

Interim Report

By: Vidyun Sabhaney
Grant Programme: Extending Arts Practice Grant
Dated: 7th June 2012



Introduction

Over the course of the year (2012), I have been engaged in a project for which I received a grant from the *Extending Arts Practice Programme* from *India Foundation for the Arts*.

This project is concerned with understanding picture-based story-telling traditions in India, from the perspective of a contemporary comic book artist.

Three forms were chosen for this purpose - the first is a leather puppetry tradition from the state of Karnataka called **Togalu Gombeyatta**. The form uses flat 2D puppets to represent characters from Hindu mythology and creates a 'play' that tells stories, assisted by dialogue and music. These stories *tend* to be from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. (*The fieldwork for this was completed in January 2012*)

The second is a story-telling tradition from Bengal called **Patua Chitra**. It uses pictures painted on a paper scroll to tell stories. The pictures serve as an aid to the song that is sung by the artist - the song is the primary vehicle of the story. The stories told in this form are extremely varied - ranging from popular local stories (Behula and Lokhindor) to the Sindubad episode of the Ramayana to the story of Satya Pir (a Muslim *pir*) (*The fieldwork for this was completed in May 2012*)

The third form is Rajasthani **Kaavad**, a tradition that uses images painted on wooden temples (of varying sizes) to tell stories. (*The fieldwork for this is scheduled for later in the year*) As the fieldwork for Rajasthan is pending, I will only be focusing on our experiences with *Togalu* and *Patua Chitra*.

This document is intended to give the reader an understanding of the learnings that we have had so far. For each of the forms I will provide a brief insight into the thought-process that we have adopted to 'deconstruct' them. I will also mention the 'Challenges' faced with each of the forms. I will outline a Way Forward at the end. This will be followed by Annexures that provide an inventory of the recorded audio and visual material that we have collected.

Togalu Gombeyatta: January 2012

Form: Togalu Gombeyatta

Sites Visited: Hassan (city), Kotteramayakoppalu (Mandeya), Moornal (Koppal), Udupi

Team: Vidyun Sabhaney, Shohei Emura (illustrator) and a translator

Dates: January 2012

Leather Puppetry in Karnataka

Togalu Gombeyatta is leather puppetry that is practised by the Killekyatha caste that resides in Karnataka. This tribe is said to have come to Karnataka from Maharashtra many centuries ago. The strongest evidence in support of this is that the puppeteers speak Marathi amongst themselves. Each puppeteer has a set of villages that he is allowed to perform in, which he inherits from his father¹. Depending on how many of his brothers will take up puppetry, the puppeteer inherits an equal amount of villages as his father, or less. Traditionally, he must perform in each one of those villages at least once in a year – a *togalu*

¹ Typically, the transfer of knowledge and inheritance (of puppets and villages) is the sons in the family. Women usually sing and fill in the colour of the puppets - and only recently they have started playing puppets. Women do not independently perform or direct performances in *Togalu Gombeyatta*.

performance is said to bring blessings, and keep away evil spirits. As a result², puppeteers have a right over a certain amount of grain from every house of the village – of course nowadays, residents can choose to give money as well. A puppeteer's troupe is usually his immediate family - sometimes relatives perform with them, but the core group remains the immediate family.

During our period of travel we met with, interviewed and learnt technique from nine puppeteers. These puppeteers are located in the districts of Hassan, Mandeya and Koppal, and are still active performers.

Puppets made by the Killekyatha community of Karnataka are made out of goat's skin that is cleaned, stretched, and dried in the sun³. The fruit of this labour is a crisp, creamy expanse of leather, flat like paper. When placed in front of a light source (a lamp or a bulb or, even, the sun) this dry skin appears translucent. The translucence of the material is maintained even when it is dyed with colours - making it a fantastic vehicle for night-time story-telling. For centuries now, this is the space that it has occupied in Karnataka. Leather that has been prepared in this manner is used to make two dimensional puppets, with images painted on them that represent characters and scenes from puranic lore but not all puppets are the same.

The puppeteers we met in Hassan and Mandeya districts practice a newer form that uses puppets which have movable arms and legs. These puppets are known as *haathfiruthalibaavli*⁴. These are now in vogue. (Refer Image 1)



Image1: A still from Ramaiah's Veera Abhimanyu. The puppet above is a haathfiruthalibaavli.

The puppeteers we met in Koppal practice a form using the older '*jamkatbaavli*' puppets– these are also known as *ekapat* puppets or *compositional* puppets. The most obvious difference is that in *jamkatbaavli* the arms and the legs of the puppet do not move. But this impacts more than just the mobility of the puppet – because the image on the puppet is fixed, the composition and structure of the puppet begin to serve a more important narrative function. This is further complicated by the fact that the *jamkatbaavli* puppets are often not limited to depicting one character – unlike the *haathfiruthalibaavli*. (Refer Image 2)

2 Puppeteers tell the a fascinating story of how Killekyatha earned this right - told by Bhimavva of Koppal and S.A. Krishnaiah, from the Regional Resource Centre in Udupi .

3 We learned this process from puppeteers in Koppal.

4 Both '*Haathfiruthalibaavli*' and '*Jamkathaavli*' are Marathi words.

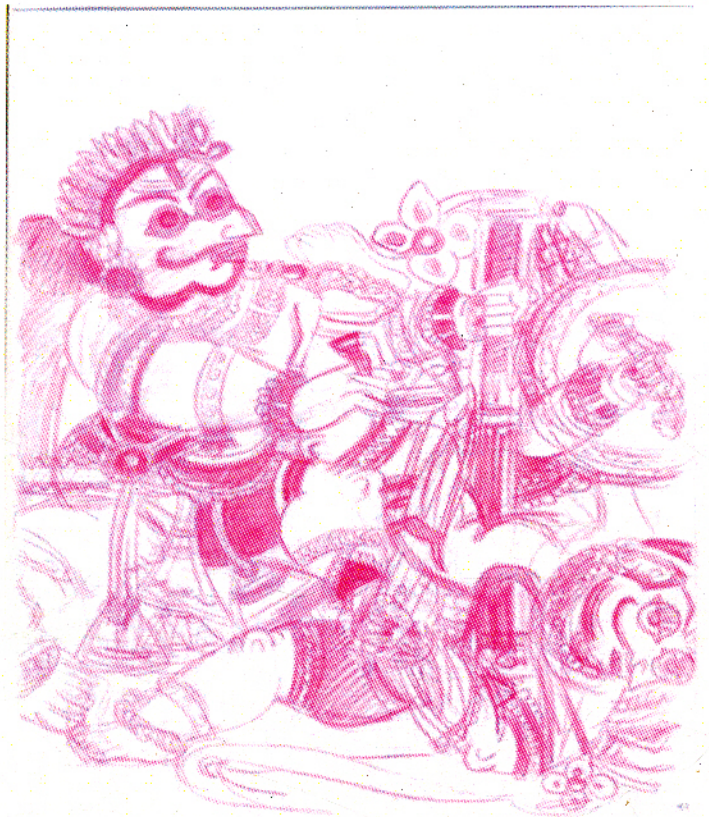


Image 2: a sketch of a jamkatbaavli depicting Bheema's epic fight with Jarasandha – here Jarasandha is being ripped into two.

In fact, they can be loosely divided into three categories – 1) *scene-based puppets* (for example, the sketch of the fight between Bheema and Jarasandha shown above) 2) *character-specific puppets* - these also have a 'scenic' or narrative quality. It is rare to see a Queen without a hand-maiden or a King without a horse. 3) *puppets depicting everyday life* - these are usually used to illustrate the lives of minor characters within the larger epic narrative, and are believed to strongly reflect the lives of the Killekyathas themselves. I am basing this classification on the three days that we spent at the Chitrakala Parishath, examining their collection of 2,500 puppets. A rare treat, as most puppeteers have sold these puppets – many of which are *at least* four generations old – to museums and private collectors. Unfortunately, Chitrakala Parishath's own collection is very poorly maintained, and is in desperate need of archiving.

It is the jamkatbaavli are puppets that are very interesting to us as comic book practioners. This is because of their ability to convey an entire scene at once - not unlike the comic book panel.

Old and New: Performance Styles and Puppets

In this section I'd like to go a little beyond what I submitted in the previous report and show you a little of our thought process.

As I said in the previous section - it is the jamkatbaavli are puppets that are very interesting to us as comic book practioners, and this is because of their ability to convey an entire scene at once. The scene of Droupadi being disrobed from the Mahabharata in a togalu performance, will not *necessarily* be an interaction between a puppet of Droupadi and a puppet of Duhshasana – there will be a single puppet of Droupadi's sari being pulled by Duhshasana (*Refer Image3*)

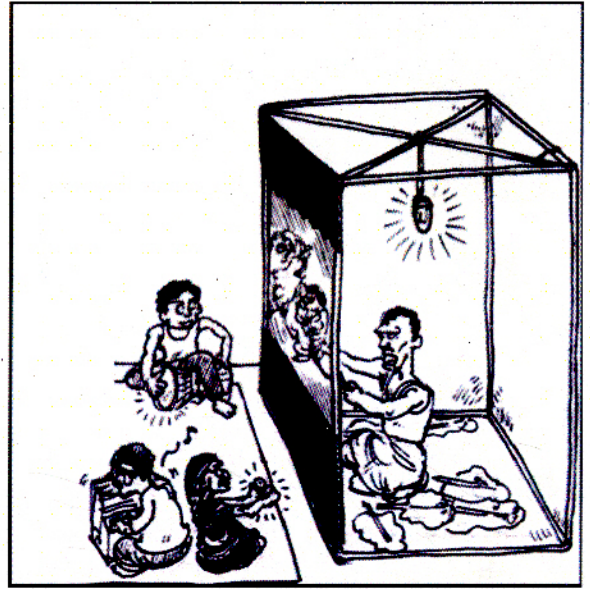


Image3: Reproduction of a puppet used in Droupadi Vastrapaharana.
Duhshasana pulling Droupadi's sari.

Both characters will be present within a single puppet, structurally held together by the dramatic flow of Droupadi's sari and femininity of ironically decorative flowers. The drama of these performances comes from not just the movement of characters (as it is in the jointed puppets) but from the drama created by image represented on the puppet. But why is it that the entire scene is represented in just one puppet?

This is where it becomes difficult to separate the study of Togalu Gombeyatta's puppets from an understanding of how these puppets are performed. Ultimately, the performance is what image is intended for.

It is important to understand the *jamkatbaavli* puppetes were used in an older style of performance, that is rarely practiced today. In vogue today are the *haathfiruthalibaavli* puppets. The performance styles are very different (refer Image 4 & 5). For example, the older style had only one performer sitting inside the stage. This meant that the stage was small enough to fit just one person. This also meant that at any given point in time, only two puppets that were being held up to the screen could move simultaneously - since there were only two hands of the lone performer to move the puppet. The rest of troupe would sit outside, provide the music and prompt whenever the need arose - significantly, women were not allowed inside the stage. Today, the stage is large enough to fit all the performers - and this includes women, who are now required to play the puppets as well. (continued below)



Contemporary style is shown to the left (Image 4). Older style is shown to the right (Image 5)
In the depiction of the older style, the audience has been deleted to avoid confusion.

Since there are more hands on deck - so to speak - there can be as many characters 'moving' as there are performers inside the stage. Since contemporary puppets move both their arms, the performances are highly animated. Characters jump and twirl about on the screen with ease. They often gesticulate wildly - a movement that is made possible by 1) the sticks attached to each arm 2) an increased number of performers inside the stage to manage them. The scene between Droupadi and Duhshasana would now look more like the image below than the *jamkatbaavli* puppet reproduced above.

The movement of the *jamkatbaavli* was subtle by necessity - the performer had only the movement of two wrists to rely upon. This is one of the reasons why we think that puppets were composed in 'scenes' - dramatic or otherwise. The single performer could not adequately activate the imagination of the audience without it⁵.

Significantly - the older style of performance did not use one puppet for one character. The puppeteer Gunduraju says that since the puppets were composed specifically and in sequence. So, they used several puppets for each scene and each character. According to him, a traditional performance of the Ramayana could use over *forty* Rams - the puppet would change depending on which weapon, clothing or action was appropriate for the part of the story that was being depicted at that point in the narrative. To put it crudely, the older performance style was similar to an animated slide show. This is learning is critical to the understanding of the older form, and why its puppets were designed made the way they were.

Another critical aspect of the puppet's design is the structure i.e. its ability to stand by itself, and withstand the rough-handling that often accompanies the robust humorous style of Togalu Gombeyatta. This is more to do about the material than anything else - but for the purposes of this interim report I will stop here, and continue to a re-cap of our documentation.

⁵ These differences between the older style of performance and the newer style of performance only came to light when we travelled to Koppal to meet the family of the deceased Doddbalappa - the only family that, to my knowledge, still performs in *jamkatbaavli* style. I tracked this family down with the help of S.A. Krishnaiah (Regional Resource Centre, Udupi). There, we recorded performances by his two younger sons - Yenappa and Keshavappa. We watched these and compared them to recordings of Doddbalappa that we procured from the R.R.C.

Documentation and Reference Material

We documented through: 1) Recorded Interviews 2) Photographs and Sketches 3) Recorded Performances. This particular approach was used keeping in mind the website and the travelogue.

- Approximately 30 hours of audio interviews (currently in the process of being transcribed and translated). The interviews consist of oral accounts by puppeteers of their form – on the ritualistic and social function of puppet shows, the role that puppeteers played in society, the symbolism of colour in older puppets, experiences of their forefathers as puppeteers, structure and technique of older as well as contemporary performance styles, stories that explain the structure of their narrative and so on, so forth.
- Six performances - one of each troupe that we met – recorded in video. The list is in Annexure 1 to this document.
- Live sketches of the puppeteers, their families, the tools and instruments used by them, puppets from the Chitrakala Parishath collection, the location that interviews and performances were held in, the process of setting up the stage, the process of creating leather, the manner in which puppets are stored in their homes etc.
- Photographs of puppets from collections of the puppeteers, the process of setting up the stage, process of making the leather, process of how we made our puppets, puppeteers and their families, their farm land, local bazaar etc.
- Kannada scripts of stories that are referred to by Ramaiah's (Mandeya) family.

Challenges

With Respect to Oral Histories: One of our biggest learnings was becoming comfortable with the limitations of our inquiry. Any explanation of this form relies on the puppeteer's understanding of his own family history and his father's practice – the logic that underpinned the making of *jamkatbaavli* (and, sometimes, the narrative structure of *togalu* in general) are no longer *explicitly* known. There were no clear-cut or final answers. Any comics/paper/data that emerge from this will have to take this into account - and I am uncertain how this particular characteristic of our research will be received.

With Respect to Documentation: Togalu Gombeyatta was our first leg of fieldwork for the project. As a project like this has not been attempted before in India, there was no precedent for us to refer to. Finalising a method of inquiry and documentation was a challenge initially - through hit-and-try we found that learning techniques to make puppets (and later scrolls) was the best approach to practically understand how the form works. This had to be supplemented by the viewing of performances, and follow up interviews. The rest of our documentation was conducted keeping in mind the travelogue and the website - sketches of artists, recordings of performances, images, drawings of puppets etc. As I mentioned earlier - referring to the Chitrakala Parishath's collection was critical to our understanding of *jamkatbaavli*.

With Respect to Translation and Transcription: Though we have amassed a fair amount of material - my biggest hurdle is now getting it translated and transcribed, owing to the lack of funds and high cost of translators skilled enough to undertake this.

Bengali Patua Chitra: May 2012

Form: Bengali Pauta Chitra

Sites visited: Naya (Midnapore), Satpolsa (Bhirbhum) and Itaguria (Bhirbhum)

Team: Vidyun Sabhaney, Shohei Emura (illustrator) and Megha Bhaduri (Translator)

Dates: May 2012

Patua Chitra in Bhirbhum and Midnapore

The practice of traditional picture-based story-telling traditions in India is a caste-based occupation. In Karnataka, the Killekyatha caste practise Togalu Gombeyatta. Similarly, in West Bengal, the practice of Patua Chitra is inherited - however, there is no uniform usage for the word Patua. You might encounter members of the caste who use the sur-name Patua and Chitrakar and perhaps even Potedar. There is much speculation about the differences between Patuas and Chitrakars, but many of these distinctions (if they ever existed in the first place) are no longer apparent or pronounced.

In May 2012, we travelled to West Bengal to meet with, and learn from, patua chitra artists who live in the districts of Midnapore and Bhirbhum. Unlike the artists of Togalu Gombeyatta, who are scattered across the state and have specific 'territories' within which they operate, the patua chitra artists tend to live in 'padas'. These are villages that they inhabit together.

Of these, the most famous is probably **Naya**, which is in Midnapore. Naya has approximately 45 houses, and all of these are inhabited by patua artists. Its healthy population of patuachitrakars and proximity to Kolkata makes it a hot-spot for research and business. We travelled to Naya and stayed there for 10 days with Mayna Chitrakar, who lets out a room in her home to researchers.

There, we worked with the families of Ranjit Chitrakar and Duku Sham Chitrakar. We also conducted interviews by and recorded performances by - Malek Chitrakar, Mayna Chitrakar, Rahim Chitrakar and Khandu Chitrakar. (A full list of the interviews conducted and performances recorded is given at the end of this document)

Following this, we travelled to Bhirbhum for a week to meet patua artists who are practicing there - while we could have stayed in Naya and met with the rest of the artists there, it was necessary to travel forward in order to achieve some degree of perspective. Naya has been the primary beneficiary of the most recent wave in interest towards Bengali "folk art". Even other patuapadas in Midnapore are less affected by this phenomenon. In Naya, you would be hard-pressed to find anyone who actually travels from village to village to earn their daily bread. Most of their work is around making scrolls and images that can be sold at fairs or included in books. Recently, they received training in how to paint on t-shirts, and have since been receiving orders from retail outfits in Bombay (Refer Image 6). Though, it must be noted, they do know how to sing.



Image 6: T-shirts by patua artists from Naya

Bhirbhum is in stark contrast to this - the patua artists we met there still travel from village to village performing stories to earn their daily bread. Women, unlike in Midnapore, do not perform and are not very involved in the painting process either. Our primary contact there was Arun Patua from **Satpolsa**, and his brothers Barun Patua and Shantanu Patua. Arun also briefly took us to **Itaguria**, which is a hundred-strong patua settlement close to the town of Sainthia - there we met Lalthu Chitrakar, who travels as far as Jharkhand everyday to make his living. He feels the people there appreciate his craft more.



Image 7: Arun Patua painting in Bhirbhum

The attempt in both Midnapore and Bhirbhum was to understand how they make their scrolls and the logic that underpins their choice of images. The line of questioning that we followed in Karnataka - with regard to a distinct 'older' form and a 'newer' form - was not relevant here. There has been *some* speculation with regard to 'schools' or *samajhik bandhini* that operated in West Bengal - but there is little evidence of any rigidity anymore.

As Kavita Singh rightly says in her article⁶ on stylistic differences within the Patua tradition - 'one comes to face with the unexpected richness and the sometimes frustrating complexity of the Bengali *pata*.' And there, she is referring to scrolls that one would encounter in museums like the Gurusaday Museum in Kolkata - collected in the 19th century. Patua art *today*, that lives and breathes in Bengal, is further complicated by the desires and demands of the 'market'. Artists in Naya are constantly working on new formats and new material. The thread that connects them to each other and to their 'tradition' is their technique of painting and the logic with which they create images. Throughout our study, we have tried to arrive at an understanding of this.

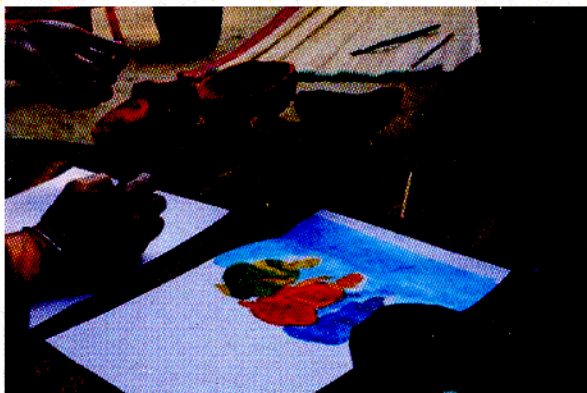


Image 8: Learning to paint a picture of women talking in Naya

6 Singh, Kavita (2000) 'The Content of the Form: Stylistic Difference and Narrative Choices in Bengali Pata Paintings', in B.N. Goswamy (ed.) *Indian Art: Forms, Concerns and Developments in Historical Perspective*.

Further Study

Patua Chitrakars tell stories through song; they supplement this singing with a scroll on which images that represent scenes from the song are painted. These scrolls can be horizontal or vertical - but vertical scrolls are more popular nowadays. In either case, the images are arranged to complement the changes taking place in the story being told. However, these images do not break-down the action to a point where they can be understood by themselves. As any patua artist will tell you, the primary story-telling 'vehicle' is the song.

Images in the scrolls serve the function of showing 1) the main events that move the plot forward - as space is limited 2) a variety of scenes, or locations to keep the viewer engaged - rarely, if ever, will you see a scene repeated.

During our travels, we did notice points of diversion with respect to the images of the scrolls being made in Naya and Satpolsa today. These points are:

1) The Usage of Black, White and Red 2) Number of Panels 3) Understanding of Background, and Foreground 4) Representation of Gods and Goddesses 5) Representation of Skin 6) Materials From Which Colour Is Made 7) Lining of Clothing 8) Function of the Border 9) Division of Space 10) Experimentation with Format 11) Painting Technique

I would like to emphasise that the attempt here is not to define two different 'styles'. The attempt is to understand what is possible within the logic of Patua Chitra, by comparing the work and practice of artists for whom the 'scroll' means very different things. In Naya, the scroll has many purposes - as a decorative piece, as an object of research, as reference material etc. For the artists we met in Satpolsa and Itaguria, the scroll is primarily meant for performance.

For the purpose of this interim report it would be difficult to delve into all the points listed above - particularly since fieldwork for Patua Chitra has ended only very recently. However, to give you an idea of the direction in which I and my team are talking, I will elaborate briefly on how space is divided by the artists we met - -

The patuachitra scroll is dominated by the human-figure. Understanding how to paint the human-figure (refer image 9) is perhaps the most important step in understanding patua art. In fact, the first step in the painting of a scroll is the painting of the main character's skin.



Image 9: Applying skin colour

Following that, the colour for the costume is applied, and thereafter the 'background'. Often, during sessions on scroll-making, patuachitrakars in Naya would tell us to make characters bigger, or add trees to 'fill-up' this background space. They told us that there are no rules to making scrolls, but were uncomfortable with having too much empty space in a panel.

To contrast, the patuachitrakars in Bhirbhum were satisfied with one tree to indicate a forest, or one house to indicate a village. In fact, they usually apply a flat red or pink background in the panel to indicate the red sand that one would find in Bhirbhum. Grass, or any other texture that is required, is usually painted over it - often allowing the red to show through anyway. This red or pink background often stretches to include the sky as well. As a result, Bhirbhum scrolls often look like they are repeating images - but in fact, they are not. The main variation is 1) number of characters present in the panel 2) or if a character is carried forward from a previous panel, the action of the character. Patuachitrakars in Bhirbhum are also comfortable with displaying two separate actions from one scene, in two separate scrolls.



Pictured above are excerpts from two scrolls both telling the story of Behula and Lokhindor.

The one on the left (image 10) is from Naya in Midnapore, and the one on the right (image 11) is from Satpolsa in Bhirbhum.

The scrolls in Bhirbhum tend to have more panels than the ones in Midnapore - most scrolls documented by us which are from Bhirbhum have 10-12 panels, whereas the ones documented by Midnapore have between 4-6 panels. This is not to say that the patuachitrakars cannot make longer scrolls there - but they often chose to make smaller ones, as Mayna Chitrakar of Naya pointed out to us, because they are easier to sell at fairs like Dastakar and Hasta Shilpi Mela. In fact, Mayna also said that the larger scrolls and single pictures are used to attract the attention of potential customers as they are visible from afar - but the real sales are from the smaller ones, the ones that can be hung up on a wall at home.

The section in italics above is the manner in which that I think our study into Patua Chitra will articulate itself.

Documentation and Reference Material

Our documentation for Patua Chitra followed the same method as the one we used in Karnataka.

We documented our work through: 1) Recorded Interviews 2) Photographs and Sketches of the artists, their material, their workspace, the places we visited, modes of transportation, scrolls etc. 3) Recorded Performances. A list of the performances and interviews is given in Annexure 2.

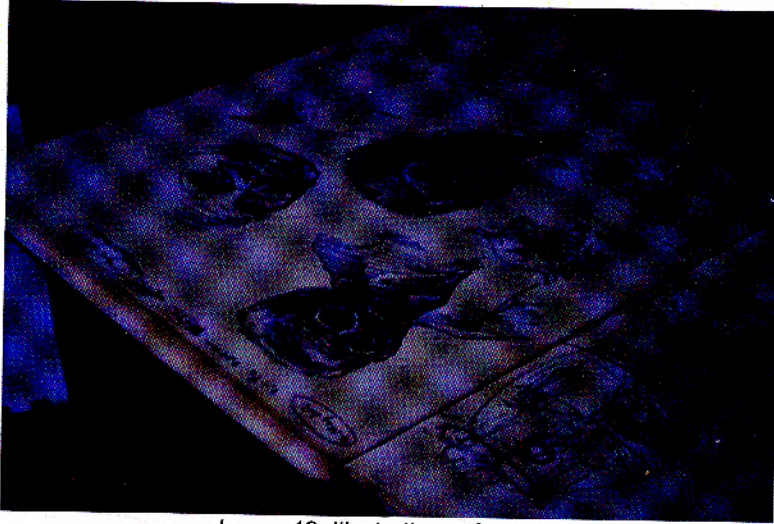


Image 12: Illustrations of artists

Significantly, we have also photographed several scrolls from Naya and Satpolsa - contemporary scrolls, as well as some older ones. Scrolls of particular interest from Naya are: Saheb Pat (used to spread ideas of revolution during the freedom movement) and a scroll by Duku Sham Chitrakar which was made in the 1960s in response to the Congress party changing its party symbol. From Satpolsa, there is a scroll that we photographed on the Sindubad episode of the Ramayana that is at least two generations old (belonging to the grandfather of Arun Patua). We have also photographed 19th century scrolls from the Gurusaday Museum as references.

I did my best to photograph scrolls that were used in the performances that we recorded - these images would serve as a ready reference for us, as well as on the proposed website. In this way, someone viewing a performance on the website can easily see the scroll that is being used for it in detail, at the same time or shortly after.

It is by looking closely into the points mentioned in the previous section that I would like to take the study into Patua Chitra forward. After visiting the Gurusaday Museum in Kolkata, I feel the scrolls from Bhirbhum and the scrolls from Midnapore have more *basic* differences today than ever before. I am particularly interested in how the function of the scroll (whether for sale or for performance) affects the number and kind of images chosen. I can foresee that thinking in these terms will be helpful in the final leg of fieldwork - which is in Rajasthan, researching the Kaavad tradition. This is the only form wherein the person who composes and sings the songs and the person who makes the story-telling object (so to speak), are not necessarily the same person. It would be extremely interesting to see how the demand for these Kaavads affects the work of artists who do not perform.

Challenges

With Respect to Approach: Togalu Gombeyatta can be easily divided into an 'old' style and a 'new' style. Initially I was interested understanding the differences between the old and the new in Patua Chitra as well - but I soon realised that it would be difficult to trace these differences. There have been several innovations and interventions in the practice of Patua Chitra over the past hundred years⁷ - through interactions with researchers, initiatives by cultural institutions in Kolkata and else-where, experimental publishers, galleries, workshops that are held by NGOs like Bangla Natak Dot Com and the government etc. This makes the experience of Patua Chitra extremely complex - particularly in comparison to *Togalu*, for which interest has been both limited and inconsistent.

As a result, one had to develop a new way to approach Patua Chitra - a way in which we could understand the form with respect to how it is practiced today, as well as in the context of all the entities that have affected it in the past and the entities that affect it at present. This is an ongoing process, and one that will take its time to come to fruition. I have attempted to give you an idea of what this approach is in the previous section - any feedback with regard to the same is welcome.

Way Forward

This final section will outline any thoughts or ideas around elements of this project that remain.

With Respect to Future Fieldwork: Fieldwork for Rajasthani Kaavad remains and is scheduled for later this year. Till then, we will finish compiling the material from Patua Chitra.

With Respect to the Workshop: The question of the content of the workshop is becoming more and more important as I approach the last leg of the fieldwork. A natural entry point for the workshop would be material, and the relevance that the material has to a comic book practice - this could be done through practical exercises of working with this material, supplemented by information/presentations on the history of the forms themselves. However, if one does go in this direction - it would be wise to bring in traditional artists themselves for sessions on material. This is, of course, subject to constraints of budget and time. However, the *final* format for the workshop can only be decided once the last leg of fieldwork is complete.

With Respect to Travelogue: I realised after the first round of fieldwork that it a single book, with an overarching narrative would be inappropriate for our experience. Comics that emerge from this process would have to be in a serialised form - short 20 page publications. I imagine that these serialised comics as having two parts - the first part is pure comix, and the second part is illustrated text that provides information to the reader on the form in question. The illustrated text would be similar to the samples of our thought-process that I have provided in this document. Again, I can only give an idea of when the production of these will start once the fieldwork for *Kaavad* is over.

With Respect to Proposed Website: Currently all documentation is being conducted with an eye on the website. A major hurdle in this respect is the transcription and translation of videos and interviews.

Image Credits:

*All sketches and illustrations are by Shohei Emura
Image9, Image10, Image11 are by Megha Bhaduri
All other photographs by Vidyun Sabhaney*

⁷ As demonstrated by Beatrix Hauser in her paper 'From Oral Tradition to "Folk Art": Reevaluating Bengali Scroll Paintings' published in *Asian Folklore Studies* (Vol 61, No 1, page 105-122) in 2002.

Annexure1: Togalu Gombeyatta: Performance Inventory

Puppeteer	From	Performance & Interview	Role in Performance	Father's Name
Ramaiah	District: Mandeya Village: Kotte ramayana koppalu	<i>Performance:</i> Veera Abhimanyu <i>Interview:</i> On his performance, and	Direction	Hombaiah
Gunduraju	District: Hassan Village: Huvina Hally	<i>Performance:</i> <i>Suprabha</i> <i>Vilasa</i> <i>Interviews:</i> How to draw, Colour symbolism, purpose of leather puppetry, stories, relationship with Chitrakathi, how to make leather etc.	Direction, Harmonium, dialogue-delivery, singer	Gundaiah
Nagaraju	District: Hassan Village: Karjohally	<i>Performance:</i> Veera Abhimanyu <i>Interview:</i> His performance, on sexual humour in puppetry, character entries and exits etc.	Direction, dialogue- delivery	
Shardamma	District: Hassan From: Magodu	<i>Performance:</i> Veera Abhimanyu <i>Interview:</i> On making puppets	Puppets, Dialogue- delivery and singing	Gundaiah
Prabhavati	District: Hassan From: Yerehally (lives in Hassan city)	None <i>Interview:</i> On travelling and performing as a child, recording of her singing etc.	Singer, Dialogue- delivery	Nagaraju
Dakshain	District: Hassan From: Monachina Hally (currently residing in Huvina Hally)	<i>Performance:</i> <i>Suprabha</i> <i>Vilasa</i> <i>Interview:</i> On performing.	Puppets, Dialogue- delivery and singing	

Keshavappa	District: Koppala Village: Moornal	<i>Performance:</i> Virata Parva <i>Interview:</i> On Doddbalappa, on his performance etc.	Singer, Puppets, dialogue delivery	Doddbalappa
Bhimavva	District: Koppala Village: Moornal	<i>Performance:</i> Virata Parva, Droupadi Vastrapaharana <i>Interview:</i> On her grandfather, on <i>daan</i> , recordings of her singing etc.	Singer, cymbals	
Yenkappa	District: Koppala Village: Moornal	<i>Performance:</i> Droupadi Vastrapaharana <i>Interview:</i> On raagas, on stories in his repertoire, on Doddbalappa etc.	Singer, Puppets, dialogue delivery	Doddbalappa

Annexure2: Bengali Patua Chitra: Performances and Interviews

Sl.	Name	From	Performance/Interview Content
1.	Ranjit Chitrakar and family	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Performances:</i> Manasa Mangal, Santhal Pat, Chandi Mangal, Sroopnakha Episode. <i>Interviews/Interaction:</i> How to make colour, how to paint human figures, collaboration on a new scroll based on a Japanese myth, postures amongst others.
2.	Duku Sham Chitrakar and family	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Performances:</i> Origin of Patuas, Maccher Biye, Manasa Mangal (individual and group), Saheb Pat, and Eddur (collaborative new piece). <i>Interviews/Interaction:</i> collaboration on a new scroll on an existing story by Shohei and myself, interviews on the beginnings of Naya, on Saheb Pat, Roop Kathas, posture etc.
3.	Khandu Chitrakar	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Performance:</i> Machher Biye <i>Interview:</i> List of practicing patuachitrakars in the rest of Midnapore etc.
4.	Probir Chitrakar	Naya,	<i>Performance:</i> Krishna-Lila (group)

		Midnapore	
5.	Malek Chitrakar	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Performance:</i> Tsunami, Satya Pir, Manasa Mangal <i>Interview:</i> His life before shifting to Naya, how he used to travel with his father to perform etc.
6.	Mayna Chitrakar	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Interview:</i> On her 9/11 scroll, how she began her guest-house, and began travelling regularly for fairs and exhibitions.
7.	Arun Patua	Satpolsa, Bhirbhum	<i>Performances:</i> Gopalan, Sindubad, Nimai-Sanyas <i>Interview:</i> On their travel and performance, colours used in Bhirbhum,
8.	Barun Patua	Satpolsa, Bhirbhum	<i>Performances:</i> Krishna-Lila, Nari Nirjaton, Behula-Lokhindor
9.	Shantanu Patua	Satpolsa, Bhirbhum	<i>Performance:</i> Behula-Lokhindor <i>Interview:</i> On how he travels and performs, visitors who have come to work with him, performance formats, minerals that give colour etc.
10.	Laltu Chitrakar	Itaguria, Bhirbhum	<i>Performance:</i> Behula-Lokhindor <i>Interview:</i> On how he travels and performs, rotation of scrolls, <i>daan</i> , stories he usually performs etc.
11.	Salama Chitrakar	Itaguria, Bhirbhum	<i>Interview:</i> On how she started painting, who she sells to, why other patuachitrakars of her generation left the practice etc.
12.	Rahim Chitrakar	Naya, Midnapore	<i>Interview:</i> Commissioned work, and procuring work from 'tribal' patuachitra artists.