CHAPTER II

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

'The art of make-up is both corrective and creative. As a corrective art, it gives the complex on a surface both smooth in texture and even in tone. As a creative art, it gives the performer the capacity to play different characters". For this reason make-up and costumes are widely accepted and adapted in the performances ranging from the classical plays to the realistic plays...
including the *avant-garde* productions. They did insist on some sort of make-up and costumes to the actors, so as to make the play intelligible and presentable to the audience.

Parallel to narrative styles that different theatres followed, make-up and costume played a distinct feature in the play productions. In fact it is partly the make-up and costumes that have given distinct styles to the theatre itself, be it a proscenium play, folk play, or street play. Depending upon the subject, the stage setting, make-up and costumes varied to convey a narrative to audience. As specialization grew in the field of make-up and costumes, characters in plays began to emerge divergently keeping in view the context, content and tone of the performance. Of course the technological advancement did help theatre to achieve specialization in make-up and costumes to compete with the changing scenario of the place and time of the performances. One school of thought within the theatre argued for more formal application of make-up and costumes in presentation of the characters. For instance, the school of thought emerged out of Russian Formalism argued that the speech in theatre should be formal therefore distinct from the normal modes of speech and hence the character should also wear make-up and costumes distinctly from the regular way of presentations\textsuperscript{3}. Brectold Brecht \textsuperscript{4}, Jerzy Grotowsky \textsuperscript{5} and others who followed this school of thought adapted make-up and costumes to their characters in a way that is more formal. However the distinct characters, as argued by the Russian Formalists, should not be totally alien from the natural context but at the same
time should reflect the reality of the context. Basing on this logistics Brecht propounded the theory of alienation in theatrical studies. Accordingly, the performers on the stage shift their guises between the realms of character and actor. In order to achieve this shift Brecht followed freezing of characters as technique in his plays. However, for this school of thought make-up and costumes do not act as simply indicators of the characters, but exist as part of external representations of the characters.

Yet, another school of thought advocated for more informal presentation of make-up and costumes to the characters, since it believed in realistic plays, which necessarily be akin to the contemporary, temporalities. For them, the immediate audience is the most prime targets in the communication channel. The formal presentation of characters only creates distance between the performers and audience and therefore negates access to the message of the plays. According to them it is the content (Message), which is important than the way it is presented. In order to achieve a kind of synchrony the actors should remain as actors, and indicate their role through character but not step in themselves as characters. From this viewpoint the make-up and costumes act as only the indicators of the characters and remain outside the enactment of the characters. Part of the avant-garde movement, which craved for such philosophy of realism gave birth to plays of this kind. As Shakespeare said "world itself is a stage and every person is an actor". Therefore natural contexts are created purposefully with in the narrative events of the play and performed realistically, quite often than not shattering
the demarcation between the performers and the audience. Part of this consciousness emerged in the theatrical productions due to the observations made on the rituals of everyday life. In other words, ritual itself is conceived as the theatrical production, wherein priests, devotees, and onlookers take up different roles to accomplish the ritual performance. Most of the rituals have performance component in them and it is played out verbally and non-verbally between the traditional performance and the audience. Richard Schechner taking one such ritual performance from the parts of Kerala and applied it to his own performance and called it as "environmental theatre." Natural contexts are created and pro-created within the narrative events in performance and performers mingle with the audience to accomplish the performance. Thus, realistic theatre though emphasized on make-up and costumes as an important segment within theatrical productions, yet did not give its due, role as a potential tool to transform the actor into the character. Both the schools of thought in theatre by and large emerged out of a philosophical discourse on a worldview perception. The non-realistic plays predominantly rely on idealism. According to this school of thought, ideas shape the materialistic world through which self achieves gratification by organizing the material world. Having this idea as premise, idealists conceived the plays as an outlet to the realities of misery and sorrow. For this reason fantasy and aesthetics are given much importance not only in narrating the play but also in the stage setting, make-up, and costumes to symbolically represent the events in the play and this style in theatre came to
be known broadly as non-realistic theatre. Overall theatre in idealism is viewed as an independent art, and true theatre artist combines action, words, line, colour and rhythm into a product. Therefore make-up and costumes become an integral part as artistic expression combining skills of craftsmen and artisans\textsuperscript{14}.

The realistic plays contrary to above, follow the philosophical worldview of materialism. According to this argument’ matter’ proceeds the ‘idea\textsuperscript{15}. It is the material world that provokes ideas in the psyche and prompt them to organize better the world. It is the actual material relationship that exists in production process influences the worldview. In this sense theatre becomes an instrument of reflector of the material culture. All the realistic plays hence tried to project the reality of the existence of self in the material world with all its temporality i.e., time and space relationship. For this theatre the primary during force is narrative and make-up and costumes and stage setting are made to reflect the temporal phenomena in the play production. With this, much attention is drawn to the actual settings in the plays, including make-up and costumes, and properties etc. For instance, a play situated in medieval times advocated for recreating of the scenes through properties such as palaces, weapons, architecture, costumes, ornaments etc. After the industrial revolution when capitalism became the primary mode of production, the production relations are organized in terms of capitalists and working class (haves and have-nots). The plays connected with 'have-nots' in realistic theatre did not hesitate to reproduce on stage through set, make-up and
costumes, the misery and sorrow of the class and in the process, make-up and costumes also became simplistic and naturalistic in these plays\textsuperscript{16}.

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

Once the cultural experiences of the past are taken as the foundation for theatre, the theorists of theatre (be it playwrights, directors, managers, etc.) look for alternative thoughts, which could enrich their perceptions. The general philosophical discourses of the contemporary times became the "idea bank" for the theatre practitioners to draw ideas from it and hence they became susceptible to take up monocular view, be it idealism or materialism. In this process make-up and costumes also started getting organized from the discoveries of historical, sociological, archeological, anthropological, physiological and anatomical studies\textsuperscript{17}. Thus the discipline of theatre
emerged as an inter-disciplinary enterprise. The idea started premising from all these disciplines, when a play is getting organized as a production. The colour, race, social structure, economic organization, cultural identities etc, become the prime subjects for gathering sources to organize make-up and costumes in a given play production. The characters of the plays are studied in detail to organise to adapt make-up and costumes. No longer make-up and costumes survived as independent entities, but became an integral part of the play in terms of representation. The actor in relation to character is conceived as the crux of the play production. Make-up and costumes are viewed in relation to context of the play, text of the play and audience to the play. On one hand and cultural experience on the other hand. In the process several discoveries are made to design make-up and costumes in relation to political structure, economic organization, social formations, geographical locales and races. They are taken as the subject matter for transforming actors into characters in the plays of proscenium theatre, folk theatre, propaganda theatre etc.

Even in the Indian sub-continent, theatre did respond to the beckon call of times. It did take the clues from the historical process in organising make-up and costumes to know how people lived, what did they wear, how they appeared, how they communicated both in body language and spoken language are taken into cognizance in Indian theatre, ranging from the ancient to modern times.
Internalising factors that influence make-up and costumes became a crucial point to the play productions, be it thematically presenting idealism or materialism. Factors such as political setups, racial settings, social organisations, economic formations, religious behavioral patterns all are taken as the study material for designing make-up and costumes. The following are some of the examples to understand make-up and costumes in Sub-Continent. In pre-feudal monarchical political systems, where in the political power rested with kings, emperors, make-up and costumes become an integral part of the social order and used as an indicator of the existing hierarchies both in terms of status and power. Since the power flow is based on the maxim of delegation of power with the emergence of courts and other royal paraphernalia, make-up and costumes played an important role not only in distinguishing people of different order, but also an element by itself to show off the grandeur of the monarchies\textsuperscript{18}. During the feudal regimes, make-up and costumes further became complex and acquired an element of sacrality. This is partly due to the very fact that the feudal systems survived with support of the religious institutions.

The basic dictum with which the feudal political formations survived is on decentralization of power among different feudal lords under a king\textsuperscript{19}. The contenders or power remind the significant issue within the feudal polity. Since the feudal structure itself is designed as a pyramidal power structure at the apex, the king enjoys considerable power and controls the other segments of power. The feudal lords being the other segment of power, in
their own fiefs duplicated similar pyramidal power structure controlling the lesser lords within their own provinces. Thus the decentralized power structures always faced the threat of crossing the boundaries in sharing power. To mediate this situation parallel religious institutions also hierarchised in similar to that of pyramidal power structure so as to make it a model to follow by the political powers. Monologs to king, feudal lord, lesser lords, down to the surfs, the deities are also placed having moola virat (presiding deity) at the apex and followed by concerts and other smaller deities designated variously as vehicles (vimana) gate keepers (dwarapalaka) etc. According to status they are ornamented & costumed and presented to the devotees. The same manner under feudal system kings also imitated, devices similar to distinguish themselves with other power shareholders. Different occasions as in the case of fairs and festivals and holy days are contextualised by appropriately manipulating make-up, costumes and ornaments to the duties in the sacred complexes to present the duties to their devotees. Similarly, the kings imitated by creating different occasions to show off their power to the feudal lords and public at large. The make-up, costumes and ornaments are used as means during these occasions. As occasions get customized they become cyclically repetitive. Make-up, costumes and ornaments attained sacral status and therefore remain symbolic. In other words, make-up and costumes are used as expression of power and symbolically denote the power relation that the stagecraft wishes to order.
According to Clifford Greetz\textsuperscript{24} charisma of the king symbolically represents cosmic order. It goes without saying that charisma depends much on royal insignia and paraphernalia. If make-up and costume is seen as part of expression of state operates, then it tantamount royal insignia, such as courts palaces etc., which symbolically but overtly express as the canters of power. The shift in the idea seeing make-up and costumes as expression of power and power relations is drawn from the works of Geertz. In the scholastic work, Geertz symbolically projects the Indic cultural representations of classical Indonesia and conceives it as the theatre state of nineteenth century. The work of Geertz "on the Indic culture of classical Indonesia "the world was a less improvable place, and royal pageantry was hierarchical and mystical in spirit, not pious and didactic. Gods, kings, lords and commoners formed an unbroken chain of religious status stretching from Siva-Buddha -"Ruler over rulers of the world... spirit of the spiritual...Unconceivable of the unconceivable" down to ordinary peasant, barely able to look toward the light, the higher levels standing to the lower as greater realities to lesser"... The peasants honor the chiefs, a fourteenth-century clerical text reads, "the chiefs honor the lords, the lords honor the ministers, the ministers honor kings, the kings honor the priests, the priests honor the gods, the gods honor, the sacred powers the sacred power honor the Supreme Nothingness"\textsuperscript{25}.
In the process costumes and ornaments are exchanged as gifts to express honor to each other. They became, thus not an analogy but as analogous to express the power relations in the state.

Working form this, conceptual frame make-up and costumes become not simply as a theatrical device to transform performers into characters, but the very soul of structuring of society during the pre feudal and feudal ages.

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

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

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

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

The belief as reflected in the cosmogony of totemic expressive tradition further implicitly interwoven in their life styles. The tribal communities mark certain days as auspicious and regulate their calendrical events. During such
For example, the totemic belief system is overtly expressed through their dressing, make-up, costumes and ornaments.

The Savaras (Sawaras or Saoras) are an important hill-tribe in Ganjam and Visakhapatnam. Usually, the Savara's dress (his full dress) consists of a large bunch of feathers (generally white) stuck in his hair on the crown of his head, a coloured cloth round his head as a turban, and worn much on the back of the head, and folded tightly, so as to be a good protection to the head. When feathers are not worn, the hair is tied on the top of the head, or little at the side of it. A piece of flat brass is another head ornament. It is stuck in the hair, which is tied in a knot at the crown of the head, at an angle of about 40° from the perpendicular, and its waving up and down motion as a men walks has a curious effect. Another head ornament is a piece of wood, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter, with a flat button about two inches in diameter on the top, all covered with hair or coloured thread, and worn in the same position as the flat piece of bass. A Peacock’s feather, or one or two of the tail feathers of the jungle cock, may be often seen stuck in cheroot or two, perhaps half smoked, may often be seen sticking in the hair of a man or women, to be used again when wanted. They also smoke pipes, and the old women seem particularly fond of them. Round the Savara's neck are brass and bead necklaces. A man will wear as many as thirty necklaces at a time, or rather necklaces of various lengths passed as the Savara’s waist and under his fork, is tied a cloth with coloured ends hanging in front and behind.
When a cloth on the body is worn, it is usually worn crossed in front. The women wear necklaces like the men. Their hair is tied at the back of the head, and is sometimes confined with a fillet. They wear only one cloth, tied round the waist. During feasts, or when dancing, they generally wear a cloth over the shoulders. Every male wears a small ring, generally of silver, in the right nostril, and every female wears a similar ring in each nostril and in the septum. These rings are put in the nose on the eighth or tenth day after birth. Men and women often wear bangles. Women, too, sometimes wear anklets. Brass necklets and many other ornaments are made in Savara hills by the Gangsis, a low tribe of workers in brass.

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

For instance, many of the Kuruba wear charms in the form of a string of black sheep’s wool, or thread tied round the arm or neck, sometimes with sacred ashes wrapped inside, as a vow to some minor deity, or a four anna piece to a superior deity. A priest wore a necklet of rudraksha (Elaocarpus Ganitrus) beads, and a silver box, containing the material for making the sacred marks on the forehead, pendent from a loin string. His child wore a similar necklet, a copper ornament engraved with cabalistic devices, and silver plate bearing a figure of Hanumān, as all his other children had died, a piece of pierced pottery from the burial ground, to ward off whooping-cough, suspended round the neck. Their garments consisted of a tight fitting pair of
short drawers, white turban, and a black \textit{kambali} (blanket), which does deity as overcoat, umbrella, and sack for bringing in grass from the outlying country.

The following account of the marriage ceremonial was recorded in Western Bellary. When a marriage has been settled between the parents of the young people, the two families exchange visits. On a fixed day, the contracting couple sit on a blanket at the bride's house, and fixed women throw rice over five parts of the body as at the menstrual ceremony. Betel leaves and areca nuts are placed before them, of which the first portion is set apart for the god Birappa, the second for the Gauda, another for the house god, and so on up to the tenth. A general distribution then takes places. The ceremony, which is called \textit{sSkshi vilya} or witness betel-leaf, is brought to a conclusion by waving in front of the couple a brass vessel, over the mouth of which five betel leaves and a ball of ashes are placed. They then prostrate themselves before the guru. For the marriage ceremony, the services of the guru, a Jangam, or a Brahman priest, are called into requisition. Early on the wedding morning, the bridal couple are anointed and washed. Placing at the four corners a pot filled with water marks out a space, called the \textit{îrânî} square. Round each pot a cotton thread is wound five times. Similar thread is also tied to the milk-post of the marriage \textit{pandal} (booth), which is made of \textit{pîpal} \textit{(Ficus religiosa)} wood. Within the square a pestle, painted with red and white stripes, is placed, on which the bride and bridegroom, with two young girls, seat themselves. Rice is thrown over them, and they are anointed and
washed. To each a new cloth is given in which they dress themselves, and the wrist-thread (*kankanam*) is tied on all four. Presents are given by relations, and *ārathi* (red water) is waved round them. The bridegroom is decorated with a *bāshingam* (chaplet of flowers), and taken on a bull to a Hanumān shrine along with his best man. Cocoanuts, camphor, and betel are given to the priest as an offering to the god. According to another account, both bride and bridegroom go to the shrine, where a matron ties on their foreheads chaplets of flowers, pearls, etc. At the marriage house a dais has been erected close to the milk-post, and covered with a blanket, on which a mill-stone and basket filled with cholam (*Andropogon Sorghum*) are placed. The bridegroom, standing with a foot on the stone and the bride with a foot on the basket, the gold *tali*, after it has been touched by five marriage women, is tied round the bride's neck by the officiating priest, while those assembled as a screen, so that the bride and bridegroom cannot see each other. On the three following days, the newly married couple sit on the blanket, and rice sis thrown over them. In Western Bellary, the bridegroom, on the third day, carries the bride on his waist to Hanumān temple, where married women throw rice over them. On the fifth morning, they are once more anointed and washed within the ĵrāṇi square, and towards evening, the bride's father hands her over to her husband, saying "She was till this time a member of my sept and house. Now I hand her over to your sept and house." On the night of the sixth day, a ceremony called *booma idothu* (food placing) is performed. A large metal vessel (*gangSlam*) is filled with rice, ghT (clarified butter), curds,
and sugar. Round this some of the relations of the bride and bridegroom sit, and finish off the food. The number of those who partake thereof must be an odd one, and they must eat the food as quickly as possible. If anything goes wrong with them, while eating or afterwards, it is regarded as an omen of impending misfortune. Some even consider it as an indication of the bad character of the bride.

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

In Indian scenario, the cultural events are knitted with caste and religion. Cultural events are those which pertain to groups / community to express their identity and solidarity\textsuperscript{30}. Hence, it is a communal activity be it religious or non-religious related to social belief system, has referential to caste and always get expressed in terms of identity pertaining to that caste. During
such cultural event make-up, ornaments and costumes also play a role in determining partly the level of cultural event itself. For instance in the rights of passage like birth, puberty, marriage and death ceremonies are intrinsically woven with certain make-up, ornaments and costume to express the cultural events themselves, where the entire community observes tradition which is inherently owned. For example, The caste group namely Gollas wear *Unnikankanam* (or) *Pattikankanam* [a wrist band made-up of a wool or cotton] to express their caste [*Jati* (sub-group)] identity\textsuperscript{31}. Similarly, the Cindu Madigas grow long hair as an ethnic identity marker. Being performers such long hair wood benefit them to avoid wigs while tying up their headgears. They also hardly wear trousers and bush shirts but prefer only an under garment known as *Pancha* or *Dhovathi*, and an Upper ornament known as *Jubba*. Within the community of Madigas these identify the costume of the Cindu Madigas\textsuperscript{32}. Only the minstrel group like Cindu Madigas wear such costumes and grow long hairs within the larger community of Madigas. Generally, the Madigas who perform the duties of leather tanning and make leather goods and also when employed as landless labourers they do not grow long hair, but prefer to cut their hair short\textsuperscript{33}. So to say make-up costumes and ornaments are also used as expression of the community's identity.

In the religious sphere costume, make-up, ornament is symbolically used to identify the person/community to which religious sect he/she belongs. In India where multi-religious beliefs are followed, the follower usually wear
certain symbolic marks either as part of Make-up, ornaments and costumes or use certain vocabulary in their speech mode to express themselves that they belong to a particular sect/religion. Make-up, costumes and ornaments of Virasaiva and Vaisnava religious sects are concerned, certain signs such as namas (White strips on the forehead) Sanku and Chakram (wheel) etc., are used as distinct marks to identify their sect\textsuperscript{34}. During the medieval times especially in the South Indian soils bhakthi movement gained much popularity, and hence got royal patronage. In fact the bhakthi movement developed as a counter religion to orthodox Brahminism. It has started as discourse analysis on theosophy and propagated as philosophy in due course through sectarian religions namely Vaisnavism and Saivism. They gained popularity owing allegiance to Siva and Vishnu respectively. With the emergence of sectarian religions several rites and rituals associated with individual via-a-\textipa{\textdia{\textdia{a}}} via, temple came into practice. In order to regulate the belief system of individuals/communities, intermediately group of mendicants are commissioned by the temple with the support of the royal patronage\textsuperscript{35}. The pilgrimage tradition also started concomitantly and attracted several donations both in the form of men and material. The temple acquired donations in the form of lands, agricultural products, construction works, gold and silver metals, ornaments, costumes, cows and buffaloes, sheep, goat etc.. As donations grew more in size, management of resource became an integral task of the temple. To meet this requirement, temple started employing people for various services ranging from protection to cleaning up
of the temple. Concomitant to this development the worship order also became complex and the god is regarded homological to emperor and all the services that emperor would extract are also given to the god\textsuperscript{36}. The temple ritual therefore became highly structured and syntagmatically organized starting from \textit{suprabhatha seva} (or) \textit{melukolupu seva} (the ritual to wake up god) to \textit{pavalimpu seva} (the ritual preparing god to go to sleep). These elaborate rituals require various services from different occupational "groups" such as musicians, dancing girls, \textit{pandits}, priests and attendants etc. As the ritual became elaborate sharing of resources of the temple with the pilgrims was worked out through the \textit{Prasada} concept\textsuperscript{37}. The concept of \textit{prasada} is a symbolic expression of union with god by dinning with god. As the ritual started growing in the temples, the temples adapted calendrical cycle to observe rituals especially honoring god. In the processes similar to rights of passage or observed even to gods, such a birthday of god, Marriage of god etc, what is interesting to note here is that those rituals observed as festivity prompted for organizing entertainment of course with devotion to attract and engage pilgrims. Devotional song recitations, various types of dances (Bharatha Natyam, Kuchipudi and other local forms), and performances based on episodes from the \textit{Puranas} are conducted during festive days in the temple towns. This further nessediated the usage of make-up, costumes and ornaments by entertainers. Temples being the sponsor and encouraged local talent for such occasions, they became not only centres of worship but also place for cultural activities. Some of pilgrim centres became so \[prominent
that they started creating chairs for renowned musicians and performers as *asthana vidwans*. The tradition emerges in these centres remain today as models such as Melattur, Tanjore, Srirangam etc. With this kind of background one can argue that the performing arts and fine arts gained momentum due to the religious influence and temple became platform to promote these arts to the elite levels and there by given classical tone to these arts.

In the economic spear too certain factors caused the promotion of arts and got institutionalized them. One such major factor is the economic organisation of the medieval times itself, which necessitate the growth of institutions for performing arts and fine arts. The Indian feudal character of the medieval times by and large formulated socio-economic organizations based on agrarian relationship in which land became prime factor of power loci. The exchange relationship in the feudal economy was mostly confined to transfer of material with in the rural populous. This was due to pacify of coinage in general and scarcity of precious metal in particular. In the urban centres, the trade and commerce therefore emerged as a group activity generally known as guilds. Various kinds of merchant guilds and craft guilds became operative in the feudal economy to serve the needs of urban centres. By and large three kinds of urban centres emerged in the medieval feudal India. They are "political centres, religious centres and trade centres". In all these centres mercantile activity based on guild systems survived. The mercantile groups played a prominent role as intermediary between
producers and consumers, and therefore formed as link between the urban and rural centres. The performing arts and fine arts owe their existence to some of these groups since they sponsored them. In the rural areas, however it is not mercantile community, which played prominent role in promoting arts, especially the folk arts. For the simple reason that the rural populous is not the main cliental to this community.

In fact most of the folk art forms developed in the rural scenario independent of the mercantile group. An interesting observation made on the development of folk art forms is that they developed concomitantly and on caste basis because of the economic compulsions. Therefore they are caste oriented or community oriented. This is so because of the relationship they developed within and outside the group. In the village community much depends on the land holding pattern. Since, the village consumed most of its products the exchange pattern did not grow to the extent of creating specialized groups involved in exchange relationships. The groups themselves in rural areas sponsored the performing arts and fine arts. The formula worked out to suit to the situation is jajmani or mirasdar system. The jajmani and mirasdar system worked on the principle of give and take process wherein the landlords towards the landless observe subsistence ethics. The landless reciprocated through their services to the landlords. Under these circumstances, subsistence ethics and reciprocity norms were protected by each the village community. The same is followed even by each caste in the rural areas. For this reason ministerial (bard) system emerged as a
distinct feature within every caste, and therefore the bards became the narrators of the caste myths. In general, the caste myth recitations through performances inform the caste of their role in the community. Violation of the role is conceived as an evil and therefore not encouraged. Tying of the caste to prescribed role in relations to lands emerged as salient feature in the social organization of feudal system. These relationships were so strong and deep routed that even in the post-feudal socio-economic formation they continued. The net result is that the folk art forms though redundant to their occupation, yet remain as influential entertainment in the rural sector. In view of this, make-up, costumes and ornaments, became a distinct phenomena in the folk performing arts in order to demarcate the performer from his audience.

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

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