. In theatre, Monta and Stanely has referred similar kind of meaning: “Composition involves arranging the actors and other visible materials in a visual plan to illustrate the dramatic action in the best possible way” (104). In one perspective, the composition is not probably appropriate word to use for Harikatha because it (Harikatha) is solo performance without set and hand props; As the performer enacts in a bare stage, compositional elements is not visible. This does not suggest to think spatial arrangement on the stage. In another perspective, Harikatha performer demonstrates a choreographic movements which strongly suggests to think of composition. Along with his dance moves, the performer compose the other actions. Thus, the performers’ moves establishes the evidence of composition. So, Harikatha allows to observe composition.

4. Performer:

As it is a solo performance, Harikatha emphasises the role of the performer. Without the presence of a performer, Harikatha performance cannot be imagined. In her book *what is Scenography*, Howard observes the importance of a performer as “[a] play can happen without scenery, but there is always at least one performer to be considered” (87). It is obvious that performer is part of stage environment, and he is meant to be watched. Stressing on importance of a performer in scenography, Damiani says that scenography is probably difficult to observe without a performer: “It only comes to life when the dynamism of the human body penetrates the space” (Howard xv). According to Howard, “[s]cenography is always incomplete until the performer steps into the playing space and engages with the audience” (xix). Thus, Howards has referred the importance of the performer in scenography. Present section “Performer” focuses on how performer

translate verbal text into visual text in Harikatha; how he engages the spectators with the verbal text and the physical actions.

a) Harikatha Performer:

Harikatha performer is a singer, a narrator and an actor. He plays multiple roles in the performances. Harikatha performer is locally called as “*Kathakudu, Katha-gana-parudu, Katha-gayakudu, Katha-prasangi dasu, Bhagavatha-katha-prasangi, Bhagavathar, Bhagavathi, Bhagavathudu, Harikatha-prasangi, Haridasu*” (Donappa 1978, 112). The performer is popularly known as Haridasu, Bhagavathar or Bhavatharini. The male performer is called as Haridasu or Bhagavathar, and the female performer is referred as Bhavatharini. Usually, Harithaka performer is considered a human being who serves the society and the god.

The performer represents various characters without changing his costumes. He has attractive voice. He is good at speaking fluently, singing well, acting perfectly, and dancing rhythmically and guiding spectators philosophically. His acting skills are similar to the actor perform a solo performance. The performer always prospers in representing a huge collection of characters from the myths, epics, and contemporary stories. According to V. Ramapa Bhagavathar, the most challenging task of the performer is to perform various roles in a story. Donappa comments on Harikatha performer: “the performer role in Harikatha is equal to the narrator (Sutradhara) in traditional Indian theatre; the narrator leaves the stage after the introduction of the play, but in Harikatha the performer takes various roles until he finishes the performance” (101). Donappa’s comment supports to think that Harikatha performer enacts multiple characters along with narrator in Harikatha. From a narrator, he can transform himself into Dhramaraja, Draupadi, Duryodhana or Arjuna with just a modification of movement, gesture or posture. His hand-property Chidathalu is not used to represent any character, but his mimetic actions suggest to represent the character. The performer uses his unique style to narrate the story. His narration, even the selected stories are known to the spectators, holds the spectators for more than two hours. He extracts the songs, tunes, poems, hymns from classical epics and contemporary literature. He always communicates the inner meaning the text, and also interprets the text for contemporary spectators.

b) Physical skills:

Harikatha performer is physically stronger than theatre performer. As it is a solo performance, Harikatha demands appropriate physical strength to perform for a long time.

Performer is physically strong enough to perform such a long time. It is suggested that a person who is physically weak not suitable to be Harikatha performer. Because he has to sing, dance and narrate for such a long time. The performer needs to demonstrate flexible body. He needs to be appeared pleasant. Donappa observes that Harikatha performer has to be good looking to attract spectators (105). Thus, Harikatha performer has to have strong and flexible body.

c) Physical actions of Haridasu:

The performer uses various types of movements and body language to present a character. The performer moves on the stage while narrating the story. He moves from upstage to downstage and left stage to right stage. He also takes few circular movements. The circular movements are visible in dancing for a song. The movements of the performer are accompanied by musical instruments. The performer plays Chidathalu while performing. Chidathalu and other musical instruments accompany the dialogues, poetic text, songs and the performer's movements. Both music and the performers' movements appear pleasant during the performance. Along with dance movements, some of the movements are taken when the performer is trying to represent a character in the story. Usually, in theatre, the vigorous character are represented with vibrant movements, but in Harikatha vigorous character is portrayed with minimised moves. Thus, the performer's movements create pleasant and devotional feeling during the performance. .

Performer taps his foot on the floor along with the music and songs. These taps are rhythmic to the music of the percussion instruments. These tapping footsteps are included in the dance of a song in the performance. Through his narration and performance, performer enthuse the spectators.

d) Enacting with invisible Character:

Along with his moves, creates fictional space or narrative's space. He demonstrates both the narrator and the character. For this, he transforms the physical space to narrative space. The concept of dual space is visible in most of the South Indian narrative performances. For example, Bhikshu observes, in his article *Space-as Creative Expression in Oggu Katha*, observes dual space: "The physical and social context of performance of Oggu Katha makes the narrator to create himself a dual space and he shifts between the narrator's space and narrative's space as narrator and character" (2). As it is observed in Oggu Katha by Bhikshu, Harikatha performer also creates narrative space when he represent a fictional character. Similarly, he also transforms the half of the physical stage

space (narrator's space) into narrative space to enact with invisible character. Thus, the narrator transforms the stage space into narrative's spaces fully and partially.

When the performer creates invisible characters on the stage with his body language, he interacts with the invisible characters. Sometimes, the performer acts as a character and interacts with other invisible character. The creation of invisible character is communicated with the postures and mimic actions. For instance, when Duryodhana fights with Bheema, the performer portrayed Duryodhana and created invisible character Bheema; then, the performer enacted with invisible character Bheema for less than a minute. After this actions, he may narrates something related to the scene. Now, he acts as Bheema because Bheema may need to deliver an important dialogue. The performer continuous portraying roles and creating invisible characters. The creation and representation of the characters are exchanged for a particular time. The performer's acting with invisible character allows the spectators believe that there are two characters having interaction on the stage. This kind of acting is very common in Harikatha. With the physical actions, here, narrator delivers both dialogues of characters that he needs to imagine and represent in the scene. In some scenes, the actor takes to the position and movement of the second character and deliver the character instead of showing invisible character as told in the above paragraph. He also will have dialogue with second character. The evidences suggested that the performer only enacts with two invisible character on the stage at a time, which he imagines to his left and right side. To act with invisible character, performer uses his hands to show the invisible character's position. He turns towards the position of the invisible character. This kind of performance enforces the spectators' imagination to experience that they are watching *Dhrishya Kavyam*.

e) Expressions:

Along with moves and body language, the performer uses his facial expressions to communicate a character. He is capable to express nine expressions during the performance. These *navarasa* (nine expressions) are obviously created with moves, facial expressions and body language of the performer. These nine expressions promotes to call Harikatha as a theatrical show by a solo performer. For instance, one of the nine expressions, heroic expression is appeared with exaggerated facial expressions and movement. These actions, for this expression, the performer's moves are accompanied with suitable music. His eyes are wide. When he describes the evil character, he criticise the character's quality. He even laughs at the evil character's behaviour. He shifts his role from

narrator to actor to represent the character. For instance, in the scene of Death of Duryodhana, the performer, as a narrator, laughs at the situation of Dhurydhana; then, he acts the role of Bheema. For another example, in the scene of Keechaka vadha, where Keechaka comes to meet Draupadi, the performer personally shows his anger and criticises the Keechaka's lust; then, he acts as disguised Bheema. These kind of shifts of the performer from the narrator to the character are established with facial expressions, performer's movements and body language.

f) Mind of Haridasu:

Since the performer does not take exit until he finishes the performance, he needs to concentrate for at least three hours. Before he comes on to the stage, the performer mind is tuned by few pre-performance rituals. The rituals assist him to concentrate for a long time during the performance. The ritual also keeps the performer's mind pleasant and calm. As part of the ritual, the performer takes bath before he enters into the performance space. After the bath, he wears the costumes. Then, he appears on the stage to begin stage preliminaries. Here, he seeks the blessings of the god to have a successful performance. One of the aims of the stage preliminaries is to concentrate during the performance. Thus, Harikatha performer demonstrate his concentration skills during the performance.

The performer's concentration skills supports him to be fluent with the text during the performance. He is well educated in wide range of texts: epic, Puranas and contemporary. His knowledge on wide range of text promotes him to be spontaneous to select suitable side stories, poetry and songs for a scene in the performance. He is good at remembering and delivering variety of stories from Puranas during the performance. It is not just remembering the stories, but he has to deliver these side stories on right incident of main story. His literary knowledge also assists him to be fluent and to choose the best words and hymns on the stage. Since he demonstrates wide range text, the performer is very conscious to swing roles from philosopher, (moral teaching) to comedian.

g) Vocal skills:

Harikatha performer needs to demonstrate voice skills well. His first and important voice skill is to control the breath. If he does not control his breath, the performer cannot utilise his voice; the performer becomes hoarse; he may acquire abnormal voice during the performance (Donappa 106). Along with his voice skills, he has to be good at speech and diction. He is capable to deliver the speech in fast and slow without spoiling the clarity of the text. He can communicate the meaning of the text with different speeds of speaking.

The performer reaches his maximum volume in case of a performance without microphone. When he demonstrating evil characters, he may use loud voices. He is good to manipulate with his high and low pitch voices to deliver dialogues. He is capable to modulate the voice to express the mood of the scene. Since Harikatha is narrative form, his voice and speech is major source for him to create images in the minds of spectators. Especially, his vocal skills and elegance of speech creates a space for spectators to experience devotion.

h) Performing Interruptive recites:

During the performance, the performer pauses the narration for few reasons. At these pauses, he recites special text. This is not part of the performance text. The special text is locally known as Echcharikala. It is one or two lines phrases meant to recite by spectators along with the performer. It is recited between the intervals. These intervals are caused with many reasons: when spectators are emotionally and physically tired; when spectators are distracted; when performer forgets the text; and when spectators offer homage to the performer. In these cases, the performer recites the special text: Echcharikala.

Echcharikala is a tool to energise the spectators. It leads the spectators to follow the story. It attracts towards the story from any kind of distractions. It is spoken by the Haridasu, and spectators recites along with him during the performance. It is performed irrespective of the story. Donappa has observed few Echcharikala: “*Sri Anjaneya varada govindo hari, Sri Pundareeka varada govindo hari, Srimadindaraaramana govindo hari, srimadramaaramana govindo hari*” (61). The primary aim of Echcharikala is devote Lord Hari. But, it is used to energise the spectators. Usually, it is performed in various situations: when spectators are losing energy; when they fall in sleep; when the scene is emotionally heavy; when the performer needs to take rest and to drink water; when performer needs to announce something; and after performer takes homage from spectators.

Since the performance is performed for more than two hours without any official break, the spectators are physically tired at few occasions. In some cases, the story is heavy for spectators; so, he is emotionally tired. He is smart enough to identify the spectators’ position. To energise them, the performer depends on Echcharikala. During the performance, temple committee interrupt the performance to announce something. These announcements distracts the spectators. In this case, the performer recites Echcharikala before the performance and after the performance. Here, Echcharikala functions as medium to take the spectators away from the story and bring them back to the story. As the

performance text is from wide range, sometimes Harikatha performer forgets his narration. In this case, he recites Echcharikala; along with him, spectators recites. As it is a short and repeatable text, the performer does not need to put lot of effort to recite Echcharikala. While they (the spectators and the performer) are reciting Echcharikala, the performer possibly recollects the scene to continue his narration. In many cases, the performer is paid homage by spectators. To accept the homage, the performer needs to pause the performance. In this case, the performer recites Echcharikala before and after the pause. Thus Echcharikala builds invisible web connections among the spectators, performer and text.

Namasankeerthanam functions exactly the same as Echcharikala in Harikatha. Along with these functions, Namasankeerthanam is possibly utilised to bring back the spectators from the fictional world. The word Namasankeerthanam is also referred as Namayagnam, Namavali and Divyanamasankeerhtana (Donappa 130). Nama is a common word in all these words. Nama, the Telugu word, is referred as mind. Sankeerthanam means combination of hymns. Thus, Namasankeerthanam probably expresses the actions of certain hymns to lead the mind towards devotion. Similar meaning is observable to the word Namayagnam. In this word, Yagnam means sacrifice. By adding both words Nama and Yagnam, Namayagnam possibly refers the meaning of sacrifice of mind. As most of the Telugu words has more than two meaning, Namayagna also refers sacrifice with names. Donappas has noted 24 Namasankeerthanams in his book *Telugu Harikatha Sarvasvam* (131-132). Based on the performance text, the performer select few of Namasankeerthanams. Donappa says Namasankeerthanams are also performed at the end of the performnce, before the *mangalam* (a song at conclusion of the performance). Thus, Echcharikala and Namasankeerthanams is performed to build a bridge in the interruptions of the narration.

i) Literacy skill:

Literary skill is one of the skills of Harikatha performer. He demonstrates vast range of literature knowledge during the performance. As part of his literature knowledge, he is aware of Indian epics, Puranas and contemporary literature. His literary skill is to select appropriate text from his literary knowledge. The performer uses his literary skills to incorporate a new theme in classical text. This kind of incorporation is very important in telling the side-stories along with the main story. In the performance, he pays equal importance to both classical and contemporary literature. While classical literature is visible when the performer performs poetry and hymns, contemporary literature is visible

when he performs sides-stories. Without depending on a script, the performer remembers the stories, hymns and poetry of epics and Puranas by heart. He is capable to present thousands of verses, poetry, hymns and hundreds of tunes. One of his literary skill is selecting a right text to elaborate a scene during the performance. He combines appropriate text to the main story to engage spectators for the long time. One of the performer challenging skill is to select a text that take the spectators to intellectual position. Usually, Harikatha performer extends and shortens the length of the scene in a story. This kind of extending and shortening the performance is purely depends on adding or removing text form the main story. The adding and removing text is possible when the performer is aware of vast range of literature. Thus, the performer applies his literary knowledge during the performance to engage vast range of spectators.

j) Training:

His training process plays significant role to acquire range performance skills. Earlier days, performer was trained under ‘Guru Shisha Paramapara’. In those days, the performance text is in handwriting form. Now a days, training for Harikatha follows both ‘guru shishya parampara’ and institutional level. In Andhra Pradesh, Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University and Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam’s Srivenkateswara college of Music and Dance offer Harikatha courses. Telugu University offers 2 years diploma course in Harikatha.¹⁰¹ Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam’s Srivenkateswara college of Musica and Dance, Tirupathi, offers Harikatha in modules: 3 years Visarada tittle course, and 2 years Praveena tittle course.¹⁰² As part his course, the performer is trained to evoke nine *rasas* in spectators. He explores to depict various characters. His body, mind and voice are trained during the course. As part of the course, he learns to incorporate the body, mind and voice during the performance. Along with literature, he studies voice, speech, music and acting. Thus, his training process establishes the range of the performance skills.

5. Spectators:

According to Ransome, storytelling concept rooted back to the oral tradition where elders were narrating cautious examples to the children and their family members (6). Ransome illustration on the origin of storytelling is appropriate to compare with the origin of Indian storytelling, because the ancient Indian story telling was focused on themes of

¹⁰¹ For details visit http://teluguuniversity.ac.in/fine-arts/dept_music_courses/

¹⁰² For details visit <http://www.tirumala.org/Documents/201507251806129081.pdf>

Dharma (ethics and the code of conduct of the individuals). Thus, Harikatha may have reasons to emphasis Dharma in side stories of Harikatha. It is obvious that the Harikatha is also performed to educate the people and to teach intellectuality. Consequently, most of the spectators come to watch Harikatha performance to devote and to explore Dharma.

Spectators' space always represent the rural culture, a practice of indigenous culture that views their native story telling form. Even electronic media has become a popular entertainment, Harikatha is also entertainment for these rural people in the region. Most of the spectators are from surrounding villages to the temple that hosts the performance. The spectators are from various sections of local community and various age people. Except few young men, women, and children, most of the spectators are elder people. The absence of youngsters does not disappoint to organise the performance. While Veedhi-natakamu spectators are from various ages, most spectators of Harikatha are from above middle age. Children are hardly visible in spectators' space. Whereas some of the Harikatha performances are occupied with less than 500 spectators, other performance are occupied with more than 1000 spectators. For instance, in Jeevakona, 2016, Harikatha performance is witnessed by more than 1000 spectators in the context of Draupadi festival. Few spectators come from a long distance to listen their favourite story in Harikatha. As it is visible in Veedhi-natakamu performances, most of the female spectators witness Harikatha to worship the goddess Draupadi. Some of Harikathas are written considering spectators' perception and knowledge. For instance, Vaadarevu Sitaramanjaneya Bhagavathar categorises the Harikatha into two: for literate and illiterate spectators (73). For literate spectators, the narration is in classical Telugu. For illiterate people language is local dialect. In many cases, the performer changes narrative text from classical to contemporary based on the type of the spectators. For an instance, he adds more spoken language if number of spectators are illiterate or lack of knowledge in epics and Puranas. In contrast to that, he uses classical text when there are well educated people in spectators. To entertain the youth, the narrator, in his narration, creates humour.

Harikatha has been surviving in the context of devotion, and it has also demonstrated human values through its performances. The local community believes that listening Harikatha makes them to identify their souls with the god (probably with Lord Hari). According to Nagarathnam, listening Harikatha is actual rest, to eradicate all troubles, *Moksham*, *mukthi* (salvation). According to a devotee, listening Harikatha purifies one's mind and keeps him/her away from the bad thoughts. People also believe that

listening Harikatha make one to submit himself to Lord Hari. As they are watching for several years, most of the spectators are familiar with the philosophical subjects that are embedded in Harikatha performance text. The spectators must demonstrate basic knowledge at Indian epics and myths to follow entire performance. Some of the young spectators, who are not aware of the Indian epics and myths, are engaged with side stories. Even these side stories entertain, it gives moral messages at the end of the narration of the side story. Spectators does not expect any double-meaning narration in Harikatha. In contrast to Veedhi-natakamu, sexual jokes are strictly prohibited in Harikatha performance. In Harikatha, spectators seemingly focuses on the spiritual expression in the text. In her paper, *Harikatha: New Message through an old Form*, Usharani Narayana notes H K Ranganath's comment on Harikatha as, " it (*Harikatha*) was indeed the right school of the illiterate masses in the villages and educated them on dramatic episodes contained in human classic like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha* ".(Give reference as third author, because it is very important). Donappa referes that word Hari destroys the sins (Need to give reference to the quote which was copied in the above). The meaning of the word Hari leads the spectators to believe that listening Harikatha destroys their (spectators') sins. The belief allows the spectators who wish to destroy their sins to watch Harikatha, and it makes them to reach devotional world from the real world. Thus, Harikatha educates spectators through devotional text, and drive the spectators to reach the devotional world.

a) Physical and mental Exhaustion:

At Harikatha, spectators are observed experiencing physical and mental exhaustion. As the duration of Harikatha performance is longer than two hours, the spectators reach physical exhaustion. The physical exhaustion of the spectators are observed when they are about to sleep. In this case, the spectators are energised with Namakeerthanalu and Echcharikala performed by the performer. The mental exhaustion is observed when the performer is narrating emotionally heavy stories. For example, Draupadi-vastrapaharanamu is an emotional heavy story for female spectators; when it is narrated by the performer, few female spectators reach mental exhaustion. In this case, the spectators are directed to recite Namakeerthanalu and Echarikalu along with the performer.

b) Spectators' sight lines:

As the performance is performed in day time, the spectators need a shelter to avoid the heavy sunlight. Probably this is one of the reason to organise the performance space and spectators 'space under a roof. Thus, in Draupadi festival, the spectators' space is under

a large shed or a roof of the temple hall. Some of the temple erect a temporary shed with palm leaves. For instance in Jeevakona, the shed for spectators' space is temporarily created. In case of Yamanuru, both the spectators' and the performance space is arranged in the temple hall for oral narrative performance. To watch the performance, the spectators sit on the mats, the bedsheets or the floor. Most of the spectators carry their own mats and bedsheets. As the performance space is not raised much to the spectators' space, the vertical sight lines are not managed properly. The horizontal sight lines are also abstracted by the poles of the shed or pillars of the temple hall. In many cases, the horizontal sight lines are distracted by the spectators who walk during the performances or who pay homage to the performer. For example, few of the spectators walk away or walk into the spectators' space; for another example, few of the spectators pay homage to the performer at the performance space. In this case, the spectators who pay homage to the performer is abstracted to other spectators' view. Thus, spectators' sight lines are not maintained properly in most of Harikatha performances.

c) Chadivimpulu (homage):

During the performance, spectators pay homage to the performer. The tradition of paying homage to the performer is locally called as *Chadivimpulu*. When a spectator pays a homage, spectators is blessed by the performer. *Chadivimpulu* is also paid to the performer to request the god to release the soul of a loved person who is already dead. The homage is paid in the form of cash, blouse piece, flowers, fruits and sweets. Most of the times, spectators use to pay homage in the form of cash. Recent observations explores that most of the spectators pay not less than ten rupees. When Draupadi-vastrapaharanamu is narrated by a female narrator, some of the female spectators offer blouse piece, fruits, flowers, vermilion, turmeric powder, betel leaves and areca nuts to the narrator. Sometimes, the paying of homage interrupts the performance. If many spectators pay homage at a same time, it disconnect the spectators from the performance. In this case, the performer revise last few scene where he stops.

At the end of the performance, spectators are requested to pay *dhakshina* ("an offering made in money"). The request is made sending *harathi* plate to the spectators. Before *harathi* plate is sent to the spectators, the performer offer money in the *harathi* plate and recites Hari Namasmarana. Then spectators follow to offer money in the plate. Then, the performer perform *managalam*.

Here, along with emotional participation, physical participation of the spectators is observed when they perform *Chadivimpulu* and *dhakshina*. This physical participation suggests the spectators to call as active participants in the performance.

6. Sound:

As Harikatha is dominated by verbal performance, sound plays major role in Harikatha. Sounds at the Harikatha performance is created by the spectators, the performer and the musicians. The performer's sounds are amplified through an amplifier to reach the corners of the village. These sounds are brought to the spectators through microphones which is broadly visible to the spectators. These microphones are stood by stands. It is obvious that the sounds of the Harikatha creates festival atmosphere and loudness. The music that accompanies the performance creates tone of pleasantness. It is also used to accompany the performer's movement. It is possible to think that sounds at Harikatha consciously take the spectators into various worlds: devotional, entertainment, festival. The sounds significantly acts as a medium for spectators to reach these worlds.

a) Sounds that are produces by the spectators:

As it is observed in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators does not cheer, whistle and scream during the Harikatha performance. While comic scenes are performed, spectators smile, giggle and laugh. In many cases, the performer recites Namasankeerthanam and Echcharikala. Each line is repeated by spectators after the performer recites. These sounds are made to devote Lord Hari. The sounds in spectators' space seemingly fills the pleasant atmosphere. It appears that the spectators' space is not filled with environment of entertainment, but the space is filled with devotional environment. The devotional environment created by the performer and spectators stimulates other spectators who join lately. It is obvious that the sounds establish a shared experience of the spectators. Ultimately, spectators' sounds also establish the devotional environment.

b) Performance sounds:

The aim of the performance is to spread devotion. The performance sounds are probably major resources to create devotional environments. It offers shared experience to the spectators. The performance sounds of Harikatha can be categorised into two: sounds that are produced by performer and musicians.

(1) *Sounds by performer:*

The performer creates the sounds with his narration, songs, hymns and rhythmic sounds of Chidathalu during the performance. The performer uses various volumes, tempo and pitches during his narration. Chidathalu, in his hand, creates rhythmic sounds that accompany his physical movement. His actions and narration are also accompanied by musical instruments. He sings short and lengthy devotional songs according to the situation in the performance. The performance starts with the prayer songs. These prayer songs are to invoke Lord Ganesh, goddess Saraswathi and Ishta-devatha (the main deity).

Most of the Harikatha performances, as other Indian traditional performances, begins with a prayer to Lord Ganesha. According to local community, the prayer to Lord Ganesha is performed to have a successful performance without any difficulties. It is a common tradition in India to worship Lord Ganesh before a performance. Adhibhatla Narayana Dasu writes a prayer song to worship Lord Ganesh in a Harikatha, Prahalad Charitra:

Pa!! Gananayaka Vignamu Seyakura

A!! Phanipathi Bhusha-bhakthasampsha, bathimalu kondura vinayaka

Kanikaramuna Naa kavyamu hayiga gonasaginchumura.vinayaka

Munumunduga neeku mrokku kunnane-pani neraveradura !!ga!!

Gee!! Kudumulundrallu mrokke du guju velpu

Nidudhayuramuna bapa jannidhamu dhalpi

Mudu murthulakum chettu modhati para

Lopa menchaku mouro yeluka savar. (qtd. in Purushottamachari 117)

Some of the performance probably starts with a prayer songs to praise the father of the writer, to worship the Guru, the teacher of the performer and the gods. For instance, in Pandava Swargarohanamu, Jeerreddy Chennareddy (2001), in the beginning of the text of the Harikatha, notes three various songs: to praise the father of the writer, to praise the Guru, to worship Lord Ganesha and to praise goddess Saraswathi. Jeerreddy Chennareddy observes the prayer song to praise Lord Ganesh, but refers his father name at the end of the prayer:

Shlo!! Sarvamara samaaradhyam, sharvaani priyanandanam

Karyanthraya vighnaya, ganesham pranamamyaham!!

Shankarabharanam-Khadahathi

Pa!! Na karyamuna kadduraku lambodhara!

Ni kive nanamo vakamulura!dhora!

A!! Akhila Vidhalaku ni vacharyudavu gana

Akalaka Bhakthi ninnarpinchuthura lona !!naka!!

Ch!! Sarva shubhakarya prarabha naputha!

Parvathi sutha suvarvana vasavvanathaa!

Mi!! chidrupa1 gananatha1 chirakeerhi shobhitha!

Chithkalathmaka! Chennareddy sthavinutha!¹⁰³

The above two prayer, written by Narayana Dasu and Chennareddy, are having similar meaning, and it is to pray the Lord Ganesha. In the second prayer, the writer introduces his name in the prayer.

The songs make the spectators to relax from the heavy story and follow the performance for such a long time. The songs and poetic narration allows the spectators to compresences the story. It is obvious that the performer improvises the songs during the performance. For local community, in the performance context, the performer is most sacred and devotional object. This stimulates the spectators to think the sounds produced by the performer is purely devotional.

Along with devotional songs, the performer uses old movie songs which are connected to the stories of Puranas, Indian epics and social themes. The addition of these songs makes the spectators to feel familiar with the text. These songs are also written in the context of the devotional theme. These songs are adopted by Harikatha performers in their

¹⁰³ See the introduction part in Chennareddy, Jeeredy. *Pandava Swargarohanamu-Harikatha*. Tirupathi: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams, 2001. Print

performance. Purushottamachari, in *Harikatha Kadhana Vidhanam-Harikathakulu*, notes few cinema songs that are sung in Harikatha (155-159):

1. Title of the movie: Bava Maradallu (1984)

Song¹⁰⁴:

Mukkoti Devathalu Okkatainaru

Chakkani papanu ikkaduncharu !!2!!

Ekkadunnagani dikkuwarekadha

Dikkulanu vidadisi daricherchuve ra...

2. Title of the movie: Ramu (1968)

Song¹⁰⁵:

Deenulanu kapadutaku devude unnadu

Devudi namminavadu ennadu chedipodu

Akali annamu vedhanaku aoushadam

Paramathmuni sannidiki rave o manasa....

3. Title of the movie: Rangula Ratnam (1966)

Song¹⁰⁶:

Nadireyi yejaamulo swami ninu chera digivachchuno

Thirumala shikarala digi vachchuno !!2!!

Mamu ganna mayamm alivelu mangamma

Pathi devu badilona muriseti vela.....

4. Title of the movie: Rahasyam (1967)

Song¹⁰⁷:

¹⁰⁴ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ofth4MhN8H8>

¹⁰⁵ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hPqml0Af6MI>

¹⁰⁶ To listen the song click on the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xpg3K_mKpbQ

¹⁰⁷ To listen the song click on the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qgrqgf_1yHA

Thirumala girivasa divyamandhahasa

Varabhaya leela vilasanavyachidwilasa

Yakanu bommale alyamanukoni

Mamanase neemandira manugoni vandaruvanmanda

Nee dasu landarilo mammadikula jeseva....

5. Title of the movie: Vichitra Dampatyam (1971)

Song¹⁰⁸:

Shri gouri shri gouri ye shivuni shiramandu

Ekanga chindulu vesina !!2!!

6. Title of the movie: Narthanasala (1963)

Song: *Janani shivakamini jaya shubhakarini*

Vijaya rupini !!2!!

Ammavu neeve akhila jagalaku

Ammalaganna ammavu neeve !!2!!

Nee charanamule nammithinamma !!2!!

Sharanamu korithi amma Bhavani

7. Title of the movie: Pooja (1975)

Song¹⁰⁹:

nee dhaya radha rama nee daya radha

Kadhanu varevaru kalyana rama

Nannu broche vadavani nade teliya

Ina vamsha thilaka aa....

¹⁰⁸ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uSoOzy-spdQ>

¹⁰⁹ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HR2l14pJtsQ>

8. Title of the movie: Sampoorna Ramayanam (1971)

Song¹¹⁰:

ramayya thandri o ramayya thandri

Ma nomulanni neevele ramayya thandri

9. Title of the movie: Nartanasala (1963)

Song¹¹¹:

aa...aa...aa.. salalitha raga sudha rasa saaram !!2!!

Sarvakala maya natya vilasam !!2!!

Manujula sourabha sumakunjalaa !!2!!

Ranjillu madhukara mrudhu jhunkaram

Salaliktha raga sudha rasa saram

Sarvakala maya natya vilasam

10. Title of the movie: Pooja Phalam (1964)

Song¹¹²:

pagale vennela jagame uyala

Pagale uhalake kannulunte

Pagale vennala jagame uyala

Ningi lona chandamama thongi chuse

Neetilona kaluvapuvvu thongi chuse

Ee anuragame jeevana ragamai

Yadalo thene jallu kurisi poda....

11. Title of the movie: Varakatnam (1969)

¹¹⁰ To listen the song click on the link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tfHbmC98R_c

¹¹¹ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fl8bgmrrPjU>

¹¹² To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yWd69zAedKM>

Song¹¹³:

idhena mana sampradaya midena

Tharatharaluga sanghamulo karudu gattina dhuracharam !! idhena!!

Varkatnapu pisachala dhuranthala koralalo !!2!!

Annem punnem yerugani adabathuku baliyena !! idhena!!

Chattalanu chesi labhamemi dhinam dhinam shasanalu chesi labha memi

Basakotte swardhammunu visirikottilenidi

Sahanamurthi yaina sthreeni gouravinchalenidi !!idenna!...

12. Title of the movie: Prema Nagar (1971)

Song¹¹⁴:

manasu gathi in the manishi brathuku in the

Mansunna manishiki sukamu ledu anthe !!manasu!!

Okariki isthe marali radu odi ordipothe masilipodu !!2!!

Gayamaithe masipodhu pagilipothe athuku padadhu

Antha mattenani telusu adi oka maye ani telusu

Thelisi valachi vilapinchatulo thiyyadanam evariki thelusu !!mani!!

13. Title of the movie: Devadasu (1953)

Song¹¹⁵:

Jagame maya brathuke maya

Vedhalalo sara minthenaya ee vinthanaya !!jaga!!

Kalimireyulu kashta sukhalu kavadilo kundalaneebhayamemi

Kavadi koyyonoy kundalu mannenoyi

¹¹³ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrYVtywsiLc>

¹¹⁴ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBhsOudp5wA>

¹¹⁵ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nZCHsIegkaE>

Kanugonte satyaminthe noyi ee vinthe noyi !!jaga!!

Aashamohamula dhariranikoyi

Anyulaki nee sukhamu ankithamoyi

Badhe soukhyamane bhavasaraneevoyi...

14. Title of the movie: Top Hero (1994)

Song:

beedilu thagandi babulu

Thagi swarganni thagandi babulu....

15. Title of the movie: Seetharama Raju (1999)

Song¹¹⁶:

vinidu vinudi ee sigeret gadha viudhe manasara

Chuttu, badi, thambaku anni chuttale thanaku

Binte meeku jnanodhayamai dhammulagakuntaraa

Anadinunchi acharanga vasthundi alavatu

Gareebunnchi navabu dhaga antha samanama antu... ..

There are many songs from various subjects are used in Harikatha. Here, Purushottamachari notes 15 songs from various movies. These songs are sung in various situations in Harikatha. These songs communicates devotional or social themes. For instance, songs from 1 to 8 in the above list, purely dedicated to devote various Hindhu gods. Even the theme of the Draupadi festival is to devote Pandavas, the songs to devote other gods are sung in Harikatha. For example, song number 8 is meant to sing to devote Lord Rama, but the song is probably sung in all other devotional subjects. Few of the songs are sung in Harikatha to communicate social message. For instance, songs from 10 to 15 from the above list are sung to communicate social message. These songs are not related to Mahabharatha text to perform in Draupadi festival in the form of Harikatha, but they are

¹¹⁶ To listen the song click on the link <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qvaCX1L0rh8>

sung to educate the devotees. These songs are probably sung in the comic scenes of the main story. Thus, movie songs are incorporated in Harikatha performances.

The performance also ends with a song which is locally called as *mangalam*. The song *mangalam* is sung with a ritual which is focuses on rotating a plate place with a burning camphor and water filled with red colour. *Mangalam* is usually performed to praise the gods. It is a kind of a song combined with rituals to thank the god for successful performance.

Thus, the performer sings various songs from the beginning of the performance to end of the performance. It is obvious that these songs are sung to create devotional environment and to educate the people.

(2) Musical instruments:

The music that accompanies the performance is created with the musical instruments such as violin, Harmonium, Tabala and Mridangam. If the fund supports, Veena, Thambura, Kanjeera, Ghatam, Dholak, flute, and Bull Bull taara are used to accompany the performance. Donappa refers Harikatha music as *jangram gounam* which means the singer's voice is accompanied by musical instrument (142). Donappa has refered few more musical instruments that are used in Harikatha: "*Ektar*¹¹⁷, clarinet, *Ghatam*¹¹⁸, *Dholak*¹¹⁹, *Bulbul-tara*¹²⁰, and *morsing*¹²¹" (158). Thus, various musical instruments are used in Harikatha performance.

The music accompanies the entire performance. It enhance the ordinary verses into musical verses. In Harikatha, music is one of the effective tool to communicate text and engage the spectators. During the narration of long passages of text, some of the text are delivered in a semi-musical manner. These short passages also a kind of refreshment for the spectators.

These musical instruments are observed in three major roles in Harikatha: to fill the gaps, to engage the spectators for long time, and to have successful performance. Since the Harikatha is performed for long durations, the performer needs to take rest during the performnce. As he does not take exit from the stage until he finishes the performance, he

¹¹⁷ *Ektar* is a folk instrument which accompanies the folk singers. It is a string instrument.

¹¹⁸ *Ghatam* is a "clay pot which is used as percussion instrument".

¹¹⁹ *Dholak* is a leather mounted percussion instrument.

¹²⁰ *Bulbul-tara* is a "stringed musical instrument played with both hands".

¹²¹ *Morsing*, one of the oldest Indian musical instrument, is a "metal mouth harp".

sits on the stage. During his rest, the musicians play various tunes to engage the spectators not to disconnect with the performance. Thus, the first role of musicians is that they play music to fill the gaps of the narration during the performance. The second role is to engage the spectators for long time. The spectators need some rest for their ears from the heavy narration during the performance. The rest is given by playing musical instruments. The sound of musical tunes relax the spectators. The third role is to have successful performance. It is obvious that success of the performance is depends on the presence of the music. Without the musical instrument, the spectators are seemingly not able to watch Harikatha. Thus, musicians play an important role in Harikatha performances.

Conclusion:

The chapter has focused to study scenographic elements in Harikatha. As part of the study, the chapter has emphasised the study of space; text; colour and composition; performer; spectators; sounds. The section of the space has demonstrated the simplicity of the performances space and spectators' space. It has also established interaction between the performer and the spectators. The section text has demonstrated the adaptation of the classical text to communicate the morals. The section has also contributed to understand the importance of *Pittakathalu* (side stories) in Harikatha. The section colour and compositions has proved its absence in these performances. In this chapter, the section performer has offered significant role of the performer in engaging spectators. The section spectators has demonstrated the engagement of the spectators in the performances. It has also proved the spectators' physical and mental exhaustion during the performances. The section has identified that sound is one of the dominant scenographic element to engage the spectators. Harikatha, an oral narrative form, is not visually rich as folk theatre, Veedhi-natakamu. The performer does not even use heavy makeup and costumes. The stage is simply an empty space. It does not allow any curtain or any theatrical prop. It is an oral narrative form with minimized acting, songs and dance. With simple theatrical aspects, Harikatha attracts thousands of the spectators. Harikatha adapts songs from the local media. It engages large number of spectators with moral themes. It is aimed to spread the devotion and communicate the knowledge and moral. The single performer holds the spectators for long durations. These evidences indicates the presence of scenography in Harikatha.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study is made to understand the role of scenographic elements in Draupadi festival. These scenographic elements are space; text; colour and composition; performer; spectators; and sound. This study offers with an outline of the scenography in a community festival which is combined with rituals, oral narrative performances and folk theatre held at Yamanuru, Vendugampalli and Jeevakona in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh.

When probed into the issues related to scenographic aspects, the complexity in this study is realised in relating the western theories of the subject in Indian cultural context. Since the area of study happens in a religious ceremony of the village community, it is understood that the ethnic connections to their belief system controls the entire state of affairs. Hence it is essential to understand the complexities of the elements of performances in relation to the indigenous and native expression of scenography specifically to the festival space/context opted for this study.

To that end, the study focused on the rituals, oral narrative performances and folk theatre performances in Draupadi festival. In this study, chapter two discussed to study specially on ritual performances in the festival. Chapter three discussed on Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on an elevated platform. Chapter four discussed another set of Veedhi-natakamu performances which are performed in outdoors. Chapter five discussed oral narrative performances called Harikatha. Chapter two to five are focused to discuss the role of scenographic aspects in the context of Draupadi festival.

Chapter two introduced the rituals that were organised in Draupadi festival. The rituals were studied individually in the aspects of scenography. The performance space of the rituals were understood. The participants' engagement in the rituals were deeply analysed. The aim of the chapter was to study how an ordinary space was transformed to sacred and devotional environments. To present the study on the rituals, the chapter was organised in two major parts. The first part was focused to study the rituals individually. The second part was planned to study the rituals as a unit. The reason to organise the second part was not to repeat the common aspects of scenography in the rituals. It was found that the ritual space was devotionally charged with the installation arts, the idols, the officiants and the devotees. Devotionally charged space denoted the presence of scenography. Thus, the ritual scenography was observed in Draupadi rituals.

Chapter three explored Veedhi-natakamu performances that were performed on a stage. The chapter was referred with a “stage based theatre” because to avoid confusion with the Veedhi-natakamu performances that were performed in outdoors. As it was aimed, the chapter focused to study scenographic elements in these performances. To this end, the chapter studied the stage building and spectators’ space of Veedhi-natakamu; the performance text; the props, makeup, light, costumes and visual compositions; the performers; spectators; and sound. The section space understood how the space functions. The text explored the analysis of each play, and analysed the synopsis of the plays, and identified the role of Veedhi-natakamu text in the festival. The makeup demonstrated its process and function in Veedhi-natakamu. The section performers demonstrated skills of Veedhi-natakamu performers to engage large number of spectators. The section spectators analysed their engagement with Veedhi-natakamu performances. The section sound identified various sounds in the environments of the festival during Veedhi-natakamu performances. Thus, chapter three studied scenographic elements in Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on a stage.

The aim of chapter four was to study Veedhi-natakamu that were performed in outdoors. These performances were referred “outdoor theatrical performances”. The chapter introduced outdoor theatrical performances in the festival. Chapter was presented in two major parts. In first part, each outdoor theatrical performances was studied in scenographic aspects. In second part, common aspects of scenography in these outdoor theatrical performances were presented. In second part of the chapter, outdoor theatrical space was studied, and shades of environmental theatre was explored in the performances. Second part of the chapter also studied other scenographic elements such as text, costumes, props, makeup, lighting, performers, spectators and sound.

The purpose of chapter five was to study oral narrative performances in the festival. The chapter also presented in two major parts. As part of the study, in the first part, the chapter introduced Harikatha performances in various contexts and in the present context. In the second part, Harikatha was studied in scenographic aspects. The chapter explored performance and spectators’ space of Harikatha performances. As part of the textual analysis, the chapter studied *Pittakathalu*; plots and its structure; and scenic allusions. To analyse colour and compositions in Harikatha performances, the chapter studied makeup, costumes, props, lighting, scenery and composition. The performer section in the chapter studied the skills of Harikatha performer in engaging spectators. To study spectators of

Harikatha performances, the chapter focused to analyse their engagement; physical and mental exhaustion; sight lines; and role in paying homages. As Harikatha performance is oral narrative, the sound plays significant role. To study the sounds of Harikatha, the chapter focused to study various sounds at Harikatha performances: music and songs.

Since scenographic elements are taken as guidelines, Draupadi festival has been studied in connection with six prominent elements in the theme of Draupadi festival: space/context; text; colour and composition; performer; spectators; and sound. Below, it will be reviewed these elements and their interconnections.

1. Space/context:

In Draupadi festival, the space was a significant element to engage participants. Without the festival context, the space did not create appropriate meaning in Draupadi festival. Space and context had significant relation here. It created a medium for the participants and the performers to engage in various ways. It was organised to create environments which facilitate rituals, performances, processions and exhibitions. The environments were vibrated audibly and visually with the devotional songs; the rituals; the fairs; the narrative performances and the theatrical performances. The most visual movement was occurred in the rituals and the theatrical performances. The festival space was divided into three parts: for rituals; outdoor theatrical performances; and stage based theatrical performances and oral narratives. Few rituals and outdoor theatrical performances were performed in the farm fields. Except these rituals and outdoor theatrical performances, most of the rituals, oral narratives, stage based performances and outdoor theatrical performances were performed in the temple courtyards. The festival space was filled with animated and unanimated visuals. The animated visuals were observed in theatrical, oral narrative and ritual performances. Unanimated visuals were observed in sacred installations, Tapas-manu, Jammi tree, recumbent effigy of Duryodhana, Ilavnatha effigy, and Dwaja-stambamu. Thus, the festival space created a medium (affordance) for participants and performers to move freely.

The ritual spaces were observed in both outdoors and indoors, and they were not created on raised platforms. The ritual spaces were created and organised by Dharmakarthalu and the officiants. Before a ritual begun, the space was empty. The space became active with the ritual performances. The sacred installations were used to create ritual environments. These installations were tangled to the community belief and

indigenous scenographic elements. Here, the sacred installations, which created scenographic expressions, were organised to communicate sacredness and the community belief. The scenographic expression in the ritual spaces were devotional because they offered the environments to worship the gods (Pandavas) and the goddess (Draupadi).

The ritual space was surrounded by the devotees for most of the rituals. Devotees were allowed freely around the ritual space. Entering into the ritual space was restricted for many devotees. For instance, except the officiants and Dharmakarthalu, devotees were not allowed into the innermost shrine where *Ankuraarpanamu* was organised. Usually, even the rituals are based on Mahabhartha text, the ritual space did not represent any fictional location. For instance, firewalking ritual was associated to Draupadi's rebirth. In this ritual, the space did not represent a fictional location. Usually, the ritual space offered devotees to revisit and re-engage their belief, culture and tradition.

A simple stage building was used to Veedhi-natakamu performances. The stage building entirely distinguish to the ritual spaces. While the ritual space was not raised, the stage for Veedhi-natakamu was raised. Although Veedhi-natakamu was performed in a stage building, the spectators occupied in the open fields. The stage building was divided into two parts: performance space and greenroom. The greenroom was separated from the performance space with a curtain. The performance space was extended into the spectators' space for special scenes. The stage building was decorated with local community art. The spectators' space was not decorated, but it was illuminated with flood lights. The spectators' sight lines were not maintained properly. It was obstructed by the pillars of the stage building or by the spectators who stood near to the stage to watch the performance.

Few of the performances were performed with rituals and theatrical elements in outdoors. These performances were referred as "outdoor theatrical performances". Space for these outdoor theatrical performances were selected from paddy fields, street corners and temple courtyards. The ecology of the space was part of the scenographic expression for these performances. These spaces, as the ritual spaces, were temporarily emphasised with sacred installations. While the stage of Veedhi-natakamu was not communicating sacredness, outdoor theatrical performances were created to have devotional engagement. The designs of these spaces did not denotes historical accuracy for the performance. These spaces resembled the aspects of environmental theatre spaces. The sight lines were not

planned in these spaces, but devotees had opportunity to move from one place to another place to get better view of the performance.

As there was a stage for Veedhi-natakamu, a raised platform was used for Harikatha performances. Evidence suggested that Harikatha performances were not allowed to perform in open fields. The performance space separated for the spectators. As it was not raised much, the performance space demonstrates intimacy between the performer and spectators in Harikatha. The spectators occupied three sides of Harikatha performance space. the spectators' space was wide enough to accommodate 500 to 1000 people. As Harikatha is performed in day in Draupadi festival, along with performance space, the spectators' space is sheltered with palm leaves to avoid heavy sunlight. This shelter was arranged in the temple courtyards in Jeevakona. In case of Yamagani Palle, oral narrative performance was organised in the temple hall. While Veedhi-natakamu space suggested well organised space, Harikatha space demonstrated an improvised stage.

Thus, the temple courtyards and paddy fields offered spaces for the rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. These spaces uncovered narrative stories. This spatial communication can be referred as scenography because it connects devotees or spectators with text and objects.

During the festival, specifically at the outdoor theatrical performances, the performers moved in temple courtyards with folk theatre costumes. Pointing at the performers, the local community believed that the festival space represents celestial world. According to their belief, the performers, who were in folk theatre costumes and makeup, were gods and goddess. The spectators even took blessings from the performers. Thus the festival space represented celestial world, and it seemed to display the expressions of the communal faiths.

The festival space communicated few meanings depending on a context. As the space was used for rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha performances, the space could be divided into many parts. Each part of the space in Draupadi festival decided how devotees enter. This decision was predetermined by context which was based on the festival belief. For instance, in the ritual space, devotees are not allowed to walk with footwear. To give another reference, devotees enter a play performance to have entertainment. Thus, devotees enter into a performance space with predetermined decisions. These

predetermined decisions symbolised the devotees' engagement with thematic content of the space.

Thus, the space of Draupadi festival was significant in engaging participants. The temple rituals, Harikatha, Veedhi-natakamu and local community were inseparable and interwoven in Draupadi festival space.

2. Text:

Mahabharatha text was probably the origin for the festival celebration. According to the local community, the festival is celebrated to worship the goddess Draupadi who is the supreme heroine of Mahabharatha. The rituals, Hariakatha and Veedhi-natakamu performances were interconnected to the local community belief and the Mahabharatha text.

Most of the rituals had a connection with Mahabharatha text. For instance, Draupadi Kalyanam (Draupadi's wedding) ritual was organised by the local community as part of the festival celebration. In this ritual, two villages take sides of bride and bridegroom respectively. One village represented Draupadi's family, and other village represented Pandavas' family. They both arrive and conduct the wedding rituals. This ritual resemble the Draupadi's wedding in Mahabharatha. Thus, the ritual had connections with Mahabharatha text. Even it was associated with the rituals, Mahabharatha text does not have significant role in the rituals.

While the rituals had insignificant association with Mahabharatha text, Veedhi-natakamu had significant association with Mahabharatha text. As part of the study, the textual analysis was observed on the list of the plays that were performed in Veedhi-natakamu in Draupadi context. To understand the text, the synopsis of the plays were presented. As the text was huge, few plays were selected to study its scenic order. From this scenic order, the play structure was analysed. Veedhi-natakamu text used both contemporary and classical Telugu. Punning in Veedhi-natakamu assisted to engage number of spectators. Veedhi-natakamu text was adaptation of classical Mahabharatha text. Even Mahabharatha demonstrated sacredness and religiousness, the performances interpreted the text to demonstrate secularism. As Veedhi-natakamu did not depend on a scenery that demonstrates a location, the location of a scene was verbally communicated. The epic text was adapted and reinterpreted to engage the spectators. Thus, the text played

a significant role to entertain the spectators in Veedhi-natakamu performances which were performed on the stage.

Text of outdoor theatrical performances were similar to the text of stage-based theatre, but it did not give much opportunity for humour and secular subject. The performance text for these performances were also derived and adapted from the epic. The text also used to communicate visual information such as fictional location and the props. In few outdoor theatrical performance, the text appeared as it was adapted for the outdoors. For instance, Uttara-gograhamamu was performed in paddy fields which had relation to fictional location of the story. Thus, the text of outdoor theatrical performances were focused on sacredness and devotion.

As Veedhi-natakamu performance text, Harikatha performance text were also adapted from Mahabharatha stories in the festival. Usually, Harikatha performance text was written based on various subjects. It appeared that Harikatha text initially bound with Hindu religion. Later, Harikatha text has been written to entertain, to spread religions, to teach social themes, to impose patriotism and to educate people. In Draupadi's festival, narration of Harikatha was based in both classical and spoken Telugu language. Since the translation of Mahabharatha in Telugu is no longer spoken, every line of classical text was translated by Haridasu into contemporary spoken Telugu language for spectators.

Usually, Harikatha performance was performed longer than two hours in Draupadi festival. It had to possess some special quality to engage the spectators for such a duration. For this, along with the main story, the performance text was incorporated with short humorous stories and passages of holy text. Usually, these humorous stories were a resources of social commentary. The humorous stories also attracted spectators from various classes. Along with humorous stories, passages of holy text was visible in Harikatha performances. The passages of holy text were purely drawn from epics and *puranas*, and the holy passages were also included with hymns, verses and poems. After presenting it, the hidden meanings of the holy passages were explained to the spectators in local dialect. Thus, the main story was incorporated with humorous stories, passages of holy text and hymns. Another important element in Haritha was *pittakathalu* (side stories) which was to elaborate a scene, an incident, a situation or an expression in a story. *Pittakathalu* wer short, and the purpose of these stories was to create humour and educate people. The side stories, sometimes, are spontaneously selected by the performer during the show. In Harikatha,

sometimes, the plot was mixed with popular and imaginary stories. Scenic environments were described by the narrator. Thus, Harikatha text played a significant role, and had strong association with the epic text in Mahabharatha.

3. Colour and compositions:

Colour and composition plays significant role in the visuals of theatre. As Howards (2002) observes, “[c]olour and composition are the crux of the scenographer’s art” (51). Howards emphasise the importance of colour and composition in theatre: “The integration of composition with colour enables the artist to draw the spectator’s eye to the focal points of each scene as the performance progresses”. Colour and composition can be understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. In the rituals, the colour and the compositions were observed and referred “sacred spectacles” the colour and the compositions were organised in the ritual space with temporarily installations; materials offered to the gods and deities; and the dresses of the officiants. The colour played significant role to create devotional and sacred environments. The arrangement of the sacred material in the ritual space had significant connection with devotees’ engagement. Sacred materials and installations in the ritual space transformed the ordinary spaces into sacred spaces. These transformed spaces were more than devotional scenographies; and they were visual manifestations of the ritual performances. In the ritual space, the function of the sacred material was strongly associated to the community belief; these associations allow devotees to interact with the ritual images, to connect with ritual space, to engage with devotion. As these sacred material visually connected to created environments, they preserved devotional boundaries around the ritual space. Sacred spectacle in the rituals were representations of devotional scenography.

The installations were referred as ephemeral because they were dismantled or destroyed after the ritual performances. In some rituals, the installations were removed by devotees to collect the sacred material which has been used for installations. For instance, in Uttara-gograhanamu, devotees pluck leaves of Jammi tree which was installed in the performance. In few other rituals, installations were destroyed as part of the ritual context. For instance, devotees destroyed the recumbent statue of Duryodhana after the performance. These installations were suggested to articulate specific contextual meaning of the rituals through sacred material and actions of officiants. These contextual meanings engaged devotees in the celebration. Thus, the installations in the ritual space

communicated devotion. On these grounds, scenography in rituals engaged the devotees emotionally and physically by producing a devotional world.

In the colour and composition, along with the sacred materials, the light had a significant role to establish devotional scenography. There were two kinds of light were observed at the rituals. First kind was to illuminate the ritual and devotees' space. Second kind was to establish devotional and sacred mood. Second kind was observed in while performing Harathi and carrying burning torch.

The colour and composition played different roles in Harikatha and Veedhi-natakamu performances. While it was to establish devotional environment in the rituals, the major aim of the colour and composition was to create theatrical environment in Veedhi-natakamu. Colour and composition in Veedhi-natakamu understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. Veedhi-natakamu performances used traditional makeup and costumes. Now a days, the costumes and props are influenced by the mythological films of Telugu region. The originality of traditional costumes, props and makeup are diluted. The role of the lighting was just to illuminate the stage. It did not have any other functions as it is observed in modern theatre. Veedhi-natakamu performance did not suggest to think visual composition as it was observed in contemporary theatre.

Costumes and make-up in outdoor theatrical performances were similar as it was visible in stage based performances (Veedhi-natakamu). As these performances were "large scale enactments", the costumes played significant role in dragging devotees' eyes. Obviously, all the material in these performance spaces, including costumes, make-up, props and sacred material had an instant impact on devotees. Even though all these material did not establish the time and place for actions of the performances, it acted as visual code here. Since they are performed in day, these performance were illuminated by natural light. The outdoor performances did not create theatrical effects because presence of daylight suggested to experience the location as a natural environment which was close to regular life.

When it was compared to Veedhi-natakamu, the role of colour and composition was not significant in Harikatha. While Veedhi-natakamu costumes created theatrical environments, Harikatha costumes created devotional environment. According to local community, Harikatha costumes represented sacredness in the performances. Concept of the makeup was not visible in Harikatha. Stage props were not used in Harikatha. Natural

light was the major source to illuminate the performances of Harikatha in Draupadi festival. Using scenery was not observed in these performances. Most of the performances were performed without a background curtain. In some cases, a banner was tied as background to announce the details of the sponsors. The performers' moves established the evidence of composition.

4. Performer:

According to their role, the officiants could be called as ritual performers. The ritual performers played significant role in the rituals. Their gestures and postures established the sacredness in the ritual space. Even the rituals were not choreographed, the officiants' moves represented a choreography. Most important gestures and postures that establish sacredness were observed while the officiants were performing *harathi*, *namaskar* (bow), and *sashtanga namaskaram* (prostration pose). These gestures and postures were repeated by the devotees. In the ritual space, devotees also represented the role performers. Thus, both performers' and spectators' gesture and postures at the ritual space created devotional scenography.

While the ritual actions of the officiants and the devotees created devotional environment in the ritual space, actions of Veedhi-natakamu performers created fulfilled environment. Veedhi-natakamu performers were trained under a Guru, and they were able to perform for three to four hours in Veedhi-natakamu cycle. They used stylized and exaggerated actions to represent a character. They were trained to improvise a scene for a given situation. They were also good to improvise with the spectators. They used their own voice to represent a character. They were capable to sing and deliver dialogue in high volume. Usually, they banished the realism by interacting with the spectators.

The stage background was covered with a painted curtain. It did not represented any fictional location in a story. It used as neutral background. So, the performance needed to represent multiple locations in these performances. There were no scenic objects used to represent various locations in Veedhi-natakamu. The performers played on the stage with their elaborate costumes and gestures. Their costumes and gestures created a scenic effects on the stage. For instance, performers created river by showing gesture as they are lifting cloths and walking. For another example, the actor shown a chariot by showing a gestures of pulling two ropes of horse. Thus, these kind of stage conventions created scenic effects

in Veedhianatakamu performances. The locations were justified with codified physical actions in Veedhi-natakamu

As outdoor theatrical performances were “large scale enactments”, the performers needed to have great physical and vocal strength to charge the space. He also demonstrated his physical strength in taking lengthy moves in the performance space. In outdoor theatrical performance, the performer did not improvise much as it is observed in stage based theatre. His goal, in outdoor performances, was to follow the theme strictly. He collaborated his physical skills, the theme, the space and the text in outdoor theatrical performances to engage the spectators. Thus, performers’ collaboration refined scenography in the outdoor theatrical performances.

When compare to Veedhi-natakamu performer, Harikatha performer demonstrated more number of skills to engage spectators. He established physical and voice skills to engage vast range of the spectators. He shifted his role from a narrator to a theatre actor and vice versa. He created invisible characters on the stage, and he enacted with those invisible characters. He played multiple roles, and he was quick in expressing various characters on the stage during the performance. He was able to express nine emotions.

It was appeared that Harikatha performer physically stronger than Veedhi-natakamu performer. As it was a solo performance, Harikatha demanded appropriate physical, voice and mental skills to perform for a long time. The performer used various types of movements and body language to represent a character. Most of the time, the performer’s movements created pleasant and devotional feeling during the performance. Though it was an oral narrative performance, performer enthuse the spectators with his skill. One of the singnificant skills of Harikatha performer was to swing roles from philosopher to entertainer.

In his presentation, Harikatha performer was capable to modulate the voice to express the mood of a scene. His vocal skills and elegance of speech created a space for spectators to experience devotion. During the performances, Harikatha performer used to take intervals. In these intervals, Echcharikala and Namasankeerthanams were performed. Performer’s literary skill demonstrated vast range of literature knowledge during the perormances. He used his literary skills to engage various kinds of spectators.

5. Spectators:

In Draupadi festival, thousands of people participated. These participants played various roles at various performances: devotees, spectators and viewers. For example, the participants were playing the role of devotees who worship gods and goddess in the rituals and outdoor theatrical performances. For another example, the participants played the role of spectators in the stage based theatre.

At the ritual performances, participants were two kinds: devotees and viewers. While the devotees came to devote the gods and goddess, viewers just come to watch the rituals. The local community believed that act of attending the ritual is an act of devotion. In few rituals, devotees were not allowed to enter into the ritual space as it was most sacred. For instance, except trustees and officiants, others were not allowed to enter into the innermost shrine.¹²² The officiants penetrated into devotees' space to offer *harathi*. Devotees were both active and inactive participants at the rituals. For example devotees were inactive participants at the rituals performed in the innermost shrine. For another instance, in the firewalking rituals, the devotees were active participants. In most of the rituals, devotees were both performers and observers. They performed internally and externally in the ritual space.

Devotees' perceptions of the ritual space played significant role in engaging them with the devotion. A devotee without the knowledge of the ritual space might not engaged devotionally. Lack of his knowledge of the ritual space could not lead him to identify the sacred material, which motivated him to interact with devotion. This lack of knowledge kept him away from the devotional experience, but kept him as an observer in the festival.

Usually, the ritual spaces were created and organised by Dharmakarthalu and the officiants. Devotees moved freely at the ritual space. As the ritual space was emphasised and separated, devotees' space was not fixed to a singular position. They were allowed to move from one place to other place. For instance, in the ritual "tying of *kankanamu*", devotees moves from one place to other place to get better view to watch the ritual performance. Thus, at the open air ritual performances, the devotees were allowed to

¹²² The research scholar was taken special permission to enter into the innermost shrine of Draupadi temple in Yamanuru. The research scholar was not allowed to make video document in the innermost shrine. According to the local community, one could not capture the ritual process in the innermost shrine.

experience the ritual from multi positions. It was approved that the devotees experience devotional scenography in multi-positions in the ritual spaces.

Participants of Draupadi festival played the role of spectators at Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on the stage. The festival offered spectators to have social interactions at Veedhi-natakamu performances. Some of the spectators were attracted by sexually loaded jokes and movie songs. Spectators responded to the philosophical subject in Veedhi-natakamu. As the performances were longer than 7 hours, spectators were exhausted mentally and physically. Spectators paid homage during the performances. With the assistances of performance and dialogues, spectators imagined the invisible sceneries. As spectators were the sponsors for these performances, their influences was visible in the performances. While performers performed in a stage building, spectators occupied outdoors. They sat three sides of the stage. Here, the stage building separated the spectators' space.

To establish relation between performer and spectators, it is appropriate refer Richard Schechner's view. As Richard Schechner observes, "performances do not have an independent life: they are related to the audience that hears them, the spectators who see them. The force of the performance is in the very specific relationship between performers and those-for-whom-the-performance-exists".¹²³ Similarly, Veedhi-natakamu performances established strong relation between spectators and the performers. It communicates with its spectators with its text and visuals. The interaction between the spectators and the performers were established a ground on the work of scenography.

Most of the participants at outdoor theatrical performances played the role of devotees. They used to stand or sit to watch the performances. Like in Ramlila, few of the outdoor performances of Draupadi festival demanded devotees to move one place to another to watch the performance. For instance, in Uttara-gograhanamu, devotees move from temple to the paddy field with the procession which was part of the performance of Uttara-gograhanamu. Devotees were having similar role as the participants have in environmental theatre, who are "scene-makers as well as scene-watchers"¹²⁴. As it was observed at the ritual space, devotees were not fixed to specific space. They were allowed

¹²³ See pages from 5 to 6 in Schechner, Richard. *Between Theater & Anthropology*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1985. Print.

¹²⁴ Phrase taken from page xxvi in Schechner, Richard. *Environmental Theatre: An Expanded New Edition including Six Axioms for Environmental Theater*. New York: Applause, 1994. Print.

to move during the performances. Here, devotees were not only part of performance space, but also they were part of performance visuals. Devotees in these performances constructed narratives through their presence. As these performance spaces were “large scale enactments”, devotees, in a particular time, engaged with part of the holistic image of the performance.

In Draupadi festival, while Veedhi-natakamu performances aimed to entertain, Harikatha performances were meant to teach morals to the spectators. Spectators were educated in Harikatha through devotional text. In some cases, spectators were exhausted physically and mentally at Harikatha performances. To illustrate physical exhaustion, some of the spectators reached physical exhaustion when they were about to sleep. To illustrate mental exhaustion, when the theme was heavy, few of the spectators were emotionally exhausted. Few of women spectators were mentally exhausted in Draupadi-vastrapaharanamu. In these cases, the spectators were energised and diverted from the exhaustions with Namakeerthanalu and Echcharikala performed by the performer. As in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators’ sight lines were not maintained properly in most of Harikatha performances. Spectators also sat three sides of the stage. During the performance, spectators used to pay homage to the performer. Both physical and emotional participation of the spectators were observed when they performed *Chadivimpulu* and *dhakshina*.

6. Sound:

Sounds in the rituals were played by *dappu* and *pamba*. These sounds were played at beginning and end of the rituals. It was also played at specific occasions while performing rituals. The sounds believed as sacred. It was performed to stimulate the sacredness, to grab the attention of the devotees, and to engage the devotees with the devotion. The sounds in the ritual space suggested to keep the devotees away from their regular life.

While ritual sounds created devotional feelings, Veedhi-natakamu sounds suggested entertaining feelings. Sounds at Veedhi-natakamu were louder, and it reached the corners of the village that hosted the festival. The sounds were produced by the performers and musicians. While ritual sounds were not amplified, Veedhi-natakamu sounds were amplified through an amplifier. As part of the performances, songs played an important role to extend or reduce the length of the performances. The sounds as a whole created entertaining world.

At the outdoor theatrical performances, the sounds were observed in two types: recorded and live. The recorded sounds were observed in playing devotional songs. These devotional songs were played at the performance spaces before the performance began. Other than these recorded sounds, a processional music was played from temple to the performance space by the *dappu* and *pamba* players. This processional music was a sign for the devotees that the performance was about to start. These sounds drag the attention of the large crowd. Thus the sound in the space prepares the devotees to watch the performance. It indicates that the live music construct impactful relation with sacred material in the space. Thus, the sounds stimulated devotional feeling in the ritual spaces.

As it was dominated by verbal performance, Harikatha performances dominantly depended on the role of sound. The sounds at Harikatha could be divided into two: performance sounds and spectators' sounds. The performance sounds were aimed to engage devotees. The spectators' sounds were observed when spectators recite *Heccharikalu*. As it was observed in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators does not cheer, whistle and scream during the Harikatha performance. Spectators' sounds established the devotional environment.

It was obvious that these songs are sung to create devotional environment and to educate the people.

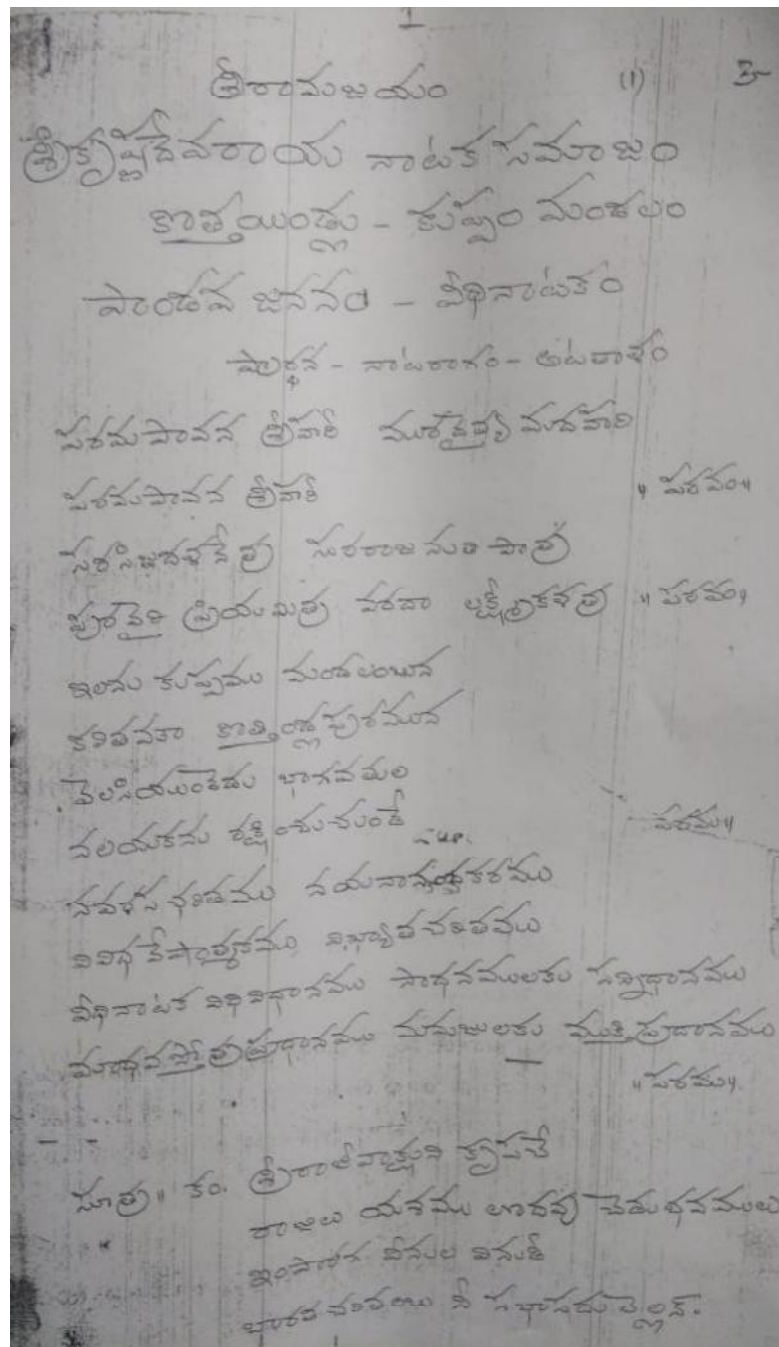
To surmise, Draupadi festival is celebrated involving large scale performances. The celebration is fully equipped with the rituals, folk theatre, oral narrative performances, installations and processions. The entire festival upholds devotion and entertainment as main theme. This thematic presentation involves all the aspects of scenographic expressions. The speciality lies in the way the entire community of the villages explore all the elements of scenography. In other words, the entire village community comprising of devotees, spectators, performers, officiants, and Dharamakarthalu (patronisers) express through creating scenography as a tool of sharing their experience. It is interesting to note that though the festival was initiated by one particular cast called Vannikula Kshyatriyas penetrated into the entire community of the villages irrespective of the cast. The art of scenography is proficiated by the community in celebrating Draupadi festival. Hence, Draupadi festival stimulates scenography and its elements to maintain integrity of the theme and design of the festival.

Appendix I

Manuscripts of Veedhi-natakamu performance text

Below are the few pages of manuscripts taken from performance text of Veedhi-natakamu.

1. Play Pandava Jananamu. The script is written by Sri Krishna Devaraya Nataka Samajam, Kotha Indlu, Kuppam. The page demonstrates the name of the troupe, village, Mandal; title of the play; prayer song.



Appendix II

The below photographs are taken from printed scripts of various plays that are performed in Veedhi-natakamu. These scripts are probably adapted by the Guru to contemporise performance text.

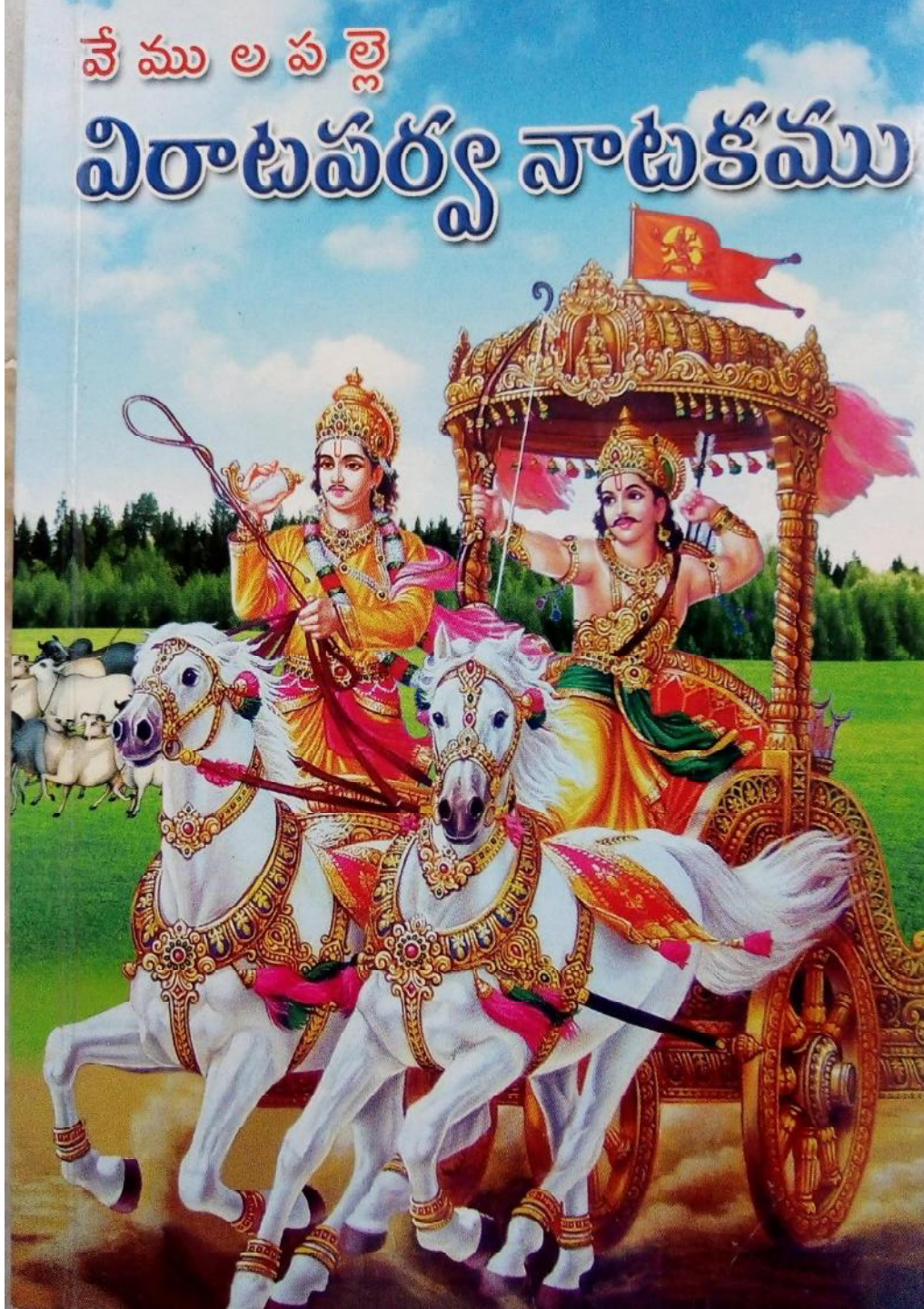


Image 1: It is a cover page of the play script *Virataprava*.

శ్రీ రస్తు
శ్రీ వేంకటేశాయ నమః
వేములపల్లె
విరాటపర్వ నాటకము



CHUKKALA SINGAIAH CHETTY
SRI BALAJI BOOK DEPOT
159, GOVINDARAJA SWAMY TEMPLE SANNIDHI STREET,
TIRUPATHI-517501
PHONE: 0877-2221131
CELL: 9849409080
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Price : ₹ 50-00

Image 2: Publisher details along with the title of the play and the playwright's name.

శ్రీ రస్తు
వేములపల్లె శ్రీ వేంకటేశాంకితంబగు
విరాటపర్వనాటకము

శ్రీకాంతాముఖపద్మ పద్మసుహృదం శీతాంశుబింబాననమ్
శ్రీకంఠార్చిత పాదపద్మయుగళం శేషాహిట్పాయినమ్
లోకాతీతమనేకగోపయువతీలోలం పరం సర్వగం
శ్రీమద్వేములపల్లెవాసమనిశం శ్రీవేంకటేశం భజే॥

దరువు - శంకరాభరణము - ఆది

శరణా శ్రీవేంకటరమణా ధన్వదుచరణా మాణిక్యా భరణా ॥శర॥
ఘోరరిపుహరణ ధవాంబుధితరణా నన్ను సత్కరుణజూడవే ॥శర॥ రక్షింపుము
లక్ష్మీకా రాజరాజవరద హృషీకేశా పక్షివాహన క్షీరరక్ష పాండవపక్షి కౌస్తుభ
మణివక్ష నీరజాక్ష ॥శర॥ ధరవేములపల్లెవాసా వరతాపస హృదయోల్లాస
సరసిజభవభవ సన్నతవర మందరధర శ్రీధర బ్రోవర నన్ను శరణా.
క॥ పంకేరుహభవమానస, పంకేరుహపంకజాస్త పాపౌఘవినా
శంకరుసన్నునిహృదయవ, శంకరశంకరుని మదిని సన్నుతిజేతు.

దరువు - తోడి - ఆదితాళము

శంభోశంకర దయానిధే ధివశంభోశంకర దయానిధే॥ శంభోశంకర
కుంభిదైత్యహర ధివశంభోజభవముఖ్యామరపూజిత ॥శం॥ సర్వఘోరరిపు గర్వ
విభంజన ధివశంభోపార్వతీశ్వర పర్వతకార్ముక ॥శం॥ నీలకంఠ మునిపాలశీలవర పాల
నేత్రఘన శూలహస్తశివ ॥శంక॥ క్షుల్లక హరమృదు పల్లవపదసమా ధివశంభో
వేములపల్లెశాసన శంభో.

క॥ విఘ్నావని భృద్వజ్రం, విఘ్నారణ్యోద్ధజాత వేమగజముఖ
విఘ్నాంధకార భాస్కరు, విఘ్నేశ్వరుగొల్తు మదినిర్విఘ్న ముకౌరకు.

Image 3: first page of the script. Here, the opening song of the play is written.
Daruvu, Talam and Ragam is mentioned for each song.

దౌపదీ వస్త్రాపహరణ నాటకము

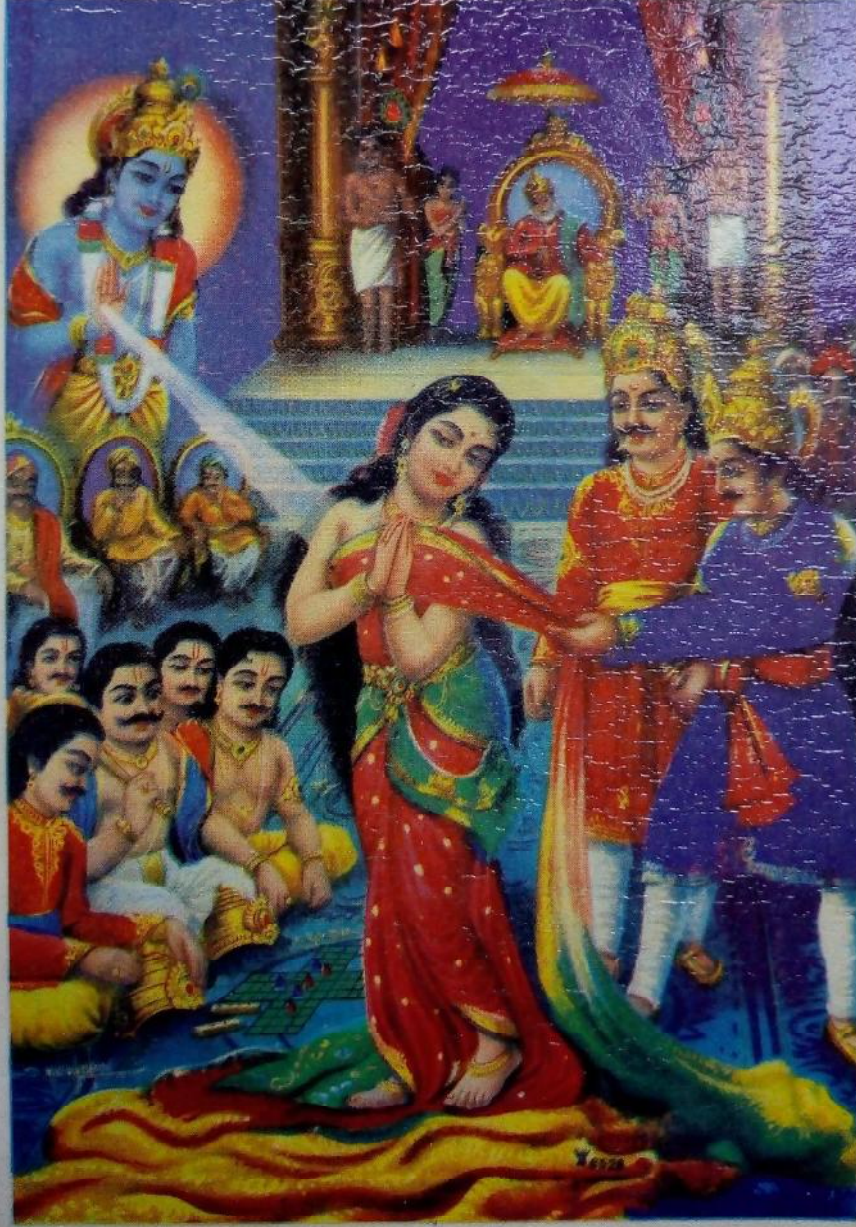


Image 4: cover page of the play script of *Draupadi Vastrapaharanamu*.

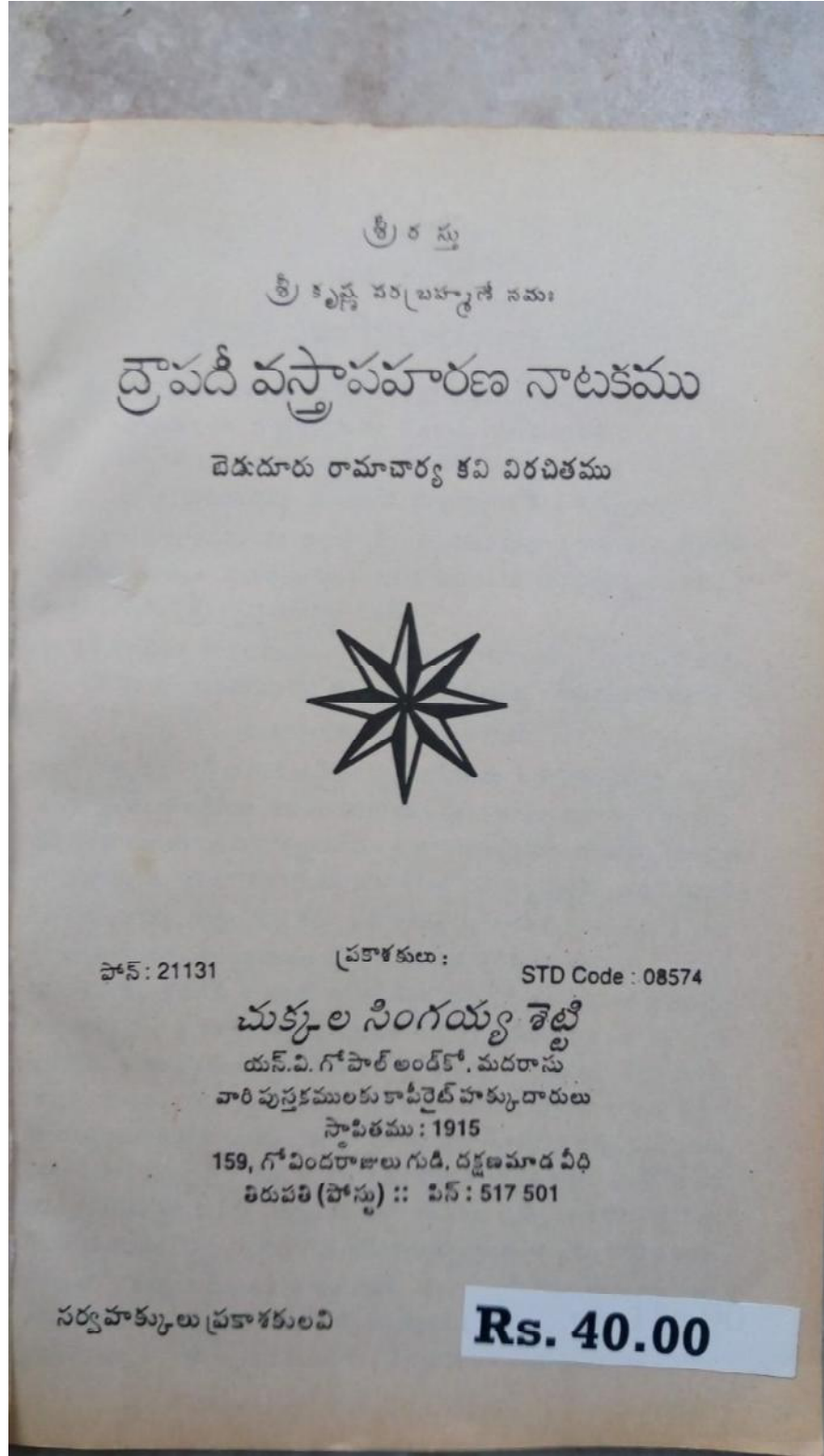


Image 5: Publisher details along with the title of the play and the playwright's name.

శ్రీ రస్తు

బె డు దూ రు

ద్రౌపదీ వస్త్రాపహరణ నాటకము

ఉ॥ శ్రీమణీయచిత్త సరసీరుహాధృగ్ వతంగపుంగవో
దారురంగ దష్టతరదైత్య విధంగపయోధరాసిత
స్ఫూర్తుభాంగమాసిజనసంగ మురాసురగర్వవాయుభి
దూభీభుజంగదివ్య బెడుదూరి సుభాస్వర వేంకటేశ్వరా॥

గురుధ్యానము:-గీ॥ భరణి శ్రీరంగ వంశసుధార్థవమున, శ్రీ సతీ
సోదరునిమాడ్కి చెలువుమిగుల గలిగి సభలందు సుకవియన్లు నతకెక్కు,
వద్దుకుండగు శ్రీ కృష్ణమార్కు చలతు॥

క॥ శ్రీకరముగ భారతిమును, ప్రాకటముగ నాటకంబు ప్రచురముసేయుకే
చేకొని హయవదనునిచే, నేకతమునుతింతుమది నభీష్టముకొరకుకా॥

నాటరాగము:-ఉభయవంశావళి

ద్వీపద॥ శ్రీరమణీయమై సృష్టిలోపలను + కోరికుల్లాత్మారి గొప్ప
వంశాబ్ధి, చందురురీతిగా జనియించెసోమ + సుందరాఖ్యునకాత్మ సూరుడై
ధరణి భాసురముపుత్రభాగ్యసంపదల + దాసిజంబులమధువాసుడై యొప్పు
లోకనాథుండు భూలోకనాథుండు, ప్రాకటభోగసద్భావ్యుడై దనరేసనగ
నాతడు నొక్కనాడు సభజేరి ఘనకావ్య నాటకకలిత సంగీత + సార
పారాణాది సత్కథాక్రమము + ధీరతపినుపింపజెలిసి యాసుకృతి + సరసత
భారత సత్కథభుని + వరుస నాటకముగ వర్ణనసేయు + ఘనకవులెవ్వరు
గల రుక్మిణీన + ననవిని నజ్జయలతనితోననిరి + వసుధలో కందాశ్వ మౌళ
వర్ధనుడు + అనదృశుండఖల వేదాంత కోవిదుడు + ఘనుడు శేషాచార్య
కాంతనర్ధర్థి + వననిధి జనియించె వరరామసుకవి + రామ భారత కథా
సామగ్నుడగుచు + భూమిసజ్జనములు భూషింపగాను + వినుతికెక్కిన సుదన
వినుతుడతండు + ఘన నీవు కోరిన కథ చెప్పగలకు + అనిన సంతోషించి
యప్పుడాసుకృతి + విని వేడ్కలింపార వేగంబు నన్ను + విలిపించి విను
తింది ప్రియము రెట్టింపఁ యలలోన భారతమిప్పుడు మీరు కలశాబ్ధిగుంధన
గరిమతో చెప్ప + వలయు నాటకమను వరుస వాల్మీకి + వ్యాససన్నయ
సోమయాజిగా మొదలు + వాసికెక్కిన సుకవివరులనుతింది + సకలమునిం
ద్రులు సన్నుతిసేయ + ప్రకటంబుగా చెప్పపనిబూని యపుడు + తడయక

Image 6: first page of the script.

Invitation card for Draupadi festival

[illegible]

ఉభయద్వార నుండి వడపప్పు పానకము, ప్రసాదములు ఈ క్రింది కన్న తేదీలలో ఇవ్వబడును

30-5-2014	శుక్రవారము	అంకురార్పణ రోజు వెంకట్రామశెట్టి కు. వి. రామమూర్తి, Ex-MPTC కనమనపల్లి
31-5-2014	శనివారము	ఉడంకుని చరిత్ర రోజు దిగివింటి తెల్లప్ప కు.వామనమూర్తి, పూజారి చల్లప్ప, బేవనపల్లి చిన్నగౌనివారి వలన
01-6-2014	ఆదివారము	చంద్రవంశావళి యయాతి చరిత్ర రోజు దిగివింటి డి.విం. మునివెంకటప్ప వారి వలన
03-6-2014	మంగళవారము	దృతరాష్ట్ర పాండవ విధురోత్సత్త రోజు బో మోటప్ప, కో వెంకట స్వామి వారి వలన సరిగి ఏస్. వెంకటస్వామి వగైరా
04-6-2014	బుధవారము	పాండవ జననము రోజు యామగానిపల్లి దా.కుళ్ళప్ప టెగ్గిలిపల్లి నేతప్పగారి వలన
05-6-2014	గురువారము	పాండవ శౌరవుల బాల్య క్రీడలు రోజు సో ఎర్రప్ప సో తె . మునెప్ప గారివలన
06-6-2014	శుక్రవారము	పరాశక్తి జననము రోజు గోవిందపల్లి జి.వి. వెంకటేశు పూజారి బజ్జప్పగారి వలన, చెన్నప్పగారి మునివెంకటప్ప కుమారుల వలన
07-6-2014	శనివారము	బక్కాసుర వధ రోజు బిజిగానిపల్లి సుబ్బన్న గౌడు, గుడుపల్లి ఆర్.గోవిందస్వామి, చిన్నగౌడు శ్రీనివాసులు వారి వలన
08-6-2014	ఆదివారము	ద్రౌపది కల్యాణం రోజు చంద్రగిరి వెంకటస్వామి, ఎం. శ్రీరాములు, గోవిందపల్లి ఎస్. ఆర్. వెంకటేశు, గౌనివారి జి.సి.శ్రీనివాసులు అండ్ సన్స్, యామగానిపల్లి గుడుపల్లి గంగప్ప వగైరా వారి వలన నర్సరి, కృష్ణప్ప, అత్తిసత్తం వారివలన. పూజారి చిన్నమునెప్ప కు.మునెప్ప
09-6-2014	సోమవారము	సలాహిని చరిత్ర రోజు మారేటి టి. మునివెంకటప్ప, ఎం. యామన్న గౌడు, యామగానిపల్లి
10-6-2014	మంగళవారము	సుభద్రాకల్యాణం రోజు కురుబూరు కె. సుబ్బన్న, టి.నారాయణప్ప, యామగానిపల్లి
11-6-2014	బుధవారము	రాజనూయయాగం రోజు పి.వి. మునెప్ప, పి. మునివెంకటప్ప యామగానిపల్లి వారి వలన
12-6-2014	గురువారము	అర్జునుని తపస్సు రోజు గ. వరదప్ప, కు. వెంకటస్వామి, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి, యామగానిపల్లి రామస్వామి కు. వెంకటస్వామి మడపలి పాపన్న, దిగివింటి మునెప్ప గారి వలన.
13-6-2014	శుక్రవారము	విరాటపర్వము రోజు ఎం. మునుస్వామి గౌని కుమారులుచే, తమ్మప్ప మేస్త్రీ జి. వెంకటేశు, ఆర్. నారాయణప్ప గౌడు, అగరం గం. రామన్న, భీమన్న కు. వెంకటేశు అగరం. వారి వలన
14-6-2014	శనివారము	రథోత్సవం రోజు యామగానిపల్లి బి. అనందప్ప ఎం. నారాయణాచారి, ఎం. పాపన్న, పూజారి చిన్నబ్బయ్య కు.పి. చంద్రప్ప గౌని వారి జి. వై.మునివెంకటప్ప వారి వలన, గణాచారి జి.వి. రామచంద్రప్ప, జి.వి. శ్రీనివాసులు, జి.వి. కృష్ణప్ప, జి.వి. కృష్ణమూర్తి, టీచర్వారి గౌనివారి జి.ఎస్.రామచంద్రప్ప వలన, బి.ఎస్. ఎదుకుమార్ (బాలాజి), బి.ఎం. ధనంజయ్, సి.వి. మంజునాథ్, పి.వి. ధనశేఖర్, టి.ఎన్. కుమార్, పి.ఎం. ప్రకాశ్, ఎం. మంజునాథ్ ఆచారి. పి.ఎం. సుబ్బు, ఎస్. శివ, ఎస్. విజయ్, మహాత్మాగాంధీ జాతీయ గ్రామీణ ఉపాధిహామి పథకము ఫీల్డ్ అసిస్టెంట్ కె.వి. శ్రీనివాసులు మరియు కూలీలు వారి వలన
15-6-2014	ఆదివారము	శ్రీ కృష్ణ రాయభారం రోజు రంజిత్ క్రికెట్ యూత్ టీం 25 మెంబర్స్ కె. వణ్ణుగం శెట్టి జాతికర్తనపల్లి, గిరిసిబాయి సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం మేస్త్రీ వారి వలన,
16-6-2014	సోమవారము	అగ్నిగుండం రోజు పి.బి. మునివెంకటప్ప, ఎస్. చంద్రప్ప, బి. శ్రీనివాసులు, జి.ఎస్. యదుకుమార్, పి.బి. శంకరప్ప, ఆర్.కె.స్వామినాథ్, పి. చిన్నవామనమూర్తి, బి. మొగిలప్ప, పి.వి. గోవిందప్ప, ఎం. గంగప్ప, టె. వెంకటేశు, అర్.కె. వెంకటేశు, పి.బి. రఘుపతి పెద్దింటి దొరస్వామి బూ. బొజ్జప్ప వగైరా.

ఉభయదర్శ నుండి ఈ క్రింది తేదులలో అన్నదానము జరుపబడును.

07-06-2014	శనివారము	బక్కానుర వధ రోజు యామగానిపల్లి గ్రామస్థుల వలన అన్నదానము.
08-06-2014	ఆదివారము	ద్రౌపతి కల్యాణం రోజు పూజారి మునిస్వామి పూజారి బొజ్జప్ప, చెల్లప్ప, గొల్లప్ప కు.మునెప్పవారి వలన, గెరిగ పూజారి వగైరా పూ. చిన్నబ్బయ్య, పి.ఎం. మునెప్పవగైరా, పూ. జమటకాలప్పవారి వగైరా, పూ. నడిపి మునెప్ప వగైరావారి వలన
09-06-2014	సోమవారము	సలాహిని చరిత్ర రోజు పెద్దవంక, లోడిలు గట్టు గ్రామస్థులు, చంద్రగిరి వెంకటస్వామి పోతులప్పగారి మునెప్ప కు. అర్జునప్ప వీరి వగైరా
10-06-2014	మంగళవారము	సుభద్రా కల్యాణము రోజు కమమనపల్లి గ్రామస్థులు కొత్తపల్లి గ్రామస్థుల వలన
11-06-2014	బుధవారము	ద్రౌపతి మాన సంరక్షణ రోజు పెద్దగొనివారి వగైరా యామగానిపల్లి కొత్తప్పగారి వగైరా బయ్యప్పగారి వగైరా, జాతికర్తవపల్లి, అగరం గ్రామస్థుల వలన, గణపతి ఎ. వెంకటస్వామి కు. జి.వి. రామచంద్ర & బ్రదర్స్ వీరి వలన అన్నదానము జరుపబడును.
12-06-2014	గురువారము	అర్జునుని తపస్సు రోజు యామగానిపల్లి బోడెప్ప గారి వగైరావారి వలన. సుబ్రహ్మణ్య స్వామి గ్రానైట్, మీస్త్రి కన్నప్ప కు. కె. శ్రీనివాసులువారి కుటుంబ సభ్యులు, పెద్దింటివారి వగైరా, దిగివింటివారి వగైరా, గణపతివారి వగైరా, మావలింగప్పగారి వగైరా, యామగాని పల్లి వీరిచే
13-06-2014	శుక్రవారము	విరాటవర్షము రోజు సి. బండ్లపల్లి, బేవనపల్లి, పాపానూరు, గిర్రెప్ప, ఊరి గంగమ్మ యూత్ సభ్యులు యామగానిపల్లి.
14-06-2014	శనివారము	రథోత్సవం సోదెప్ప గారి ఎర్రప్ప, భద్రప్ప, బకాసురప్ప అనే మునెప్ప, దిన్నపల్లి, డీసి పల్లి, వచ్చార్లపల్లి, కోటపల్లి, చినానత్తం గ్రామస్థుల వారి వలన, జోగ్గూనూరు మల్లప్ప కుమారులుచే, జచ్చిగానిపల్లి, అంజనాద్రి, నలగాంపల్లి నాగప్ప, కు.ఎస్. రంగప్ప, జె.సి.పి. సీనప్పకు. నాగభూషణం కాలువలపల్లి గ్రామస్థులవలన మరియు సాలచింతరపల్లి, యామగానిపల్లి బోడెప్పగారి శీనప్ప రామప్పప్ప గౌడు వీరిచే అన్నదానము.
15-06-2014	ఆదివారము	ఇలావంతుని బలి రోజు పి. రమేష్, సాయి గ్రానైట్స్, గణేశ్ కుమార్ భవానిశ్చైయర్స్, పూ. బాబ్బప్ప కు. పి. శంకర్, కన్నప్ప కు. వేలు, గోవిందప్ప కప్పలనత్తం వారివలన సరిగి వగైరా దొక్కప్పగారి మునివెంకటప్ప, భజంగప్పగారి నేతప్ప వగైరా. బిచ్చెప్పవారి చి.రామప్ప కోటపల్లివారి కె. రవికుమార్ వగైరా, అగ్గిపెల్లప్ప గారి వెంకటస్వామి వగైరా, ఆడవి బదనవాడ మాదనపల్లివారు, గొల్లప్ప మరియు గ్రామస్థుల వలన, పెద్దబదినవాడ గ్రామస్థులు అన్నయ్యప్ప గౌడు, యస్. గొల్లపల్లి, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి గ్రామస్థుల వలన జరుపబడును.
16-06-2014	సోమవారము	అగ్నిగుండము రోజు చిగర్లపల్లి, మాదనపల్లి గ్రామస్థుల వలన ఎడ్డులపల్లి వీరప్ప, బ్రహ్మప్పగారి కుమారులవలన, పెరమప్ప గారి వగైరా, బూవనపల్లి వగైరా, గెజ్జెలప్ప గారి వగైరా, షణ్ముగం తల్లి వెంకటమ్మ, (ఎస్.పి.ఎస్. సైకిల్ షాపు) కుప్పం, వారిచే అన్నదానము జరుపబడును. చెలిమంక గ్రామస్థులు రూపం జ్యోవెల్లరీస్ చందు, కుప్పం వీరిచే అన్నదానము

**మహా భారత బ్రహ్మాత్మవములకు క్రింద కనిన గ్రామముల
భక్తాదుల ధన విరాళముల వివరములు**

కోటపల్లి	3001	రాళ్ళపల్లి	1401	వెంచనబల్లి	2501
పద్మావతి	2001	గోపాలపురం	2500	బాలకవిసపల్లి	1250
డి.సి. పల్లి	3001	రామిగానిపల్లి	601	విజలాపురం	301
కే.సి. పల్లి	950	కురుబూరు	1250	అంకిరెడ్డపల్లి	1501
కొత్త ఇండ్లు	750	గొల్లపల్లి	1201	కివాకుపోడు	500
దిన్నపల్లి	2001	బండ తిమ్మనపల్లి	501	లమ్మూరి పేట	301
తిమ్మయనపల్లి	500	శేషాద్రిపురం	701	బటవార్లపల్లి	601
కొత్తూరు	1500	రాళ్ళబూడుగూరు	2001	పున్నగానిపల్లి	2001
మల్లేపల్లి	300	కొత్తపేట	1500	నంజంపేట	301
సోడిగానపల్లి	501	పిల్లెగానిపల్లి	601	జంపూరు	201
సాన్తారనపల్లి	501	అగ్రహారం	600	అంబాపురం	500
వెంకటపురం	1500	ఎస్. గొల్లపల్లి	1500	కంగుంచి	2000
అణగర్లపల్లి	1000	వడ్డి కొత్తూరు	600	బలమండ	501
అలుగుమానపల్లి	501	రేగడ దిన్నెపల్లి	800	దాసేగొనూరు	501
చీకటిపల్లి	501	తెట్టిబల్లి	1001	నారాయణపురం	2001
మిట్టూరు	2000	చెంగుబల్లి	1001	నూలకుంట	2001
గుడిపల్లి	2000	వెంకటేపల్లి	501	కుప్పం	1001
వాడేపల్లి	2000	ఎద్దులపల్లి	1501	దళవాయికొత్తపల్లి	501
బంటిపల్లి	2200	తెనమాకులపల్లి	501	గుత్తూర్లపల్లి	501
కోటచంబగిరి	2000	టోయనపల్లి	501	బిడ్డిపురం	4001
గుడిచంబగిరి	2000	చిన్న గొండ్లపల్లి	1601	వినాయక పురం	601
కొడతనపల్లి	300	నల్లగట్టూరు,	555	గెరిసిబాయి	1001
ఎ.టి. పల్లి	1775	కరుడుగూరు	800	చిన్నబండార్లపల్లి	1500
పెద్ద గొల్లపల్లి	700	నలప రెడ్డూరు	301	చిన్నశెట్టిపల్లి	3001
సాలనంద్రపల్లి	1116	బ్రాహ్మణ అగ్రహారం	401	బెగ్గిలిపల్లి	1001
ఆత్మినత్తం	1301	సంగనహల్లి అగ్రహారం	1516	నలగాంపల్లి	1001
బిసానత్తం	2001	చిన్నపార్లపల్లి	2001	పెద్దశెట్టిపల్లి	1001
శిరిగిరిపల్లి	2001	అత్తికుప్పం	301	గోవిందపల్లి	3001
అగరం	3001	అవులకుప్పం	601	కప్పలనత్తం	205
జుడిగానపల్లి	1501	బొమ్మనపల్లి	601	జోగ్గానూరు	1001
ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	3501	నడింపల్లి	4001	చీమనపల్లి	1001
బిడిగానపల్లి	1201	కడపల్లి	501	పాపానూరు	1350
తోడేలగట్టు	1201	మాదనపల్లి	2001	కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి	2501
కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	500	చేలిమిపంక	1701	జాతికర్తనపల్లి	3501
అంగనామాల కొత్తూరు	1250	పోజూరు	201	పెద్దబడినవాడ	4001
డి.టి. పల్లి క్రాస్	501	గణేశపురం	800	గుండ్లసాగరం	1001
కారముట్టు గొల్లపల్లి	501	సదానందపురం	501	మిథూరు	600
కాలువలపల్లి	3501	అంజనాద్రి	1500	కనమనపల్లి	6001
బైనేపల్లి	200	ప్రీతి చామనూరు	601	కనమనపల్లి ఎస్.సి. కాం.సి	1001
చొక్కనబండ	1501	పద్మారమాకనపల్లి	110	ఆడవి బడనవాడ	5000
కోలాల తిమ్మనపల్లి	1250	రెడ్డివారిపల్లి	501	దొంగళూరు	2000
ముద్దనపల్లి	501			యామగానపల్లి	80,000
టోనపల్లి	2501				
సి. బండపల్లి	6501				

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శ్రీ కంకణాల రత్నయ్య Wice Chancellor, D.U.	5116	శ్రీ వేణుగోపాల్, ఎక్స్ సర్పంచ్, గణేశపురం	1116
శ్రీ గోకుల్ గ్రానైట్స్, హోసూరు	10,000	శ్రీ కె.సి.ఎం. సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం, కంగుండ్ల	1116
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శ్రీ ఎస్. పురుషోత్తమనాయుడు,		శ్రీ సి. సాంబశివం, Ex-ZPTC కుప్పం,	1116
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శ్రీ ఎవర్ గ్రెన్ గ్రానైట్, కుప్పం	3,000	శ్రీనివాస అయ్యర్స్ డి.కె. ఫార్మసి, చంద్రగిరి	1116
శ్రీ ఎస్. వెంకటేశ్, టీవర్, పి.బి.వాడ	3516	శ్రీ జి.ఎం. రాజు, MPTC శెట్టిపల్లి	1116
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శ్రీ అర్.ఆర్. గ్రానైట్, కుప్పం	3000	శ్రీ ఎస్.వి.టి. గ్రానైట్స్ గారు, కుప్పం	1116
శ్రీ ఎం. మునిరత్నం, డాక్టర్ మెంట్ లైటర్, కుప్పం	3000	శ్రీ విజయ వినాయక గ్రానైట్స్ గారు, కుప్పం	1116
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సాఫ్ట్వేర్ ఇంజనీయర్, యామగానిపల్లి	2516	శ్రీ కె.వి. జయప్ప, బమెలు మర్చెంట్, కాడవల్లి	1116
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శ్రీ సబ్బాగం, రియల్ ఎస్టేట్ వ్యాపారం, కుప్పం	2016	శ్రీ సి. మునిరత్నం, సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం, ఎం.పి.టి.సి. సి. బండపల్లి	1116
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శ్రీ ఎస్. ఎస్. భేకరి, సామిడి, కుప్పం	2001	మండల టి.డి.సి. అధ్యక్షులు	1116
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శ్రీ పూల కృష్ణమ్మ, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	516	శ్రీ గోవిందన్, నర్సండ్, సోడిగానిపల్లి	516
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శ్రీ ఎం.వి. చంద్రమ్మ, వెంకటేశ్వర బెన్స్ట్రెట్స్, గుడిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎం. మునిరత్నం, S/o. గుణస్వామి, అక్షిప్తరం	250
శ్రీ కంచస్వామి హోటల్, కుప్పం	516	శ్రీ జె. బాలరాజు, చీకటిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటరామశెట్టి కు. వి. రాఘమూర్తి, కనమనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ చిన్నరామమ్మ కు. ఆర్. నాగరాజు, గుండ్లసాగరం	250
శ్రీ కోయమ్మ కు. కె.ఎం. వెంకటస్వామి EX-ARMY యామగానిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎం. రాఘవచంద్రమ్మ, గోవిందపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వి.ఎస్. నాగరాజు, కనమనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ పెద్దమ్మ మనవళ్ళు, ఆర్.వి. వెంకటాచలం, రామచంద్ర, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటమ్మ కు. కె.వి. శ్రీనివాసులు, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ కె. రవి, గుండ్లమడుగు	250
శ్రీ అనందమ్మ, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎస్. పార్థసారథి, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250
శ్రీ లక్ష్మమ్మ కు. వెంకటేశ్, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	516	శ్రీ సి. గోవిందన్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250
శ్రీ కె.వి. రామచంద్రన్, D/o. గోవింద్రామ్, అడిబర్, జాతికర్లపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎం. లశోక్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250
శ్రీ జె.ఎం. కృష్ణమూర్తి, షిట్, కుప్పం	516	శ్రీ మునెమ్మ కు. దుర్గం ఆర్. మునెమ్మ, చెలిమంక	250
శ్రీ నంజయ్యగుప్త, బెంగళూరు	516	శ్రీ వెంకటేశ్ కు. మునిరత్నం, ఎ.టి.పల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఇ. రాజేంద్ర, పెద్దబంగారత్తం	516	శ్రీ ఎం. రవిచంద్రన్, కు. కె. మురుగేశ్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250
శ్రీ సి. వెంకటేశు, MPTC గుడుపల్లి	516	శ్రీ జి. వీరాస్వామి, టీడర్, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ ప్రమీలా నాగరాజు, MPTC కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ జయమ్మ గుడిపల్లి రైల్వే స్టేషన్	250
శ్రీ కె.ఎస్. ఉదయకుమార్, MPTC గుండ్లసాగరం	516	శ్రీ అంజమ్మ, కమ్మగొట్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ కృష్ణమ్మ వెంకటేశు, MPTC కనమనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ మునస్వామి, చీమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పవిత్ర వెంకటరామమ్మ, MPTC కొడతనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ వీరగెట్టి మునిస్వామి కు. మినిరామమ్మ, కె.సి.పల్లి	250
శ్రీ శ్రీనివాసులు నాయుడు, MPTC ఓ.ఎన్. కొత్తూరు	516	శ్రీ వెంకటమ్మ, కనమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ భవాని బాబు, MPTC నంగనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ పి.ఎం. రత్నమ్మ, మిడ్డూరు	250
శ్రీ టి. బాలచంద్రయ్య, MPTC సోడిగానిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ అబ్బన్నవారి కు. ఎ.వి. నారాయణ, చెలిమివంక	250
శ్రీ హనుమక్క, MPTC బెగ్గిలిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ దుర్గం మునెమ్మ కు. డి.ఎం. వెంకటేశ్, చలిమివంక	250
శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం, నర్సండ్, బెగ్గిలిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఆర్. సామిదెమ్మ, పిల్లి.వాడ	250
శ్రీ కృష్ణమూర్తి, నర్సండ్, చీకటిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ వి. అంజనేయలు, డి.సి.పల్లి	250
శ్రీ పద్మ కోడమ్మ, నర్సండ్, చిన్నగొల్లపల్లి	516	శ్రీ అన్నమ్మ, ఎస్. గొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ చంద్రారెడ్డి, నర్సండ్, రానమానపల్లి	516	శ్రీ సోమశేఖరయ్య, ఎక్స్, నర్సండ్ ఒంటిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వి. వెంకటేశ్, నర్సండ్, గుడుపల్లి	516	శ్రీ గంటప్పగొడు, కోటపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జయమ్మ వెంకటేశు, నర్సండ్, గుండ్లసాగరం	516	శ్రీ శ్రీరంగన్, సీగలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వరదరాజులు, నర్సండ్, కనమనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ మేర్ల వెంకటస్వామి, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సుబ్బమ్మ చెంగమ్మ, నర్సండ్, కంచెలందూర్లపల్లి	516	శ్రీ నారాయణమ్మ మల్లేపల్లి	250
శ్రీ రమేష్, నర్సండ్, కొడతనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎం. వీరారామమ్మ కు. కె.ఎస్. వెంకటేశు, కనమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ రామకృష్ణ, నర్సండ్, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ లెట్ ముబ్బన్న కు. ఎల్. ఎస్. శ్రీనివాసులు, అక్షిప్తరం	250
శ్రీ లక్ష్మమ్మ ఎస్. కృష్ణయ్య, నర్సండ్, పి.టి.వాడ	516	శ్రీ నాగరాజు, చొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ ఆమర్నాథ్, నర్సండ్, నంగనపల్లి	516	శ్రీ గేట్ మునివెంకటమ్మ కు. ఎం. గోవిందస్వామి, మిట్టూరు	250
శ్రీ పరదరాజులు, నర్సండ్, శెట్టిపల్లి	516	శ్రీ ఎన్. రాళ్ళమ్మ కు. పి. నల్లమ్మ, కాడేపల్లి	250

శ్రీ జె. మునివెంకటప్ప కె.ఎస్. కృష్ణమూర్తి, పి. బండపల్లి	250	శ్రీ రామకృష్ణ, కలవరగూరు	250
శ్రీ ఆచార్య కు. వెంకటేశ, 81 ముద్దనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సి. మునియ్య	250
శ్రీ మునియ్య కు. ఇ. మునిస్వామి, నూరుకుంబ	250	శ్రీ టి. పి.పి.గౌడ, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ గంగప్ప కు. కుప్పప్ప, కనకమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ అంజప్ప, ఆత్మకూర్	250
శ్రీ సీతప్ప, మాచిలపల్లి, బండరకుంబ	250	శ్రీ బి. వెంకటరామప్ప, కోనేరుమప్పం, అగ్రహారం	250
శ్రీ టూరుగుట్ట వెంకటప్ప, కే.సి.పల్లి	250	శ్రీ మునియ్య కు. ఎం. గంగప్ప, డ్రైవర్, అత్తికూర్	250
శ్రీ మా. సీతప్ప, కే.సి.పల్లి	250	శ్రీ చంద్రప్ప, టైలర్, అవగల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ టూరుగుట్ట వెంకటప్ప కు. పెద్దగంగప్ప, కే.సి.పల్లి	250	శ్రీ కోటపల్లి గంగప్ప కు. కె.జి. వెంకటేశం, యామిగానపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఇస్కొలప్ప కు. ఎం. కుమార్, రైల్వే ఎం.పి.ఎల్. ఒంటిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ తాయప్ప కు. టి. మునియ్య, కోటచంటిగిరి	250
శ్రీ బోడెప్పగౌడ, ఒంటిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ రామకృష్ణప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ విశ్వనాథి కాడపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బి.నారాయణప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ అంగడి మల్లప్ప కు. వెంకటేశ, జోగ్గానూరు	250	శ్రీ ఆర్. రాజప్ప, అనగల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. రామచంద్ర, పి.బి.వాడ	250	శ్రీ బూశప్ప కు. పాపన్న కాడపల్లి	250
శ్రీ కన్నప్ప అనే మునియ్య, కనకమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ భద్రప్ప మనవడం బి. అనంద్, ఎద్దులపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి. సామిరమ్మ, అంగనవాడి టీచర్, ఉర్లపిటనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ యల్లప్పగారి మునిస్వామి మనవడం	250
శ్రీ బూరెప్పగారి వెంకటప్ప, చెంగుబల్ల	250	ఎం. శంకరప్ప, రేగడ దిన్నపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి. నారాయణప్ప కు. పి. మునియ్య	250	శ్రీ మునిస్వామి కు. ఎం. పార్థసారథి, కనకమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి. వెంటకప్ప కు. ఎం. సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం, కోలాలిమ్మపల్లి	250	శ్రీ మునియ్య సామిడెప్ప, లక్ష్మీపురం	250
శ్రీ బి. బుక్కప్ప కు. సీతప్ప, మేట్రి, కాడపల్లి	250	శ్రీ ఎం. మునియ్య కు. ఎం. మునిస్వామి, గుడిచెంటిగిరి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటేశపల్లి సీతప్ప, కాడపల్లి	250	శ్రీ చిలపిరమ్మ కు. రామచంద్రప్ప, పి.బి.వాడ	250
శ్రీ కుప్పిగానిపల్లి వెంకటప్ప కు. వెంకటేశ, కాడపల్లి	250	శ్రీ మల్లప్ప కు. ఎం. శంకరప్ప, జోగ్గానూరు	250
శ్రీ మల్లప్ప కు. నారాయణప్ప, కాడపల్లి	250	శ్రీ మానుమప్ప మనవడం వి. శ్రీనివాసులు, కనకమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ లేట్ చంద్రప్ప, గుడిచెంటిగిరి	250	శ్రీ సంతార. వెంకటేశ్, రాళ్లబూడగూరు	250
శ్రీ చిన్నప్ప కు. సి. వజ్రవేలు, ఎక్స్ సర్పంత్ జాతిరక్షనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ చిన్న వెంటప్ప కు. మునియ్య, ఎస్. గొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ చిత్తూరు రామప్ప, 121, పెద్దూరు	250	శ్రీ రామప్ప బాలరెడ్డి కొత్తూరు	250
శ్రీ మునిస్వామిగౌడ, కోలాలిమ్మనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ జి.ఎం. రాము, గుడిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ గోవిందప్ప, చొక్కనబండ	250	శ్రీ రామప్ప కు. వెంకటేశ్, కెలాకుపోడు	250
శ్రీ ఆర్. వెంకటస్వామి గౌడ, చొక్కనబండ	250	శ్రీ మునివెంకటప్ప, కెలాకుపోడు	250
శ్రీ బి. సాయి శశిధర్వారి కుటుంబ సభ్యులు చెన్నై	250	శ్రీ సురేశ్ రెడ్డి కు. రామకృష్ణారెడ్డి, కెలాకుపోడు	250
శ్రీ ఆర్. రాజగోపాల గౌడ, చొక్కనబండ	250	శ్రీ టి. రాధాకృష్ణ, 81 ముద్దనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ అబ్బయ్యప్ప కు. సుబ్రహ్మణ్య, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సి. చిన్నప్పయ్య, శెట్టిబల్ల	250
శ్రీ బి. రామప్ప కు. ఆర్. సంపంగినాయుడు, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ ఎస్. వెంకటేశం, బటవార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ డీలర్ చిన్నప్పయ్య, మాదనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బి.వి. శంకరప్ప అండ్ సన్స్, బటవార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. నాగప్ప, కే.సి.పల్లి	250	శ్రీ మానిసెంకటప్ప కు. శంకరప్ప, కెలాకుపోడు	250
శ్రీ ఎం. శ్రీనివాస్ కు. ఎస్. దర్శిత్, రామిగానిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ రమేష్ గౌడ, కాలువలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ గొండుగుట్ట పెద్దన్న, నంజంపేట	250	శ్రీ వెంకటేశం, మిద్దూరు	250
శ్రీ సుందరప్ప, శెట్టిబల్ల	250	శ్రీ సురేశ్ రెడ్డి, పిటలూరుపల్లి, కాళహస్తి	250

శ్రీ రాళ్లమ్మ, రాడేపల్లి	250	శ్రీ పడ్డుమ్మ, కనమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ.వి. వెంకటేశం, పెద్దగొల్లపల్లి	250	శ్రీ గోపాలమ్మ, పెద్దపర్తికుంభం	250
శ్రీ ఎల్లప్పుగారి వెంకటేశం	250	శ్రీ.పి. రాజమ్మ, గుడుంపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎన్. రామమ్మ కు. ఎన్. మునెప్ప, తివసిగానిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ జి. మురుగన్, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ గోవిందమ్మ, గుండ్లసాగరం	250	శ్రీ సి.కె. నారాయణస్వామి, చొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ వృక్షమ్మ, గుండ్లసాగరం	250	శ్రీ ఆర్. నదానందరెడ్డి, సిరినెరెడ్డి, పెద్దకల్లుపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునెప్ప కు. వెంకటేశం, తోడేరుగట్ల	250	శ్రీ పెద్దన్న కు. చిన్నసాయి, కమ్మగంటపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునివెంకటమ్మ కు. ఎం. వెంకటేశ్, S.W.R. కాడేపల్లి	250	శ్రీ జి.ఎం. యల్లమ్మ చైతన్, సీమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ నరసింహమ్మ కుమార్తె నవసీతమ్మ	250	శ్రీ గంగమ్మ, చిన్నపొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునిరాజు, జంటువెరపు, వెండుగంపల్లి	250	శ్రీ శ్రీకృష్ణ కు. విజయ, చిన్నిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సి.ఆర్. కృష్ణమూర్తి, జాతికర్తనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ శ్రీకృష్ణ నాగమ్మ, నొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ దడనం సుబ్బారావు అండ్ బ్రదర్స్, నూరుకుంభం	250	శ్రీ నారాయణమ్మ కు. గొల్ల వేంకటేశం, నడింపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి.సి. గోవిందరాజులు అండ్ బ్రదర్స్, నడింపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బూశమ్మ కు. బి. రంగమ్మ, రాడేపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి. వెంకటేశం, రైల్వే, గుడిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ తిరుప్పగారి రామమ్మ, చిన్నగొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సోమశేఖర్, ఎ.వి.ఎస్. అత్తినల్లం	250	శ్రీ నెల్లమ్మ కు. గుళ్ళమ్మ కనమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ రామమ్మగోడు, నడింపల్లి	250	శ్రీ మునసామి కు. నారాయణమ్మ నల్లగట్టూరు	250
శ్రీ బి. కోదండమ్మ, ఒంటిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ రామమ్మ ఎస్. గొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ శివకుమార్, ఆటోడ్రైవర్, కెంపాపురం	250	శ్రీ వి. నాగరాజు, పచ్చారెడ్డిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ కె. రామమ్మ, సీతమ్మ, సాంచంతనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ పుష్పల రామమ్మ, చిన్నసాళపల్లి	250
శ్రీ చిన్నస్వామి భార్య మునెప్ప, ఎత్తూరిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ పుష్పల యల్లమ్మ, చిన్నసాళపల్లి	250
శ్రీ నరేజమ్మ చిన్నమ్మచెట్టి, పొగురుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ శ్రీనివాసులు గుండ్లసాగరము	250
శ్రీ సుబ్బన్న కు. ఎస్. నారాయణమ్మ, కనమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సీతమ్మ కు. వెంకటమ్మ, కే.సి. పల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎ వెంకటేశం కు. తాడప, నంగనపల్లి, బాపూలు అగ్రహారం	250	శ్రీ గొల్లమ్మ కు. రామోజి, కే.సి. పల్లి	250
శ్రీ భజంత్రి గోవిందమ్మ, బ్రాహ్మణ అగ్రహారం, నంగనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ శివకుమార్ ఆచారి, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. వెంకటేశ్, మేస్త్రి, కనమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ అక్కిపతి హరికతదాసులు, చింత్రంపాళ్యం	250
శ్రీ ఎర్రమ్మ కు. చిన్నికృష్ణ, గుడిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ కల్లం వి. శ్రీనివాసులు SI/ం. వెంకటేశం, తోటపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటమ్మ కు. కె.వి. నారాయణమ్మ, కరడుగూరు	250	శ్రీ అక్షమ్మ బూడుగూరు	250
శ్రీ బాటమ్మ కు. వెంకటేశ్ మేస్త్రి, పచ్చారెడ్డిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ వి. రామోగోడు SI/ం. శ్రీనివాసులు, పచ్చారెడ్డిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సీతమ్మ, వెంకటేశం, పెద్దకల్లుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ జి.వి. శ్రీకృష్ణ అంగడి నడంపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. రత్నమ్మ, నర్సరి, నార్కంపల్లి	250	శ్రీ ఎం.ఆర్.ఎస్. మునెప్ప కు. రాజమ్మ, పెద్దకల్లుపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. నారాయణమ్మ, పోతురాజుపల్లి, పి.బి.వాడ	250	శ్రీ యర్రమ్మ కు. సీతమ్మ రైల్వే, గుడుంపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. రాజేంద్ర, గిరిజిబావి	250	శ్రీ వెంకటమ్మ కు. చిన్న గోవిందమ్మ లక్ష్మీపురము	250
శ్రీ బలరామమ్మ కు. ఆర్. వినాయక్, సి. బండపల్లి	250	శ్రీ నారాయణమ్మ, బూడుగూరు	250
శ్రీ పి.కె.గొట్ట వెంకటమ్మ కు. సామన్న, కే.సి. పల్లి	250	శ్రీ సుకుమారమ్మ, వి. కొత్తపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్.కె. మండరం భార్య సుసీలమ్మ, కనమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ కుందిరి నేతమ్మ, చొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ నారాయణగోడు, పొరండ్లపల్లి	250	శ్రీ వెంకటేశం కు. మునసామి వి. గొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి. గంగమ్మ, అగరము	250	శ్రీ మునెప్ప కు. శ్రీ రామమ్మ, తివసిగానిపల్లి	250

శ్రీ ఫింగిచౌడప్ప పైటాట, కుప్పం	250	శ్రీ పాపన్న కం. వెంకటప్ప, అత్తినత్తం	250
శ్రీ జి. కృష్ణమూర్తి, కనమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బి. మనోహర్, శెట్టిబల్ల	250
శ్రీ వెంకటేశు ధర్మకర్త, గుడికొత్తూరు	250	శ్రీ గుళ్ళాయప్ప, జి. మునెప్ప, లక్ష్మీపురం	250
శ్రీ బి. నరసింహులు, ఉనిసిగానిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ నల్లప్ప కం. ఎన్. వెంకటప్ప, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	250
శ్రీ గంగప్ప, యాలాజనూరు	250	శ్రీ మునస్వామి కం. నారాయణప్ప, అత్తికంపం	250
శ్రీ కాడేపల్లి కె.వి. శంకరప్ప, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సరోజమ్మ C/o. ప్రకాశం, నెల్లూరు	250
శ్రీ పి. నారాయణప్ప కం. జగన్నాథంహిల్స్, 7వ మైలు	250	శ్రీ పార్వతమ్మ, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250
శ్రీ పార్వతమ్మ సూరప్ప కొటాలు	250	శ్రీ అయియాటి నారాయణశెట్టి భార్య సుబ్బమ్మ, కనమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి. వెంకటస్వామి ఎలెక్ట్రిషియన్, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సోమశేఖర్, అర్కికర్, తిరుపతి గంగనాంబ డీవాలయం, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ జి.మునివెంకటప్ప, బోరుపాయింట్, చీమనపల్లి	250	శ్రీ ఎన్. కృష్ణప్ప శెట్టి కం. వెంకటాచలం కె.సి.పల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి.సి. శ్రీనివాసులు, పాలువ్యాపారం, నడిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బి.ఎస్. వెంకటాచలపతి, ఎక్స్.ఎం.పి.బి.సి, పాగురంపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునివెంకటప్ప, కం. వెంకటాచలపతి, అత్తినత్తం	250	శ్రీ వెంకటప్ప కం. మనిరత్నం, పెద్దగొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జీజప్ప కం. కె.జి. నారాయణప్ప, కాడేపల్లి	250	శ్రీ గ. కృష్ణప్ప (కీట్లప్ప), గుడుపల్లి	250
శ్రీ చిన్నప్ప కం. సి. కృష్ణప్ప, రైల్వేమేన్స్, కాడేపల్లి	250	శ్రీ వి. కృష్ణమూర్తి, కృష్ణగిరి	250
శ్రీ జి.ఎం. మునిరత్నం, నడిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ కె.వి. హరిశంకర్, అర్.ఎస్. క్రాస్, గుడుపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఆర్.ఎస్. పటన్, శేట్లకుమార్, కుప్పం	250	శ్రీ పి. నారాయణప్ప, కోనేరుకుప్పం, అగ్రహారం	250
శ్రీ టి. నారాయణప్ప, ఎ. కొత్తపల్లి	250	శ్రీ సి. నారాయణప్ప కం. ఎన్. జగన్నాథన్, హెల్మర్ ఏడవ మైలు	250
శ్రీ రామస్వామి, గుండ్లపాగరం	250	శ్రీ మునెప్ప కం. ఎం. బోడెప్ప, హెల్మర్, కె.సి.పల్లి	250
శ్రీ వి.ఆర్. శామన్న, కంగుంది	250	శ్రీ ఆర్. లక్ష్మీనారాయణ, కమతమూరు	250
శ్రీ ఆర్. నారాయణప్ప S/o. రామన్న, గోవిందపల్లి	250	శ్రీ జి. మునిప్ప, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. మునెప్ప S/o. మునివెంకటప్ప, గోవిందపల్లి	250	శ్రీ గణాచారి వెంకటస్వామి, ఓంపల్లి, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునిస్వామి S/o. మునివెంకటప్ప, గోవిందపల్లి	250	శ్రీ చిన్నమునస్వామి కం. సి. గంగప్ప, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటేశు S/o. యద్రప్ప, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ లక్ష్మీపతి కం. ఎల్. శ్రీనివాసులు, కమ్మగుట్టపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి. మునిరత్నం, ఓంటిపల్లి	250	శ్రీ బుట్టి నాయుడు కం. వెంకటపతి, కొత్తపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఆనందకుమార్ తరంజీ, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250	శ్రీ బి. చిన్నమల్లప్ప, చీగలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ బి. మహీష్, బి.సి. కాలనీ, పనాయకపురం	250	శ్రీ ఎం. సారాజ్, గోకర్ణపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎన్. బసప్ప, కం. ఎన్. రామకృష్ణప్ప	250	శ్రీ వెంకటప్ప, కం. కృష్ణప్ప, పెద్దగొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పి.ఎం. జయరామరెడ్డి, కం. రవి, మిర్జూరు	250	శ్రీ సుసీల, కోయప్ప మనమరాలు, వెంగళూరు	250
శ్రీ గజలక్ష్మి వినాయక్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250	శ్రీ ఎన్. చంద్రయ్య, వల్లెమ్మ, 64 పెద్దూరు	250
శ్రీ నాగరాజు గౌపండర్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250	శ్రీ కరణం నారాయణప్ప, యామగానిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి. వెంకటేశు S/o. గుండ్రప్ప, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ గంగప్ప, ముత్తంమారెమ్మ పూజారి, జాతికర్తనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. శ్రీనివాసులు కం. ఎం. చంద్రశేఖర్, సూరప్పకొటాలు	250	శ్రీ గుండప్ప కం. గంగప్ప, జాతికర్తనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ అంగడి మునెప్ప కం. ఎం. రామచంద్రప్ప, అత్తినత్తం	250	శ్రీ ఎస్. గౌరప్ప, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎ. కృష్ణప్ప కం. కె. రఘురామప్ప, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ శ్రీనివాసులు, మునివెంకటప్ప, కిల్కాపూర్	250
శ్రీ ప్రేమ ప్రకాశ్, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ కృష్ణప్ప, కారుముట్లగొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ గోవిందప్ప కం. మురుగేష్, తిలాకుపోడు	250	శ్రీ ఎన్. రామప్ప S/o. నల్లప్ప ఆనీ మునెప్ప, కాడేపల్లి	250
శ్రీ కృష్ణ జనరల్ స్టోర్స్, గుడుపల్లి	250	శ్రీ వెంకటప్ప, వెంకటాపురం	250

శ్రీ పి. వెంకటస్వామి, గుడిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ నారాయణప్ప, ఎస్.కె.ఆర్. ఫోర్ మిల్, మాచారూ	250
శ్రీ మునిస్వామి కు. వెంకటధామప్ప జుత్తికుప్పం	250
శ్రీ శ్రీనివాసులుగోడు, చొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ రామచంద్రయ్య, దాస్సానపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సి. విశ్వేశ్వరయ్య,కె. కొత్తూరు, వి. కోట	250
శ్రీ చామిందమ్మ, W/O. వెంకటస్వామి, కవమనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటరమణ, ఫోటో స్టుడియో గాయిత్రి, గుడిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ బి. కన్నప్ప, కు. కృష్ణప్ప, జాతికర్తనపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎస్. వరదరాజు, గుండ్లసాగరం	250
శ్రీ యర్రప్ప కు. కృష్ణప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి, చౌడేపల్లి	250
శ్రీ పూలు రామప్ప కు. ఎల్లప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ లక్ష్మీకాంతమ్మ, బెంగళూరు	250
శ్రీ ఎం. వెంకటేశ్, పోస్ట్ మాస్టర్, గుడిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సి. వెంకటాచలం, గుడిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వి. గోవిందప్ప, గుండ్లసాగరం	250
శ్రీ మునెప్ప కు. ఎం. దేవరాజు, కుప్పిగానిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ బోడేప్ప కు. వెంకటేశం, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ మునెప్ప కు. ఎం. శ్రీనివాసులు, వి. కొత్తూరు	250
శ్రీ అబ్బయ్యప్ప, చొక్కనబండ	250
శ్రీ మునెప్ప కు. సుబ్రహ్మణ్యం, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ అబ్బయ్యప్ప కు. వెంకటేశప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ వెంకటప్ప, చిన్నసార్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ కృష్ణప్ప, కోనేరుకుప్పం, అగ్రహారం	250
శ్రీ పెరుమాళ్ల కు. అబ్బయ్య, ఒంటిపల్లి	250

శ్రీ ఎం. మునిరాజు, దాసేగానూరు	250
శ్రీ ఎం. సుబ్బరాయప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ బి. సుబ్బరాయప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ బి. శ్రీరాములు, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ డి. రామచంద్రప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. గోవిందప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. కృష్ణప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి. లక్ష్మప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎన్. బాలకృష్ణ, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జి. జయరామప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ సాకు గంగారెడ్డి, నాలువలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ లక్ష్మీనారాయణ, చింతరెడ్డిపల్లి	250
శ్రీ భద్రప్ప కు. బి. శ్రీనివాసులు, ఎద్దులపల్లి	250
శ్రీ జయరామ లింగారెడ్డి, కాలువలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ చలపతి మంగమ్మ, చంగుబల్లి	250
శ్రీ బాలప్ప, కోటచెంబగిరి	250
శ్రీ ఆర్. మురుగేశ్, విమల్ టైలర్, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ జి. సీతప్ప శెట్టి, చిన్నగొల్లపల్లి	250
శ్రీ తిలక్, కె.జి.ఎఫ్	250
శ్రీ రాజేంద్రన్, గుండ్లసాగరం	250
శ్రీ రాజప్ప, ఆవులనర్తం	250
శ్రీ త్యాగరాజన్, తిరుపత్తూరు	250
శ్రీ ఎ. శ్రీనివాసులు, రైచే, కుప్పం	250
శ్రీ శివశంకర్, బెగ్గిలపల్లి	250
శ్రీ ఎం. గోవిందప్ప, అంకిరెడ్లపల్లి	250

ముఖ్య గమనిక :

ఈ దేవాస్థామునకు చందాలు ఇచ్చు భక్తాదులు కాలపరిస్థితిని అనుసరించి రెట్టింపుగా సకాలమున మాకు అందజేయవలసినదిగా కోరుచున్నాము.



జాతరలో నిషేధ వస్తువులు,

జూదమునకు సంబంధించిన ఆటలు అనుమతించ బడదు.



కులపెద్దలు :

శ్రీ పెద్దగొడు జి. క్రిష్ణమూర్తి, చిన్నగొడు జి. మునిరత్నం,
గణాచారి జి. క్రిష్ణప్ప, మారేటి గొర్లప్ప, కుంబారి మునిస్వామి

ధర్మకర్త

సోలె మునెప్ప గొడు

సహాయ కార్య నిర్వాహకులు

శ్రీ ఆర్. చంద్రశేఖర్, Ex-MPP, గుడిపల్లి

శ్రీ వెంకటేశు, పెట్రోల్ బంకు, కుప్పం

శ్రీ డి.వి. రమేశ్, శ్రీ సాయి గ్రానైట్, యామగానిపల్లి

శ్రీ వి. రామచంద్రప్ప, పచ్చారెడ్డిపల్లి

శ్రీ బి. మునెప్ప, ఒంటిపల్లి

శ్రీ నాగరాజు, Ex-సర్పంచ్, సి. బండపల్లి

శ్రీ జి. శంకరప్ప, EX-సర్పంచ్, డి.సి.పల్లి

శ్రీ కె.సి.ఎం. ముబ్రహియ్యం, కంగుంది

శ్రీ ఎల్. వెంకటేశు, ఎక్స్, సర్పంచ్, లక్ష్మీపురం

శ్రీ ఎం. శ్రీరాములు, EX-MPTC గోవిందపల్లి

శ్రీ పి. సాంబశివం, EX-ZPTC కుప్పం

శ్రీ ఎన్. వెంకటేశు MLO పి.బి.వాడ

శ్రీ ఐదన్నగొడు, వునిసిగానిపల్లి

శ్రీ వి. చంద్రప్ప, EX-MPTC ఒంటిపల్లి

శ్రీ వి. శ్రీనివాసులు, పచ్చారెడ్డిపల్లి

శ్రీ ఎం. మునిరత్నం, డాక్యుమెంట్ రైటర్

శ్రీ డి. షణ్మగం, కుప్పం

శ్రీ జి. బాలకృష్ణ, Ex-MPP, నడుంపల్లి

శ్రీ ఎం. వేణుగోపాల్, గణేశపురం

శ్రీ నాగరాజు, ఇమ్మడిహళ్ళి

శ్రీ జి.ఎం. రాజు, MPTC, శెట్టిపల్లి

శ్రీ డి. నారాయణప్ప, EX సర్పంచ్, విజలాపురం

శ్రీ బి. తిరుపతి, ఎం.పి.టి.సి. శెట్టిపల్లి

శ్రీ ఎన్. మునెప్ప, ఎం.పి.టి.సి., పి.బి.వాడ

శ్రీ బేటప్ప, బినానత్తం

శ్రీ టి. శ్రీనివాసులు, తిరుమల ట్రాన్స్‌పోర్ట్, ఎ.బి. వాడ

శ్రీ సి. చిన్నప్పగొడు, కెంచనబల్ల

శ్రీ విజయకుమార్, అన్నె సామిల్, కుప్పం

శ్రీ ఎన్. వెంకటప్పగొడు, కాడేపల్లి

శ్రీ ఎ. వెంకటేశు, EX-సర్పంచ్, మిట్టూరు



బ్రహ్మోత్సవములకు సహకరించువారు :

శ్రీ కంకణాల రత్నయ్య, Vice Chancellor, D.U., శ్రీ వంకటేశ్వర ప్రసాద్, M.D., RESCO & Staff

వత్రికా విలేకరులు, శ్రీ వేణుగోపాల్ సి.ఐ. గారు,

శ్రీ గోపాల్ క్రిష్ణగారు, తహశీల్దార్, శ్రీ శేఖర్ నాయక్ గారు, ఎం.పి.డి.ఓ.

శ్రీ జి. చంద్రమోహన్ గారు, ఎస్.ఐ., మరియు పోలీస్ సిబ్బంది.

Appendix IV

Table 1: Sequence of performances, processions, and rituals.

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
1	1	Day/night				
	2	Day/night	Kankanamu (tying sacred thread for a wrist)			
	3	Day/night				
	4	Day/night	Ankurarpanamu (Offering Sprouts)			
	5	Day/night				
	6	Day/night	Dwajaroahanamu (flag hoisting),			

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
2	1	2:00 pm		Udankuni Charitra (the story of Udanka), and bhutharaju katha (the story of bhutharaja)		
3	1	2:00 pm		Chandra vamsali (history of Chandravamshavali), yayathi charitra (the story of Yatathi)		
4	1	2:00 pm		Santhana Charithra (history of Santhana), Bishma Prathigna (Bisham's vow)		
5	1	2:00 pm		Drutharastra pandava Vidhuropathi (birth of Drutharastra, Pandava, and Vidhura)		
6	1	2:00 pm		Pandava kaurava jananam (birth of Pandava and Kaurava)		
7	1	2:00 pm		Pandava kaurava balya kredalu (Childhood games of Pandava and Kaurava), Pandava Kaurava vidhyabhyasamu (education of Pandavas and Kauravas), and ekalavudu charitra (history of Ekalavya)		

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
8	1	2:00 pm		Draupadi Birth (Draupadi's birth)		
9	1	2:00 pm		Lakkagruha Dahanam (The house of Lacquer), Bakasura Vadha (Killing of Bakasura)		
	2	4:00 pm				
	3	6:00 pm			Bakasura vadha (Killing of Bakasura) (Pakacuran)	
	4	6:30 pm	Sharing food from the cart			
	5	7	<i>Alugu nilapadamu</i>			
	6	9:30pm				Lakkagruha Dahanam (The house of Lacquer), Bakasuri Vadha (Bakasura's death), Draupadi swayam varam (Draupadi participating in "the ceremony of choosing a husband").

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
10	1	2:00 pm		Draupadi Kalyanam (Draupadi's wedding), Salahini Charitra (history of Salahini), and Draupadi purva Janna Vruthantham (story of Draupadi's previous incarnation)		
	2	6:00 pm	Draupadi <i>Kalyanam</i> (Draupadi's wedding)			
	3	9:00 pm				Draupadi Kalyanam (Draupadi's wedding), Salahini Charitra (history of Salahini), Draupadi purva Janna Vruthantham (story of Draupadi's previous incarnation)

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
11	1	2:00 pm		Arjuna therda Yatra (Pilgrimage of Arjuna), Subhadra Kalyanam (Subhadra's marriage)		
	2	9:00 pm				Arjuna therda Yatra (Pilgrimage of Arjuna), Subhadra Kalyanam (Subhadra's marriage)
12	1	2:00 pm		Rajasuya yagam ("Rajasuya sacrifice"), Draupadi Vastrabharanam (the disrobing of Draupadi)		
	2	9:00 pm				Rajasuya yogam (Rajasuya sacrifice), Draupadi vastrabaranamu (the disrobing of Draupadi)

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
13	1			Arjuna Thapassu (Arjuna's penance), Aranyaparvam (The forest episode), Yaksha Prasna (" the riddles of the Yaksha"),		
	2					Aranyaparvam (The forest episode), Yaksha Prasna (" the riddles of the Yaksha"),
14	1	8:00 am			Tapasmaanu/Arjuna tapassu (Arjuna's penance)	
	2	2:00 pm		Viratparvam (Virata episode), Keechakavadha ("The slaying of Keechaka")		
	3	9:00 pm				Viratparvam (Virata episode), Keechakavadha ("The slaying of Keechaka"),

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
15	1	2:00 pm		Uttaragograhamam (“Seizure of the cattle in the north”),		
	2	4:00 pm				
	3	4:30 pm			Uttara goagrahanamu (“Seizure of the cattle in the north”),	
	4	5:00 pm				
	5	6:00 pm				
	6	8:00 pm				
	7	9:00 pm				Uttaragograhamam (“Seizure of the cattle in the north”),
16	1	2:00 pm		Srikrishna rayabharamu (“ Lord Krishna’s message”), Ilavanthuni bali (sacrifice of Ilavanta) and Kurukshetramu (Kurukshetra war)		
	2	7:00 pm			Ilavanthuni bali (sacrifice of Ilavanta)	

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
	3	9:00 pm				Srikrishna rayabharamu (“ Lord Krishna’s message”) and Kurukshetra yuddamu (Kurukshetra war)
17	1	2:00 pm		Gaddhayudham(“mace fighting between Beema and Dhuryodhana), Dhuryodhani vadha (assassination of Dhuryodhana),		
	2	4:00 pm			Dhuryodhana vadha (assassination of Dhuryodhana)	
	3	7:00 pm	<i>Agnigunda pravesham</i> (firewalking)			
	4	9:00 pm				
	5	9:30				

Table 1 continued...

Day	Seq. of events in a day	Time	Ritual	Story telling in Harikatha form	Site specific theatrical performances/ environmental theatre scenography /outdoor theatre	Theatrical performances on the stage
18	1	11:00 am	Dharma raju <i>pattabhishekham</i> (coronation of Dharmaraja).	Dharma raju pattabhishekham (coronation of Dharmaraja).		
	2	12:01 pm	<i>Tila-tarpanamu</i> ("Offering gingelly to satisfy the spirits of the departed forefathers.")			
	3	2:00 pm	<i>Pongallu</i> (boiled rice with jaggery)			

Appendix V

Names and addresses of the officiants, Dharmakarhalu, Veedhi-natakamu performers, Harikatha performers.

S.no	Name of the person	Role in the festival	Address	Contact number
1.	V.Ramanappa	Harmonium player with experience of 30 days.	Govindapalli	8790669375
2.	Laxman	Tabala player with 20 years' experience	Kangundhi	9676822941
3.	Srinivasulu	Actor with 35 years' experience. His Guru is CM Narayanappa, a well know Veedhi-natakamu performer in Kuppam region.	Kothaindlu	9177870063
4.	CM.Munirathnam	He is well in performing all the characters. With 45 years' experience. He has performed Rama and Lavakusa characters for many shows. His teacher is Narasihmaiah.	KothaIndlu	Not available.
5.	M.Govindaswami	All-rounder. He learns Veedhi-natakamu from his family members. They performed in Hyderabad. Veedhi-naatakamu is his profession. Along with the performances, he does agriculture. He prepares all the material for costumes and scenery in Veedhi natakamu.	D.K.Palli	9177331624

		Samudrala venkateshwarlu is his brother who performed in Hyderabad. Material for costume making is purchased in Chennai or Bangalore. He makes headgears and props. Earlier days, he used wooden material, but now he is using paper Mache.		
6.	Mani	Karnataka, Age 23, Narayanappa. Kolar district. Karnataka		09036773323
7.	K.Muni venkataswami	Actor. 30 years' experience of acting	Peipalam	8978489965
8.	Kumar	Pandurangaiah is teacher from Gollapalle		Not available
9.	Ramana	Teacher Lokanatham.	Shanthi puram	9795853290
10.	Siddi goud			8008231398
11.	Laxman research scholar	Teacher Munappa. Basically from agriculture. Aim is to encourage these performing arts. Three months is enough to learn. There are many teachers available in Kuppam. 1k is enough to get training.	Peddabommana Palli	Not available
12.	Pujari Bhupathi.	Prayers from forefather. Age 38. Vannekula Kshatriyulu. He is Dharmakartha and the officiant. He is also a Farmer. Age 38.	Rendiganipalli	9676270933
13.	Maneppa	Harmonist and script writer. Ramachandraiah is his teacher.	Near Shanthipuram.	9396241045

14.	Ramanaiah			
15.	V Ramappa	Harikatha performer.		9000162694
16.	K. Krishna murthy	Play writer of Veedhi Natakamu	MoramPalle, near chittoor via Kanipakam, mudigolam, sangana palle, some other book said that the village Morumpalle is in the region of Kuppam	Not available
17.	Ramachandra murthy	25 years' experience. Krishnappa and P.C. Subramanya are the teachers.	Bhuchampally, kesam pally,	9945695130 Not available
18.	Venkata Ramanareddy	Agriculture, to earn money,	Palamaneru Chimpara palle near Punganur.	9949239937
19.	Sudhakar	Age 42 with 25 years of experience in folk theatre. His father was a Veedhi-natakamu performer. One of his son is performing in the same festival at Vendugampalli, 2014.	Kaligiri mandala Kuttupalem	Not available
20.	Govindhu	Geriga dancer	Thodella gattu	9701036312
21.	G.Narasihmu lu	Veedhi-natakamu performer.	S.r.puram mandala, Muluru village	9441572913
22.	Raja	Spectator.	Kanipakam	9550700466
23.	Muniraja	45 years old, Agriculture labour. The main officiant at Jeevakona temple.	Tirupathi	Not available

24.	Manohar	37 years old, Organizer, field officer in AP Govt. he also performs Veedhi-natakamu.		9160137093
25.	Munirathnam	52 years old, Veedhi-natakamu performer; and cattle grazer	Pakala, peddaputrolu village	9010096409
26.	Raja	55 years old, <i>dappu</i> plaer.	Thirnepalli	Not available
27.	Radhaih	57 years old, Pambha Performer	Thirupathi	Not available
28.	Sambhaih	He has 22 years' experience in Veedhi-natakamu.	vunuvaripalligra mam	8501857266
29.	S Nagaraju	17 years' experience of Veedhi-natakamu as a Performer	kothapalli	8978872963
30.	P. Laxmipathi	27 years' experience in Veedhi-natakamu as Buffoon performer.	Matampalli	9701126618
31.	Kakaiah	17 years' experience of Veedhi-natakamu Performer	AN puram	9963526902
32.	K Ramakrishna Reddy	35 years' experience of Veedhi-natakamu Performer	Kalapalli	9550875862
33.	Sahadevaih	2 years' experience of Veedhi-natakamu Performer	Muthyalaganda/BJR Colony	9502901665
34.	T. Annamalai	Veedhi-natakamu performer	Siddamedu	9959977598
35.	Nagaraju	10 years' experience of Veedhi-natakamu Performer	Chittoor	Not available
36.	K Deva	Performer	Madeypalli	9000305733
37.	Jayamma	Performer		Not available
38.	Bhargav	Spectator. Student of IX. Only interested to watch the performance of buffoon.		Not available

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Annexures

Draupadi Thirunallu: A study of Scenographic elements in the performances

by Pejjai Nagaraju

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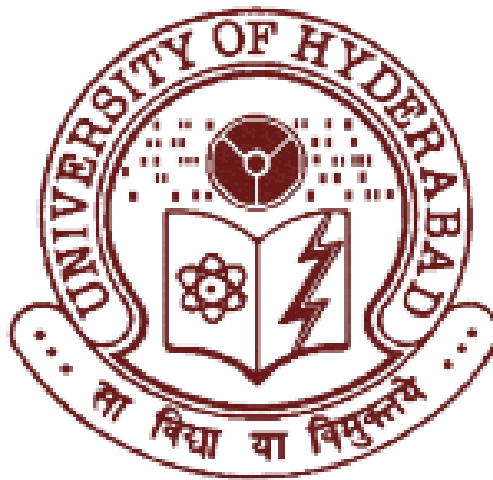
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**DRAUPADI THIRUNALLU:
A STUDY OF SCENOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS IN THE
PERFORMANCES**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED DURING THE YEAR 2018 TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE
ARTS**

BY

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1. Introduction:

People of India, in general, and of rural parts of India are engaged themselves making the fairs and festivals as a platform on which their views and experiences of their lifestyle and belief system are shared. Mostly, these platforms are built on the religious, spiritual and devotional grounds wherein they involve themselves in the related rituals and performances through enactments. These enactments find the context/space in achieving a communion of shared and lived experience. Beverly J. Stoeltje opines that this shared experience leaves a message of the theme and the context of the festival in general:

The messages of festival concern the shared experience of the group and multiple interpretations of that experience. Shared experience may be enacted as myth, music, or drama ...; it may also be the marked representation of a segment of everyday life such as harvesting; it dominates the rhetoric as well as the action of an event clearly defined as 'ours.' In all socially based festivals, however, the messages will be directly related to the present social circumstances as well as to the past. Because festival brings the group together and communicates about the society itself and the role of the individual within it, every effort either to change or to constrain social life will be expressed in some specific relationship to festival. (Bauman 263)

The context/space evidently acquire a native and indigenous spirit of expression in which process the scenographic elements such as space, text, performer, colour and composition, spectators and sound become the medium of communication during the process of enactments related to the theme.

The heterogeneous nature of India paved way of establishing certain conceptual traditions of performances across it which are observed and practiced through conducting fairs and festivals. Many festivals are celebrated in India annually. Most of the festival are related to folk and religious beliefs. In general, the fairs and festivals are called *jataras*, *melas*, and *thirunallu* and become a context/space for the people to assemble and to participate in the performances. These performances are equipped with various tools of audio and visual properties in support of the themes and ideologies of the respective deities which bring out theatricality in achieving empathy among the participants. It is interesting to note that the inherent scenographic expression floats out when viewed in the context of finding out the theatricality, since the entire event is filled with text, performances, music,

procession, myth, drama, exhibitions, rituals, offerings, worshipping, confrontations, and comforts.

The present study focusses on investigating the scenographic expression inherent in such a festival held in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh called as Draupadi Thirunallu.

2. What is “Draupadi Thirunallu” (“Draupadi festival”)?

Across Southern India, thousands of shrines are dedicated to the mythic figure of goddess Draupadi, and she is worshipped as goddess in many South Indian traditions. Worship in this context, however, means much more than prayer or an offering of devotional acts and objects. Rather, Draupadi shrines are often also sites of performances, community celebrations and gatherings. In Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh, the villages conduct an annual Draupadi festival that lasts from 18 to 30 days during March to August. This festival is a form of worship and celebration, which is rooted in history and culture of ‘Vannikula Kshatriyas’¹. Here, Vannikula Kshatriyas community shows significant role in organising rituals, narrative and theatre performances, but others also participates in the festival. Initially, Draupadi festival was a form of worship which is totally rooted in history and culture of Vannikula Kshatriyas. Now a days, other communities from Chittoor district also play significant role in worshipping Draupadi. The festival includes temple rituals, narrative performances, and theatrical performances. Narrative and theatrical performances are performed based on the Mahabharatha text. In Chittoor region, the local community from approximately 25 villages donate for the festival celebration.

Draupadi Thirunallu is also popular with other names such as “Bharatha Yagmam, Bharatham Thirunallu, Aggi Thirunallu, Nippu Thirunallu,”² and Dharmaraju Thirunallu. Part of the festival, rituals are organised to worship Pandavas. Along with the rituals, there are a few folk theatre performances and narrative performances: Veedhi-natakamu; and Harikatha or Katha Kalakshepam.

The rituals are performed in day and night. While Harikatha or Katha Kalakshepam is performed in day, Veedhi-natakamu is performed in nights. The festival is sponsored by

¹ It is noted that “as relic of the origin of the Vannikula Kshatriyas from fire, the fire-pot, which comes in procession on a fixed day during the annual festivities of Draupadi and other goddesses, is borne on the head of a Vanniyar.”(Thurston and Rangachari. 4. K to M. 9-10)

² See page number 100 in Moulana, Paidala. Chittoor Jilla Tirunalla Geyalu. Tirupati: Paidala Publications, 1989. Print.

people from many villages. In some cases, the temple which hosts the festival owns farm fields. The profit of the farm fields also used to organise the festival. Hildebeitel observes on the performances of Draupadi festival: “three performative modes through which the Mahabharatha is presented” (1:135). These performances, according to him, offer a “triangulated festival concordance”. Based on his view, it is possible to draw the following diagram which establishes a relationship among the rituals, the performances and the participants in the festival.

As it is organised and performed by local communities, performances of Draupadi festival can be called as “community-oriented performances”. As part of the festival, sacred installations, exhibitions and fairs are organised by the local community. These performances, rituals, sacred installations, exhibitions, and fairs are self-reflection of the local communities. It is observed that the performances (both narrative and theatre) and sacred installations are strongly associated with Mahabharatha text. Thus, Draupadi festival offers strong association between these communities and their myths.

Thousands of people participate in Draupadi festival in Chittoor district. According to Bhupathi, who is the one of the trustees of Dharmaraja temple, Vendugampalli, 10,000 to 12,000 people participated entire festival in 2014. Usually, Most of the people participate in the festival to devote Pandavas. Few of them come to watch Veedhi-natakamu or Harikatha. Most of the participants know Mahabharatha stories. Many of them know the meaning of the rituals, function of the idols and purpose of the processions. As the space is visually enriched with sacred installations, electrical bulbs, exhibitions, stalls, and idols, devotees probably have various experiences such as devotional, entertaining and celebrated. These decorations also offer visual cues for devotees to follow certain actions. Beyond merely suggesting festival context, they create an environment for devotion and celebration. Devotees engage themselves temporally and physically through their participation within the created contexts of the festival.

A Draupadi temple may have a unique way of process in celebrating the festival. According to Hildebeitel, “[e]very temple has fashioned its own festival from what seems to be an amazing array of basic options and innovative possibilities” (2:11). The process of the festival is migrated from other Draupadi temples. Some of the temples try to imitate the process of the festivals of the old temples. Through this imitation, the process of a festival demonstrates distinguished features. In the process of imitation, the temples may borrow,

abandon and revive few of the rites, processions, performances and exhibitions during the festival celebration. Most of the temples possibly follow core the rituals and the performances in the festivals. Apart from the ritual process, for every year, the festival adapts contemporary material in the festival. Some of the contemporary material, which is not related to the temple tradition, are even used in rituals. For instance, electrical bulbs are used to decorate idols in the rituals. Adapting contemporary material also demonstrates the uniqueness of a festival. Thus, every Draupadi festival is celebrated in its unique way.

Dharmakarthalu play significant role in Draupadi festival. They administrate the events of the temple as a social charity. In few temples, specific families are selected for Dharmakarthalu. In this case, they are selected because their ancestors were Dharmakarthalu. Thus, the tradition of Dharmakarthalu follows from their ancestors. In many cases, Dharmakarthalu is selected from other families according to the local politics. Dharmakarthalu raise the fund to organise the festival. They collect the funds from surrounding villages to Draupadi temples. Usually, Dharmakarthalu operates the financial transactions. They choose the troupe to perform Veedhi-natakamu, the narrative performer and the local people to organise space to conduct rituals and performances. They hire local people to decorate the idols; and temple arch and premises. Dharmakarthalu face the most crucial challenges during the festival. The number of Dharmakarthalu varies from temple to temple. It may change from the festival to festival.

Before a festival is initiated, Dharmakarthalu arrange a meeting with head of the villages. Then, they may select new committee as Dharmakarthalu to organise the festival. Dharmakarthalu are men. Once Dharmakarthalu are decided, they concentrated on publicizing the festival. For this, Dharmakarthalu directs local percussion players of *dappu*³ to announce the festival to the public. After the ceremonial announcement, Dharmakarthalu approach the public to collect donations. On the next auspicious day, they fix the budget, choose the performing troupes, and meet the local decorators. Publicity for the festival includes distributing pamphlets and erecting printed flex boards. Before the festival begins, Dharmakarthalu make sure that the temple premises and performance spaces are cleaned. Later, the festival space and temple walls is decorated with locally available resources and symbolically charged materials, such as turmeric, vermilion, and leaves of coconut and mango. Around the temple premises is decorated with tiny electrical

³ *Dappu* is a percussion instrument, and it is used to announce any event to public in villages.

bulbs. Some of the icons are also decorated with the electrical bulbs. The entrance to the temple premises are also installed with decorative materials. Dharmakarthalu depends on local artists to create festival environment during the festival. Dharmakarthalu take a responsibility of the participants' safety in each and every moment. They are responsible to arrange the space for the performances, rituals and stalls during the festival. They announce the schedule of the events, performances and ritual. These announcements guides the participants in the festival. Thus, Dharmakarthalu play significant role to organise the festival.

Along with Dharamakarthalu, officiants play significant role in festival. Each Draupadi temple use to have a main officiant to conduct rituals and prayers. Along with him, there are few more officiants in the temple. While Dharmakarthalu are observed from various higher castes or from "high status among the local adherents" (Hiltebeitel 1: 22), the officiants are from the caste of Vannikula Kshatriyas. They play significant role in rituals, prayers and offerings.

Idols are most dominant figures in the festival. Its visual engagement suggests devotional feeling the participants. Draupadi festival is predominantly associated with worshipping Pandavas. Idols of five Pandavas, Draupadi, Pothuraju are often visible in Draupadi festival. Along with these idols, there are few more idols are visually appeared in the festivals: Krishna, Kuthi, Ganesh, Hanuman (icon in a flag of Dwajaroahanam), Brahmin and guardian deities. Hiltebeitel identifies five types of idols: "fixed stone [idols]...at inner most sanctum..., fixed stone [idols] at boundary points for guardian deities...,processional [idols]... made of five metals..., processional [idols] made of wood, and large wooden animal 'mount' or 'vehicles' for procession of the deities (2: 42). These five types of idols are quite common in many temple in the region. Idols that are made with five metals (*panchaloaha*) is not seen often in Chittoor region. Most of the idols are made in with the wood. The idols are meant to perform offerings, to devote, to take for processions, and to keep in the rituals. These idols are repainted for each year, and it is decorated with flowers and other sacred materials during the festival. Thus, various idols are observed in various contexts in Draupadi festival.

Draupadi festival attracts many number of participants with rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha/Katha Kalakshepa. In Chittoor region, Harikatha or Katha Kalakshepa is performed in Draupadi festival. For this study, Harikatha is considered. To

study scenography in Draupadi festival, the festival is divided into four parts based: rituals; Veedhi-natakamu on the erected stage; Veedhi-natakamu with ritual in open fields; and Harikatha. In the festival, Veedhi-natakamu is performed in two types of spaces: on the stage and in open fields. Consequently, Veedhi-natakamu performances are divided into two types. These two types of Veedhi-natakamu performances are not similar in many ways. To make the distinction between these two types of the performances, to make it clear for the reader, the two types of Veedhi-natakamu performances are referred with two names. Veedhi-natakamu performances which are performed on the stage is referred as “stage based theatre”, and Veedhi-natakamu performances which are performed in open fields is called as “outdoor theatrical performances”. As it is one of the “popular narrative performance genre” (Flueckiger 47), in Telugu speaking states of India, Harikatha is referred as “oral narrative performance” in this thesis.

a) Devotees/spectators?

In Draupadi festival, thousands of people participates. These participants play various roles in various situations. For examples, majority of the participants worship in the rituals and “outdoor theatrical performances”; and, shift as spectators to get entertainment in Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. Thus, in this study, the participants are referred as devotees, who worship in the rituals and “outdoor theatrical performances”; and spectators for Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha performances.

b) Sacred installations:

In this thesis, the concept of installation is referred when the rituals and the outdoor theatre are studied. According to an evidence, “installation art is a term generally used to describe artwork located in three-dimensional interior space as the word ‘install’ means putting something inside of something else. It is often site-specific-designed to have a particular relationship, whether temporary or permanent, with its spatial environment on an architectural, conceptual, or social level.”⁴ According to Bishop, installation art, which is frequently labelled as ‘experiential’ art, gives opportunity to viewer to enter physically into a space, (Bishop 6). In Draupadi festival, the community art is designed to establish the festival environments. It is three dimensional, and it drives the participants to experience devotion in the space.

⁴ See <http://www.theartstory.org/movement-installation-art.htm>

Many scholars establishes the significant relation between installation art and theatre arts. The common elements between installation art and theatre art are spaces and participation. Richard Schechner, a scholar and theatre artist, who coined “environmental theatre”, notices “actual relationships between the body and the spaces the body moves through’ (Environmental Theatre 2). Richard Schechner establishes the relation between environment and participation. This relation possibly resembles the concept of installation art. Relating the concept of body in three dimensional art, Draupadi ritual demonstrates installation art. The installations in Draupadi festival may exhibit the festival mood and the contextual meaning of the festival. These installations in ritual performances may present the landscapes with central characteristics of the ritual. Thus, the community art in Draupadi festival resembles the installation art.

Most of the times, the installation art in Draupadi festival is executed to create sacredness in the festival. It is designed to create sacred space. The community art becomes bridge between ordinary spaces to sacred space; this art does not allow devotees to consider as illusionistic space. The community art in the festival space also serve as background to the rituals and performances. As it is related to the concept of installation and dedicated to sacred space, the community art in Draupadi festival is referred as sacred installations.

3. What is Scenography?

Scenography originates from the Greek term *sceno-grafika*, and it is understood as “the writing of the stage space” (Howard 125). In the Renaissance theatre, the concept of scenography is observed in technique of painting a scenery (Moffitt 16). The concept of scenography is widely used in practical theatre, and it is understood various research scholars and academicians across the world.

The scenography is observed in various subjects such as architecture, theatre, site-specific arts, exhibition arts and museum of arts. Arnold Aronson identifies expansion of scenography: “In recent years, scenographic and performative borders have shifted in ways so profound as to call into question the very notion of theatre and performance as it has been understood for over 2500 years.”⁵ Natalie Rewa studies scenography with the history

⁵ See Aronson, Arnold 2008 “The Power of Space in a Virtual World.” In Dorita Hannah and Olav Harsløv (eds.): Performance Design. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

of architecture.⁶ Apart from architectural scenography, Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth studies scenography emphasising on space, visuals and the participants experience; according to them, “in the twentieth century the term [scenography] has gradually gained currency by drawing attention to the way stage space can be used as a dynamic and ‘kinesthetic contribution’ to the experience of performance”.⁷ Ingrid Thomassen studies scenography within the context of museum arts comparing museum visitors with the performers and spectators of theatre.⁸ In case of exhibition art, PQ (“prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space”) views scenography as a “complex art field”; for them, it is more than decoration for a theatre; they proposes “complex creator” who transforms the space with visuals; according to them, “[scenography] will be reached as phenomenon appearing in a diversity of art and cultural disciplines-visual arts, architecture, fashion, installation, video art, new media, site specific, as well as an interdisciplinary art in itself”.⁹ Liina Unt observes the relation between scenography and environment: “[s]cenography is discussed as an invisible form of art that changes physical, visually and connotatively filled, environments by shifting the focus, building links between existing elements and desired fictional ones”.¹⁰ Thus, scenography is observed in various fields.

Even though it is observed initially in the theatre field, scenography is expanded to study visual arts. Thus, most of the academicians focuses to study scenography in the contexts of visual and performing arts. For them scenography is creating “performance environment” using visual arts to engage participants. For instance, Butterworth and Mckinney emphasises on “the manipulation and orchestration of the performance environment”¹¹ in conceptual understanding of scenography. For another example, which

⁶ See page 225 in Rewa, Natalie. *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers*. Toronto: U of Toronto, 2004. Print.

⁷ See page 3 in McKinney, Joslin, and Philip Butterworth. *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

⁸ See page 6 in Thomassen, Ingrid. *The Role of Scenography in Museum Exhibitions: The Case of the Grossraum at the Norwegian Museum of Science and Technology, Oslo*. Thesis. University of Oslo, 2017. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print. Also available at <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-60981>

⁹ Prague Quadrennial of Performance Design and Space, “Artistic Concept of PQ 2011,” 1. For more details please click on the link <http://services.pq.cz/en/concept.html> accessed 12 06 2018

¹⁰ See page 11 in Unt, Liina. *Landscape as Playground The Environmental Experience of Landscape as Fictional and Real in a Performance*. Diss. Aalto U, n.d. Finland: Aalto U Publication, 2012. Print. Also available at https://shop.aalto.fi/media/attachments/66997/Unt_netti.pdf

¹¹ See page 4 in McKinney, Joslin, and Philip Butterworth. *The Cambridge Introduction to Scenography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. Print.

establishes strong association between scenography and performance environment, Lotker and Gough notifies that “[w]hat is important is that scenographies are environments that not only determine the context of performative actions, but inspire us to act and that directly form our actions”¹². Thus, most of the academicians considers the concept of scenography to create “performance environment”.

In performing arts, the concept of scenography is studied by many scholars with theatrical elements. Howard understands that “[s]cenography is the seamless synthesis of space, text, research, art, actors, directors and spectators that contributes to an original creation.”¹³ Rewa observes the importance of theatrical elements: “[S]cenography is what comprises all the design categories-set, costumes, lights, and sound-modulating the focus of attention onto the spatial dynamics, the active presence of the performers in the given spaces, and the choices of materials which have entered the interpretative and creative vocabulary of the production.”¹⁴ According to Johnny Saldaña, “[s]cenography refers to the total visual and aural conception for theatrical productions and includes the constituent elements of scenery, set and hand properties, costumes, makeup, lighting, sound, and technology”.¹⁵ Both Howard and Saldana observes the importance of theatrical elements in to study in scenography. While Howard forgets to emphasise on sound, Rewa and Saldana identifies the importance of sound in scenography.

Pamela Howard investigates scenography in various perspectives: “space; text; research; colour and composition; director; performers; and spectators”.¹⁶ Rewa emphasises on “set, costumes, lights, and soud” to study scenography. Saldana recognises the importance of “scenery, set and hand properties, costumes, makeup, lighting, sound, and technology” to understand scenography. From the views of Howard, Rewa and Saldana, scenographic elements can be listed as “space; text; performers; colour and composition; spectators; and sound”.

¹² See page from 3 to 4 in Lotker, Sodja, and Richard Gough. "On Scenography: Editorial." *Performance Research A Journal of the Performing Arts* 18.3 (2013): 3-6. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13528165.2013.818306>. Web. 22 June 2016. <<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13528165.2013.818306?needAccess=true>>

¹³ See page 130 in Howard, Pamela. *What Is Scenography?* London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

¹⁴ See page 225 in Natalie Rewa, *Scenography in Canada: Selected Designers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

¹⁵ See pages from 27 to 28 in Saldaña, Johnny. *Ethnodrama: An Anthology of Reality Theatre*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 2005. Print.

¹⁶ See in Howard, Pamela. *What Is Scenography?* London: Routledge, 2002. Print

4. Indian Scenography

The word scenography is a new concept for Indian theatre, but many evidences suggest to think that the concept of scenography did exist since the ancient Indian theatre. For instances, from ancient Indian scholars, Bharatha, Dhananjaya and Nanyadeva proposed few views on theatre which has close association with scenography. Concept of scenography probably reflects in Bharatha's *Natyasastra*: "There is no knowledge, no fine art, no learning, no skill, no yoga and no activity that is not represented in Drama."¹⁷ Ayaryabhinayamu Manmohangosh Bharatha emphasises the importance of fine arts in theatre, which has very close relation to scenography. Chaudhary studies Dhananjaya's reflection on drama: "Dhananjaya suggested that in all the production, dress, action and speech should be taken directly from the society and should be properly observed."¹⁸ Here, Dhananjaya emphasises significance of visual element: dress. As costumes are one of the scenographic element observed by Howard, it is possible to associate scenographic concept with Dhananjaya's proposal. Govind Keshav Bhat notes one of the concepts of ancient Indian theatre: "Bharata describes drama, in his *Natyashastra*, as a *drisya-kavya*, that is visual poetry."¹⁹ According to Varadapande, "[t]he terms '*Preksha*' and '*Rupaka*' clearly point at the visual aspect of drama."²⁰ Here, *drisya-kavya*, *preksha*, *rupaka* are resembles the concept of scenography which is strongly related to stage pictures. Chaudhary also notes Nanyadeva's commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* as "spectators' state of mind must be considered"²¹. Here, Nanyadeva's observation on spectators' state of mind suggests to compare with one of the scenographic element: spectator. Thus, ancient Indian theatre demonstrates the concept of scenography.

In modern Indian theatre studies, Nissar Allana, Richard Schechner, Suresh Awasthi and Christopher B. Balme propose scenography in Indian cultural context.

¹⁷ In his book, Jagirdar translates a *Natyasastra*'s sloka. See page 16 in JAGIRDAR, R. V. *Drama in Sanskrit Literature*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1947. Print.

¹⁸ See page 132 in Choudhary, Radhakrishna. *A Survey of Maithili Literature*. New Delhi: Shruti Publication, 2010. Print.

¹⁹ See page 17 in Bhat, Govind Keshav. *Tragedy and Sanskrit Drama*. Bombay: Bhāsa Popular Prakashan, 1974. Print.

²⁰ See page 277 in Varadpande, Manohar Laxman. *History of Indian Theatre*. Vol. 1. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987. Print.

²¹ See page 132 in Choudhary, Radhakrishna. *A Survey of Maithili Literature*. New Delhi: Shruti Publication, 2010. Print.

Nissar Allana, in *Theatre of India A concise companion*, understands the concept of scenography in the contexts of both ancient and modern Indian theatre.²² She notes that Indian stage needs to be understood with different parameters which are different from western concept. According to her observation, traditional Indian theatre is “non-realistic, non-representational, and ritualistic in content and form”²³. As part of her observation, she studies spaces of Indian Sanskrit theatre and folk theatre. She observes the seating arrangement; entry and exit of the actors; actors’ movement to represent a change of location, to communicate riding a chariot; the role of the handheld curtain; masks, make-up, props, and costumes; and spectators’ spaces. She also studies the influence of proscenium theatre in eighteenth century in India. She notes influence of “the Renaissance Italianate style of painted perspective scenery” on Indian theatre. She concludes that western theatre is “indianized” with vast visuals in Indian theatre practice in 19th century. The concept of painted curtains are popular till early 1930s. She studies the role of light in traditional Indian theatre. Thus, Nissar Allana understands the concept of scenography in Indian theatre.

Suresh Awasthi studies scenography in the context of “Traditional theatre of India” in his article *The Scenography of the Traditional Theatre of India*.²⁴ In this study, he focuses performers’ and spectators’ space in traditional Indian theatre forms such as Terukkuttu, Veedhi-natakamu, Ramalila, Kathakali, Yakshagana, Rasalila, Kutiyattam, Bhagavat Puran, Bhavana, Raslila and Khyal. He studies that performers travel from one place to another place, and spectators move along with performers in few traditional Indian performances. Performers’ space is surrounded by spectators in folk theatre. Awasthi observes: “An important factor that determines the nature of scenography in [traditional Indian] theatre is the non-realistic and metaphysical treatment of time and place”²⁵. According to him, performer contributes scenography in traditional Indian theatre; the scenery is created with performers’ accessories such as exaggerated makeup, costumes, and huge headdress; and stylized acting. According to Awasthi, in Ramlila, “scenography acquires a different style in accordance with the type of performance, localized or

²² See page numbers from 321 to 387 in Lal, Ananda. *Theatres of India a Concise Companion*. New Delhi: Oxford UP, 2009. Print.

²³ Ibid. see page 382

²⁴ Awasthi, Suresh. "The Scenography of the Traditional Theatre of India." *The Drama Review: TDR* 18.4 (1974): 36. Web.

²⁵ Ibid. see page 38

processional”²⁶; and he also observes scenography at operating the space and spectators’ participation. He concludes that “[m]ore developed scenography occurs when the Ram-legend theatre is performed as processional drama in vast open spaces outside towns or sometimes, in larger towns, in sports stadiums”²⁷. Thus, Suresh Awasthi understands scenography in the contexts of traditional Indian theatre.

Richard Schechner, in his article *Crossing the Water: Pilgrimage, Movement, and Environmental Scenography of the Ramlila of Ramnagar*, studies scenography in outdoor performance of Ramlila.²⁸ In this study, he explores the relationship between the performances and the environments. He observes the transformation of the Ramnagar into a theatrical environment. He observes the large-scale spaces of the performances. He notes the changes of environments in Ramlila performances during a specific period. He studies relation between Indian religious performances and the participants’ emotions: “Within India’s religious and theatrical tradition there is a strong warrant for the production of large-scale, highly skilled performances representing the widest possible range of emotions, relating sacred and royal stories, and depicting interactions among gods, humans, and demons”.²⁹ It is possible to note that Schechner considered space as significant element to study scenography in Ramlila. Thus, Richard Schechner studies scenographic elements in Ramlila.

Christopher B. Balme referred Indian scenography in his book *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post-colonial Drama*. He, referring to Tagore’s opposition to proscenium stage, observes Tagore’s practice in theatre as “a development towards rapprochement between the bare Indian stage and a stylized, anti-naturalistic scenography developed by the European avant-garde” (255). Balme’s observation suggests the folk theatre practices in India reflect the European avant-garde theatre. Thus, Balme studies Indian scenography comparing bare stage with avant garde theatre.

Area of Study

The Draupadi’s festival is organised in Tamil speaking areas of south India: Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. The festival in these three areas are slightly

²⁶ Ibid. see page 41

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ See Living Banaras: Hindu Religion in Cultural Context

²⁹ Schechner in page 50 Living Banaras:

different in celebration. The festival brings the local community together to lead to share the devotion. Here, the ritual spaces unite the community to nurture relations, roles and positions. The participants of Draupadi festival are allowed here to experience the devotion and entertainment. Present study is based on Draupadi festival which is organised in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh, in between 2014 to 2016. The study is focused in two regions of Chittoor district: Kuppam and Tirupathi. In these regions, three villages are selected for this study: Yamanuru and Vendugampalli, in Kuppam region, 2014; and Jeevakona, in Tirupathi, 2016. Draupadi Thirunallu, as discussed above involves large scale performances which run 18 to 30 days in which rituals, processions, Harikatha, Veedhi-natakamu, enactments of episodes from Mahabharatha exhibition stalls, and so on. Though several academicians of folklore, theatre, anthropology, and other social sciences have brought forth the information on the rituals, gods, goddesses, belief system and their fairs and festivals, there is still a scope to probe into the issues of scenographic elements that appear in these performances.

5. Chapterisation:

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Each chapter focuses on aforementioned issues and an in-depth analysis is attempted.

Chapter One: Introduction:

Chapter one describes the introduction of the study. It introduces the concept of the festivals in India and Telugu speaking states. The chapter introduces the Draupadi festival and its performances in Chittoor region. It explains how the participants of the festival is referred in the study at various chapters. It presents the use of the term installations in the study. It introduces the concept of scenography in general, and provides the evidences of scenographic concept in Indian theatre. It establishes the area of the study, gives a brief synopsis of the relevant literature, lists the issues addressed, offers aims and objectives, and provides a synopsis of methodology employed. This chapter summarizes what will be discussed in the following chapters. The main aim of the chapter is to provide the background and the context in which to situate the research.

Chapter Two: Ritual Scenography:

The chapter is offered into two major parts: Part A and Part B. The first part is the study of specific rituals of Draupadi festival in chronological order within the context of

scenography. The second part presents the common aspects of scenography in the rituals. The reason to divide the chapter into two major parts is not to repeat common aspects of scenography in each ritual. In the first part, a ritual is analysed with the context of scenographic elements. As part of the analysis, it is explored that transformation of the space, the sacred materials impact in the ritual space, and the devotees' engagement. In the second part, scenographic elements is studied considering rituals as a whole.

Chapter Three: Scenography of stage based theatre:

In this chapter, scenographic elements are studied in the presentation of stage based Veedhi-natakamu performances.

Chapter Four: Scenography of Outdoor theatrical performances:

This chapter is presented in two parts: Part A and Part B. In the first part, it is analysed the outdoor theatrical performances individually within the context of scenography; and, in the second part, it is presented the examination of common scenographic aspects of these performances. The reason to present the common scenographic aspects separately is to avoid repetition.

Chapter Five: Chapter 5: Scenography of Oral Narrative Performances:

This chapter presents study of scenographic elements in the oral narrative performance, Harikatha. This chapter is divided into two major parts: Part A and Part B. In first part, the chapter offers meaning of Harikatha and its performances in present context. In second part, the chapter presents an examination of scenographic elements such as space; text; colour and composition; performers; spectators and sound in Harikatha. As Harikatha is an oral narrative form and the chapter is about the examination of scenographic elements in it, the present chapter is titled with "scenography of oral narrative performances".

Chapter six: Conclusion:

Chapter six is summation of the study and suggestion for further research.

6. Conclusion

This study is made to understand the role of scenographic elements in Draupadi festival. These scenographic elements are space; text; colour and composition; performer; spectators; and sound. This study offers with an outline of the scenography in a community festival which is combined with rituals, oral narrative performances and folk theatre held at Yamanuru, Vendugampalli and Jeevakona in Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh.

When probed into the issues related to scenographic aspects, the complexity in this study is realised in relating the western theories of the subject in Indian cultural context. Since the area of study happens in a religious ceremony of the village community, it is understood that the ethnic connections to their belief system controls the entire state of affairs. Hence it is essential to understand the complexities of the elements of performances in relation to the indigenous and native expression of scenography specifically to the festival space/context opted for this study.

To that end, the study focused on the rituals, oral narrative performances and folk theatre performances in Draupadi festival.

7. Findings:

7.1. Space/context:

In Draupadi festival, the space was a significant element to engage participants. Without the festival context, the space did not create appropriate meaning in Draupadi festival. Space and context had significant relation here. It created a medium for the participants and the performers to engage in various ways. It was organised to create environments which facilitate rituals, performances, processions and exhibitions. The environments were vibrated audibly and visually with the devotional songs; the rituals; the fairs; the narrative performances and the theatrical performances. The most visual movement was occurred in the rituals and the theatrical performances. The festival space was divided into three parts: for rituals; outdoor theatrical performances; and stage based theatrical performances and oral narratives. Few rituals and outdoor theatrical performances were performed in the farm fields. Except these rituals and outdoor theatrical performances, most of the rituals, oral narratives, stage based performances and outdoor theatrical performances were performed in the temple courtyards. The festival space was filled with animated and unanimated visuals. The animated visuals were observed in theatrical, oral narrative and ritual performances. Unanimated visuals were observed in

sacred installations, Tapas-manu, Jammi tree, recumbent effigy of Duryodhana, Ilavnatha effigy, and Dwaja-stambamu. Thus, the festival space created a medium (affordance) for participants and performers to move freely.

The ritual spaces were observed in both outdoors and indoors, and they were not created on raised platforms. The ritual spaces were created and organised by Dharmakarthalu and the officiants. Before a ritual begun, the space was empty. The space became active with the ritual performances. The sacred installations were used to create ritual environments. These installations were tangled to the community belief and indigenous scenographic elements. Here, the sacred installations, which created scenographic expressions, were organised to communicate sacredness and the community belief. The scenographic expression in the ritual spaces were devotional because they offered the environments to worship the gods (Pandavas) and the goddess (Draupadi).

The ritual space was surrounded by the devotees for most of the rituals. Devotees were allowed freely around the ritual space. Entering into the ritual space was restricted for many devotees. For instance, except the officiants and Dharmakarthalu, devotees were not allowed into the innermost shrine where *Ankuraarpanamu* was organised. Usually, even the rituals are based on Mahabhartha text, the ritual space did not represent any fictional location. For instance, firewalking ritual was associated to Draupadi's rebirth. In this ritual, the space did not represent a fictional location. Usually, the ritual space offered devotees to revisit and re-engage their belief, culture and tradition.

A simple stage building was used to Veedhi-natakamu performances. The stage building entirely distinguish to the ritual spaces. While the ritual space was not raised, the stage for Veedhi-natakamu was raised. Although Veedhi-natakamu was performed in a stage building, the spectators occupied in the open fields. The stage building was divided into two parts: performance space and greenroom. The greenroom was separated from the performance space with a curtain. The performance space was extended into the spectators' space for special scenes. The stage building was decorated with local community art. The spectators' space was not decorated, but it was illuminated with flood lights. The spectators' sight lines were not maintained properly. It was obstructed by the pillars of the stage building or by the spectators who stood near to the stage to watch the performance.

Few of the performances were performed with rituals and theatrical elements in outdoors. These performances were referred as "outdoor theatrical performances". Space

for these outdoor theatrical performances were selected from paddy fields, street corners and temple courtyards. The ecology of the space was part of the scenographic expression for these performances. These spaces, as the ritual spaces, were temporarily emphasised with sacred installations. While the stage of Veedhi-natakamu was not communicating sacredness, outdoor theatrical performances were created to have devotional engagement. The designs of these spaces did not denote historical accuracy for the performance. These spaces resembled the aspects of environmental theatre spaces. The sight lines were not planned in these spaces, but devotees had opportunity to move from one place to another place to get better view of the performance.

As there was a stage for Veedhi-natakamu, a raised platform was used for Harikatha performances. Evidence suggested that Harikatha performances were not allowed to perform in open fields. The performance space separated for the spectators. As it was not raised much, the performance space demonstrates intimacy between the performer and spectators in Harikatha. The spectators occupied three sides of Harikatha performance space. the spectators' space was wide enough to accommodate 500 to 1000 people. As Harikatha is performed in day in Draupadi festival, along with performance space, the spectators' space is sheltered with palm leaves to avoid heavy sunlight. This shelter was arranged in the temple courtyards in Jeevakona. In case of Yamagani Palle, oral narrative performance was organised in the temple hall. While Veedhi-natakamu space suggested well organised space, Harikatha space demonstrated an improvised stage.

Thus, the temple courtyards and paddy fields offered spaces for the rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha. These spaces uncovered narrative stories. This spatial communication can be referred as scenography because it connects devotees or spectators with text and objects.

During the festival, specifically at the outdoor theatrical performances, the performers moved in temple courtyards with folk theatre costumes. Pointing at the performers, the local community believed that the festival space represents celestial world. According to their belief, the performers, who were in folk theatre costumes and makeup, were gods and goddess. The spectators even took blessings from the performers. Thus the festival space represented celestial world, and it seemed to display the expressions of the communal faiths.

The festival space communicated few meanings depending on a context. As the space was used for rituals, Veedhi-natakamu and Harikatha performances, the space could be divided into many parts. Each part of the space in Draupadi festival decided how devotees enter. This decision was predetermined by context which was based on the festival belief. For instance, in the ritual space, devotees are not allowed to walk with footwear. To give another reference, devotees enter a play performance to have entertainment. Thus, devotees enter into a performance space with predetermined decisions. These predetermined decisions symbolised the devotees' engagement with thematic content of the space.

Thus, the space of Draupadi festival was significant in engaging participants. The temple rituals, Harikatha, Veedhi-natakamu and local community were inseparable and interwoven in Draupadi festival space.

7.2. Text:

Mahabharatha text was probably the origin for the festival celebration. According to the local community, the festival is celebrated to worship the goddess Draupadi who is the supreme heroine of Mahabharatha. The rituals, Hariakatha and Veedhi-natakamu performances were interconnected to the local community belief and the Mahabharatha text.

Most of the rituals had a connection with Mahabharatha text. For instance, Draupadi Kalyanam (Draupadi's wedding) ritual was organised by the local community as part of the festival celebration. In this ritual, two villages take sides of bride and bridegroom respectively. One village represented Draupadi's family, and other village represented Pandavas' family. They both arrive and conduct the wedding rituals. This ritual resembles the Draupadi's wedding in Mahabharatha. Thus, the ritual had connections with Mahabharatha text. Even it was associated with the rituals, Mahabharatha text does not have significant role in the rituals.

While the rituals had insignificant association with Mahabharatha text, Veedhi-natakamu had significant association with Mahabharatha text. As part of the study, the textual analysis was observed on the list of the plays that were performed in Veedhi-natakamu in Draupadi context. To understand the text, the synopsis of the plays were presented. As the text was huge, few plays were selected to study its scenic order. From this scenic order, the play structure was analysed. Veedhi-natakamu text used both

contemporary and classical Telugu. Punning in Veedhi-natakamu assisted to engage number of spectators. Veedhi-natakamu text was adaptation of classical Mahabharatha text. Even Mahabharatha demonstrated sacredness and religiousness, the performances interpreted the text to demonstrate secularism. As Veedhi-natakamu did not depend on a scenery that demonstrates a location, the location of a scene was verbally communicated. The epic text was adapted and reinterpreted to engage the spectators. Thus, the text played a significant role to entertain the spectators in Veedhi-natakamu performances which were performed on the stage.

Text of outdoor theatrical performances were similar to the text of stage-based theatre, but it did not give much opportunity for humour and secular subject. The performance text for these performances were also derived and adapted from the epic. The text also used to communicate visual information such as fictional location and the props. In few outdoor theatrical performance, the text appeared as it was adapted for the outdoors. For instance, Uttara-gograhanamu was performed in paddy fields which had relation to fictional location of the story. Thus, the text of outdoor theatrical performances were focused on sacredness and devotion.

As Veedhi-natakamu performance text, Harikatha performance text were also adapted from Mahabharatha stories in the festival. Usually, Harikatha performance text was written based on various subjects. It appeared that Harikatha text initially bound with Hindu religion. Later, Harikatha text has been written to entertain, to spread religions, to teach social themes, to impose patriotism and to educate people. In Draupadi's festival, narration of Harikatha was based in both classical and spoken Telugu language. Since the translation of Mahabharatha in Telugu is no longer spoken, every line of classical text was translated by Haridasu into contemporary spoken Telugu language for spectators.

Usually, Harikatha performance was performed longer than two hours in Draupadi festival. It had to possess some special quality to engage the spectators for such a duration. For this, along with the main story, the performance text was incorporated with short humorous stories and passages of holy text. Usually, these humorous stories were a resources of social commentary. The humorous stories also attracted spectators from various classes. Along with humorous stories, passages of holy text was visible in Harikatha performances. The passages of holy text were purely drawn from epics and *puranas*, and the holy passages were also included with hymns, verses and poems. After presenting it,

the hidden meanings of the holy passages were explained to the spectators in local dialect. Thus, the main story was incorporated with humorous stories, passages of holy text and hymns. Another important element in Haritha was *pittakathalu* (side stories) which was to elaborate a scene, an incident, a situation or an expression in a story. *Pittakathalu* were short, and the purpose of these stories was to create humour and educate people. The side stories, sometimes, are spontaneously selected by the performer during the show. In Harikatha, sometimes, the plot was mixed with popular and imaginary stories. Scenic environments were described by the narrator. Thus, Harikatha text played a significant role, and had strong association with the epic text in Mahabharata.

7.3. Colour and compositions:

Colour and composition plays significant role in the visuals of theatre. As Howards (2002) observes, “[c]olour and composition are the crux of the scenographer’s art” (51). Howards emphasise the importance of colour and composition in theatre: “The integration of composition with colour enables the artist to draw the spectator’s eye to the focal points of each scene as the performance progresses”. Colour and composition can be understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. In the rituals, the colour and the compositions were observed and referred “sacred spectacles” the colour and the compositions were organised in the ritual space with temporarily installations; materials offered to the gods and deities; and the dresses of the officiants. The colour played significant role to create devotional and sacred environments. The arrangement of the sacred material in the ritual space had significant connection with devotees’ engagement. Sacred materials and installations in the ritual space transformed the ordinary spaces into sacred spaces. These transformed spaces were more than devotional scenographies; and they were visual manifestations of the ritual performances. In the ritual space, the function of the sacred material was strongly associated to the community belief; these associations allow devotees to interact with the ritual images, to connect with ritual space, to engage with devotion. As these sacred material visually connected to created environments, they preserved devotional boundaries around the ritual space. Sacred spectacle in the rituals were representations of devotional scenography.

The installations were referred as ephemeral because they were dismantled or destroyed after the ritual performances. In some rituals, the installations were removed by devotees to collect the sacred material which has been used for installations. For instance, in Uttara-gograhanamu, devotees pluck leaves of Jammi tree which was installed in the

performance. In few other rituals, installations were destroyed as part of the ritual context. For instance, devotees destroyed the recumbent statue of Duryodhana after the performance. These installations were suggested to articulate specific contextual meaning of the rituals through sacred material and actions of officiants. These contextual meanings engaged devotees in the celebration. Thus, the installations in the ritual space communicated devotion. On these grounds, scenography in rituals engaged the devotees emotionally and physically by producing a devotional world.

In the colour and composition, along with the sacred materials, the light had a significant role to establish devotional scenography. There were two kinds of light were observed at the rituals. First kind was to illuminate the ritual and devotees' space. Second kind was to establish devotional and sacred mood. Second kind was observed in while performing Harathi and carrying burning torch.

The colour and composition played different roles in Harikatha and Veedhi-natakamu performances. While it was to establish devotional environment in the rituals, the major aim of the colour and composition was to create theatrical environment in Veedhi-natakamu. Colour and composition in Veedhi-natakamu understood by observing costumes, make-up, props, scenery and lighting. Veedhi-natakamu performances used traditional makeup and costumes. Now a days, the costumes and props are influenced by the mythological films of Telugu region. The originality of traditional costumes, props and makeup are diluted. The role of the lighting was just to illuminate the stage. It did not have any other functions as it is observed in modern theatre. Veedhi-natakamu performance did not suggest to think visual composition as it was observed in contemporary theatre.

Costumes and make-up in outdoor theatrical performances were similar as it was visible in stage based performances (Veedhi-natakamu). As these performances were "large scale enactments", the costumes played significant role in dragging devotees' eyes. Obviously, all the material in these performance spaces, including costumes, make-up, props and sacred material had an instant impact on devotees. Even though all these material did not establish the time and place for actions of the performances, it acted as visual code here. Since they are performed in day, these performance were illuminated by natural light. The outdoor performances did not create theatrical effects because presence of daylight suggested to experience the location as a natural environment which was close to regular life.

When it was compared to Veedhi-natakamu, the role of colour and composition was not significant in Harikatha. While Veedhi-natakamu costumes created theatrical environments, Harikatha costumes created devotional environment. According to local community, Harikatha costumes represented sacredness in the performances. Concept of the makeup was not visible in Harikatha. Stage props were not used in Harikatha. Natural light was the major source to illuminate the performances of Harikatha in Draupadi festival. Using scenery was not observed in these performances. Most of the performances were performed without a background curtain. In some cases, a banner was tied as background to announce the details of the sponsors. The performers' moves established the evidence of composition.

7.4. Performer:

According to their role, the officiants could be called as ritual performers. The ritual performers played significant role in the rituals. Their gestures and postures established the sacredness in the ritual space. Even the rituals were not choreographed, the officiants' moves represented a choreography. Most important gestures and postures that establish sacredness were observed while the officiants were performing *harathi*, *namaskar* (bow), and *sashtanga namaskaram* (prostration pose). These gestures and postures were repeated by the devotees. In the ritual space, devotees also represented the role performers. Thus, both performers' and spectators' gesture and postures at the ritual space created devotional scenography.

While the ritual actions of the officiants and the devotees created devotional environment in the ritual space, actions of Veedhi-natakamu performers created fulfilled environment. Veedhi-natakamu performers were trained under a Guru, and they were able to perform for three to four hours in Veedhi-natakamu cycle. They used stylized and exaggerated actions to represent a character. They were trained to improvise a scene for a given situation. They were also good to improvise with the spectators. They used their own voice to represent a character. They were capable to sing and deliver dialogue in high volume. Usually, they banished the realism by interacting with the spectators.

The stage background was covered with a painted curtain. It did not represented any fictional location in a story. It used as neutral background. So, the performance needed to represent multiple locations in these performances. There were no scenic objects used to represent various locations in Veedhi-natakamu. The performers played on the stage with their elaborate costumes and gestures. Their costumes and gestures created a scenic effects

on the stage. For instance, performers created river by showing gesture as they are lifting cloths and walking. For another example, the actor shown a chariot by showing a gestures of pulling two ropes of horse. Thus, these kind of stage conventions created scenic effects in Veedhianatakamu performances. The locations were justified with codified physical actions in Veedhi-natakamu

As outdoor theatrical performances were “large scale enactments”, the performers needed to have great physical and vocal strength to charge the space. He also demonstrated his physical strength in taking lengthy moves in the performance space. In outdoor theatrical performance, the performer did not improvise much as it is observed in stage based theatre. His goal, in outdoor performances, was to follow the theme strictly. He collaborated his physical skills, the theme, the space and the text in outdoor theatrical performances to engage the spectators. Thus, performers’ collaboration refined scenography in the outdoor theatrical performances.

When compare to Veedhi-natakamu performer, Harikatha performer demonstrated more number of skills to engage spectators. He established physical and voice skills to engage vast range of the spectators. He shifted his role from a narrator to a theatre actor and vice versa. He created invisible characters on the stage, and he enacted with those invisible characters. He played multiple roles, and he was quick in expressing various characters on the stage during the performance. He was able to express nine emotions.

It was appeared that Harikatha performer physically stronger than Veedhi-natakamu performer. As it was a solo performance, Harikatha demanded appropriate physical, voice and mental skills to perform for a long time. The performer used various types of movements and body language to represent a character. Most of the time, the performer’s movements created pleasant and devotional feeling during the performance. Though it was an oral narrative performance, performer enthuse the spectators with his skill. One of the singnificant skills of Harikatha performer was to swing roles from philosopher to entertainer.

In his presentation, Harikatha performer was capable to modulate the voice to express the mood of a scene. His vocal skills and elegance of speech created a space for spectators to experience devotion. During the performances, Harikatha performer used to take intervals. In these intervals, Echcharikala and Namasankeerthanams were performed.

Performer's literary skill demonstrated vast range of literature knowledge during the performances. He used his literary skills to engage various kinds of spectators.

7.5. Spectators:

In Draupadi festival, thousands of people participated. These participants played various roles at various performances: devotees, spectators and viewers. For example, the participants were playing the role of devotees who worship gods and goddess in the rituals and outdoor theatrical performances. For another example, the participants played the role of spectators in the stage based theatre.

At the ritual performances, participants were two kinds: devotees and viewers. While the devotees came to devote the gods and goddess, viewers just come to watch the rituals. The local community believed that act of attending the ritual is an act of devotion. In few rituals, devotees were not allowed to enter into the ritual space as it was most sacred. For instance, except trustees and officiants, others were not allowed to enter into the innermost shrine.³⁰ The officiants penetrated into devotees' space to offer *harathi*. Devotees were both active and inactive participants at the rituals. For example devotees were inactive participants at the rituals performed in the innermost shrine. For another instance, in the firewalking rituals, the devotees were active participants. In most of the rituals, devotees were both performers and observers. They performed internally and externally in the ritual space.

Devotees' perceptions of the ritual space played significant role in engaging them with the devotion. A devotee without the knowledge of the ritual space might not engaged devotionally. Lack of his knowledge of the ritual space could not lead him to identify the sacred material, which motivated him to interact with devotion. This lack of knowledge kept him away from the devotional experience, but kept him as an observer in the festival.

Usually, the ritual spaces were created and organised by Dharmakarthalu and the officiants. Devotees moved freely at the ritual space. As the ritual space was emphasised and separated, devotees' space was not fixed to a singular position. They were allowed to move from one place to other place. For instance, in the ritual "tying of *kankanamu*", devotees moves from one place to other place to get better view to watch the ritual

³⁰ The research scholar was taken special permission to enter into the innermost shrine of Draupadi temple in Yamanuru. The research scholar was not allowed to make video document in the innermost shrine. According to the local community, one could not capture the ritual process in the innermost shrine.

performance. Thus, at the open air ritual performances, the devotees were allowed to experience the ritual from multi positions. It was approved that the devotees experience devotional scenography in multi-positions in the ritual spaces.

Participants of Draupadi festival played the role of spectators at Veedhi-natakamu performances that are performed on the stage. The festival offered spectators to have social interactions at Veedhi-natakamu performances. Some of the spectators were attracted by sexually loaded jokes and movie songs. Spectators responded to the philosophical subject in Veedhi-natakamu. As the performances were longer than 7 hours, spectators were exhausted mentally and physically. Spectators paid homage during the performances. With the assistances of performance and dialogues, spectators imagined the invisible sceneries. As spectators were the sponsors for these performances, their influences was visible in the performances. While performers performed in a stage building, spectators occupied outdoors. They sat three sides of the stage. Here, the stage building separated the spectators' space.

To establish relation between performer and spectators, it is appropriate refer Richard Schechner's view. As Richard Schechner observes, "performances do not have an independent life: they are related to the audience that hears them, the spectators who see them. The force of the performance is in the very specific relationship between performers and those-for-whom-the-performance-exists".³¹ Similarly, Veedhi-natakamu performances established strong relation between spectators and the performers. It communicates with its spectators with its text and visuals. The interaction between the spectators and the performers were established a ground on the work of scenography.

Most of the participants at outdoor theatrical performances played the role of devotees. They used to stand or sit to watch the performances. Like in Ramlila, few of the outdoor performances of Draupadi festival demanded devotees to move one place to another to watch the performance. For instance, in Uttara-gograhanamu, devotees move from temple to the paddy field with the procession which was part of the performance of Uttara-gograhanamu. Devotees were having similar role as the participants have in environmental theatre, who are "scene-makers as well as scene-watchers"³². As it was

³¹ See pages from 5 to 6 in Schechner, Richard. *Between Theater & Anthropology*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1985. Print.

³² Phrase taken from page xxvi in Schechner, Richard. *Environmental Theatre: An Expanded New Edition including Six Axioms for Environmental Theater*. New York: Applause, 1994. Print.

observed at the ritual space, devotees were not fixed to specific space. They were allowed to move during the performances. Here, devotees were not only part of performance space, but also they were part of performance visuals. Devotees in these performances constructed narratives through their presence. As these performance spaces were “large scale enactments”, devotees, in a particular time, engaged with part of the holistic image of the performance.

In Draupadi festival, while Veedhi-natakamu performances aimed to entertain, Harikatha performances were meant to teach morals to the spectators. Spectators were educated in Harikatha through devotional text. In some cases, spectators were exhausted physically and mentally at Harikatha performances. To illustrate physical exhaustion, some of the spectators reached physical exhaustion when they were about to sleep. To illustrate mental exhaustion, when the theme was heavy, few of the spectators were emotionally exhausted. Few of women spectators were mentally exhausted in Draupadi-vastrapaharanamu. In these cases, the spectators were energised and diverted from the exhaustions with Namakeerthanalu and Echcharikala performed by the performer. As in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators’ sight lines were not maintained properly in most of Harikatha performances. Spectators also sat three sides of the stage. During the performance, spectators used to pay homage to the performer. Both physical and emotional participation of the spectators were observed when they performed *Chadivimpulu* and *dhakshina*.

7.6. Sound:

Sounds in the rituals were played by *dappu* and *pamba*. These sounds were played at beginning and end of the rituals. It was also played at specific occasions while performing rituals. The sounds believed as sacred. It was performed to stimulate the sacredness, to grab the attention of the devotees, and to engage the devotees with the devotion. The sounds in the ritual space suggested to keep the devotees away from their regular life.

While ritual sounds created devotional feelings, Veedhi-natakamu sounds suggested entertaining feelings. Sounds at Veedhi-natakamu were louder, and it reached the corners of the village that hosted the festival. The sounds were produced by the performers and musicians. While ritual sounds were not amplified, Veedhi-natakamu sounds were amplified through an amplifier. As part of the performances, songs played an important role to extend or reduce the length of the performances. The sounds as a whole created entertaining world.

At the outdoor theatrical performances, the sounds were observed in two types: recorded and live. The recorded sounds were observed in playing devotional songs. These devotional songs were played at the performance spaces before the performance began. Other than these recorded sounds, a processional music was played from temple to the performance space by the *dappu* and *pamba* players. This processional music was a sign for the devotees that the performance was about to start. These sounds drag the attention of the large crowd. Thus the sound in the space prepares the devotees to watch the performance. It indicates that the live music construct impactful relation with sacred material in the space. Thus, the sounds stimulated devotional feeling in the ritual spaces.

As it was dominated by verbal performance, Harikatha performances dominantly depended on the role of sound. The sounds at Harikatha could be divided into two: performance sounds and spectators' sounds. The performance sounds were aimed to engage devotees. The spectators' sounds were observed when spectators recite *Heccharikalu*. As it was observed in Veedhi-natakamu, spectators does not cheer, whistle and scream during the Harikatha performance. Spectators' sounds established the devotional environment.

It was obvious that these songs are sung to create devotional environment and to educate the people.

8. Final Message:

To surmise, Draupadi festival is celebrated involving large scale performances. The celebration is fully equipped with the rituals, folk theatre, oral narrative performances, installations and processions. The entire festival upholds devotion and entertainment as main theme. This thematic presentation involves all the aspects of scenographic expressions. The speciality lies in the way the entire community of the villages explore all the elements of scenography. In other words, the entire village community comprising of devotees, spectators, performers, officiants, and Dharamakarthalu (patronisers) express through creating scenography as a tool of sharing their experience. It is interesting to note that though the festival was initiated by one particular cast called Vannikula Kshyatriyas penetrated into the entire community of the villages irrespective of the cast. The art of scenography is proficiated by the community in celebrating Draupadi festival. Hence, Draupadi festival stimulates scenography and its elements to maintain integrity of the theme and design of the festival.

