CHAPTER I

Notes

1. However, an early exception is A.K.Coomaraswamy, who, early in this century, had written many books on folk arts and crafts. E.g., "The Indian Craftsman", London, 1909; 'The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon', Edinburgh, 1913; "Visvakarma", London, 1912-1914.

2. Birdwood's word of caution to British educationists was that the Industrial Revolution had an adverse effect on Indian crafts, which rather than being stifled required direct encouragement. For details, see "The Industrial Arts of India", reprinted ed. Delhi, 1971.

3. For example, a number of articles written in "The Journal of Indian Art and Industry", such as "Indian Ivory Carving" by J. L. Kipling (1889), "Industries of Madras" by E. B. Havell (1889), "Silk Industries of Moorshedabad" by N. G. Mookerji (1892), "Silver Workers of Cutch" by B. H. Baden-Powell (1893) and "Cotton Fabric of the Bombay Presidency" by R. E. Enthoven (1903).


5. "There are numerous aboriginals and tribes, such as Kolis, Kharaks, Babarias, Ahir, Khant, etc.". The Statistical Account of Bhavnagar, Bombay, 1883, p.8.
6. "The Kharaks are also a class of cultivators who are found in considerable number in Valak and in the South of the Peninsula as husbandmen", see the Kathiawar Gazetteer, Vol. VIII-B, 1884, p. 205.

7. "The Kharak husbandmen are found in large number in Talaja, Mahuva and Bhavnagar Talukas of Bhavnagar State". The Bhavnagar State Census, 1931, Part I, Report, p. 185.


9. As classification per caste has been dispensed with since 1951 by a government notification severe differentiation between the Kharaks and the Kanbis, who share certain social details, are not really possible.

10. A scholar, Khodidas Parmar, mentions the embroidery of Kharaks. However, this information is very sketchy and does not throw much light on the special characteristics of Kharak embroidery and how it differs from that of other peasant groups in the region with respect to patterns, motifs, colour-schemes and images. See his "Saurashtra-nu-LokBharat", Ahmedabad, 1966.

11. The various stages of fabrication are not described systematically and in detail in the text. There is no
photographic record of how different objects and wooden fixtures are carved and what kind of skills and expertise are required at each stage of the process. For more details, see 'The Wood Carving of Gujarat', The Census of India, 1961.

12. "A wooden rectangular frame is fixed on the front wall of the chest (patara). For this purpose, wooden strips of \( \frac{3}{4} \)" thickness and 2" to 3" width are used". This information is given in "Patara Making at Bhavnagar", The Census of India, 1961, p.22. Generally, the wooden planks used for patara making are at least 1" to 1½" in thickness and about 4" to 6" in width.


14. For instance, the authors mention that the chakalas used to carry dowry items were later displayed on the walls (p.183). In Saurashtra, however, peasants use a coarse cotton bag called 'bagasi' instead (Vol.II Pl. 142 Fig. E).

15. The author mentions that the cow and milkmaid motifs are not in evidence in Saurashtra and Kutch. Peasant
embroidery and also that Banjara and certain Western Indian embroidery (of Kathiawar, Sind and Kutch) share common features. Both points, however, are actually incorrect, quite the reverse being case.

CHAPTER II


2. Barots Mangalsinhji Valejabhai of Mahuva and Kavi Akheraja Jogibhai of Pithalpur village have similar accounts regarding the origin and the history of the Kharaks. But, Barot Kunvandiya Ramasinhji Jayarat of Malawav has a slightly different version regarding the last phase of the story. According to him, the Kharaks had to migrate from Gariadhar to Talaja taluka due to successive droughts and famines in Gariadhar region; he leaves out their trip to Delhi.

3. Bhagwan Parshuram was the son of sage Jamadagni who took offence at the Kshatriyas because a Kshatriya king treated his father with scant respect, and thereupon Parshuram vowed to annihilate them; this story is recounted in both the Ramayana and the Bhagawat.

4. The Barots' story makes out the legendary shift of the
status of the Kharaks from Kshatriya to Vania by this story playing upon words, Benia (explained as makers of Beni or braid) sounding close to Bania.

5. Ovarna: A benedictory gesture of circling one's hands over a person's head usually performed by elder members when younger ones seek blessings from them. It is believed to remove evil influence from the person.

6. "All Vanias are divided into Visas (or twenties) and Dasa (or ten). Dasas are considered inferior to Visas". Refer for more details, The Census of India, Baroda, Vol. XIII, 1911, p. 248.

7. "Visa Vanias are considered superior to the Dasa owing to the purity of their blood. All the main castes with their Visas and Dasas sub-castes eat together but do not intermarry." Gazetteers of Bombay Presidency, Vol. IX, 1901, (hereafter referred as G.B.P.)

8. The kapols of Kathiawar, whose deity is Kankayamata trace their origin to Junagadh or Girnar, modhas are found chiefly in North Gujarat and Kathiawar; it is believed that their name derive from their village Modhera which lies north east of Ahmedabad, modhas and Vaishnava are Vaishnava, refer for more details G.B.P., Vol. IX, 1901, pp. 443-446.
9. Kharaks do not observe any of these strictures today.

10. A chariot meaning a large horse-carriage with 4 wheels or more. Usually two or four horses pull it. It was a vehicle of chieftains from very early puranic times. Barots' narration is not realistic, as the whole community cannot go in one chariot. It is just used as a symbol to indicate migration of the community from one region to the another.

11. There is a reference to Pampa Sarovar near Pampapur ruled by the monkey king Vali in the Ramayana. Whether this relates to the puranic place is unclear.

12. There is some geographical confusion here since Bhinmal is in Southern Rajasthan and not in Central India.

13. Dasa Shrimali Vanias might have migrated to Ujjain for assured supply of water and grazing land as the perennial river Shipra flows close to Ujjain.

14. A feast is usually held to demonstrate the solidarity of the group or caste.

15. 'Vikram Samvat' counted from the death of the Gupta King Vikramaditya II, from 56 B.C., is one of the
accepted calendars in Northern, Western and Central India. The Barots' account mentions various dates but their chronological authenticity is doubtful as the 'Vikram Samvat' years 235, 882, 1315 and 1442 are equivalent to Christian calendar years as 179 A.D., 826 A.D., 1259 A.D. and 1356 A.D.

16. 'Rotivyavahar' means that the castes or communities sit together and eat. In traditional India, the relationships between castes and communities is indicated by whether they sit with each other and dine or whether they intermarry.

17. Vaishyas follow Vaishnavism as propounded by Vallabhacharya.

18. Gariadhar is the headquarter of Gariadhar taluka of Bhavnagar district, near the famous Jain temple town of Palitana.

19. Jusdan is a taluka headquarter in Rajkot district. Botad is a taluka headquarter of Bhavnagar district and Paliyad town is in Gadhada taluka of Bhavnagar.

20. Under Muslim rulers, 'Kaji' used to be the local magistrates. They often mediated in disputes.
between groups of people and the State.

21. 'Panch' is a representative committee usually elected within caste or community group or settlement (urban or rural). It settles disputes, decides social sanctions and represents the community before the State.

22. Gaur is usually a Brahmin priest who conducts social and religious ceremonies (of engagement, marriage, the first pregnancy, death) of Hindu and Jain Vanias.

23. The Barots usually receive customary gifts in cash and kind at the time of the enrollment of a child's name in the genealogical book, engagement, marriage, the first pregnancy. They also receive one maund = 40 seers (20 kg.) of food grains from each Kharak farmer during harvesting time.

24. Atits are a kind of mendicant sadhu.


26. This type of carving is known as 'Gadheda Gala' in Gujarati. Aggrieved parties set it up before the
houses of people they resent to insult them.

27. Whenever a caste accepts a Brahmin as its Gaur all the members of the caste wash his feet with water and bow down to him in obeisance. They also offer him fruits, flowers, and money. The accepted Gaur blesses each member of the community.

28. "26 classes of Vanias are recorded. There are only two broad religious groups amongst them, Jain and Vaishnav. Jain Vanias are known as 'Meshari' and Vaishnav Vanias are known as 'Shravak'. Both classes entered Gujarat from Rajasthan between the tenth and sixteenth century in different detachments". G.B.P., Vol. IX, 1901, p. 445.

29. Rajputs, Kathis and Garasias are usually considered as warrior class. Formerly, there were a number of small states in Saurashtra ruled by them.

30. There is a custom among the Jain Vanias to donate ghee to their temple at the time of pilgrimage. The Kharaks still continue of this custom, but the bridegroom's party donates 8 seers of ghee in terms of money to the bride's party at the time of marriage.

31. Meshari Vanias follow Jainism and they are forbidden
7 to farm.

32. The Kanbis were skilled weavers and artisans and some of them had risen to high positions in Government service or acquired wealth in trade, but the majority was engaged in agriculture and formed the bulk of the peasant proprietors of Gujarat. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 1, 1885, p. 885.

33. There is mention of a campaign by Mohammed Tughlak in Saurashtra in 1339-40 A.D. in 'The History of Kathiawar', 1960 by William Heineman, p. 73.

34. "Talaja was originally ruled by Walas, who were later dispossessed by Wajas, the last of whom was cursed by a Charan Sati and defeated by Baria Kolis". Bhavnagar District Census Handbook No. 4, 1961, p. 49.

35. Bhavnagar district is situated in the south-east of the peninsula of Kathiawar (Saurashtra). It lies between 21° - 18° and 22° - 18° north latitude and between 71° - 15° and 72° - 18° east longitude. The district is flanked by Surendranagar and Ahmedabad districts on the north east, Amreli district in the west, the Arabian sea in the south and the Gulf of Cambay on the east.
36. A few Kharaks live outside this area, in two villages Morangi and Samadhiala in Rajula taluka of Amreli district. A few Kharaks stay in Ravlagaon village in Gariadhar taluka in Bhavnagar district, though Kharaks do not look upon residence in Gariadhar taluka with favour, as their ancestors came to grief there. A few families of the Kharaks are also found in Gokira village in Billimora district, Gujarat and Vasai town in Maharashtra.

37. On the basis of an account of the Kharaks the average Kharak had only two to five acres of land 100 years ago. Now the average Kharak farmer has 15 to 20 acres of land. Besides this, large numbers of Kharak farmers have their own orchards at Vadli, Kumbhan, Bhadrod, Datha, Ranivada villages and Mahuva town having 8 to 10 acres of land.

38. Today they use mechanized farm equipment, such as tractors, oil engines, electric pumps, thresher, sprayers and take recourse to chemical fertilizers.

39. There is a common saying "The Kharaks would give away their own children, if you offer them a fistful of manure". (Kharak ne aapo khatara ni muthi to aape tena chhorun).
40. Monsoon crop is known as 'kharif pak' in Gujarati.

41. Winter crop is known as 'Ravi pak' in Gujarati.

42. The Kharak farmers consider odd number auspicious. Therefore, they prefer to have cattle in odd numbers, e.g. 3, 7, 11, 13, 17, 21, etc.

43. The Kharak women keep aside the income earned from selling milk and milk products to meet expenses for the bride's trousseau and subsequent celebrations.

44. "The highest recorded summer temperature of the region is 40°C (104°F) and lowest temperature 13.33°C (55.90°F) at Bhavnagar." The Bhavnagar District Census Handbook No. 4, 1961.

45. Kaliyar is a variety of stag. There is at present a sanctuary for Kaliyar near Valevadar village in Vallabhipur Mahal, about 24 kms. away from Bhavnagar city.

46. There are various patterns in embroidery and textiles with names of local trees and creepers, such as keribhat (mango pattern), dadam-vel (pomegranate pattern), sitafal-bhat (custard apple pattern),
mitho limo (sweet neem pattern), bawaliyani-bhat (babul tree pattern), etc. Similarly, yellow 'champa' and mango patterns are often printed on local textiles.

Local animals as haran (deer), kaliyar (black-buck), vagha-dipado-chitaro (tiger, panther or leopard), hathi (elephant) and birds like chakali (sparrow), mor (peacock), popat (parrot), suda (parrot) are featured in embroidery and drawings.

The Kharaks and other communities do not allow Harijans to build their houses adjacent to their houses in villages.

Usually goldsmiths, silver smiths, lathe-turners, skilled carpenters who prepare bullock-carts, wooden chests etc. live in big towns like Talaja, Mahuva or cities like Bhavnagar.

A troupe of folk dramatists and dancers (Ramlila) consisting of 5 to 7 men used to visit the villages and perform events from the Ramayana in the village temple with dance and music.

A troupe of folk players (Danlila) go from village to village and stage 'Vastraharan' and episodes of
childhood incidents of Krishna in village temple or haveli 30 years ago. The villagers had only such type of recreation and entertainment in those days. Now, these troupes are gradually disappearing from the scene.

52. Naked holy men used to visit villages in large numbers and camp on the riverside or outskirts of the villages. Villagers propitiated them with gifts and alms.

53. Sita-Panthi Bavas belong to the Brahmin caste and hold a bamboo lath having slings at both ends. They carry big red bags with white applique decoration at both ends and peacock feathers are inserted on tops of these red bags. They go from house to house and ring a metal bell to announce themselves. They collect alms (food or grain) in these bags.

54. There was a period about 40 years ago when Hakims (barefoot doctors) used to go from village to village and treat the sick with Unani, meaning the Greek, system of medicine. Today villagers prefer allopathic doctors to Hakims and Vaidyas.

55. The Kharaks are the most prosperous farmers in the region according to the Statistical Reports of the Revenue Department of Bhavnagar district in 1961.
But the Kanbis are more prosperous than the other farming communities (except in Bhavnagar district).

56. They use coconut oil or groundnut oil.

57. Every married Hindu woman makes a red mark on her forehead, as a sign of her being 'Saubhagyavati', (indicating that her husband is alive).

58. 'Gar' is a water-bound mixture of clay and cow or horse dung kneaded into a sticky paste.

59. "Ana" is the occasion of sending the daughter to her husband's house after the wedding. This ceremony takes place twice as the Kharaks and their sister communities marry at an early age. After the celebration of the second "Ana", the girl is sent to her husband's place for good. The third and the last "Ana" is performed when she gives birth to her first child. At each "Ana", the daughter's parents give away gifts like embroidered pieces, jewellery, a chest, etc.
Prior to tilling their fields, the Kharak farmers consult an astrologer. Tilling is begun on an auspicious day. Fields are tended all day, except for a meal and siesta at noon, continuing till late in the evening. This near-daily routine is maintained till the end of May. They observe holidays on festivals, e.g. "Rama Navami" (Chaitra Sud 9), "Dhokala Terash" (Chaitra Sud 13, May), in summer and Ganesh Chauth (May, during summer) and keep the "Rama Navami" fast, to worshipping Rama. Women fast on Dhokala Terash and draw ritual figures (called Baliya Kaka) on the wall of the 'paniyara' to which "kuler" (a mixture of jaggery wheat flour and ghee) is offered. Later, the remaining 'kuler' is distributed as "prasad" (sanctified food) amongst children. They also celebrate the "Akhatrij" in the month of May, a seasonal festival when women regale themselves on swings hung from the branches of trees.

"Ganesh Chauth" is celebrated in summer instead of the monsoon as farmers are busy with the standing crop during the rains. For this festival women replaster the
floors with mud; after offering sweet balls to "Ganesh", the family eat sweet balls as prasad with their meal, signifying the fruit of benevolent blessing. There is also a popular belief that if sweet balls are offered to Ganesh's vehicle, the rat, that rats will desist from destroying their crops.

During summer the Kharaks and other farmers collect money from their village and arrange religious discourses like the "Bhagavat" or "Ramayan". The villagers erect a pavilion decorated with embroidered wall-hangings. A village Brahmin or priest reads the book and expounds upon it for eight days. The women keep the pandal clean and cook food for guests. The wedding and three "Anas" (the celebration of sending the daughter to her husband home) celebrations also take place in early March, April and May as during this period they are less busy. At the end of May, the Kharak farmers help labourers to re-roof houses with tiles, and haystacks are plastered over with mud to protect them from rain. Before the monsoon the farmers weed and clean the fields, break the clods and manure the soil.

If the first rain (usually in the second week of June) is sufficient to allow sowing, they sow soon after. To ensure good results they start with a simple ritual. They tie up their oxen with the 'vavaliyo' (seed-barrow) in their
courtyard, and a young girl marks the forehead of the farmer and the oxen with kumkum and anoints the oxen's horns with groundnut oil. The young girl also draws a "swastika" with kumkum on the ground, where the oxen and the farmer stand.

When the farmer moves forward to the field with his oxen tied to the 'vavaliyo', one of the girls is asked to intercept him, generally, with a water-pitcher on her head, in good omen. The farmer gives her sugar, 'mug' and silver coins and then proceeds, believing this will ensure a good harvest. Farmers complete the sowing of millet, 'jowar', groundnuts and cotton within a week or two. After sowing, the first and second weedings follow at intervals of a month. The Kharaks, both men and women, remain busy with farming activities during June and July, in monsoon time.

The month of Shravan begins with celebration of many festivals and fairs. It rains intermittently during the whole month. Rivers, streams and tanks are full. Crops grow two to three feet high and the rural landscape turns green.

Men and women fast on Nag-Panchami (in August) and women draw snakes with in red and black on the wall of the "paniyara". They offer "kuler" to Nag-Devata which is distributed as "prasad". On "Randhan Chhath" (August)
women prepare food one day before "Sitala Satam" (August) sacred to the smallpox deity. Only cold food prepared on the previous day is consumed. There is a popular belief among villagers that the smallpox deity visits every house and rolls her body in the hearth, if there is a fire in the hearth, she will be burned and will release shitalah (smallpox epidemic) in reprisal. The hearth is, therefore, left unlit. Women bathe in a tank or by a well in the morning, and then worship the smallpox deity; offering coconut to her. A small fair is held near a river or tank; children buy toys and sweets and women dance and sing.

The Kharaks also celebrate "Janmashtami" (August) by fasting and going to neighbouring towns to see the midnight tableaux of the nativity of Lord Krishna in the temples and havelis.

A great fair is held at Naklang situated on the seashore 14 miles from Bhavnagar on "Bhadarvi Amas" (August or September). The Kharaks go there (along with other communities) holding earthen pots carrying the "ful" (bone and ashes of their dead). The Kharak youths wear red turbans and the young women wear embroidered blouses and short-skirts or saris. All the dressed gaily. Children, women and old men ride to the fair in bullock-carts singing songs and "bhajans" (devotional songs). They reach Naklang in the
evening before previous Bhadarvi Amas and camp on the banks of the river. They dance "garbi" (a circular dance to the sound of songs and rhythmic clapping) or "dandia ras" (a circular dance to the sound of songs and clap-sticks); the elderly listen to "bhajans".

They all move at down (at low tide) towards an open shrine of Lord Shiva standing on the rocks in the middle of the sea. They immerse the ashes of their dead in the sea, bathe, worship the Shiva-linga and offer silver coins. They return to their village the next morning after performing oblations before their ancestor's memorial stones.

The Kharaks fast on Rishi Panchami (September) and offer milk and cakes of millet to their dead. These are kept on the "paniyara". A small lamp is also lit. It is believed that fasting and offerings placate the dead and give them peace.

The Kharak and other castes celebrate 'Navratri' (October). A pavilion is erected, beneath which a hexagonal wooden structure (garbi) is placed, a burning lamp is placed inside the garbi and its sides decorated with glass paintings of Devi (the Goddess) paper and foil decorations. Women dance the traditional 'garba' at night around this sanctified platform accompanied by community singing of songs in
praise of Devi. Occasionally, folk-plays (Bhavai) are also performed.

The Kharaks and other peasant communities do not celebrate festivals like "Dhan Terash", "Diwali" (in October) and "Bestu Varsha" (November), New Year's Day with the same enthusiasm as the Vanias do, because the harvest keeps them extremely busy; however, they do observe the holiday. Women plaster walls and draw them; gaily dressed, they visit temples, worship, and consume "prasad".

Just as Vanias draw a short thin line in red ink on the first page of their "chopada" (account book) to inaugurate it, it is usual for farmers to plough one furrow in their field on "Labha Pancham" (in November) to herald a good beginning to the year.

In December the Kharaks and other communities offer a variety of dishes made from the new crops to the local deity in a temple in a thanks giving ceremony before they sell their new crops in the market.

The Kharak farmers sow millet and onions in early November and remain busy with the Ravi crop till the end of February. They celebrate "Dev Diwali" (November), "Makar Sankranti" (January) and 'Holi' (March).
A special celebration is the wedding of Tulsi (plant-bride) with Krishna (the black-god-bridegroom). Adjacent villages assume the identities of either the bride's or groom's village, and participate. Weddings are generally performed only after this celebration.

The Kharaks and other communities prepare "Khichado" (of millet, wheat and jowar) in large quantities, on "Makar Sankranti" and feed Brahmins, sadhus and beggars.

On the "Holi" festival (Phalgun Sud 15) in the evening a fire is built to which women offer coconuts and "prasad" is distributed to everyone the next day. After the Holi festival the weather warms up; they are on the threshold of summer.

The Kharak farmers begin tilling their fields for the next year's crops. And the seasonal cycle begins again.
The men and women get up early in the morning at about 4 or 5 o'clock. They first clean their teeth with sticks of the Babul trees known as (Bavala-nu-datan) chewed into a brush. Then they wash their faces and get ready for the day. The women start milking buffaloes, and collect milk (in metal vessels) in 'goli' 'boghadi'. Men, young and old go round to sell milk to neighbouring villages and towns, while older women get busy churning curds. They generally do the churning on the verandah. The curd pot (the pot in which milk has been left to curdle the previous night) is brought out; water is added and a churning rod is used to churn out the butter. The rod is big in case the pot is big and the quantity of curds is large, in this case, they are supported from a hook in the roof and two women do the churning facing each other. The way they pull the churn-rope is graceful and rhythmic (and the churning scene is one of the recurrent motifs in folk drawings and embroidery). The separated butter is stored in a cool corner of the house for over a week and then the accumulated lot is made into ghee. They keep a part of this for household use
and sell the rest. Like churning of curds, the fetching of water is another daily chore. No household uses or prefers to use stale water. The water is changed and the water pots and the storage space cleaned each morning. The 'paniyara' (or platform on which the water pots are kept) is cleaned with water; and the pots rubbed clean with earth and ash. The metal pots shine like a burnished surface. Then, women go to the spring, tank, well or water-stand with these clean pots balanced on their heads on "indhoni" (carrying rings). The filled pots are rearranged with care and the whole place is spick and span. The fetching of water is generally done by young girls and the daughters-in-law of the house. (girls with water pots on their heads is a familiar motif in folk drawings and embroidery). The 'paniyara' and the wall behind it is a marked spot in households. Women then go to the kitchen, sweep and clean the hearth and prepare bread 'rotala' (flat millet bread) for breakfast. Breakfast is served in a "thali" (a brass plate or dish). The extra flat millet breads are kept on a "patalo" (on low wooden table).

The bread is eaten with milk, butter-milk, onions, garlic and chillies. The men eat their breakfast first and go to their fields or other place of work. The women eat next and start their other chores. A man from each house
or his hireling drives the cattle out to graze. The cattle-sheds (gaman) are then cleaned by the womenfolk. The dung and trash go into the compost pit, and the water trays are filled afresh. After this, the elder women get busy cooking the midday meal. They shop for vegetables from vegetable sellers or collect them from their gardens (vadi) or fields (khetar). The Kharaks are strict vegetarians. The youngsters sit meanwhile on the cots in the courtyards or on the verandah and embroider.

The Kharak farmer generally returns home at noon during winter as there is no very severe heat at that time. The meal is ready for him and is served, like his breakfast, on brass plates and bowls, on a low wooden table. He sits on the floor with crossed legs and often uses dhicham (knee-props) to be comfortable. Rondho (the midday meal) consists of millet flat bread, (ādādni dal) i.e. dal preferably of black gram, vegetables, butter milk, milk and rice. He also eats garlic, onions, chillies, and carrots as salad. After the plates are served, more bread and served dishes are kept on another "patalo", for any one to take helpings from. The women eat after the men, inside the room, then wash the dishes and utensils with ash and earth.
The men have a short rest before they go to their fields, the old men rarely go to work after lunch; they relax and chew chopped betel-nuts. All women get busy with embroidery, and gossiping, young and old. They continue to embroider till the evening.

The cattle are driven home in the evening. The buffaloes are milked by a woman or a hired man. The milk is sent for sale in the morning. The women sweep the house clean again and prepare the evening meal (valu). This meal consists of millet bread, khichadi (rice and pulses cooked together), vegetables, "kadhi" (a watery soup of butter-milk and black gram flour) and onions, garlic, chillies and pickled mangoes. Milk is taken with the evening meal.

Men eat first, either on the verandah or inside the room at the house in lamplight (where there is electricity). Where there is no electricity, they use kerosene lamps in niches or on a vertical wooden stand. The women eat next. The men then visit each other and discuss common problems, some go to the fields to watch the crops and protect them from night-prowlers (men or beasts). The women continue their embroidery even during the night till they go to bed.

Young couples sleep in the inner rooms of the house, the young boys and girls sleep in the courtyard,
and the aged sleep in the verandah. They generally use simple wooden cots. This is the usual arrangement, though the families vary the arrangement according to their means or circumstances. The women see that there is food and water for the cattle, and prepare the milk to make curds for the next day.
CHAPTER II
APPENDIX III
KHARAK CEREMONIAL

The ceremonial related to a Kharak's life are similar to those of other Hindu communities. They are,
(1) the announcement of a child's birth and usual genealogical recording by the traditional chronicle (here, Barot),
(2) tonsorial ceremony of the males, generally, at the shrine of a local god or goddess, (3) engagement, which formerly was done by the community priest or Gaur but is of late done directly by the parties concerned; followed by 'chundadi' (or covering by a scarf) ceremony and Lagan Lakhava (or finalising of the marriage date). Following this the houses are cleaned, whitewashed and decorated with paintings and the goddess Randal-mata is installed in the groom's house. (4) The marriage starts with the groom's party, all gaily dressed and riding gaily decorated carts coming to the bride's village, the ceremonial process ('varghodo') and finally the marriage ritual (hasta melap) presided over by the Gaur. The bridegroom and the bride go around a sacred fire four times in a square and a priest presides this ceremony by chanting mantra. Painted earthen pots are stacked on top of one other in four corners. This ceremony is called 'chauri' and after this marriage is considered final.

During the wedding, the craftsmen who made things for the occasion - potters for their pots, the blacksmith
for the ceremonial lamp (jamarak divado), the carpenter for
the building of the marriage booth (mandap) and lathe-turner
(sanghedo) making the ceremonial small pillar (manek
sthambh), the tailor for the dresses, barbers for shaving
the groom and for other services related to the wedding,
are rewarded. (5) The bride is then sent with the bridegroom for a short stay at his house. The bride returns to
her house and goes back to her husband only after about two
years. During this time, they celebrate two 'Anas'; the
first involves the bride's family giving various gifts to
the bride, the second involves the repetition of this (in
a larger measure including jewellery) and her going over
permanently to her husband's house with all these. (6) The
first pregnancy of a bride is observed with ceremony and
when she delivers a child there is the third 'Ana', which
includes various gifts to her from her parents. (7) Other
ceremonies as are related to pilgrimages or death, also
include certain exchange of gifts as in normal Hindu
societies. Memorial stones are rare among the Kharaks but
there are instances of their erecting these for people
dying in battle or by snake bite, suicide, or accidents.
All gay ceremonial occasions involve the Kharaks' decora-
ting their houses to a greater or lesser extent with draw-
ings, embroideries, etc. The marriage and the passage of
the bride from her parents' home to the husband's involves an elaborate exchange of gifts. The practice of crafts in the Kharak community is nourished by these customs.
CHAPTER II
APPENDIX IV

GIFTS AND PRESENTS

Among the Kharaks, the bridegroom's party presents clothes, ornaments to the girl who would be a bride at the time of the engagement. They also present the headscarf (čhundadi) and subsequent seasonal gifts of clothes and ornaments to the girl. These gifts of clothes, embroidered clothes and other objects, jewellery, wooden chest, metal vessels, shoes, etc., accompany the two subsequent 'Ana', the first pregnancy, and the third 'Anas', etc. Even at the time of the death of a husband, the widow receives a pair of clothes for male children and female children from her parents.

The following is a list of gifts exchanged in a normal Kharak household:

Gifts:

The following stitched clothes are given to the girl who would be a bride by her in-laws at the time of engagement:
They also give the following ornaments to the girl at the time of engagement:

(1) Silver armlet (kadun), (2) pair of silver anklets (polaria), (3) pair of silver anklets (zanzar), (4) pair of solid anklets (bedi).

After the engagement, the girl receives seasonal (festival) gifts of jewellery and clothes from her in-laws known as 'hardo'.

The boy's party also presents a headscarf (chundadi) to a girl who would be bride, after six months from the time of the engagement.

After the completion of one year, the groom's party presents the following clothes and ornaments to the girl:

(1) One tight-shirt (kediyun), (2) one short-skirt (chaniyo), (3) silver earring (kadi).

Two years from the time of engagement the groom's family presents the above said two cloth items to the girl and if the ornaments given previously have been damaged or broken, they bear the expense of repair.

The bridegroom and the bride receive gifts of new
clothes, ornaments, metal vessels and other objects from parents during the marriage.

The bridegroom receives the following objects from his in-laws:

(1) One tight-shirt (kediyun), (2) one red turban (fento), (3) one pair of trousers (chorani), (4) one necklace of gold (sonano-har).

The bridegroom also receives gifts from his parents' relatives:

The aunt gives the following ornament:

(1) Silver-ring (vinti).

The uncle presents:

(1) Big mental container (kothi).

The bridegroom's aunt presents an open wooden stool on which drinking water-pots are placed. This is known as "var-mashi".

The bride receives the following objects from her husband's parents at the time of wedding:

(1) Red blouse (lal kapadun), (2) green blouse
(lilun kapadun), (3) headscarf (Chundadi), (4) white blouse with silver embroidery (dholun kapadun), (5) pair of decorated shoes (mojadi).

The bride receives from her parents:

(1) One embroidered short-skirt (chaniyo), (2) white silk sari (dholu panetar), (3) loose green cloth (lila kapadno rejo), (4) one brass plate (thali), (5) one brass glass (kalasho), (6) an open vessel (man-maritalun used for carrying sweets), (7) ceremonial lamp-stand (jamarakh divado, given to the bride at the time of her departure).

The parents of the bride gives the following ornaments to her at first 'Ana':

(1) Gold necklace (madaradi), (2) gold necklace (ek-daniyun), (3) silver anklets (chhapa), (4) silver anklets (kadala), (5) silver wristlets (kanandiya). They give the following embroidered or printed dresses:

(1) 40 to 50 embroidered blouse pieces (kapada),
(2) 30 to 50 embroidered short-skirts (chaniya),
(3) 10 to 20 saris (sadla).

These are displayed on cots, which are kept in the courtyard of a house. Women of the village, both relatives
and neighbours, come to see these. The workmanship and design of these are appreciated, or commented on.

A year prior to the second 'Ana' celebrations, the husband's side sends four pieces for blouses, two green and two red, to the bride to be embroidered by her.

The following dresses and embroideries are given to the bride by her parents at the second 'Ana':

1. 10 to 15 embroidered blouse pieces (kapada);
2. 4 to 5 embroidered short-skirts (chaniya);
3. 4 to 5 saris (sadala);
4. 2 to 4 square-cloth (chakala);
5. 1 long embroidered panel (toren);
6. 2 short embroidered panel (nanu toren);
7. Pair of vertical panels for the sides of the door (barsakhiya);
8. 'L' shaped panel (chitariya);

Small embroidered pieces for decorating oxen are also given during second 'Ana'. The names of these objects are as follows:

1. Pair of horn covers (khobhala);
2. Head covers (matharavati);
3. Forehead-covers (lelavati);
4. Side straps (nath or morda);
5. Yoke-straps (jotar);
6. Ear-covers (kaniya);
7. A neck covers for the horse (ghugh).
The following pieces of jewellery are also given:

(1) Gold necklace (abharami), (2) gold earrings (vedhala).

Customarily, the cost of stitching embroidered objects, blouse and short-skirts is borne by the father of the bridegroom, who usually comes to take the bride. The usual amount is Rs.400/- to Rs.500/-.

On pregnancy, a woman receives two pairs of cloth pieces from her in-laws and she embroiders them and prepares dresses for the expected child. These accompany the gifts the third 'Ana'.

The following embroideries and clothes are given to a girl by her parents at the third 'Ana':

(1) 20 to 25 dresses for a child (zabala), (2) 2 embroidered short-skirts (chaniya), (3) 2 to 4 embroidered cradle-clothes (khoya), (4) 4 embroidered blouse pieces (kapada).

They give the following ornaments for the child:

(1) Silver necklace (hansadi), (2) silver necklace (madaliya), (3) silver waist-chain (kandop) and (4) lathe-turned and lacquered cradle (ghodiyun).
For her they give the following ornaments:

(1) Gold bracelet (kadun), (2) silver rings (vinti and vintio).

Other gifts are:

(1) One cotton stuffed mattress (gadalun), (2) one wooden-chest with brass-sheets fitted on it (patara), (3) a special gift like milch buffalo.

When the husband dies, the widow receives the following clothes from her parents:

(1) A pair of male children's clothes, (2) a pair of female children's clothes.

When a woman dies, her parents send the following clothes for the mourning to her in-laws:

(1) Two blouses having black and red stripes signifying mourning event (sogiya kapada).
CHAPTER III

Notes

1. Irrespective of age and status in the family, all women draw.

2. The Ayar, the Pancholi, the Koli, the Paliwal Brahmin, and the Karadiya Rajputs of the region - all make wall-paintings.

3. Rangoli (largely geometric) patterns are drawn on floor with white powder (chirodi), and other chirodi colours such as red, green, yellow, blue are mixed with white chirodi. For more details refer Rangoli (in Gujarati), Shri Jyoti Bhatt, November, Baroda, 1977.

4. At weddings among Muslims in Darbhanga, Azamgarh and Muzaffarpur districts (U.P.), the local barber's wife draws a 'chowk' with geometrical or floral designs on the floor. The bridal pair sit on a cot placed over this diagram. (Information through kind courtesy of Mrs. Hashima).

Parsis draw various motifs, e.g., the fish, crescent, flower, cock, creeper, etc., with the help of stencil-sheets using lime powder, on the floor near the main entrance.

5. Festive wall-painting is world-wide phenomena. Nubinah
Muslim women of Egypt depict the sun, moon, crocodiles, even trains and aeroplanes in these drawings, which are done in lime, (refer for details National Geography, Oct., 1963, p. 615) (see Vol. III Pl. 9 c, d). The N'bele tribe of South Africa, also painting in lime, depict geometric and organic patterns; (the Wall Painted Clay by Mary Cable, Craft Horizon, 1963, Vol. XXII, No. 8, pp. 27-31) (see Vol. III Pl. 10 a, b, c), while an inner room or a kitchen in Hungary would have a foliate creeper pattern on the walls (Slovak Folk Art - a Heritage by Sano Kovacicová, Poland, 1970) (see Vol. III Pl. 10 d).

6. The belief that there is a spirit in birds, animals, trees and other objects. Snakes, scorpions and trees were worshipped in ancient times. Some of these symbolic drawings still remain in various parts of the world (Vol. II Pl. 9,10) (Vol. III Pl. 8 a, b, c, d; Pl. 9 b, c, d; and Pl. 10 d).

7. "The swastik has been discovered on Sumerian seals as early as 2850 B.C. It is found at Pompeii and in the Greek 'key' pattern. It is also found on Persian and Assyrian coins and in the catacombs at Rome. The swastiks are also seen on seals, found at 'Mohen-jo-Daro'." Enthoven, R. E., The Folklore of Bombay,
1924, pp. 40-41. Hereafter referred to as F.B.

8. "By some persons in the Konkan, the swastik is regarded as the foundation-stone of the universe, or the symbol of the god Shiva, and not of the sun. The swastik is considered to be the emblem of peace and prosperity throughout Bombay Presidency". F. B., pp. 43-45.

9. Refer for more details, F. B., p. 43.

10. Refer for more details, Loc. cit.

11. Refer for more details, Loc. cit.

12. Refer for more details, Loc. cit.

13. Refer for more details, Loc. cit.

14. "Some people believe that this indicates the four directions; some think it represents the four courses of objects of human desires, viz., (1) dharma (religion), (2) artha (wealth), (3) kama (love) and (4) moksha (salvation). Some again take it to be an image of the ladder leading to heaven". Loc. cit.

15. "The trisula is associated with both Vishnu and Siva. Combaz considers the trisula to have same affinity with the chakra. Coomaraswamy maintains it is the
cosmic pillar holding earth and heaven apart. The divine weapons of the gods have a cardinal place in ritual and in ceremonies of protection. Quoted in "A Dictionary of Hinduism, 1977 by Margaret and James Stutly, p. 305. Hereafter referred to as D.H.

16. According to Baylay, it is a corrupt form of the cross. "The fact that the trident was the weapon of the Roman Retiarius is highly significant. He also relates him to the Uranian deity, whereas the sword wielded by the murmillo gladiator suggests the heroic, solar son." Quoted in Dictionary of Symbols by J. E. Cirlot, New York, 1962, p. 332. Hereafter referred to as D. S.

17. Refer for more details to F. B., pp. 22-23.

18. The fakir moves a trident round the head of the afflicted person in blessing. The trident is believed to possess efficacious properties, curing illnesses and protecting the person from the 'evil eye'. (Information through kind courtesy of Maulvi Saheb T. K. Kaji of the Nizampura Mosque, Baroda).

19. A leather bag is used for irrigation. It can hold a large quantity of water and is hauled from the well
by cattle.


21. In worshipping Sitla Mata, milk, curd, millet, kuler, flowers, neem leaves and silver replicas or eyes are ritually 'offered' her. The believed antiseptic properties of neem leaves cause it to be used variously; the patients' bed is covered with them and a "toran" of these leaves fixed on the lintel of the entrance. (Refer for details, Fairs and Festivals of Gujarat, Census of India, 1965, p. 94).

22. Lapasi is made out of wheat flour, ghee and jaggery or sugar.

23. A goat is 'offered' to the Mata. Exorcists, who go around the village beating a drum, cut off the animal's tongue, dip their hands in the blood and leave the imprint of the palm on doorways and the main village gate. An oblation is offered to the Mata, in the belief that this ritual will arrest the epidemic. Refer for more details to F.B., pp. 221-222.

24. Varieties of painted human hands are found in European prehistoric painting, as in the Aurignacian examples. Roughly similar motifs are also found in
Wadi Sera, Libya and Rhodesia. Refer for details *Prehistoric and Primitive Man* by Andreas, 1966, p.147.

Painted hands are also found on rocks and in caves in Bhimbetka. For more details refer 'Stone Age Painting in India' by Wakankar, V. S. and Brooks Robert R.R., Bombay, 1976, p. 51.

In Punjab hands are still painted on walls of houses to welcome guests. These hands also signify hospitality.

25. Bharat used to worship the 'Paduka' of Rama in his absence. This is mentioned in the Ramayana. Buddha's foot-mark is carved at Bharhut and Sanchi stupas and these are worshipped. There is a foot-mark carved in stone of the saint Vallabhacharya of the Vaishnav sect at Tagadi in Dhandhuka taluka of Ahmedabad district.

26. It is customary to have the feet of a bridegroom washed by his in-laws and bride's relation amongst many Hindu communities. A deceased person's family members washes the feet of a Brahmin priest after the 'shradha' ceremony at the pilgrim centre.

27. Foot-marks are drawn in various parts of India. Some
of them are simple but artistic in design. (‘Alpana’ in Bengal, Aripan in Orissa, Mandana in Rajasthan, threshold worship in Gujarat). Some are highly stylized as in the case of the drawings of foot-marks in Himachal Pradesh (Vol. III Pl. 13 b).

28. Shri Shubha meaning ‘good’. It signifies luck.

29. Shri Labha means gain and auspiciousness.

30. Shri Sava literally means 1/2 and stands for increase in wealth.

31. “Om - A sacred syllable which first appears in the Upanishads as a mystic monosyllable, regarded by some as the basis or ‘seed’ (bija) of all mantras”. D. H., p. 213.

32. Drawings made on special occasions are not done with the intention to make them more decorative. They are made in honour of certain myths, and are simply pictographs and symbols.

33. “Vrata applies also to religious observance, to conduct, to pious practices, such as the making of a solemn vow or fast, to practise chastity, to perform meritorious acts, such as the making of pilgrimages to holy places, etc.” D. H., p. 339.
34. Women fast, wash the floor with cow-dung and draw various motifs of deities, animals, birds and floral-leaf ornamentations on Bahura-Chauth, Bhai-Dooj and Kevara-Chauth. These drawings are quite elaborate and signify myths and legends associated with festivals (Vol. III Pl. 9 b).

35. This belief is supported by a scholar Shri K. B. Parmar in an article "Devi-Puja and Drashya Devi-Devala", Urmì Nava Rachana (in Gujarati), October, 1973, p. 461.

36. A festival sacred to the Nagas, held on the fifth day of the light half of the month Sravana, or in the dark half of the month Asadha in the monsoon.

37. Dhokala Terash is celebrated on the 13th day of the light half of the month Magha in summer. Kharak women observe the day by eating flat brown bread (roti) with brown sugar (gur).

38. "A devotee of an Indian snake-cult, shrines of which are found all over India, particularly in the South, Bengal, Assam and Gujarat. Often a stone with a snake depicted on it is set up. Similar stones are also erected in villages, often under a
tree, and women desiring children visit them. Neglect of the snakes arouses their anger and may result in sickness in the household". D. H., pp. 197-8.

39. Slightly fragrant reddish powder mixed with water or sweet groundnut oil on occasions of joy. This mixture is used to paint dots and small shapes on the wall.

40. The Kharaks and other peasant groups believe that god or Nagdevata represents one (ake) and to multiply god in two or equal numbers means breaking up oneness (akeya).

41. "The goddess of smallpox, who may inflict the disease as well as avert it. Sitala is still worshipped in Bengal during smallpox epidemics. To the Tamils she is Mariyammai. Her shrines are generally situated outside villages, under trees or in groves, where she is represented by stone, a clay image or piece of pine tree". D. H., pp.278-9.

42. Women earlier 'built up' the surface of the wall of the 'paniyara', forming Balia Kaka figures with successive, lumps of clay and pressed in two cowrie shells in place of the eyes (Vol.III Pl. 12 b).

43. "Saiyad-Kaka or Balia Kaka is supposed to be that of Ghatotkach or Ghotorgach, the son of Bhimsen, the
second Pandava, by the demoness Hidimba. The image of Balia Kaka is generally kept in a temple of Mahadev or in a niche or a private house or near reservoir or under a neem". *Fairs and Festivals*, Vol. V, The Census of India, 1965, p. 95.

44. These pilgrim centres are in Gujarat and so, the Kharaks can easily go to these centres as they are within 200 miles from the Kharaks' region.

45. Villagers bid farewell to pilgrims singing Bhajans and playing pipes, and also receive them in a similar way but with more enthusiasm and joy. Younger ones bow before the pilgrims who bless them.

46. Refer chapter No. II, Kharaks' houses, p. 29.

47. In its most general sense, the symbol of the tree denotes the life of the cosmos its consistence, growth, proliferation, generative and regenerative process. It is also a symbol of longevity and fertility.

48. Kadviben Karshanbhai Sent of Datha village and Liliben Dahyabhai of Tared village draw with the left-hand. Through by and large most of the Kharak women draw with the right-hand.
49. A Kharak woman, more vocal than the others about her painting referred to this by comparing it to the bursting of crackers on a happy occasion to add to the gaity.

50. The information is based on the interviews of the following Kharak men:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koradiya Raja Karshan</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Mahuva</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solanki Vala Govind</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Tansa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khodifad Kana Ramaji</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vadli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. The drawings of a lotus, potted lotus, flower-pot, a lotus and duck. The drawings of parrot forms based on the illustrations of the drawing-books used in primary and secondary levels of schools.

52. The old election symbols of the Jan Sangh and the Congress parties which are found in drawing and plastered relief respectively on walls.

53. See drawings of railway-trains. (Vol.II PIs.141,142).
CHAPTER III

APPENDIX I

The worship of Sanjhi or Jhanji during the Navarath festivals is one of the important occasions on which interesting rites are observed and beautiful images of the deity made particularly in the areas surrounding Delhi, some parts of Punjab, Western U.P. and Rajasthan (Vol. III Pl. 9a). In Rajasthan, the house, after it is cleaned thoroughly before Diwali, or a wedding, is decorated with variously designed 'mandans' or 'chowk' which are round and square shaped pattern usually with white chalk by the womenfolk (Vol. III Pl. 8 b to e). In Darbhanga district drawings of various gods and goddesses are made on mud-walls with vegetable colours mixed with goat's milk. The figures of a bride and bridegroom surrounded by their relatives, servants and various birds and animals are drawn in bright colours on the inner chamber, where the newly wedded couple spends their first night. Courtesy by Design Magazine, August, p. 24; September, p. 27; October, p. 27, respectively, 1967.

In Bengal, the Charan or the footprint of Laxmi,
the goddess of Fortune, who is fondly believed to enter the house on this day (Ashwin, September-October on the full moon night) and a creeper to represent paddy are important motifs of the 'Alpona' associated with this worship.

In Haryana, motifs of peacocks, a horse-rider, plants, flowers, swastik, hands, etc., are drawn on the walls (Vol.II Pls. 9, 10). Courtesy by Shri Hakubhai Shah, 1976.
CHAPTER IV

Notes

1. Embroidery has an important place in the household arts of all the communities in Saurashtra; whether they be the ruling caste like Kathis, Rajputs, Garasia; the trading castes like the Mahajan or the various peasant castes; Kanbis, Kharaks, Kolis, Karadia Rajputs or cattle rearing groups like Bharwads or Rabaris. It is practised in the homes by the women; of late the women of Kathi and Mahajan families have largely given up its practice.

2. All women of the community regardless of age and status, embroider.

3. Kharaks list a girl's accomplishment so: working in the fields, cooking, looking after cattle, and embroidering; they specially stress the last item.

4. Refer chapter No. II, pp. 23.

5. The Kolis, Paliwal Brahmins, the Karadia Rajputs and Ayars and the Pancholis of the region have similar costume-pieces to those of the Kharaks.

6. Embroidery of the Kharak have influenced the Karadia Rajputs of Valukad village particularly in the wall-
hangings. Skirt embroidery has influenced that of the Kolis.

7. The Kanbis, the Paliwal Brahmins, the Kolis, the Ayars etc. are gradually giving up embroidery in the region.

8. 'Anas' refer chapter No.II, Note No. 59.

9. Refer details of gift chapter No.II, appendix No.IV.

10. Refer chapter No.II, appendix No. IV.

11. If parents are not alive, girls live either at her mother's, brother's or uncle's place, who are obliged to present the customary gifts. Sometimes in such cases the gifts are modest.

12. The Kharaks wear a non-pleated and open-waist cloth, decorated with embroidery. It is referred to as short-skirt by many scholars probably because, in the absence of pleats (which are heavy in the usual Rajasthani or Kutchi skirt. The cloth length is much shorter.

13. The third and the last 'Ana' performed when she gives birth to her first child.

14. Similar embroidered jackets are worn by children of
the Koli community in the region.

15. Only the horse's neck-cover is embroidered amongst the Kharaks and other peasant communities of the region. Among the Kathis, Garasiyas, Rajputs, embroidered back-covers, saddle-covers are also found. Such covers are also found among the Kanbis of the Jamnagar district.

16. It is customary amongst various Indian communities to hang a string of leaves or streamers over the doorway on any special occasion. This is referred to as 'toran'. Ceremonial architectural gateways also have come to be referred to as 'toran dwars'.

17. 'Pankothalyu' means 'a bunch of leaves'.

18. 'Chakala' means 'a square of four-sided area'.

19. This should be taken to mean 'decorated or ornamented'.

20. 'Todaliya' are originally the round projections of beams coming on the verandah wall.

21. 'Sakh' and 'barsakh' mean frames of the doorway.

22. Kharaks call the short-skirt 'chaniyo' while Garasiyas, Kathis call it 'ghagharo'.
23. 'Kapadun' literally means cloth; the name may probably be due to the partially loose design of the breast-cover.

24. 'Jhul' means ornamental 'tassels' of anything that is suspended.

25. The word has been derived from 'shingada'. It is also known as 'Khobhala'.

26. Derived probably from 'lalat' forehead. It is also known as 'matharavati'; 'math' is standing for 'head'.

27. Nath comes from word nath (nose).


29. The door of the inner room facing the verandah and courtyard is considered the main door.

30. A shoulder-high strip of embroidery; probably derives from 'skandh' meaning 'kandhi'.

31. This is an embroidered representation of 'Ganesh', who presides over auspicious beginnings, in a niche-shape field. The Ganesh motifs are various and are surrounded by other motifs with attendants, animals, birds etc. The Kharaks never embroidered this in past; of late, they have begun to do so.
32. The origin of 'nen kalak' is unclear.

33. These are bought as loose skeins and are now produced by cotton mills at Petlad (north Gujarat). They are generally of 10/12 counts (current price is Re.0.35 naya paise for 10 grams).

34. 2/40 counts (current price Re.0.75 naya paise for 10 grams).

35. Spun cotton yarn of 2/10 counts (current price is Re.0.35 naya paise for 10 grams) and twisted cotton yarn of 2/10 counts (current price is Re.0.35 naya paise for 10 grams) or twisted mercerized yarns of 2/40 counts (current price is Re.0.75 naya paise for 10 grams).

36. Refer Note No. 16.

37. This pattern is locally known as 'adadiya' or 'black-gram' pattern. Most writers on Saurashtra embroidery, however, have used the term 'chess board', as it features alternate coloured of black squares as in a 'chess board'.

38. All women of the community except widows wear the embroidered short-skirt.
39. Young married women wear bright skirts, of red, vermilion, scarlet, made of cotton material, 'choliyun' or 'jean'. Middle-aged, old and widowed women prefer dark red, deep red, brownish red, and dark brown coloured skirts.

40. Top piece has a shade similar to that of the ground cloth. Refer also Note No. 39.

41. Ninetytwo patterns are in vogue today. This information is based on interviews of the following old Kharak ladies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Vadli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Trapaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Manar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. Names such as, barley (jawalas), lightning creeper (vijali vel), half-closed eye (ardhi-ankhadi), train creeper (dhaka-gadi) are the result of such parallel association.

43. 'Radio', 'balloons', 'hodaka-machhali', 'horse-shoe' (dabala) are names they owe their origin to pattern dealers.

44. Name might have been derived from 'baval' (babul tree).
45. The chess board pattern is generally known "adadiya" or 'blackgram' patterns among the Kharaks.

46. The closely packed diamond ground of 'lepad dodva' is compared as the name signifies closely to 'sheaf of corn'.

47. The dots probably retained for boxes and the twisted triangles shapes for 'old man' not unlike certain tribal painting.

48. The name 'Parsi Sadra' for their arabasque pattern is intriguing.

49. This probably refers to the crochet patterns that Parsi vests may have once had or alternatively to the Persian (middle eastern) arabasque.

50. The name 'sachi griha bandhi' is also intriguing. It is a slight variation of 'Parsi Sadra', with a double outline.

51. The interacting circle and diagonals have some reference to water flowers as seen from the top.

52. The reference to round cotton buds is natural in other cases; cotton being one of the crops raised in this part of the land.
53. The alternations of the round form from the interlaced
     form is an interesting one; the interlaced form looks
     thorny enough beside the circle to be taken for a
     'babul' tree.

54. The reference here is probably more to the leaf than
     the tree.

55. The name probably refers to the dial-like division.

56. Here the reference is probably to the engraved
     pattern on trays or platters.

57. The shape of the square has the look of belt buckles.
     The reference to the fish is in the diagonal leaf form
     with curvilinear breaks on one side which can be
     compared with dorsal fins; this kind of form is often
     described as a parrot or a bird in certain cases.
     Some of these names as those of 23, 24, 25, 26, 28,
     29, 30 have probably been fixed by the new pattern
     dealer.

58. 'Kacha mogra' has some reference to a Jasmine bud, or
     floral.
     a conceptual form.

59. Bagicha i.e. (Bag) is used traditionally for regular
     flower repeats, probably a flowerbed or field.
60. The reference to 'kartal' or castanets in this can be attributed to the opposing double curves on each side of the diamond shape.

61. The reference is rather obscure.

62. The reference is to the circular truss or 'carrying ring' on which pots are placed.

63. The shape has an obscure reference to a pomegranate.

64. The identification of a drop-like shape to a bird is understandable if it is compared with similar simplified forms used by village toymakers to represent hanging or whirling birds.

65. The bulging pod-like forms that alternate with the roundels are probably at the bottom of the reference.

66. Reference to 'banyan roots' are rather farfetched unless one reads the shape of banyan tree and the half circle and roots with the 'vermi' form diagonals.

67. Kankavati refers to the goblet-like form that stands between the half circles.

68. 'Ardhi phulwadi' is also known as 'kevda', the reference to which may be because of the two opposing
leaf forms that alternate.

69. The reference tree is based on the serrated leaf edges and the globular forms of seeds.

70. The reference to 'sitaphal' is clear; this is one of the forms introduced by the pattern dealers. The mango form is simplified and traditional.

71. The reference to 'chillies' is through the inner details.

72. The design in 'G' group shares the influence of traditional designs or butis, used by both brocade weavers and block-printers. They are reversible repeats of compositions of flowers, bird and fruit motifs.

73. These zig-zags and scrolls are used either in the field or in the lower border. There are some which are more commonly used in the field other than the border. Sometimes the scrolls also spills over into part of the field.

74. The 'Hathi' or 'Marghaló' form is a double animal with a common head, of indefinite identity.

75. The 'hodka machhali' pattern is also intriguing;
trough like forms that two reversing leaf shapes may probably stand for the boat and the slanting forms for fish.

76. 'Atlas' generally stands for all silk materials, but more specially for those in satin weave.

77. The order of the colour combination of sleeves, front and bottom part is similar to those of cotton blouses though pink in silk material and rate colours like olive green, turquoise blue and lemon yellow are used in silk blouses.

78. The origin of this term is not clear.

79. Young boys wore an embroidered hood (natiyo) and young girls the same, called (boshalo) amongst the Kathis and Kanbwis of Saurashtra in the past.

80. Block-printers belong to Brahmakshatriya and Katri castes.

81. Though women follow certain conventions in embroidery, some do not; they break colour areas to suit motifs, change directions of threads and occasionally embroider motifs and patterns independent of the drawn sample. These changes and alterations are known
as 'alekh bhango' in local terminology, meaning breaking up of drawings in certain areas.

82. The women and the tailors consult each other about the finishing of each item and both are party to the final look.

83. Probably there are more than six droughtswomen who also draw with slight variation or imitate the drawn samples of those skilled droughtswomen.

84. The normal way to draw a straight line on paper, cloth wall, etc. is by stretching tautly a string dipped in colour against these surfaces.

85. Animal forms are usually positioned in the four corners of the inner court of the chakala 'facing' inwards.

86. Of the people interviewed Liliben's drawing has greater compactness. On other hand, Moghiben's drawing reveals sharper linear forms and sensitive lines. Maniben draws varieties of space-fillers, though her drawings lack compactness when compared to those of the above two.

87. Refer Note No. 82.

88. Weaving details are not clear. Madarpet now is mill-made cloth rather than hand woven.
Blue, red, orange, yellow, bright green, dark green and violet poplin cloth is used for piping, edging and thick tapes on blouses.

The information based on the following old Kharak ladies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vala Diwaliben Govindbhai</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Bhumbhali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valiya Santokben Damajibhai</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Valukad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapadiya Ajavaliben Lakhamanbhai</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Vadali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is about a 6" long wooden lathe-turned lacquered bar with 6 to 7 deep grooves with different colours. It has a hole at one end, in which needles are kept and can be closed with a round lid (Vol.III Pl.42 c).

Pamuben Karsanbhai Senta of Kumbhan village had started drawing animal motifs for wall-hangings about 30 years ago.

The drawing is based on Mr. Khodidas Parmar's illustration reproduced in Saurashtra-nu-Lok-Bharat, Ahmedabad, 1969, p. 48.

Bead embroidery began among the communities in the 17th century and declined towards the end of the 19th
century. It was both a home and professional craft. The beads were imported from Italy and of the reasons cited for the decline of the craft is the high price and non-availability of these beads. The designs were based on local motifs of tree, bird, man and beast and other familiar objects and the best specimens have a kind of dynamic geometry.

95. The Kharaks who live in Talaja, Mahuva towns and Bhavnagar city and its neighbouring villages are exposed to urban situations.

96. "Mr. Dhaky mentions that plants made out of wire and beads and potted in a porcelain body have gone out of fashion since 1930". The Embroidery and Bead Work of Kutch and Saurashtra, Ahmedabad, 1966, p. 80.

97. These reels come from the tailors.

98. The account is given by John Irwin and Margaret Hall in Indian Embroideries, Vol.II, Ahmedabad, 1973, p. 84, hereafter refer as I.E.


100. Ibid, p. 5.

101. Ibid, p. 5.
102. Ibid, p. 73.

103. Ibid, p. 84.

104. Ibid, p. 84.

105. Refer Note No. 31, and see photographs in (Vol.III Pl. 56 a to d).

106. 'Odhani' measures two and a half-metres long and is 40 to 45 inches broad, 'Pachhe do' measures three metres long and 40 to 45 inches broad, while Sadlo measures four and half to six metres long and 50 to 54 inches broad.

107. Pancholis and Ayars women wear black sarees with red dots on their field, while Koli women wear red sarees with printed white foliate designs. The Kambli women wear red sarees with white and black dots, and a floral pattern on the borders. Kharak women wear dark red, brown, dark brown sarees with white and black dots and floral patterns on the borders.

108. Their short-skirts are not different in cut and size from other peasant groups except the Kharaks.

109. Bharwad and Rabari women wear black and red woollen sarees, decorated with red dots on a black ground,
and yellow dots on red, printed in the tie-and dye method.

110. Certain patterns of short-skirts are common amongst the Kambis, Kolis, Karadiya Rajputs, Paliwal Brahmins and the Kharaks. These patterns are:

1. Parsi-vest (1 variation),
2. cotton-buds, 
circles,
3. birds,
4. half-garden,
5. babul tree,
6. sweet
balls,
7. tumblers,
8. babul tree and circles.

111. In most Hindu communities the embellishment of walls by either drawn or applied decoration is considered potent in ensuring the presence of divinity (generally Lakshmi).

112. All over India wall and floor decoration is considered a must in Hindu society, almost as jewellery is considered essential for women.

113. Various textile properties, hanging, and props came into use in different parts of India (Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, South India) in shrine, processions and court decoration.

114. Such decoration is not an unusual among Christian and Muslim communities on religious and solemn occasions.
115. The embroidery done for the affluent used metallic threads in a large measure (see "Embroideries of India, p. 65"): but metallic threads are not generally used in fabrics of daily wear, nor do they last if so done. So this substitution by cotton threads is only rational. Its subdued visual effect is quite effective.

116. The animal motifs are a special characteristic of Kharak embroidery and are absent in the embroideries of sister communities (like the Kanbis, the Kolis, the Karadiya Rajputs, Paliwal Brahmans, etc.) as well as in the Mahajan embroidery of the region.

117. The 'Marghalo' motif is golden deer (son mrug) according to the Kharaks.
Note (Col.14 of Table 1)

2. 'Ganesh sthapan' is embroidered in a large number amongst the Kanbi and it has variety of images which differs from one piece to other.

9. An embroidered rectangular piece (Nano-dhaniyo) is displayed on the front side of a cot amongst the Bharwad of Surendranagar district.

11. (a) Vaishnav Vanias display an applique sack ('khadiyad) to keep stationary on the verandah wall. An embroidered large wall-hanging ('pichhavai') is hung behind a deity in a 'haveli' (a temple of Vallabhabacharya sect).

(b) Similar 'pichhavai' but smaller in size is also displayed behind a deity in shrines in Vaishnava's houses.

12. Jain Vanias hang a small embroidered hanging (puthia) behind the seat of a Jain abhot (suri) when he preaches.

15. (a) 'Suraja sthapan' (similar in shape to that of 'Ganesh sthapan') depicting Sun God in the middle and it surrounded by geometric motifs and patterns is hung above a 'toran'.
(b) 'Sakh-toran' is (an embroidered hanging for the door of a house, consisting of a frieze ('toran') which covers the lintel, and two long panels ('barasakh') which cover door frames. Few examples have a triangular end panel extending horizontally at the foot of each panel like those of 'chitariya'.

(c) 'Bhintiya' or 'besan' (broad panel). (This is a large wall-hanging consisting of a frieze ('pachhit-pati') on top from which hang four to five square clothes ('chakalas') and they are linked by series of lozenges).

(d) A gable shaped large hanging is usually displayed above a frieze ('pachhit-pati') on the verandah wall.

(e) 'Asania' is an embroidered square piece which is spread on a low stool (bajoth) for guests.

(f) Small-square clothes are (known as 'chakali') displayed on walls as space fillers.
CHAPTER V

Notes

1. The Brahmakshatriyas claim that they belong to the Kshatriya and Brahmin casts. The Khatris, however, have second position in social hierarchy amongst the Brahmakshatriya group and some of the Khatris are Muslim. Refer for more details in *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* by Entovhen, R. E., Bombay, 1922, Vol. I, pp. 208-209, hereafter referred as T.C.B.

2. They also print black sari called 'kali pachhedi' for the Koli caste, however, they mainly print saris like bright edged (nagri kor), bead-square (moti-chok), jewel-square (ratan-chok) etc. for only the Kharak community.

3. Among the other communities like the Bharwad and the Rabaris use coloured woollen blankets besides white and black ones. Their details are as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Red blanket (rato dhabalo)</td>
<td>4½' 28&quot;</td>
<td>3½ Kg</td>
<td>200/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Green blanket (lilo dhabalo)</td>
<td>4½' 28&quot;</td>
<td>3½ Kg</td>
<td>200/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Orange blanket (kesari dhabalo)</td>
<td>4½' 28&quot;</td>
<td>3½ Kg</td>
<td>200/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Large white blanket costs Rs. 150/-.

5. Short blanket costs Rs. 100/-.

6. The weavers do not have much capital of their own. So they take advances against orders and buy the yarns.

7. The weavers sometimes purchase woollen yarns from other centres of Saurashtra like Surendranagar, Junagadh, Porbandar and Rajkot, if they do not get yarns at reasonable rates in the Kharak's region.

8. The Khatkis are muslim; their men sell meat and fish and their women spin raw wool as an extra occupation.

9. Vohras also sell oil colours, enamel colours, nails, hinges and tin sheets besides acid colours.

10. The Gandhi (grocer) sells miscellaneous items ranging from foodgrains, soaps, cotton threads, needles,
buttons, gum, sugar, etc.

11. The wooden loom consists of many parts, such as breast-beam, wooden forks, wooden rod, yarnbeam, guiding comb, reed, healds, treadls. Details of each part and its function has been described at length in *Rural Craftsmen and their Work* by Fischer and Shah, Ahmedabad, 1970, p. 178.

12. Weavers use throw shuttle which is made out of teak wood. It measures about 10" long, 1\(\frac{3}{4}\)" broad and 9" high. It has open section in the middle in which steel tongue is placed on which bobbin is kept. A thread comes out from an eye of the shuttle. It costs Rs.14/-. 

13. According to rough estimate of Khadi Board Hathithan Cottage Industry at Bhavnagar, the weavers of the region produce about 1,04,000 blankets annually.

14. The word 'sai' may have been derived from 'suee' (needle).

15. Children's shoes are not different in design, structure and finishing than those of elders, however, they are lightweight and have a smooth inner lining, and measure about 6". Aged men and women's shoes are also similar
to the children, being light and soft.

16. 'Dundala' shoes are specially worn while tilling a field.

17. Women wear 'hevala shoes' while they do heavy work on fields and orchards.

18. Refined leather are brought to Mahuva, Talaja and Bhavnagar from Madras by local leather merchants which is sold at Rs.20.00 per Kg. to shoemakers.

19. These items are purchased from Vohra's shops in towns.

20. Mejala literally means rain and water in the local language; here it signifies two identical elements or parts become one with each other.

21. Dummy wooden boots (kålboots!) are brought from Jullundur by the local merchant and they are sold at Rs.20.00 per pair.

22. A silver button-chain is used to close a jacket or a shirt worn by young Kharak men.

23. Small hexagonal sandalwood beads about \( \frac{1}{4} \) cm. are used in 'migmala'. 
24. 'Madaradi' worn by Kharak women is considered 'mangalsutra' (which means married woman whose husband is alive).

25. Ivory double bangles are called 'matali ghatana-baloyos', 4" to 5" wide with high rims on two borders and a deep strip of 1 inch in the middle.

26. This 'bedi' is less thick (about 1 cm.) than that of the men. It has also a screw and lock device.

27. "They are found in all parts of Gujarat, but chiefly in Ahmedabad, Kaira and Kathiawar. According to their priests or Bhuvas, the name Vaghari means tiger-like, but a more likely derivation is from the Vagad or sand-hills of the Rajputana desert. It may, however, be derived 'vagurs' or 'vaghars' meaning net, in which case Vagharis would mean a tribe of netters", T.C.B., p. 339.

28. Bia wood is used to make the wooden chest (patara) and is locally available.

29. 'Vir har' tattooed pattern on a woman's arm is believed to protest her brother from all dangers.

30. The motif of the human skull with cross-bones is only
31. Motifs are taken from prints, calendars, posters and illustrations reproduced in magazines and the danger symbol printed on an electric metre showing human-skull and cross-bones.

32. These patara are made generally in four different sizes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Price Rs. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) 4½'</td>
<td>2½'</td>
<td>3½'</td>
<td>300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 4½'</td>
<td>2¼'</td>
<td>2½'</td>
<td>200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 4'</td>
<td>2¼'</td>
<td>2½'</td>
<td>250.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 5'</td>
<td>3½'</td>
<td>3½' to 4½'</td>
<td>500.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. Seasam (rose-wood) was brought by ships to Mahuva port from Karwar, Mangalore and Cochin. Patara made of 'seasam' were costlier than other pataras.

34. When logs are cut under a band-saw or circular-saw in a saw-mill, certain uneven planks are also accidentally produced and are known as 'achhola', and cost Rs.15 for 10 Kgs.

35. A heavy log is used as a support on which the steel die or motif is placed. Some soft metal or piece of
rubber is placed in the die cavity, and the yellow tin square is placed on the die. Another design of the same motif is kept exactly on the die but in an inverted position. Then a hammer is struck on it to make a inset.

36. The Kanbi, Ayar, Pancholi, Karadiya Rajput, Paliwal Brahmin and Koli also use pataras.

37. Carpenters at Mahuva, Botad and Bhavnagar make decorated carts.

38. A cigarette case costs Rs.160.00. A small bullock-cart costs Rs.300.00 and small patara costs Rs.400.00.

39. High class urban communities use a number of lathe-turned and lacquered objects like (1) bed-steads (dholiyo), (2) a square-seat (machi), (3) child's go-cart (chalan-gadi), (4) low wooden stool (bajoth) and small piller (manek sthambh).

40. A mortar and pestle are used to pound green chillies, onions, garlic etc. for daily use amongst peasant communities.

41. Husking pestle is used to grind rice, pulses, dry chillies, etc.
42. A barren woman takes a vow to offer a small red lathe-turn and lacquered cradle to the local deity if she conceives.

43. The humming top (bapaiyo) is played before Lord Krishna on auspicious days in havelis (Vaishnav-temple).

44. Used to hold the 'kumkum' with which women adorn their foreheads, and others, on auspicious occasions, and an item used by all Hindus during festive rituals.

45. Small pillar (manek stambh) is sunk in one of the corners on the ground of a marriage pavilion by a priest on erection ceremony of the marriage pavilion day.

46. Small cradle meant for the amusement of children, not different to that offered to a deity or local shrine.

47. Last few items are introduced recently via urban influence.

48. Gauva (jamarukh), (2) banana (kela), (3) mango (keri), (4) chikoo (chiku), (5) a piece of sugarcane (sheradi), (6) pomegranate (dadam). Dry fruits - black grapes (kali darakh), (2) almond (badam), (3) apricot
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(akharot), (5) date (khajur), etc. are made by 'sangheda'.

49. The Kanbi, Koli, Ayar, Pancholi, Paliwal Brahmin also buy items which the Kharaks purchase.

50. The word sangheda has been derived from 'sangbedo' (wooden-lathe).

51. 'Sangheda' means wooden-lathe.

52. Since last 10 years 'sangheda' at Mahuva have started use of the electric motor of ½ hp. instead of the hand- bow and drill which are still in use at Sankheda town in Baroda district.

53. The 'sanghedas' buy various coloured lacquers sticks from the 'vohra' merchant at a cost of Rs.15/- to Rs.20/- per Kg.

54. This is presented to a bride by her father's sister at the time of marriage.

55. Burning coals are placed in it which is then carried away with the dead body on a bier to the cremation ground where wood is ignited with these coals.
56. A potter first breaks clay clods by beating them with a wooden club and pounds them making into small pieces. He mixes sieved horse-dung and cattle-dung with the clay and sand and adds water to this mixture. Finally, he makes a clay-paste and allows it to dry.

57. The use of different tools and stages of fabrication of earthenwares are described at length in *Rural Craftsmen and their Work* by Fischer and Shah, Ahmedabad, 1970, refer pp. 116-166.

58. Machinemade flat red tiles are brought to Mahuva and Bhavnagar by sea route from Mangalore, Cochin and other centres of the south and are, therefore, locally known as 'mangalori naliya' in the region.

59. "The word Luhar originated from Luhar caste. The word Luhar is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Lohakar' which means one who works on iron i.e. blacksmith", op,cit., "Patara Making at Bhavnagar", The Census of India, 1966, p. 7.

60. A blacksmith buys as waste old wheels, pulleys, chases, rails, etc. at nominal prices from junkyards in towns.

61. A professional cook carries a large flat ladle with
holes (zaro), a small flat ladle with holes (zari) and a flat ladle (tavetho) along with him whenever he is to prepare victuals in large quantities.


63. Sihor is a taluka headquarter of Bhavnagar district and it is about 20 kilometre away from Bhavnagar by road and rail.

64. "Gujarati kansaras, according to the legend, were the residents of Champanet near Pavagadh. They were originally Kshatriyas who are believed to be the descendants of Sahastrarjun". op. cit., "Brass and Copperwares at Sihor", The Census of India, 1969, p. 6.


66. Borax powder, ammonium chloride and powder of common salt are applied on the cogs of metal sheets. The
edges of these cogs are then soldered which is known as 'renun kam'. These soldering parts are then heated in a furnace; the alloy metals melt and perfect welding is achieved. Soldering and welding are done twice to strengthen different parts with its joints.

67. Refer Note No. 27.

68. Wanjas were formerly small farmers in Rajasthan, however, successive droughts and famines forced them to give up farming and they learnt bamboo cutting and basket making from 'Vaghari' community. Therefore, they come to be known as 'wans fodia' in the region.

69. The big bundle of date-palm fronds cost Rs.2.00.

70. Four to six burlap sewing needles costing 15 nai paisa per piece are bought from the Vohra. These are arranged in a row and rags firmly wound around the upper part of the needles. The rags are then covered with a rusted tin sheets. It then appears like a comb with projecting teeth, and is about 6" long and 3" broad.

71. One gunny bag of wild grass costs Rs. 2.00.
3. Each bamboo cost Rs.4.00 and these bamboos are brought from the forests of Rajpipla and the Dang Forest of Gujarat by trucks to Bhavnagar.

3. Some plain carts can be seen in a Kharak village or its surroundings but they are generally owned by washermen, potters, transport labourers, etc.

3. 'Sajad' (Terminalia tomentosa) is locally available wood.

3. Four to five planks are used to make lateral sides. They are about 1½' high, 1' wide and 1" thick.

3. Small model bullock carts are made at Bhavnagar, Mahuva, Surendranagar and Junagadh in Saurashtra.

3. A farmer strikes a small silver nail on the shaft, breaks a coconut on the wheels and paints a trident and swastik before taking a new cart from a carpenter's shop.

3. Often after the untimely death of a family member, another family member falls ill and cannot be cured by the usual medicines. In such a case, the witch doctor ('bhuvo') propitiates the spirit of the deceased person, and generally a memorial stone is installed.
79. The memorial-stone for a 'sati' is generally represented by a broad palm or the hand bent at elbow. Such a memorial-stone is found at Datha in Talaja taluka.

80. A memorial-stone for a dog was erected by his master when the dog trying to defend his master's property against robbers, died. This stone is found at Sankhadasar village in Talaja taluka.

81. Some people killed a cow and calf by mistake. As an atonement for their sin, they erected a memorial-stone at Vadaval village in Sihor taluka.

82. Such a memorial-stone erected by the devotee of a sadhu, is found at village Akhalol near Bhavnagar.

83. A "khambhi" is erected bearing the name and in the memory of the distinguished subjects of a King who gifted them with land in recognition of their services. The grazing-land, given by a King to a village, is indicated by the stone-carving showing a cow.

84. When a snake-bite occurs the villagers take the bitten person to the snake-memorial-stone and pray for his mercy. Such a stone is found at Bhadrod village in Mahuva taluka.
85. A king or merchant often employed stone-carvers to build a palace or a temple, and as often did not pay them the stipulated amount. In such cases, the stone-carvers left after erecting an obscene stone-memorial, showing a he-donkey mounting a she-donkey. However, some people believe that such an obscene memorial-stone was erected to protect the building from the evil eye.

86. When the researcher and artists asked the Kharak aged woman Kadviben R. Kucha of Vadali village in Mahuva Taluka, that why she was not keeping iron drums for storing food grain and other steel furniture in her house. She, in a natural way, replied that these earthen granary jars and cupboards are far superior than those of iron and steel objects; even god would like to reside in such a house.