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# INDIAN ART & CULTURE



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**Mains Harvest**

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## MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

**Dear Aspirant,**

This book is dedicated to YOU, the untiring civil service aspirant who has the drive and commitment to persevere towards clearing this exam which is considered as one of the toughest exams in the world.

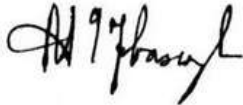
We congratulate you on choosing this book for “**Art & Culture**”. Our attempt here is to simplify important concepts without losing the key points. Hence, we hope you will find this book useful in your civil services journey.

### **About this book**

This book is a distillation of the expertise of the faculty at Officers IAS academy, explained in simple and easy to understand language. What you get to study in this book has been painstakingly collated by our faculty through their years of teaching and mentoring thousands of aspirants.

A strong zeal from you to clear this exam combined with our coaching and textbook will, I am sure help you scale great heights.

I wish you the very best in the most important endeavour of your life.



R. A. Israel Jebasingh

(IAS, 2004 Batch All India Rank 59)

Director of Officers IAS Academy

## HOW TO USE THIS BOOK?

### **Hello Aspirant!**

There is a subtle difference between putting in effort and putting in the right and focussed effort. That difference could determine whether you get into the civil services or not! This statement becomes highly relevant during the UPSC Main Examination stage.

Aspirants know that every mark scored or missed in the Main examination determines their presence as well as their place in the All-India Rank list. Unlike the Preliminary examination, Main exams are fairly predictable. But with Mains, completing the examination on time becomes the biggest challenge.

Even with persistent efforts, aspirants generally tend to struggle in completing the Mains Syllabus. And even when the syllabus is covered, there is a struggle in recollecting appropriate points during the examination.

Such challenges are faced by all UPSC Mains Candidates. This is because of the sheer mindboggling number of topics, dimensions, and links with current affairs that aspirants have to sift through in their mind before writing an answer – something that is indeed a herculean task.

We in the R&D team of the Officers IAS Academy, have been pondering over this challenge, and have found a solution.

Our R&D team spent a year meticulously combing through the *past 47 years'* Mains General Studies question papers, to identify all possible topics and dimensions ever covered for each subject in an UPSC Main examination. Our researchers, then set out to prepare a series of books for each of the 'Main exam subjects' (pertaining to GS1, GS2, & GS3) where all relevant content is covered in a scientific and precise manner. Aspirants can confidently use these books to 'complete' the UPSC Main Exam syllabus effectively and efficiently.

Please note, we do not advocate the use of these 'Mains Harvest' books as 'Standard' sources. However, instead of reading endless number of books for the UPSC preparation, aspirants can focus on the standard books (NCERTs) for foundational knowledge and then devote the rest of their time in studying the Officers IAS Academy's Mains Harvest books.

For you, dear aspirants, we have practically 'harvested' the 'essence' of the UPSC main examination to produce the 'Mains Harvest' book series. Use them well!

Thanking and wishing you all the very best in your preparations,

**R&D Team,**

Officers IAS Academy, Chennai.

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## ***Impact of Geographical factors on Indian History***

### **Geography Shaping Indian History**

- Geography has always played a prominent role in shaping history.
- The geographical features of the Indian subcontinent have influenced the history of India.
- Never was the whole subcontinent a single political unit. Regional differences and related separate identities greatly fostered by geography, have stood in the way of the rise of durable pan Indian states in Indian history.
- So, Geography always plays a vital role in shaping History. It was this geography only which led to various foreign invasions into India, making it a “melting pot of numerous cultures, races, religion, languages”. It also plays a key role in determining the demography and economy of a region.
- However, even the most difficult terrain does not impede the movement of ideas and influences between the people.
- Cultural influences have been exchanged across the frontiers in India and there have been maritime contacts even with regions outside of the subcontinent such as the west (Europe), West Asia and South-east Asia from the earlier times.
- The Indian subcontinent has three main regions: Himalaya Mountains, southern peninsula and Indo - Gangetic plains.

### **Role of Himalayas**

- The Himalayas block the cold winds from Russia and provide for a suitable climate in the subcontinent for the growth of flora, fauna, and human settlements.
- They are also the greatest source of perennial rivers giving rise to civilizations and the growth of culture in India through the ages.
- The Himalayas also act as a barrier for foreign Invasions (Especially from China and Mongolia) and no invasion has been recorded in history.
- It is due to this reason that India remained free from the politico-military upheavals seen in Central Asia.
- The Passes in the Himalayan Mountains have however allowed exchange of Social and Cultural contacts with the rest of Asia and the world.

### **Vindhya and Satpura Ranges**

- Vindhya and Satpura Ranges have divided the geographical regions in India.
- They have ensured that the political/military developments in the north does not have a great impact in peninsular India.
- Due to this very reason, the south continued to flourish even with the north facing numerous Turkish Invasions

### **Aravalli Ranges**

- Aravalli Ranges divided the western India into a number of small pockets.
- It is due to this reason that so many Rajput principalities existed in history and the political unification of Rajputana was never possible in History.

### **Western Ghats**

- It is because of the Hilly terrain that the Marathas could successfully fight the Mughals using Guerrilla warfare.

### **Role of Fertile plains**

- Availability of fertile plains ensured formation of huge empires in the north.



- Unavailability of such fertile plains in the south is considered the primary reason why in Indian history, no power from the south ever captured and ruled the north. It was always the other way round.
- Even in the modern historical times, the French failed because they were present in the South and the British succeeded because they captured Bengal.
- It is these extensive fertile northern plains which retained the capital of India in the north, throughout Indian history.

#### **Role of forests, minerals & other resources**

- The most powerful empires emerged in those areas with plenty of natural resources. Eg: Magadhan Empire.
- With more resources, the availability of weapons, a strong economy and a military becomes possible, leading to the formation of successful empires.

#### **Role of Climate**

- Warmer climate of Northern India has ensured the survival of flora and fauna thereby making human life easier in the region.
- In the trans-Himalayan regions, cold climate prevented growth of biodiversity and hence human settlements are also thinner.

#### **Role of Rivers**

- River deposits formed the fertile lands throughout the country. These plains helped humans sustain over different regions of India through ages.
- Rivers also provide water for drinking which is why all cultures and civilizations in the world emerged alongside them.
- Rivers have also been political boundaries throughout Indian history.

#### **Role of Coasts**

- It is coastal India which has seen the highest amount of friendly and trade-related interactions with the outside world.
- In the history of India, coastal cities have always been cosmopolitan because of the interaction of people from various cultures and foreign lands.
- The people of the coastal regions have been liberal, progressive throughout Indian History
- Rigidity of the feudal societies are absent in coastal societies
- Even when overland trade was affected due to political or military issues, maritime trade remained open in Indian history.
- IVC sites in Gujarat flourished for several years even after the fall of the civilization.
- Foreign maritime contacts to India happened at peninsular India first, before they reached the Northern India Role of Monsoon
- Monsoon rainfall reduces from east to west, and the density of forests also follows the same pattern.
- Agriculture thrives in areas of good rainfall and is usually densely populated.
- Rain-shadow regions in India have faced problems with development. Eg: regions of Maharashtra, Rajasthan. This is because agriculture cannot develop fully in those areas.

#### **Geographical Factors & Political Fragmentation of India**

- India is called a subcontinent because of its extensive geographical spread.
- Throughout Indian history, there have been great difficulties in political unification of the country. Exceptions: Mauryan and Gupta times.

- Due to extensive fragmentation of the sub continent, Indian rulers could never look for colonies outside of India and subjugate trans Hindu Kush regions.

**Questions:**

1. Explain the role of geographical factors towards the development of Ancient India.

## *Theatre and dramas*

### **Ghashiram Kotwal:**

- Ghashiram Kotwal is a Marathi play written by playwright Vijay Tendulkar in 1972 as a response to the rise of a local political party in Maharashtra. The play is a political satire, written as historical drama. It is based on the life of Nana Phadnavis (1741–1800), one of the prominent ministers in the court of the Peshwa of Pune and Ghashiram Kotwal, the police chief of the city. Its theme is how men in power give rise to ideologies to serve their purposes, and later destroy them when they become useless. It was first performed on 16 December 1972, by the Progressive Dramatic Association in Pune. Jabbar Patel's production of the play in 1973 is considered a classic in Modern Indian Theatre.
- The play is notable for the use of the "Tamasha" form in Marathi folk theatre. Singing and dancing are used here to good effect. "Abhangas" (devotional songs) are mixed with "Lavnis" (love songs).

### **Synopsis**

- The play begins with an invocation to lord Ganesha. Then the Brahmins of Pune introduce themselves and we can see the morally corrupt state of affairs in Pune. Nana Phadnavis who is the Diwan (Chief Secretary) of Pune is also corrupt and visits the lavani dancer. Ghashiram is working with the Lavani dancer. He is impressed by the wit of Ghashiram. Ghashiram being a Brahmin goes to collect alms at the Peshwa's festival the next day. However, he is ill-treated there and is charged with pick-pocketing and imprisoned for the offence. He then decides to take revenge. So the play continues on to reach the next part of this play.
- Ghashiram barter his own daughter Gauri to get the post of Kotwal (police chief) of Pune from Nana. Having got the post he begins to enforce strict rules in the city. He starts asking for permits for everything and starts throwing people in jail for the smallest offences. When the commoners come to Nana with a complaint, he dismisses them & is deeply indulged
- Nana asks her body to be thrown in the river in secret. He convinces Ghashiram that the title he enjoys is only because of his patronage. The situation goes out of hand when a few Brahmins visitors to the city are put in jail, and die from suffocation due to inadequate ventilation in their custody. The Brahmin of Pune then complained to the Peshwa. The Peshwa summons Nana who orders Ghashiram to be killed in the most inhumane way possible. Nana ignores his summons, the Brahmins then surround his palace protest. To save his skin Nana finally gives orders for the execution of Ghashiram.

### **Controversy**

- The play was based on historical facts. Ghashiram was a North Indian Brahmin, a resident of Aurangabad, who was appointed as the Police prefect of Poona on 8 February 1777 and continued to hold officer till his death which took place on 31 August 1791 under violent circumstances.
- He had earned Nana's confidence by his faithful service during the critical times that followed Peshwa Narayan Rao's murder. He enjoyed the full trust of Nana Phadnavis and his administration was notoriously worse than that of his predecessors. He was the man who had been appointed to watch the movements and plans of Raghunath Rao and his family and he reported to Nana whatever suited his purpose. He had under him a large body of unscrupulous spies, each possessing ample means of harassing people, in consequence of which the word Ghashiram has become a permanent synonym for oppression and tyranny.
- The rule of Ghashiram was cruel and tyrannical. However, there is no historical evidence to support the portrayal of Nana Phadnavis as depicted in the play. The controversy also

unfortunately undermines the crucial contribution made by Nana Phadnavis towards India's freedom movement.

### **Efforts undertaken to develop theatre art in India:**

- The tradition of writing and enacting plays is quite old in India. Along with plays, theatre had also developed. Bharat's book Natya Shastra (The art/philosophy of dance) has focussed on the play, theatre, audience and the sensory response after watching the play (called rasa). Along With a pan - Indian tradition, different regions have developed their own tradition of popular plays. Although the ancient tradition of Sanskrit plays could not develop in the mediaeval times, the popular drama tradition kept advancing uninterrupted through the ages.
- In modern times the drama tradition emerged in a new form. New theatre auditoria came into being. The exposure with the west brought in the influence of the Greek tradition and the modern western theatre tradition.
- Modern Indian theatre has benefitted from both, the popular folk tradition and the western drama tradition. Simultaneously the modern playwrights have also made new experiments.
- A knowledge about these aspects would enable you to put in perspective the development of India theatre. Such knowledge is crucial to those involved in the field of tourism, as they would be able to appreciate the specificities of Indian theatre in the overall context of Indian Culture.

### **Types of Indian Theatre:**

#### **1) Traditional Theatre**

If we trace back the roots of theatre in India, it all began with Traditional theatre which was widespread since ancient times. The stories were largely based on the saga of Ramayana and epics of Mahabharata, as well as, the Upanishads and Puranas. The 15th century witnessed the rise of Sanskrit dramas where each performer was given due respect in the courts of Kings. For example, Kathak is one such vivid form of Traditional theatre. The enactment of folklore proved to be an excellent way for the rural illiterate masses to get educated about the spiritual and religious aspects of Indian culture.

#### **2) Regional Folk Theatre**

From tales of epics to folklore, the Traditional theatre has many regional variations. The form of narrative, costume choices, and entry of characters are loud and vivid. The storytelling is woven with song, dance, and music that is rooted in incidents, festivals, and events derived from traditional texts, culture, and customs from the specific region. However, unlike Traditional theatre, Regional Folk theatre derives its content from social events as well.

Listed below are some popular examples of Regional Folk theatre:

- Tamasha (Maharashtra) – A traditional form of Marathi theatre that is performed with singing and dancing. It is widely performed by local theatre groups within Maharashtra.
- Bhavai (Gujarat) – Originated in the 14th century, Bhavai is a popular folk theatre form of western India. The word Bhavai is derived from Sanskrit and means emotion or expression.
- Yakshagana (Karnataka) – A traditional theatre developed in Udupi, Shimoga, and western parts of Chikmagalur districts. It combines dance, music, dialogue, costume, make-up, and stage techniques with a unique style and form.
- Karyala (Himachal) – Popular in districts of Himachal, Karyala is an impromptu folk theatre that does not need any stage. It is mostly performed during Diwali and is usually performed by a person for the deity. This theatre is a fusion of drama, versification, music, and dance.

- Koodiyattam (Kerala) – Recognised by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, Koodiyattam is a traditional performing art form in the state of Kerala, India. It is a blend of ancient Sanskrit theatre with elements of Koothu – an ancient performing art from the Sangam era.
- Saang (Rajasthan, UP) – A popular folk theatre form in Rajasthan, Saang incorporates theatrics and mimicry accompanied by dialogue and song. This art form is more dialogue-oriented and not movement-oriented.
- Bhand Pather (Kashmir) – Bhand Pather is an age-old folk theatre having its origins in Kashmir. It is commonly held in open spaces and performed along with musical instruments like the surnai, nagada, and dhol.

### 3) Pre-Independence Theatre Art

- Pre-Independence theatre rose in popularity and arrived in India with British and colonial rule. The primary difference between other eras of theatre in India and Pre-Independence theatre is that Pre-Independence theatre was more plot and story-based. Whereas, the Traditional and Regional theatre consisted of plays revolving around mythological and heroic characters.
- Pre-Independence theatre was an amalgamation of Western theatre formats with prevalent Indian social theatre. It brought in the philosophy of realism by covering the lives of the common man under British rule, and the hardships they faced, making it a central plot of many famous plays.
- For instance, the pioneer of the modern playwright, Rabindranath Tagore, explored various ideas such as identity, relationships, spiritualism, and nationalism. Some of his famous plays were – Raja, Dakghar, and Chitra.

### 4) Modern Theatre

Origin of modern Indian theatre

- Modern Indian theatre started after the advent of the British in India. The British developed Calcutta in the east, Bombay and Surat in the west and Madras in the south as important centres of trade and administration. They also set up theatres in these cities for their entertainment.
- Levdef, a gentleman of Russian origin, established a theatre by the name of Bengali Theatre. Abridged versions of plays like Disguise and Love is the Best Doctor were enacted on 21 November 1765, well over 200 years ago.
- Many rich drama lovers followed the example of Lever and started conducting shows in their houses, lawns and gardens. This set in motion a process in which many theatres were established and plays enacted.
- Once general interest developed in the plays, their commercial viewing became inevitable. This led to the formation of theatrical companies among which the Parsi theatrical companies became most popular.
- These companies toured various provinces and made money. But, more significantly, they contributed to the popularisation of the plays by writing them in Indian languages.
- The first Parsi Theatre company called “Pārsī Nāṭak Maṇḍali” performed their first play Roostum Zabooli and Sohrab in 1853, followed by King Afrasiab and Rustom Pehlvan and Pādśāh Faredun. By 1860 over 20 Parsi theatre groups were formed in Mumbai.

Salient features associated with Modern Indian theatre are:

- Predominant influence of western notions of drama
- The Ancient Indian tradition rested on a happy ending of the plays whereas in the western tradition the tragic ending was generally in vogue

- Modern Indian theatre was a product of certain Indian social developments. The processes of modernization and Renaissance in the Indian society, brought about Socio – cultural changes and these changes were reflected in the field of art and literature
- The initial thematic content of the modern Indian plays rested on the historical and the mythological themes. Later the social and political themes were also given a place. Along with this, Indian theatre soon began incorporating elements from the classical Sanskrit theatres and folk theatres. This combination brought about many changes in the Indian theatre. For example, plays in the Parsi theatres gave tremendous importance to music, song and dances which was the influence of the traditional folk plays.
- A picture of one of the Parsi theatrical company setup during this time

The post independence theatre also incorporated much of the folk and the Sanskrit traditions but, in essence, retained the realist western tradition. Playwrights like Badal Sarkar, Shambhu Mitra, Vijay Tendulkar, B.V.Karanth, Ibrahim Alkazi, Girish Karnad and Utpal Dutt etc. made new experiments in the theatrical devices

### **Modern Indian drama and nationalism**

- Combining nationalism with contemporary social reality was another trend in modern plays. The first famous play of this kind was written by Dinabandhu Mitra (Neel Darpan) in Bengali. This play was based on the theme of forcible cultivation of indigo inflicted on the native planters by British imperialism. This play was also indicative of a newly emerging consciousness of nationalism
- Assamese plays by Padmanath Gohai Barua (Lachit Barfukan), Lahshmikant Bejbarua (Ckakrahdhwaj Singh) and Bimlanand Barua (Sharai Ghat) were also powerful expressions of nationalist feelings. Pavler wrote nationalist plays (Khadrin Verdri and Desheeya Koti among others) in tamil. In malayalam the nationalist tradition was carried by V.T. Bhattathiripad, K. Damodaran, Govindan, Ittasherri, S.L. Puran, K.T. Muhammad, Bhartendu Harishchandra wrote nationalist satires in Hindi (Bharat Durdasha, Bharat Janani and Andher Nagri) and his tradition was carried to its culmination by the plays of Jai Shankar Prasad.
- The Indian intellectuals of the 19th century had grasped the reality that India's degeneration was not only because of the alien rulers but also because of certain social evils and superstitions prevalent in Indian society.
- The plays of that period reflect this understanding very well. The playwrights focused their sarcasm on those Indians who were busy blindly following the west. The playwrights of this period attacked the caste system, child marriage, dowry, false notions of pride and prestige, prostitution, untouchability and other social evils in their plays

### **Post-independence plays**

- The post independence period witnessed changes in both the style and content of the Indian plays. The Second World War and the partition of the sub-continent had a profound impact on Indian society. The widely shared optimism of a better tomorrow turned out to be an illusion after the attainment of independence
- The rapid changes brought about by science and industrialization in society, affected the value systems of the people. These changes were bound to show up in the world of Indian plays in a variety of ways.
- An important change was the increased access, to India, of plays written in foreign languages other than English. Indians were now getting introduced to the plays of Brecht from Germany,

Gogol and Chekhov from Russia and Sartre from France. This influenced both the writing and staging of the new plays.

- The new trend is most visible in the plays of Badal Sarkar in Bengali, Vijay Tendulkar in Marathi and Girish Karnad in Kannada. The new plays displayed receptivity towards new experiments being made in the field. The earlier trend was to write five act plays, with many scenes in one act. This was reduced to three and finally to one. Many scenes in an act used to disturb the continuity and interrupt the viewer's pleasure. Therefore, the practice of having many scenes in an act was almost discontinued
- The historical plays of the pre-independence period used to focus on invoking national pride. But the new historical plays attempted to understand and analyse history from a new angle. The plays of Uttam Barua (Varja Fuleshwari, assamese), P.Lankesh (Sankranti, kannada), Girish Karnad (Tughlaq, hindi), Vijay Kumar Mishra (Tat Niranjana, oriya), Mohan Rakesh (Ashadh Ka Ek Din, hindi), Jagdish Chandra Mathur (Pahla Raja, hindi) and Sant Singh Sekhon (Mohu Sar Na Kai, punjabi) are quite remarkable in this respect.

In the post-independence plays the mythological form was also used to portray complex human emotions and dilemmas. The focus on social plays continued in the post independence period as well, with a much enlarged canvas to include new social problems and themes. Now, the increasing economic disparity with resultant frustrations, the plight of women in the society, the despondency of the dalits and the depressed, Hindu-Muslim relations, the miseries of the rural life, dehumanisation of the city life, hypocrisy of the middle class and the clash between the new and the old values dominated the thematic content of the new social plays.

### **Theatre – Paving the Way for Excellence**

- Presently, many Indian cities have commercially viable theatres and the theatre circuit in these cities is always buzzing. For instance, the theatre scene in Delhi is vibrant and is known for hosting many theatre festivals.
- In Maharashtra, especially in Mumbai and Pune, the Marathi theatre is thriving. Mumbai hosts multiple plays in various languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, and English.
- Theatre loyalists swear by the iconic Royal Opera House and Prithvi Theatre. Other prominent cities like Bangalore, Kolkata, and Chennai have a vibrant theatre scene as well and are buzzing with young talent eager to display their acting skills to the masses.

Many popular theatre personalities have gone on to garner tremendous respect and won many awards. For example, B Jayashree, a respected theatre personality, with over 40 years of experience in theatre, won the Padma Shri Awards in 2013. In 2015, theatre personality Khaled Choudhury was awarded the Padma Bhushan. Recently, actress Kangana Ranaut won the National Award for Best Actress for her performances in the films Panga, and Manikarnika. She was also recognized for her acting skills and received a Padma Shri Award.

### **The Significance of Theatre in Our Lives**

- Theatre can help us view the world from a different perspective. By watching a vivid enactment, we can have a glimpse of humanity, motivations, human psychology, conflict, and resolution. The audience has the opportunity to witness the artists who portray an array of personas, addressing unique viewpoints of life.
- Artists have the incredible opportunity to put themselves in intellectual and emotional situations on stage, express their skills to their fullest and grow their talents. Even though the scripts may remain the same every night, artists have the opportunity to perform in a unique way each time

they go on stage. No two performances will ever be the same, and every artist involved will have a distinct experience that cannot be replicated.

- Many studies have proven that students who take part in theatre perform better in their academics. Performing arts offer wonderful benefits such as self-presentation skills, improving confidence, boosting self-awareness, providing the freedom to self-express, improving problem-solving skills, and teaching students and aspiring actors the art of collaboration and self-reliance to reach their desired goals.
- What's more, the theatre also provides a platform to promote potential social change, social discourse and help carry out an intellectual dialogue in the minds of the audience. It can help point to societal issues and highlight potential solutions.

### **Some of the Traditional theatre art forms in India:**

#### **Bhand Pather**



- The main theme of Bhand could be visualised from the active folk form which is obtained from the various age old folk forms as well as the typical Sanskrit theatre of India. However, with the passage of time various features have vanished and dramatic changes have taken place in others. The plays which are played in the Bhand are known as Pather and the meaning of the word is dramatic character.
- Bhand originates from a realistic and satirical drama or the bhanna, which is usually a monologue included in Bharata's Natya Shastra. Although Bhand Pather is not considered a monologue, it is a type of social drama consisting of social satire and mythological legends. After the tenth century a number of foreign invasions took place in the J&K valley and as a result many disturbances had taken place in the social fibre for which Kashmiri people became slaves in their own motherland. They had to live and adapt with alien socio-political, religious and cultural systems.
- A reflection of this cross exchange can be found in the J&K valley folk tradition. The anguishes of the people could be found in the plays in humorous or absurd form. The character of the king within Darza Pather or the royal soldiers within Shikargah speaking in Persian language with the illiterate and poor Kashmiri take the resort of whipping when they fail to understand their language.



- Big puppets using masks portray the characters of the witch or the king in the Gosain Pather which is regarding Saivites of Kashmir and Shiva to show the oppressive nature. All these plays ultimately make the local character victorious in conclusion.

**Performance:**

- A theatre form that incorporates improvisation, clownery and dance, Bhand Pather is practised in rural areas of Kashmir. Performances typically take place in the summer months, commencing in June.
- The word "bhand" refers to a folk performer, alluding to the origin of the form: Bhands are said to have migrated to Kashmir from Persia as court jesters in the late mediaeval period, and men of the Bhand community continue to perform this theatre form today. "Pather" translates to a theatrical performance or scenario. Bhand Pather has been compared by scholars to Ruhawzi, an Iranian theatrical tradition.
- Bhand Pather performances usually take place on the ground in open air. A typical performance involves music and dance known as Bhand Jashna or Bhand Chowk, as well as mimicry, imitation and exaggerated comedy. It might open with a dance incorporating footwork and hand movements from Sufi traditions, accompanied by local ragas. Music is provided using the swarnai or shehnai (oboe-like wind instruments), nagari (a small one-sided drum), dhol (percussion drum), harmonium and santoor (dulcimer).
- Bhand Pather typically incorporates archetypal characters such as the maskhar (jester), magun (leader), sutradhar (narrator) and kurivol (lasher). The maskhar carries out exaggerated, farcical actions while critiquing the exploitative actions of authorities in the play, while the kurivol lashes the maskhar for his behaviour. The sutradhar comments on the activities taking place. These characters are mutable and may transform into different ancillary characters depending on the narrative being performed.
- There are about ten to twelve of these narratives in Bhand Pather's repertoire, all of which are derived from Kashmiri history. Wattal Pather, depicting the story of the Wattal tribe, is considered the oldest existing narrative.
- Other narratives include Shikargarh Pather, named after the Shikargarh wildlife reserve, which employs masks to depict various animals; Bakarwal Pather, depicting the lifestyle of the Bakarwal shepherd tribe; Gosain Pather, depicting devotees travelling to a temple; Raza Pather, a tale of Afghan rule in Kashmir and the atrocities committed by the powerful; and Angrez Pather, the most recent narrative, depicting the oppression of the Kashmiri people by the English.

**Music**

- With the tune of a particular mukam and the orchestra consisting of dhol, nagara, swarnai and the thalij the Bhands dance. The swarnai is very big in size in comparison to the shehnai having a metallic and strong sound which has a great impact when played in the open space. This instrument has the capability of attracting local people from the nearby areas.
- It is a very special kind of wind instrument which consists of three parts. The first part is the wooden pipe or the nai prepared by carpenters having special skills, the second part is the barg which is made from a special type of grass procured locally and the third part is a copper disc where the barg is attached. Before playing for the first time the swarnai player usually makes an offering in the dargah.
- Every Bhand Pather has its own composition which is known as mukam. The music continues with a set kind of pattern like salaam, dubitch, thurau, salgah and the nau patti. The music is performed with the codified and intricate patterns of sufiana kalaam which is based upon the classical mould.

- The central figure in the orchestra is the person who operates the dhol. Various taals in many combinations are being played on this dhol, however, very few persons are found in this job nowadays.
- The dhol is accompanied by nagara which helps the rhythm to double in intensity when activated. Number of nagara is utilised while performing to make the sound impact of the instrument perfect. The thalij is a kind of metal cymbal which is a little bigger in comparison to other types of musical instruments.

### Dance

- A short bamboo stick and a whip are the two things required for each pathar. The long whip or the koodar is made from the stem of the plant (bhang) and appears like a fat rope that is forked to its tip. While using it, it creates a sound that resembles a gunshot.
- At the time of performance, whipping of a character can be done a number of times without causing any injury since this has not the property as a whip possesses, however, it appears deadly. It is utilised to change all the essentials which show oppression into vivid dramatic images. The bans on the contrary are utilised by the maskhara or jester. Split sticks of bamboo are being utilised to create a sharp sound.

### Swang



Swang is a popular Indian folk dance drama practised in Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Malwa region of Madhya Pradesh. Swang flourished with song and it is considered as a rich performance with literary wealth. This dance drama is dialogue-oriented rather than movement-oriented. It focuses on various mythological and social topics. Amateurs or new artists personify this folk drama and it is played either in the open or on the specially created platform.

### History

It is believed that the founder of Swang is Kishan Lal Bhaat. Some artists also give credit to Kavi Shankar Dass, a poet artiste, who belonged to Meerut.

### Themes

- Though artists of Naqaals also perform similar art in Swang, the story is presented in a more interesting way including caustic comments, particularly related to current topics. Most of the dialogues that are used are traditional, but a lot of slick improvisation can also be found in the performance.
- The body language is a perfect foil that converts all the serious comments of the storyteller into something-stupid yet extremely funny kind of performance. The humour is lusty and seldom appeals to an urban audience at large.

### Performance of Swang

- The play of Swang begins with a Puravaranga, which is an invocation to the goddess Bhavani. For such a play, the stage is constructed in a circular manner and then it is generally performed in the open ground or space.
- There are very few people in the performance; a single performer performs many roles and the costumes are changed on the stage itself. Male actors play all parts since no women participants are allowed. Even the eunuch or the hijra is another essential character in these plays, which has to perform in all Margi (classical) and desi (folk Sanskrit) plays.
- Music and dance is considered as an intrinsic part of this performance. Thus, at the centre, the musicians occupy the place on the stage, often getting up to sing and dance from that place itself.

### **Maach**

- Maach is a prominent folk theatre form of Madhya Pradesh and historical findings suggest that it has been an integral part of the local culture of the Malwa region since the early eighteenth century, making it a 200–250-year-old art form. Gopalji Guru of Bhagsipura, Ujjain, is touted to be the one who introduced maach in Madhya Pradesh; he eventually authored many maach plays himself.
- Traditionally, maach is performed around the Indian festival of Holi and it is also believed that maach originated to entertain the local communities as there was no other mode of entertainment available in those times.
- It is believed that maach evolved from the khyal folk theatre of Rajasthan, which is also believed to have given rise to nautanki in Uttar Pradesh and svang in Haryana. Another theory suggests that around the eighteenth and nineteenth century, turra kalangi (a popular folk theatre form of Rajasthan which uses musical dialogues and poems to narrate popular folk tales and legends) troupes came with the Maratha forces to Central India and led to the beginning of maach, which gradually evolved into a staged performance with new stories, songs, dance and characters.



### **What is Maach?**

The term maach is a Malawi translation of the Hindi word manch (stage). Essentially, the term maach signifies two meanings, the stage itself and the play/performance. Maach is basically a musical play where a group of performers sing and dance along with dramatic representation of many mythological, religious and historical stories. It has over 150 manuscripts and more than 125 melodies, which are orchestrated around five to seven different rhythms. Maach is known to be performed in the open, in an intersection in the village, an open field or a villager's courtyard. It is performed and enjoyed as much in the towns of Malwa region as in small villages.

**Rituals and Performance of Maach:**

- Maach is mainly performed by men who also perform the roles of the female characters. Maach artistes develop and rehearse the play in local community areas. Besides being good actors, they are also known to be noted singers as singing is an essential element of their performance. The plays are performed on an elevated manch; musicians are placed in the middle of the stage from where they play live music during the performance.
- A month before the day of the performance, a manak khamb (a wooden pole believed to eliminate bad omen) is established in the chosen area. Dholak is played, and all the performers of the group gather.
- The ritual involves singing prayers and distributing sacrament. The installation of manak khamb is a way of announcing in the village that a maach performance will take place in the area in a month's time; it also alerts the performers of the village to start preparing for their performances.
- After the ritual of manak khamb, the process of building the stage starts almost immediately. It is important to note that the stage is more often than not built facing the north direction as it is considered auspicious; the practical reason was that in earlier times when there was no facility of speakers and mics, facing north ensured that the wind carried the voice of the performers far and wide for the audience.
- Along with the manch another wooden platform is built in the upstage area where the experienced performers, singers, musicians sit along with the amateur performers and apprentices. As the performers sing their bol (dialogues), the choir repeats after them, and this practice of singing after the performer is called tek jhelna (giving support). This practice helps in repetition of the dialogue for the spectators and also enables the apprentices to learn the words. It prepares the new batch of maach performers, and since maach is a folk theatre based on singing, the choir emerges as one of the most important elements of the overnight performance.
- The performance of maach starts at night and goes on till the early hours of the morning. The performers who earn their living through day jobs, finish up early and get ready to perform overnight. The spectators also start pouring in by late evening from nearby villages to enjoy the performance. Before the main act of maach, the performers sing songs, and there are short comic skits by Bhishti (the water-bearer), Farrasan (carpet spreader) and Nanak-Sai pande (monks of Nath community) that warm up the community spectators for what is to come.
- Bhishti, through his act, sprinkles water on the stage from his waterskin, which indicates purification of the stage. He then introduces himself, tells the audiences where he comes from, and his purpose.

**Themes**

- The Hindi word Manch which means the stage is the root word of Maach. The song is a semi-sacred one that has many religious, as well as secular themes, which are usually historical and legendary stories.
- The legends contain the tales of warriors and rulers. The stories are also borrowed from Puranas and Hindu epics like Mahabharata and Ramayana. The tales of Prahalad, Nala and Damayanti, and Malvan heroes are enacted in these plays.
- The cultural heritage is showcased by these performances. Even dacoity and literacy are also focussed on in this performance.

**Music**

The Hindustani classical ragas and tunes which elaborate the season or the occasion are featured. The sarangi, harmonium, and dhol are used to produce the music.

## Bhaona



- The Bhaona performances are typically based on Ankiya Naat, a legacy of one-act plays that revered Assamese saint Sankardev (1449-1568) began in Assam by writing six plays to be used as an instrument to establish a new religious denomination, the Ek Sarana Nama Dharma, as against the rigid and exclusionary Brahminical Hinduism sweeping through the region then.
- His principle disciple, Madhabdev, too went on to write a bunch of Ankiya Naat including shorter plays, the Jhumura, in which songs are an integral part and at times even dialogues are in a song.
- Together with Sankardev's Ankiya Naat, these plays form the traditional core of dramatic performances in Assamese society.

### First Assamese playwright

- Like in Bengal, the modern Assamese drama too drew inspiration from western plays in the 19th century. But the tradition of writing a play in Assam is one of the oldest in India. Sankardev, as early as 1468 CE, had readied his magnum opus 'Cihnna Jatra', a pageant of painted scenes depicting the seven Vaikunthas (heavens in Hindu mythology). Those paintings became the backdrop of a dramatic performance. He had put together that performance at age There were trained performers to depict the pageant, and songs and dance were added to the act. The play was written before he embarked on a pilgrimage to mainland India. Noted Assamese public intellectual Hiren Gohain, who has researched and written extensively on Sankardev, had termed him the first in India to have written a play in a regional language in prose till the advent of the British.
- After Cihnna Jatra, Sankardev wrote six more plays – Patni Prasada, Rukmini Harana, Keli Gopal, Kaliya Damana, Parijat Harana and Rama Vijaya. In the recently published history on the rich legacy of mobile theatres in Assam, Theatre on Wheels, authors Jayanta Kumar Sarma and Kishore Kumar Kalita had pointed out that Rukmini Harana, Parijat Harana and Rama Vijaya have more dialogues than the other Ankiya Naat of Sankardev, and, therefore, they could be called full-fledged dramas with “definable plots, characters and dialogues”.

### Types of Bhaonas

- Here, it is worth a mention though that while these plays are now commonly referred in Assam as Ankiya Naat and Bhaona, late Maheswar Neog, a repository of immense knowledge on Assamese dance, plays and music, had underlined that the early Vaishnava writings in Assam didn't refer to them as so, and that Sankardev himself had denoted his dramatic creations as nata, nataka or yatra, and also nritya. He had called the actors Natuwa or Nartkaka.
- The Bhaonas in Assam are largely of two types – Ankiya Bhaona or the plays written by Sankardev and Madhabdev; and Bhaona or the other plays penned by the Vaishnava monastic heads after the two gurus. While the language of the Ankiya Bhaona is invariably in the Brajabuli dialect, the rest

were either in Brajabuli or in pure Assamese. Neog had pointed out that akin to the 17-18th century Kerala when one had to write a Kathakali play in order to be known as a poet, in post-Sankardev Assam too, it became an imperative on the abbots (Satradhikars) in a number of Satra (Vaishnava monasteries) to also write a religious play to be recognised as worthy of their position. That vibrant practice of play-writing gave birth to a number of plays and performances that went on to be known as Bhaona.

- Parts of Assam also have a fascinating tradition of presenting Hejaria or Bare-chahariya Bhaona, and Dhura Bhaona. Neog had pointed out that the Hejaria (a thousand) version had been named so because more than one dramatic performance would take place simultaneously. These performances would be typically held in the dry season on the paddy fields (pothar) after the harvest. "A part of an extensive field is cleared of the paddy stumps and made even by the collective labour of a number of villages agreeing to organise the show. If twelve plays are to be produced, a large pandal (platform) is built to consist of a central circular or twelve-faceted ground plan covered by a wood and bamboo three-terraced structure at the centre, and twelve constituent pandal, all radiating out from that central structure," he wrote.
- As indicated by him, community labour was used to decorate that central structure where a throne of sorts would be placed to put the Vaishnava holy book Bhagawad Purana to make it look like the manikut, the sanctum, at a naam-ghar.

### The fall

- The crumbling of the Ahom kingdom, first due to the Burmese invasion of the early 19th century, and the subsequent entry of the British in Assam to help the Ahoms chase away the Burmese, caused a huge disruption in everyday life in Assam. The practice of staging Bhaona too was affected by the times. Neog had particularly highlighted that noted Vaishnava dramatist Lakhsminath Dvija, in his drama Kumara-Harana, had wished that their patron, the Ahom king Chandrakanata Sinha who had lost his kingdom to the Burmese, would return to power.
- Though the British defeated the Burmese, they soon appended Assam to their existing territory in the neighbourhood, the Bengal Province, and began imposing a different administrative set-up. In the colonial era, with the advent of Bengali Yatra plays in Assam, channelled by Bengali imposed on Assam as an official language, the Bhaona, underlined Neog, "came to be much maligned as a form of rustic amusement in spite of its classic qualities", thus pushing it back to remain confined within the Vaishnava monasteries and in some rural and semi-urban belts.
- Till date, this rich heritage of classical drama has not been able to find too many takers from among the modern drama practitioners in Assam to be willing to add some of the imports to their performances.
- Still, in the '90s era, it was not uncommon to spot a store or two along the highways of Assam which would rent out costumes of traditional characters for Bhaona. Those stores would hint the existence of a parallel dramatic culture and practice in the small towns and villages of Assam. Today those stores are a rare sight.
- In the 1990s insurgency days, a news report that had moved several in upper Assam was about harassment meted out by the security forces to a bunch of Bhaona performers and narrators returning home after a late evening performance at a naam-ghar. The report had said that the performers couldn't speak Hindi properly and began singing and playing the Taal and the Khol instead to convey to those men in boots that they were artistes out for a recital. Yet they were beaten up, leading some to comment then, "The days of the Maan (Burmese) are back."

## **Mudiyettu**



- Mudiyettu is the folk ritual theatre of Kerala, where the mythological tale of the battle of Goddess Bhadrakali, an incarnation of Hindu Goddess Kali, with the demons Daarika and Daanavendra, is enacted through a dance drama.
- A community ritual, Mudiyettu is a part of the Bhagavathi cult, popular in South India, and prevalent in the Kottayam, Thrissur, Idukki and Ernakulam districts of central Kerala. It is performed annually in the temples of Goddess Bhadrakali, referred to as 'Bhagavathi Kavus',
- In different villages along the rivers Chalakudy Puzha, Periyar and Moovattupuzha, by the male members of the Marar and Kuruppu communities. However the entire community contributes and participates in it. It is held after the harvest, between the months February and May, starting on an auspicious day and lasting up to a length of a week or even upto 41 days.
- Mudiyettu has a history of over 10 centuries and finds mention in the UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, the second art form from Kerala after Koodiyattam to be featured in the list, in the year 2010.

### **Theme of Mudiyettu**

- The Mudiyettu enactment displays the mythological story of the battle that Goddess Bhadrakali fought with the two Asuras (demons), Daarikan and Daanavendran, who were a nuisance to Devas (Gods) and mankind alike. The demons had undergone intensive Tapas (penance) to appease Lord Brahma, to make Him appear before them and elicit a Varam (boon) from Him in order to gain immortality.
- The intensive penance made Brahma appear before them. When asked what they desired, they out-rightly demanded immortality. The unexpected demand took Brahma off-guard and the Lord hesitatingly said that death is inevitable for anybody who has taken birth.
- The adamant Asuras conceded some adjustments and demanded that they be empowered that no males can ever kill them. The surprised Brahma asked them why they weren't asking for immunity from females. The enraged Asuras retorted that no female can ever cause any harm to them. Brahma ultimately gave them the boon saying no male can ever kill them, knowing a female Bhadrakali will be there to kill them.
- Armed with the boon, Daarika and Daanavendra became immensely powerful and arrogant, going on to conquer the world, defeating even Indra, the king of the Gods. As their atrocities became intolerable, the sage Narada requested Lord Shiva to contain them. Shiva agreed, circumventing Brahma's boon by declaring that the Asuras would be killed by the Goddess Bhadrakali. The battle ended with the killing of both the Asuras by the Goddess and not by any male or any other human.

### Performance of Mudiyettu

- There is as such no rehearsal or preparation involved in playing Goddess Bhadrakali. The performance goes in a progression from Lord Shiva, Narada, the two demons to Bhadrakali. A complete Mudiyettu performance requires 16 performers, including percussionists, and the vocalists.
- There are also existing regional differences in the attire and style of performance of Mudiyettu. Thus, in the Koratty style of Mudiyettu, Bhadrakali exhibits a bare torso, covered by a breast-shaped plank. In the Keezhillam and the Pazhoor styles, Goddess Bhadrakali's attire is a full upper body dress.
- It is interesting to note that the two forms of dance, Mudiyettu and Kathakali have become interlinked even though Mudiyettu predates Kathakali. Many epigraphists have traced its evolution as an art form since the 9th or 10th century AD.

### Community Role and Relevance in Mudiyettu

- Mudiyettu is a communal undertaking in which each caste of the village plays a specific role. While the Parayans are in charge of bamboo artefacts and leather for the drums, the Tandans have the responsibility of the areca nut fronds required for the masks and headgear. Painting of the masks is done by the Ganakans who also sing during the performance.
- The Maran community prepares the torches and keeps them ready to be used. The torches are kept burning by the Kuruvans and the laundry of the deity's dress is entrusted to the Veluthedans (Patiyans), who wash the clothes to be used for the deity's dress. The Brahmins initiate the rituals while the Kurups (Marars) draw Bhadrakali's picture.

### Preservation and Transmission of Mudiyettu

- Mudiyettu is both a performing art and a social ritual practice, with its own oral traditions and expressions, knowledge and practices and the traditional craftsmanship. It is the community that has traditionally encouraged and trained the next generation to preserve the art form.
- Being an oral tradition there is no school or institution to give training on Mudiyettu. Mudiyettu depends on direct, face to face transmission through the traditional Guru-Shishya tradition. The younger generation is engaged as apprentices or assistants by elders and senior performers, during the course of the performance.
- There are presently only 4 traditional families of regular performers of Mudiyettu existing in India - Kunjan Marar Mudiyettu Kalakendra at Thirumarayoor, Ernakulam district, led by Thirumarayoor Muraledhara Marar and Girijan Marar, Sankarankutty Smaraka Mudiyettu troupe at Keezhillam, led by Keezhillam Unnikrishnan and Keezhillam Gopalakrishnan, Varanattu Kurup at Koratty led by Kizhake Varanattu Nanu Kurup and Sankaranarayana Kurup, and Sreebhadrha Mudiyettu Sangam Thirumarayoor, led by Thirumarayur Vijayanmarar.
- The government of India and the government of Kerala have taken some steps to promote academic interest in Mudiyettu and to promote it as an important part of tourism. Rampant commercialisation, globalisation and onslaught of technology have had a negative impact on Mudiyettu, just as they have pushed many traditional and ritual art forms to the verge of extinction. Mudiyettu's recognition by UNESCO is expected to improve the frequency of performances, create research interests and archival repositories of the traditional ritual art.

### Dashavatar

- Dashavatar is an 800-year-old religious folk theatre genre found in southern Maharashtra and northern Goa. It is performed in the temple grounds after midnight during the village deity's annual celebration, performances that last several hours and include only male actors, the majority of whom are farmers and labourers, keeping audiences engaged till dawn.



- It is built on mythology around Lord Vishnu's ten avatars: Matsya (the fish), Kurma (the tortoise), Varaha (the boar), Narasimha (the lion-man), Vamana (the dwarf), Parashurama, Rama, Krishna (or Balarama), Buddha, and Kalki. It is performed without the use of any technical props.
- The play unfolds at dusk most often, late at night and if the artists catch the pulse of the audience, it usually carries on till daybreak. In this, it has resemblance to Yakshagana of coastal Karnataka. Even while relying on age-old stories from the Puranas, the actors may make sharp comments on contemporary society, politics or even civic issues. Such comments are a work of art quicksilver tongue at its best.
- But there is a good chance that you could miss it entirely, because the Dashavatar story is still being told. Just suddenly, out of nowhere, the actor playing Bheema makes a sharp comment on one of his stage siblings and takes a swipe at the GST while at it. It is over in a flash, and the crowds erupt in laughter because it fits in well with the Dashavatar story. If they catch the satire, they laugh with it. And if they miss, they wait for the next. There is no script, and spontaneity is the key. And it is the skill in dialogue delivery that adds punch.
- The Dashavatar troupes are usually invited to perform on some occasions. They have been around for more than 500 years, and were a presence during Shivaji's reign. A typical group consists of seven to 10 artists, all men who are behind the scenes and on the scene as well. They play Draupadi and Dushasana, both the oppressed and the oppressor. Dashavatar has a pivotal role in a State where theatre has always played a major role in shaping political thinking.



**Questions:**

1. Who wrote the play- Ghasiram kotwal?
2. What efforts have been made to develop theatre in India? Name any two important persons associated with the development of this art .
3. Write a sentence each on any five of the following traditional theatre forms.

# Religion

## Vedic religion/ Proto Hinduism/Hinduism:

### Society and Religion in Vedic period

#### Society in Early vedic period

##### Nature

- The Early Vedic Society was a tribal society.
- Social relations based on kinship ties
- The society was not divided according to caste lines
- The tribe was referred to as the jana and many references to the different tribes are found in the Rigveda.
- People (jana) gave their primary loyalty to the tribe since territory or kingdom was not established.

##### Tribal conflicts

- The Aryans were engaged in two types of conflicts. First with the pre-Aryans and secondly amongst themselves.
- Aryans succeeded due to use of chariots driven by horses, coats of mail (varman) and better arms.

##### Classes

- The warrior category was the "rajanya".
- Many clans (vis) formed a tribe.
- The clans settled in villages or grama.
- When gramas clashed with one another it was called sangrama.

##### Family

- The basic social unit was the Kula, or the family, and the Kulapa, i.e., 'one who protects the family' denoted the eldest male member or the head of the family.
- Family was also indicated by the term griha and several generations of the family lived under the same roof.
- Family was a very large joint unit as setting up of separate households and differentiation in relationships had not proceeded far.

##### Patriarchy

- Society was patriarchal.
- The birth of a son was the common desire of the people.
- The importance given to the male members is reflected in the hymns of Rig veda.

##### Status of Women

- Even though society was patriarchal, women also had important position in it.
- They were educated and they had access to the assemblies.
- They could offer sacrifices along with their husbands.
- There were examples of women composing vedic hymns.

- The education of girls was not neglected. The Rig-Veda mentions the names of some learned ladies like Viswavara, Apala, Lopamudra and Ghosa who composed mantras/ hymns and attained the rank of Rishis. Thus, they had opportunities for their spiritual and intellectual development.
- There are also instances of women who composed hymns.
- They had a right to choose their partners, and could marry late. The practice of 'Swayamvara' was also prevalent in the society.
- There were matrilineal traces as in case of Mamateya who was named after his mother.
- A woman could remarry if her husband died or disappeared.
- There are also references to unmarried women, such as the Rig Vedic seer Ghosha.
- However, women were always thought to be dependent on their fathers, brothers or husbands.

### **Marriage**

- The institution of marriage was well established although symbols of primitive practices survived.
- We hear of a proposal made by Yami the twin sister of Yama for establishing love relations which was resisted by Yama.
- There are instances of polyandry like that of Asvini brothers living with Surya the daughter of sun god.
- Levirate (the practice of marrying a brother's widow) and widow remarriage are mentioned in Rig veda.
- There are no examples of child marriage.
- The marriageable age seems to have been 16 to 17.
- Hymn tells of elopement, the man praying that his beloved's entire household—her brothers and other relatives—as well as the dogs, should be lulled into a deep sleep, so that the lovers could creep out stealthily.

### **Education**

- Education was imparted orally, but the tradition of education was not very well developed in this period.

### **Other professional groups**

- Various occupational groups such as those of weavers, carpenters, leather workers, chariot makers, priests etc. are also mentioned.
- The chariot makers occupied a special social status.
- There are no references to beggars, wage-earners or wages in the Rigveda.
- However, society was economically stratified, and we do find references to rich people possessing chariots, cattle, etc

### **Social divisions**

- The factor which contributed to the creation of social divisions was the conquest of indigenous inhabitants by the Aryans.
- The rig veda shows some consciousness of physical appearance.
- Varna was the term used for colour.
- The authors of the Rigveda distinguished themselves from other groups whom they called Dasas (Early Aryans) and Dasyus (original inhabitants).
- The Aryans were soft towards dasas and strongly hostile towards dasyus.
- The dasyus worshipped phallus and did not keep cattle for dairy products.



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