CHAPTER III

KHARAK WALL DRAWINGS

The Kharak drawings are done exclusively by women. They are generally of four kinds:

1. Small symbols or marks drawn on walls, objects, doorways, etc.,

2. Ritual drawings made at the time of special festivals, pilgrimages,

3. 'Alekh' - or white decorative drawings on mud plastered walls, featuring plants, animals, birds and other motifs,

4. 'Chitar' - or coloured drawings on whitewashed walls, kothis (or grain jars) etc., featuring floral, animal and other motifs.

Similar drawings are done by other peasant communities of the region, except the Kanbis. The non-peasant communities like Brahmins, Rajput, Garasia, Kathi and Vania do the former two kinds of drawings, but not the latter two: 'rangoli' or floor painting (especially during the diwali and Dev-Diwali festivals) replaces these amongst
'Rangoli' are not traditional to the peasant groups of the region, though today such peasant groups as live in the vicinity of towns, among other communities, do them occasionally in their house (see Vol.III Pl. 8 a).

The function and meanings of these drawings vary. Some are sanctificatory (meant to purify a thing or a place of evil influence), some are invocatory (to invite a benevolent influence on a thing or place), some are decorative, but more often they are all these together. Hindu custom enjoins constant purification of things, people and places through ablation, revestment and redecoration: this is supposed to renew them and give them new life. Bath, changing of clothes, re-wearing of caste-marks ritually renews a man: cleaning, washing, painting and decoration ritually renews houses. This may be frequent or seasonal, in South Indian villages washing of doorsteps, dung-washing of approach to houses and decorating them with 'kolam' (rangoli) is a daily chore, not doing which will indicate a mishap or bereavement in the house. In other places this may not be a daily ritual but a seasonal one, going with festivals, celebrations, social occasions (Vol.II Pls. 9, 10) (Vol.III Pl. 8 b, c, d & Pl. 9 a, b) (see Appendix No. 1). But painting walls with ritualistic or decorative intention is not confined to Hindu society, it is seen in various parts of the world (Egypt, Africa and Hungary) where probably,
animistic beliefs of some kind or another gave them extra
decorative functions⁶ (Vol. III Pl. 9 c, d, e and Pl. 10 a,
b, c, d).

The first two categories of Kharak drawings
mentioned above are generally simple and inexpert, their
function being mainly ritualistic. In the first category
the main symbols or inscriptions used are (1) swastik
(sathio), (2) trident (trishul), (3) impression of the
palm and trident between palms, (4) impression of a foot
with or without the swastik, (5) inscriptions as 'Om',
'Shubb', (Labh', 'Shri Sava' and 'Shri Ganeshaya Namah'.
The swastik mark (Vol. II Pl. 11 Figs. A, B, C) is identified
as a solar symbol (Its tangential lines mark it out as a
whirling cross, it has been in use in various parts of
the world⁷ and in different parts of India is used in a
variety of ways, for ritual and decorative purposes.⁸
Locally the swastik is associated with different
deities. Agni (god of fire)⁹, Ganapati¹⁰ (elephant-
headed god of good beginnings), Laxmi¹¹ (goddess of
wealth), Shiva¹² (one of the powerful gods of the Hindu
trinity) besides Surya, the Sun god. Some associate it
with Swati¹³ (daughter of Brahma), who gave her a boon
that she will be worshipped on all occasions. In other
parts of India, it is interpreted in various other
These are painted on walls, doors, etc. in the following manner:

(a) On both the wooden doors of the main approach to a Kharak house;

(b) On the frame of the main door of the living quarters;

(c) On the walls of the verandah of the house, of the 'paniyara';

(d) On the compound walls, along with 'vrat' drawings.

They are also painted on items of furniture, receptacles, etc., as below:

(a) Wooden chests (patara), (b) cradles (ghodi-yun), (c) low stools on which the bride and bridegroom sit during the wedding (bajoths), (d) 'man-matalu', (e) coconut (naliyar) or an earthen or metal pot topped with a coconut, which girls carry to a newly built home (kumbha).

Besides these they are marked on carts, farming implements, ceremonial sweetmeats and packets of snacks on:
(a) bullock-carts.
(b) ploughs, seed-barrows, pick-axes, mattocks, etc.
(c) tractors, oil engines, electric-motors, threshers, etc.
(d) papad.
(e) sugar wafers or candy.
(f) round sweetmeat (ladva) made of wheat flour and jaggery.

The trident (trishul) is also a widely used symbol here\textsuperscript{15} and in other parts\textsuperscript{16} of the world. Locally, it is considered a symbol of Shiva or the Mother Goddess\textsuperscript{17} (Khodiar Mata, Mahalaxmi, Vagheshwari, Amba, Meladi Mata, Shikotar Mata and Kankaya Mata being the various local versions of the goddess). It is carried about by the Shaktas (worshippers of Shiva or Shakti) and Fakirs\textsuperscript{18} (muslim holy men). This symbol is believed to be effective in warding off the evil eye and safeguarding people from epidemics, as well as attracting the blessings of the god or goddess it represents on the object that carries it.

It is generally painted with red-lead (sindur) mixed with oil (1) on the front walls of houses or temples of 'Sitala' (the smallpox deity), (2) on old walls, rocks, stones, (3) on doorways, (4) on vehicles, field implements
and machinery (listed earlier), (5) on the leather bag used to draw water from a well ('kos').

The trident is an important cult symbol associated with the gods and goddesses mentioned above and is depicted variously in their shrines on poles, spires, walls, doorways, etc. (Vol. II Pl. 11 Fig. D). It is often painted on the walls of a Kharak house flanked by two palm imprints (Vol. II Pl. 12 Fig. B). This is supposed to safeguard people from the plague, smallpox, chickenpox, measles, and cholera, at one time the most dreaded epidemics in the land, and also cattle from cattle diseases; this is understandable as Hindu lore believes that various epidemics and pestilences have female presiding deities who are either versions of, or in the entourage of, the Mother Goddess. This special mark is, therefore, interpreted as a symbol of Marki Mata (plague deity) or Mahamari Devi (cholera deity) or Sitala (smallpox deity). The painting of these symbols is followed by ritual worship when coconuts and Lapasi are offered and later distributed as 'prasad' — various other invocatory and exorcist practices including animal sacrifice are on record in connection with the worship of these deities. The use of the impression of the hand on the outer walls of a house is still prevalent.
(this being perhaps one of the oldest symbols in human history\textsuperscript{24}), it is interpreted in various ways. It is sometimes said to indicate the entry of spirits. When Kharak brides leave their palm imprints on the walls of their houses when they leave it after marriage (these prints are in red-lead on the walls of the house), they either say that these will remind their parents of their existence, or that they will remain as watchdogs in the house they are leaving to ensure nothing is said or done that will bring them and their husbands to harm (Vol.II Pl. 12 Fig. A).

The marks of feet are painted on the walls of a house to signify the coming in of Laxmi (the Goddess of wealth); occasionally they are explained as images painted to honour saints and preceptors. The footmark as the mark of a spirit or a holy person is quite ancient in Hindu lore\textsuperscript{25} and washing and worshipping the feet (of a guest, priest, holy man, elder) is an important part of normal Hindu ritual\textsuperscript{26} in many parts of India. Elders are saluted by bowing and touching their feet. In ritual diagrams, however, footmarks (painted in various ways in different parts of India\textsuperscript{27} are generally explained to mark the entry or exit of the spirit. (Vol. III Pl. 13.6).

Another symbol seen on Kharak doorways is a dot
(in sindur or red-lead, made by pressing a finger with paint on the wall) or dots arranged into the shape of pyramid. These are interpreted as being symbolic of Ganesh (God of good beginnings) and dots (or heap of dots) indicating 'ladvas' or sweetballs which are said to be his favourite offering. Sometimes they are interpreted as a heap of corn and meant to ensure a good harvest; others explain it as a group of planets (Vol.II Pl. 11 Figs.A,B). Some believe that painting these symbols and offering of 'ladvas' to Ganesh will rid their fields of rats. It is usual, however, for the Kharaks to make a pentagonal form with dots on the walls of the inner room of a house during a wedding and call it Ganesh (Vol.III Pl. 10 e).

Among the various inscriptions, Shri Shubha\textsuperscript{28}, Shri Labha\textsuperscript{29}, Shri Sava\textsuperscript{30} are painted in 'sindur' on the outer walls, doors and door-frames of houses and are believed to ensure plenty. They are inscribed generally on the Ganesh Chauth day (Vol.II Pl.11 Fig. A).

'Om'\textsuperscript{31} believed to symbolize cosmic sound or the cosmic deity Maheshwara (Shiva) is marked (in sindur or geru) on the 'paniyara', expected to bring divine presence. It is also seen on shrines. On the paniyara, it is often framed around with various decorations (Vol.III Pl. 11 a, b).
The drawings of the above symbols are rarely done with a decorative intention; no attempt is made to make them neatly or with skill; and the intentions are mainly ritualistic. One could call them object or space tattoos.

The other ritual drawings current among the Kharaks are a little more elaborate, though they cannot be said to have any special claims to be decorative or aesthetic. They are generally related to special 'vratas' (ritual observances) of Kharak women. Ritual diagrams indicative of the object of the 'vrat' or its reigning myth are still drawn in various parts of India, some of them quite elaborate and impressive. The Kharak examples are much simpler and cruder and are associated with the following observances: (a) dot vrat (tili vrat), (b) swastik and ladder vrat (sathio and nisarani), (c) cradle vrat (ghodiyun or vanjiya vrat).

**TILI VRAT**

This is a vrat observed by virgin girls to seek 'Akhand Saubhagya' (Vol.II Pl.13 Fig.A) lasting married life freedom from widowhood in their lives. The object of worship is the Sun god. The girls paint a dot every morning in red turmeric (kumkum) on the wall near the main door of the house after bathing and perform worship by sprinkling grains of rice on it. They do so for three
months at the end of which a Brahmin priest performs a puja of 'Surya' the Sun and a feast is arranged for young girls of the same caste from the neighbourhood who are addressed as 'Gauni'. The invitees have to be odd in number i.e. 3, 5, 7 or 9. This vrat is observed at any time during the year.

**SATHIO AND NISARANI VRAT**

This vrat too is for young virgins and is observed by young unmarried girls (Vol.II Pl.13 Fig.B) with the purpose of ensuring peace, prosperity and harmony in the homes of their future married lives (for which they draw the swastik) and for their moral well-being, that they may do the right deeds during their lives and climb to heaven when they die (for which they draw the ladder). These girls draw the swastik and ladder every day and worship it; the drawings are generally done in red turmeric or red oxide (geru) on the 'paniyara', the walls of the verandah or the walls of the cattle shed. The drawing is done with a babul stick chewed into a brush or a stub of straw. The vrat is observed for three continuous months; but these three months could be at any time of the year.

**VAHJIYA VRAT OR GHODIYUN VRAT**

This vrat is observed by barren Kharak women.
(Barrenness (Vol.II Pl. 13 Fig. C) is considered a great disgrace in village society and is the cause of much anxiety and distress to women). The observance starts on the day after the Makar Sankranti day (14th of January). The woman takes a cold bath in the evening, draws a cradle motif on the side of the main door of the house, and paints a red mark on it. She sprinkles rice on the drawing and prays for a child. She does this for every morning for five months. After completing this, she holds a feast for girls of her community and calls a Brahmin priest who performs puja and marks the drawing, and her forehead, with red kumkum dots and gives her a blessing. They often sing songs in accompaniment.

The cradle the woman draws has the representation of the Sun on one side and trident on the other, the trident here standing for Randal Mata, whom the Kharaks consider the wife of the Sun god and credit with the power to bless them with progeny\(^35\) (Vol.III Pl. 7 a, b).

There are other ritual drawings which the Kharak women do on the occasion of the Nag Panchami\(^36\) (when they worship the snake God), the Dhokala Terash \(^37\) (when they worship the smallpox deity) and pilgrimages the Kharaks undertake from time to time.
The worship of the snake on Nag Panchami day is a fairly important custom among all Hindu castes and is not exclusive to the Kharak peasants. It has some significance as a fertility - including worship and as a safeguard against snakebites. The Kharaks do a drawing on this occasion on the walls of the paniyara or beside it. The drawing is done on freshly mud-washed or whitewashed surface and the following colours are used for the purpose:

(a) Red gulal, geru or bazar powder colours,
(b) white khadi or white earth, (c) black, blue, green bazar powder colours.

They are mixed in water and the painting is done with a match stick or stub of straw. The drawing is generally as follows (Vol.II Pl. 14)

They first draw a rectangular court with openings on the four sides (they call it Nag Devatano Gadh, the fort of the snake god); this is generally in red or black. They then fill this court with vertical snake motifs all wriggling up, some times alternately red and black, some times all in red or blue or green, care is taken that the number is always odd (as three, five, seven, nine or eleven and so forth). Rarely are the snakes drawn in a semicircular or oblong frame.
The woman takes a cold bath in the evening on Nag Panchami, and makes the drawing. She then worships it with sandal paste and flowers, offering 'mug' soaked in water, milk and kuler. After worship, the members of the household take their meal and eat the offerings with coconuts and cucumbers. Only one meal is taken on this day by men and women. No fruits or vegetables are picked on this day nor are fried dishes prepared from them. Farmers do not drive their bullocks to the field on that day.

The worship of the smallpox deity is also quite universal in India among all castes and communities, the wide prevalence of the scourge and the helplessness of the people in the face of it drove them naturally to worship and ritual. The Kharaks worship the deity in summer on Dhokala Terash, quite appropriately as summer is the time when these viral scourges are most active. On this day, they draw the 'Baliakaka' on the walls of the 'paniyara' (Vol.III Pl. 12 a) or the adjacent wall; the drawing is generally done in red (sindur, gulal or red bazar powder) with a match stick or a stub or straw (Volume II Pl. 15). The image is again a square or rectangular court (or fortress) with four openings to the four sides; there are two schematic male figures in the court (a drum-like body, a triangular shoulder on top, flobular head on
the shoulder, arms and legs in single line) inside and the representation of a cradle; there are occasionally other auspicious symbols like swastik, a pyramid of dots, sometimes leaf fillers. The drawing is supposed to ensure both men and cattle safety from the epidemic, the cradle representing children who were generally the worst sufferers. Formerly, it was usual among Kharaks to do clay reliefs of the same motifs, but reliefs are not any more done these days (Vol. III Pl. 12 b).

'Balia Kaka' drawing, however, inspite of its association with the worship of Sitala or smallpox deity, does not represent her in any way. It probably represents some other folk hero (or heroes) who may have come for worship at the same time.43

Pilgrimage is also a ubiquitous Hindu custom; every one dreams of visiting the holy places at least once in his or her life time; some desire to spend their last days in such a place; some go there to atone for a special misdemeanor or evil act. The Kharaks generally go to the centres in the region (Somnath, Dwarka, Junagadh and Dakor) rarely to centres as far as Badrinath, Banaras or Puri. The pilgrims are thought to bring merit both to themselves and to the community they belong to by doing so and so the start and the return of pilgrims is a
In the houses of the pilgrims their womenfolk draw special drawings on the occasion, after cleaning the whole house and replastering the walls, these are done any time of the year when the pilgrims set out, and are done on the walls of the verandah, 'paniyara', the inner room or the cattleshed. On whitewashed walls the drawing is in red — on mud-washed walls in white and red, they are drawn with the same kind of tool, a match stick or straw-stub. Here again (Vol. III Pl. 13 a) a rectangular court is drawn with openings on all the 'four sides' and within this they draw alternate rows of footprints, ladders and swastikas horizontally; each day the pilgrim is away, a footprint, a ladder and a swastik is added till he returns; it ensures his safe journey (the footprint), his mounting aspiration (ladder), and fulfilment and safe return (swastik). Occasionally, the court carries other motifs like women with water pots, leaves, etc.

These various drawings have certainly conventional specifications, but from house to house, and sometimes temple to temple they change in character and configuration. It is usual to see on the village shrines tridents with two hypnotic eyes painted between the three prongs; in the snake drawing the arrangement, clustering, colour
schemes change from house to house; the rectangular courts change in proportion and there are often changes in the motifs (sometimes irrelevant to the concerned myth or belief). In the 'Balla Kaka' drawings it is not unusual to see sometimes that the two male figures have changed into female ones and are churning butter instead of standing in stiff heroic poses; similarly, floral sprigs grow out of the openings of the courts in many cases, making it looks like a pot of flowers. In the foot and ladder drawings, the rows of footprints and ladders overspill the court if the pilgrims take a long time to return.

As different from the above mentioned items the two following categories of drawings are decorative in intent and have, therefore, greater variety in motif and organisation. These are 'Alekh' and 'Ghitar'. These are generally done in the summer months, (the months of March, April and May when the Kharak farmers get a vacation from their fields), when they repair and replaster their houses and paint and decorate them, and hold most of their major social events like weddings, etc., or organise religious discourses.

The traditional Kharak houses are mud-built and mud-plastered; so they get roughed up in the rainy months when the plaster cracks up and flakes out and bares the
inner structure; but these remain so through the dry months of winter and spring when the Kharaks are busy in their fields; they get their attention only in summer.

The repairing etc. is done by Kharak women; they clean the walls, plug the holes and replaster the walls with 'gar'. Gar is waterbound mixture of cow or buffalo dung (chhan), horse dung (lad), clay (preferably yellow coloured clay) and wheat chaff (kucho). For the first plugging of holes and cracks and evening out the following mixture is used:

1. Six to seven baskets of horse dung
   ten to twelve baskets of cow or buffalo dung
   seven baskets of clay
   four baskets of chaff
   four pots of water.

When this dries out, usually in three to four days, a second all-over coat of 'gar' is given. This is slightly different in consistency and proportion of ingredients:

2. Three baskets of horse dung
   five baskets of cow or buffalo dung
   four baskets of clay
   two baskets of chaff
three pots of water.

When this coat dries in two or three days, a final coat of the following ingredients is given:

3. Two baskets of horse dung
   four baskets of cow or buffalo dung
   three baskets of clay
   two pots of water.

This also dries in about two to three days. The 'gar' in each case is 'worked' with the feet, heaped up and kept moist with some water standing in a depression at the top. The mixture made in the above proportion, covers about 24, 89 inch coat and, as will be noted, the first coat is thicker than the rest.

The third layer is laid and rubbed smooth. Often a Kharak woman does this in a semi-circular motion with her palm, and this leads to a pattern on the wall surface (like that of stacked up arches) which is called indigenously 'thap'. The outer walls of a house are finished rougher than the inner walls like that of the verandah, but the walls of the living rooms are even smoother than the verandah walls. The inner walls are generally whitewashed, though the extent to which this is done differs from house to house.
The mud-walls when finished glow with a golden lustre in the sun. Alekh or white drawings are done on these mud-washed walls; chitar or coloured drawings all on the whitewashed walls inside.

The usual locations of 'alekh' are:

(1) Outer walls of the compound, (2) inner walls of the compound, (3) walls of the cattle sheds, (4) walls of the verandah and 'paniyara' (if these are not whitewashed), (5) the back and side walls, (6) occasionally the walls of the kitchen (if it is not whitewashed).

The drawing is done with a white milky mixture of khadi (white earth) in water. This is usually held in a brass or earthen bowl. The drawing is done with one of the following:

(1) A seed stump of bajra, (2) stick of the babul tree chewed into a brush, (3) a stub of straw, (4) a stiff piece of coconut rope, (5) rags, (6) match sticks or in fact anything colours can be layered with.

Where a bajra stump is used, (an immature one) is chosen, as it holds colour better. It is soaked in water for three or four days and softened before use. The
so babul stick is either chewed (as it is used also as a tooth brush) or its tip crushed with a piece of wood or stone to loosen the fibre, as in a brush. The other items are not treated in anyway before use.

The drawings are done either early in the morning or late in the evening when the sunlight does not fall sharply (Vol.III Pl. 13 c, d, e, f) on the walls of the house. The woman who draws dips the stump in the white liquid and begins drawing. Most Kharak women draw, though some do it better than others.

The following are the motifs in 'alekh':-

(1) Square cloth ('chakala'), (2) friezes on doorsides ('chitariya'), (3) embroidered horizontal panel ('toran'), (4) long frieze and middle wall-frieze ('pachhit pati' or 'patto'), all the above being named and patterned after embroidered wall-pieces, (5) growing plant ('chhodava or nana jhad'), (6) potted plant ('chhodava and kunda'), (7) animals:

(a) a feline animal variously called tiger, cheeta, etc. (b) elephant ('hathi'), (c) deer ('haran'), (d) fantastical animal ('marghalo').
(8) Birds:
(a) peacock and peahen (mor and dheli), (b) sparrow (chakali or charkaladi), (c) parrot (popat or suda).

(9) Human figures:
(a) Woman (stri, putali or gopi), (b) Women churning butter-milk (walonun).

(10) (a) Sun (suraj).

There is no special order in which these motifs are used except when they are based on the embroidered pieces, like the chitariyas being used on the sides of the doors, pachhit patis along the borders and the chaklas in the middle of the wall, though the torans are not painted over doorways but anywhere on the wall. The other motifs are drawn all over the wall, often one below the other; they sometimes fill the wall surface or stand out as separate configurations. A kind of symmetry, either straight or dynamic is noticeable in many motifs and their arrangements; in bushes or plants, potted plants, chaklas, or decorated roundels there is an innate symmetry; the birds and animals and figures are often drawn facing each other symmetrically, sometimes with a flowering plant in between. It is also usual for windows, niches, etc. on a painted
The wall drawings of the Kharaks are done every summer and they get washed out in the rains that follow. There are very few that stand out from year to year unless the drawing is safe under a roof (as in the case of a cattle shed) or the house itself is under repair (due to whatever reason). The normal routine for a Kharak is to repair and repaint his house every summer; and so the gallery of painting of the yester-year never remains to follow. So unless someone records these by drawing or photography year to year no massive idea of what they are like is possible. The drawings discussed in this chapter are what have been observed and documented in the last six years in the Kharak villages between Bhavnagar and Mahuva; of these the following villages merit special mention:

Kumbhan, Tared, Ramivada, Bhumbhali, Valukad, Thoradi, Tansa, Trapaja, Bapada, Datha, Bhikada, Vadali, Bhadrod, Neip, Nikol, Pithalpur, Khandera, Liliwaw and Gundarena.

These villages are within reach of each other and so one cannot speak (Vol.III Pl.14 a, b, c, d) definitely of village specialities though occasionally one may notice differences in the work of one group of villages from that of another. In certain villages the wall is framed by
borders and the painted motifs range in between - for instance, plants and chakalas in alternate succession in Vadali, Longiya, Longadi, Bhadroda, Mota Jagadhar villages (Vol.III Pl. 14 c), while in others they are not framed around and motifs themselves have greater variety. Plants, creepers, peacocks facing each other, tiger facing a central plant, churning maids (walomun) etc. (Vol.III Pl. 14 a, b, d & Pl. 15 a, b, c), are seen in Kumbhan, Tared, Ramiwada, villages of Mahuva taluka. Similarly, one may find differences in the character of the figuration too. The felines of Trapaja, Tansa, Bapada, Kobadi, Bhikada, villages near Bhavnagar have a more geometrical construction and inter-texturation with dots, lines, etc., compared to the felines and other animals of Vadali, Bhadrod, Neip, Nikol, Ramivada and Tared villages of Mahuva taluka (Vol.III Pl. 16 a, b) which are less schematic than the former and have curvilinear contours and characteristic poses (though occasionally the curvilinear contours make them look like a feline reptile). Similarly, the chakla motifs in the villages of Ghogha and Bhavnagar talukas have been noticed to have less decorative ornamentation than those of Pithalpur, Khandera and Gundarana of Talaja taluka. But these differences are not stationary enough to become village specialities (or traditions); they are more likely
related to the talent and imagination of a group of women working in a village at a certain time; and these women do tend to move around (especially young girls when they get married into another village). So the group of drawings discussed here or there variety and characteristics are not likely to be the same as what was prevalent before them (more than six years ago) or what would be in the next few years; there is an equal possibility that their variety and quality will be either more or less.

This despite, a study of these drawings will give an insight into the methods of Kharak wall-drawing in the first place and thereof to their methods of design.

In 'alekh', the presence of motifs from wall-embroideries like 'chitariya', 'pachhit-pati' and 'toran' is rare; the most common motif of the kind is 'chakala'. There are very few examples of 'toran' in the drawings and by and large they feature wherever they are, as independent decorative motifs on a long wall surface not on top of doorways where they functionally belong. 'Chitariyas' are more cotton; many doorways are flanked by 'chitariyas' (Vol.II Pl.16 Figs.A,B, C, D, E, F) of some kind or another. In their simplest form 'chitariyas' are broad 'L' shaped bands (of about the shape and size of the embroidered ones) in opaque white edged with a linear zig-zag frill (Vol.II Pl.16 Fig.D). But,
in certain villages they are more elaborately done; in these the body has (like in the embroidered specimens) designed repeats of flower and leaf patterns and occasionally a bird form; the linear zig-zags that edge them also tend to be a little more elaborate (Vol.II Pl. 16 Fig. E), the 'pachhit-pati' in wall-painting stand for long borders that frame or arrangement of motifs on the wall on the top of the bottom or both; at their simplest they are just a frilly zig-zag (Vol.II Pl. 17 Fig. E) at other times they are more elaborate floral scrolls (Vol.II Pl.17 Figs. A, B, C, D). The edge frills of the 'chitariyas' and 'pachhit-patis' are generally of the following kinds (Vol.II Pl.18 Figs. A to H):

(a) Plain angular zig-zag (khuniya).

(b) Angular zig-zag mounted by little tendril hooks (turning one way or the other or crosses like peacock's legs pattern in embroidery) (vankiya or mor-pagala).

(c) Angular zig-zag mounted by leaf or mango form (keri ane pandadi).

(d) Slanting lines mounted by circle or leaf forms (dodavadi).

(e) Line of leaf-sprout forms (kali ane kangara).
(f) Angular zig-zag mounted by leaf-sprout form
  (kali ane mota khuniya).

(g) Angular zig-zag mounted by cross-like lines
  (kangara).

(h) Angular zig-zag mounted by leaf sprout forms
  (morpagala).

The usual fillings for 'chitariyas' are floral and leaf patterns, worked into a square field (Vol. II Pl. 16 Fig. E) with accessory fillers like dots and leaves. The 'pachhit-pati' is generally an angular or curvilinear zig-zag or scroll, sometimes simple (Vol. II Pl. 17 Figs. E, F, G) or a combination of these with floral fillers and mountings (Vol. II Pl. 17 Figs. A, B, C, D). The patterns of the 'chitariyas' and 'pachhit-pati' in alekh do not tend to follow closely the designs current in embroidery (as it happens in 'chitar' specimens) they are more decided by the use of certain form units and graphic gestures. This is seen specially in the case of a motif like the 'chakala'; in the wall drawings it is not always a contained square (or a rectangular) unit like in the embroidered pieces; in most cases it only merits the name to the extent that it is a four-sided symmetrical design; in certain cases it is not even this, but a round ornamental unit. Painted 'chakalas', however, feature like the
embroidered 'chakala' on the body of the wall. They have more formal variety. Among the wall drawings studied for this treatise about 24 variants could be noticed. Their size varies; some of them are as small as 2 sq.ft. while some are much larger, coming near 20 sq. ft.

One of the simplest examples of painted 'chakalas' (Vol.II Pls. 19 to 22) noticed is an opaque white square with a broad leaf-sprout ornament (Vol.II Pl. 19 Fig. A) at the four corners. Occasionally, they superimpose the square diagonally on another to make an eight pointed star and mount each point with a leaf-sprout motif (Vol. II Pl. 19 Fig. B). In the example in question the body of the motif is opaque white while the decorations at the corners are linear. Occasionally in the same kind of form the main square is not filled out with white colour, but only the four lateral triangular projections (Vol.II Pl. 20 Fig.C), this square holds a flower and leaf with side fillers. Another variation to this is that the cross square is contained by the main square and so does not result in a star-like shape, but a diamond shape inside a square. The corner triangles are blocked out and leaf-sprout motif mounted on each angle on the outline, the corner motifs larger than the middle ones. And the central diamond-shaped court holds twelve pointed star with cloven leaf fillers (Vol.II Pl.20 Fig. D), There are a few 'chakala' designs which are mainly squarish
rectangular in the main field but hold different kinds of divisions or motifs inside it and have a variety of edgings. The simplest one is a square divided into a chess-board pattern (and alternate units blocked) and edged by an angular zig-zag, with crosses mounted on the angle (similar to the peacock's legs design in embroidery). Both these patterns are in use in embroidery though not quite in the same way (Vol. II Pl. 19 Fig. E). Another is a rectangular field with regular diagonal divisions criss-crossing (breaking it into a diamond pattern). This is edged by an angular zig-zag border and the corners are mounted by leaf sprout design (Vol. II Pl. 20 Fig. E). The fields are broken in various ways in various 'chakalas' of this kind. One example has a chess-board breaking, but has a dot decorating each vacant square and its edging is varied. It has a leaf sprout design at the corners and an angular zig-zag going round, but the central triangle on each side is more prominent than the rest and is itself crowned by a leaf sprout design (Vol. II Pl. 20 Fig. E).

There are a number of 'chakalas' that are squares or rectangles that break into rectilinear units, some equal (Vol. II Pl. 19 Fig. F, Pl. 20 Figs. A, B, C & Pl. 21 Fig. A) some not so equal each of which undergo further division into triangular sub-units and produce patterns similar to or reminiscent of the traditional 'Koliful' and 'Dabla' patterns of embroidery.
Some have corner stresses with leaf-sprout design (Vol.II Pl.20 Figs. A, B) or leaf-bunch; some have edging of angular zig-zag (Vol.II Pl.20 Fig.C & Pl.21 Fig.A), some lateral stresses in triangle and leaf-bunch pattern (Vol.II Pl.20 Fig.C), triangle and cross triangle and leaf (Vol.II Pl.20 Fig.A). There are some rectangular 'chakalas' that break into rectilinear units but carry design sub-units that are not rectilinear (Vol.II Pl.21 Fig. B), like arches others that have a rectangular format but not continuing edge (Vol.II Pl.21 Fig. B) or have a rectangular hub but have side details radiating from it from the corners and sides (Vol.II Pl.21 Fig. B). The other varieties are square 'chakalas' with a central floral or star motifs (Vol.II Pl.21 Fig. B), square 'chakalas' that divide into four square units each with a floral motif (Vol.II Pl.19 Fig. D), square 'chakalas' with star form in the middle encircled by a leaf scroll (Vol.II Pl.21 Fig.B), all of which have simple angular zig-zag edging and leaf and sprout corner stresses. Besides this, there are some square or rectangular samples with simple or dotted chess-board pattern in the field but have corner and lateral stresses of a more prominent kind using leaf sprout, leaf, and plant forms in various combinations, sometimes rounding up the square format (Vol.II Pl.20 Figs. E, F), others that have floral edge stresses of a similar kind (Vol.II Pl.21 Figs. C, D & Pl.22 Fig. A) but have floral patterns in the field.
(Vol. II Pl. 21 Figs. C, D) or use, instead, a motif like the swastik (Vol. II Pl. 22 Fig. A). There are occasional examples of bird forms in a chakala (Vol. II Pl. 22 Fig. G) which, in this case, is the traditional motif of two peacocks facing each other and sharing a single head, and this example has an edging of leaf-sprout pattern and corner stresses of leaf bunch motif. Among the painted chakala's there are also certain specifically round specimens, the method of building which is more or less as follows:

(a) Draw a straight square.

(b) Superimpose another square of the same size diagonally on it to make an eight-pointed star shape.

(c) Mount each point with a leaf-sprout design, tilting the leaves from adjacent points to join in an arch,

(d) and fill the spaces so painted with flower or star or other motifs (Vol. II Pl. 20. Fig. D).

A close look at these various designs will reveal that they are built up with fairly simple form components, squares with various rectilinear divisions, triangles, curving leaf units (both pointed and rounded), leaf-sprout units eight-pointed star, eight-petalled flowers and their
various composites (Vol. II Pls. 46, 46(1)) and these units have with deft manipulation built an enormous number of patterns.

The plant motifs found in the wall drawings (Vol. II Pls. 23 to 27) are also built with similar units, the plants generally grow upward from a triangular mound, or a pot like structure as results when leaf sprout motifs are added to the two base angles (Vol. II Pl. 23 Fig. G) or bucket shaped pots of various kinds (Vol. II Pl. 23 Figs. E, F, B, C). Occasionally the stem grows out of a bristly seed. There are simple one-stem plants with different kinds of foliage ranged on both sides (Vol. II Pl. 23 Figs. E, F), or mounted with a flower (Vol. II Pl. 23 Figs. C, B) then there are examples with a three-fold branching straight from the bottom (Vol. II Pl. 23 Figs. H, I & Pl. 24 Fig. F) with a variety of foliage forms and top stresses. Then there are number of other plants forms, which have more variety in branching, leafage and floral ornaments; some in which the branching is lateral and parallel or near parallel (Vol. II Pl. 23 Figs. C & Pl. 24 Figs. C, D & Pl. 25 Fig. A), some in which the branching is divergent, some going up, some down (Vol. II Pl. 24 Fig. E & Pl. 25 Fig. D), others in which the branching is in rhythmic curves that move up or down (Vol. II Pl. 25 Fig. E & Pl. 26 Fig. A). Apart from these there are some drawings of 'Purna Kumbha', which are realised with
deft combinations of two or more basic forms (Vol.II Pl. 24 Fig. B), the triangle and the leaf-sprout; the plants themselves, however, various, are all realised with a small repertory of units (Vol.III Pl. 46); the variety is largely due to the varied organisation in space and the manipulation of the proportion of the component elements (Vol.II Pl. 25 Figs. B, C). Of late, there is a number of plant motifs that seem as if they are growing out of pots of various shapes (Vol.II Pl. 23 Figs. D, E), which the Kharak women describe as 'anhodava ane kunda'; this probably arises out of their familiarity of orchard saplings in pots or baskets of various shapes, or the currency among them of the drawing teachers' 'flower-pot' motif, or (as mentioned already an incidental combination of motifs though this last reason will not explain the use of many of the pot shapes current today).

But a major speciality of the Kharak women are their animal drawings. The most popular animal in the wall drawings is a kind of 'feline' variously described as tiger (when it has stripped decoration on the body), cheeta, leopard, panther (when it has spotted decorations on the body) and of these more than 24 varieties of representation have been noticed in the last few years. The next in popularity is the elephant, and the next to that is 'margha-lo', a mythical beast having formal characteristics of bird
and beast, and, lastly, 'deer', which rarely occurs in the paintings. While the feline or tiger, elephant and the 'marghalo' feature in Kharak embroidery, and their representation in wall drawings have some similarities to the embroidered motifs, the horse and the cow are almost absent in Kharak wall drawings in white.

The feline motif has, as has been mentioned, considerable varieties in image, some simple and schematic, some more elaborate in descriptive detail. But they look unmistakably feline, some standing, some sitting, some moving; their profile body, frontal face and straight, alert or slouchy stances and the heavy outline, as most of them have, mark them out as such. The simplest among them have a rectangular body with a neck and head rising vertically from the shoulder end (Vol.II Pl. 28 Figs. A, B, C, D & Pl. 29 Fig. E); the hind part is rectilinear in some (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs. B, C) rounded in others (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs. A, D & Pl.29 Fig. E), the body is narrow in some, almost of the same dimension as neck (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig. A & Pl.29 Fig. E), while in others it is broader (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs. C, B). The frontal faces are of various kinds, round (Vol.II Pl. 28 Fig. A & Pl. 29 Fig. E), rectangular (Vol. II Pl.28 Figs. B, C, D) with straight or diagonal divisions; and the body is marked in some with slanting stripes (Vol.II Pl.28
Fig. A), in some angular stripes (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.B & Pl.29 Fig. E), in others diamond pattern (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs.C, D), or spots. Another variation is where these feline forms are drawn with a tubular body in a flattened curve (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs. H & Pl.29 Figs. A, B, C, D). They too have striped (Vol.II Pl.29 Figs. B, C) or spotted (Vol.II Pl.29 Figs. A, B) bodies, have rounded heads and contours. The felines of the first group are seen with four (or more) legs, straight or slanting one way or the other (except in the case of Vol. II Pl. 28 Fig. D), the felines with the tubular body are shown only with two though in certain cases as in (Vol.II Pl. 29 Figs. A, B) the body mass itself curves round to make the hind leg (or legs). All these felines have prominent ears except (whose pronounced outline, however, does cover up this lack), some of spiky conical form (Vol.II Pl.29 Figs. A, B, C, D) and some of diamond form (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.B) or leaf form (Vol.II Pl.28 Figs. C,D), and tails that curve towards the body or seem active in an S form or a double curve. Another group of felines (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.F & Pl.29 Figs. G,H) have a straight belly line supported on four legs, (Vol.II Pl.29 Fig.G) or on two (Vol.II Pl.29 Fig.H) or on five (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.F), but have a slanting back line (making the hind part of the body broader than the shoulder part), or curving or straight (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.F & Pl.29
Figs. G, H), and their necks rise slender and straight from the shoulder supporting globular heads with individual expressions, individually shaped ears, and each having a head ornament. There are a number of felines with squat necks and heavy bodies, some with heavily patterned body (almost like a 'chakala') to seem a dressed-up or armoured cat (Vol.II Pl.28 Fig.E), others have textured coats typically feline (Vol.II Pl.31 Fig. B). There are some drawings of childlike naivete (Vol.II Pl.31 Figs. F, H) which for all their summary detail have a feline presence of sorts. The faces or masks of these various felines make an interesting line-up (Vol.II Pl.35 Figs.A to T) they range from the geometrical to the human, with a surprising variety of expression.

The 'marghala' motifs in Kharak wall drawings are not different from those found in embroidery except that the representation is linear (Vol.II Pl.30 Figs.E, F). The elephant motifs too have similarities to what is found in embroidery (Vol.II Pl.33 Figs. C, D & Pl.34 Fig.D) a broad body with stripes cutting across, a superstructure (or howda) with floral fillers, but certain forms (Vol.II Pl.33 Fig.F & Pl.34 Fig. A) have similarities to forms in folk terracottas (which Kharaks do not use, and are not found in the region), especially the one mounted by a small figure (Vol.II Pl.34 Fig. F). It is interesting to notice that while
in certain elephant drawings (Vol.II Pl.33 Fig.A) the tusks are realistically positioned, in others (Vol.II Pl.34 Figs. B, C) they are shown as appendages to the trunk. In one of the villages an unfinished drawing of an elephant was found to have been done in the same way as a feline discussed ahead (Vol.II Pl.34 Fig. F) with a body design like that of a 'chakala'.

There are very few representations of deer in Kharak wall drawings though some felines have deer-like stances, necks and ears (Vol.II Pl. 28 Figs. B, H); the few representations of deer are in fact more schematic than that of other animals (Vol.II Pl.33 Fig.E) its body is made up of two triangles in horizontal formation (even as the human figures are often made with two triangles in vertical formation) and the indications of ears, hoofs, even face is in terms of linear or leafy appendages and there are plant motifs grown on the body. This kind of schematisation is seen in neolithic drawings all over the world, with certain regional differences.

The birds of Kharak wall drawings (Vol.II Pl.36, 37) are mostly peacock; only an occasional parrot or sparrow. There are a variety of peacock forms, some more stylished than the other; an interesting pair on a village wall, quite
lively in gesture, seeming like two peasants accosting each other can be seen in (Vol. III Pl. 16 b). The rest have largely been stylized, like the ones seen in embroidery, the neck, body, wing, and tail made of leaf-like forms in various alignments and various textural divisions (Vol. II Pl. 36 Figs. B, D, E, H & Pl. 37 Figs. A, F). The representations of parrots are fewer, like the interesting one perched on the side of a circular chakala (Vol. II Pl. 21 Fig. G) of the (Vol. II Pl. 36 Fig. C) but in each case their characteristic proportions, stance, and gesture are invariably there (Vol. II Pl. 37 Fig. F).

The scorpion motif is seen here and there, very often below plant motifs; they have generally a lozenge-shaped body with two curved tentacles on one side and a forked tail on the other (Vol. II Pl. 24 Fig. G) they are more or less the same in each representation with slight shape and textural variations on the body.

The human figure (Vol. II Pls. 38, 39, 40) is also comparatively rare in wall drawings and is usually seen in the wakamun (charming maid) motif. This motif represents two figures on each side of a churning rod which stands in a pot, cross lines joining the two figures (or their hands) indicating the churning rope. The figures are generally schematic with distinct geometrical components, the common ones being a triangle below (to show a skirt-like form) and a diamond
standing vertically on it (to show the torso) (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. B, C, D, E, F). The diamond has on top a globular head, sometimes as small as a dot (Vol.II Pl.38 Fig. A), sometimes blank circles (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. B, C, F), sometimes having some facial features like an eye (Vol.II Pl.38 Fig. E) or nose, eye-brow and mouth (Vol.II Pl.38 Fig. D). The legs come below the base of the triangle and feet turn towards the churn pot in either case, the hands generally come out from the side angles of the diamond with a definite gesture (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. A, C, E, F), but occasionally they come from the top or the top point as in (Vol. II Pl.38 Figs. B, D). The round heads are in most cases flanked on the inner side by a beak like triangular shape (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. B, C, D, E, F) rarely on the other side; this gives them often a bird-like look (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. E, E, F), some of these have a balancing spiral plume on the other side (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. C, F). The visual logic of this beak-like projection on one side and plume on the other is not clear; they probably stand for nose and hair respectively or on indication head cloth on one side and hair on the other. In certain drawings the figures are differentiated in character or sex (Vol.II Pl. 39 Fig. C), where one of the figures seems to be male and the other female (male and female, or Krishna and Radha, churning butter being an accepted motif in the region);
this difference is made out from the differences in details of dress (Vol.II Pl. 39 Fig.C). In many drawings corners and joints have ornamental stresses or appendages, leaf-like tassels at the middle joint indicating the waist (Vol. II Pl. 38 Figs. C, F), a triangular embellishment (echoing the beak form on the side of the head) at the middle joint (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. B, E), corner tassels in leaf-sprout design (Vol.II Pl. 38 Figs. C, F) or corner embellishment with spiral plume (Vol. II Pl.38 Fig. B). Some of these drawings have contours (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. A, E) and some textural variations on the body (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. D, E, F) in line or checks. The churn-stick keeps its identity in certain drawings (Vol.II Pl. 38 Figs. A, C, D) in others it becomes a ceremonial plant (Vol.II Pl.38 Figs. B, E, F); one can read into this motif a slight phallic/fertility implication, especially when the figure participants are male and female and the central motif is variably a churn stick or a folk equivalent of tree of life.47

Apart from these one sees occasionally a figure of the Sun, a central circle with curved leaf forms arranged around in an anti-clock or clockwise succession giving it a sense of motion (Vol.II Pl. 37 Fig. G), one also sees occasionally drawings of a non-traditional kind (Vol.III Pl. 16 & c, d), featuring motifs seen in drawing books, posters etc.
The Kharak women, however, have also reacted in their own personal way to new visual facts like 'railway trains', (Vol.II Pl.41 Figs. A to C, Pl.42 Figs. A to D) 'bus' etc., now part of their daily environment and this has resulted in a few motifs representing these. In one white drawing it is interpreted in a traditional way, the compartments being a row of small rectangles criss-crossed by diagonals almost, like in a 'dabla pattern' (Vol.II Pl.42 Fig. C) and its wheels are small and round (as a row of mirror pieces in embroidery); its smoke stream is represented by a decorative club-like form. But in two other drawings they try something more distinctive; in one it is like a small centipede with a narrow front (engine) with a smoke snout and whose each body division (compartment) carries a spidery little figure (passenger) (Vol.II Pl. 42 Fig. D). In another the engine is round headed and has a driver at a steering wheel and possibly an attendant inside the body, and the chain of compartments are like a row of arched huts, some blocked by decorating surfaces (Vol.II Pl.42 Fig. B) and some carrying figures (drawn like the traditional 'gopi' or 'walonun' figures).

As already mentioned the various motifs described above are not painted on the walls in any conventional order; each Kharak woman painter does it according to her
taste and judgment; sometimes they happen to be closely packed and framed, at other times more freely disposed around; but in either case they have a sense of surprise and cohesion; cohesion through a repetition of similar units, surprise through the juggling around of these units in an unexpected way. So even if there is an effort at symmetry (like alternative repeats, like motifs facing each other, especially animal and bird motifs) it is never static and hidebound. Similarly, the imperfections of hand drawings give even the largely geometrical form groups a quivering tension.

To give an idea of how the paintings are organized on the village walls, an attempt is made to describe some of the specimens shown in the illustrations:

Kharak wall-drawings take wide recourse to the representation of the flowering plants, often surrounded by birds or animals. Sometimes they are featured single as in (Vol.III Pl. 17 a) or in rows as in (Vol.III Pl.18 a, b, d). There are quite a variety of plant images, some growing up, some spreading out; some with spindly and some with large leaves and flowers. Very often the plant motifs alternate in row with the 'chakala' motif or with these of birds or animals. The usual organisation is a row of symmetrical units as in (Vol.III Pl. 18 a, b, c) or in or (Vol.III Pl.18 d)
but occasionally the organisation is more informal as in (Vol.III Pl. 19 b) and gives a delightful spatial feeling. Sometimes the groupings are closely packed like in field embroidery (Vol.III Pl. 18 a, b, c, e & Pl. 19 a).

The normal wall drawing is a single unit, usually symmetrical; like a plant flanked by birds or beasts, or a 'chakala', or a figure flanked by beasts (Vol.III Pl.15 a, b, c & Pl. 18 d) etc. On a big wall these units grow in a planned (Vol.III Pl. 18 a, b, c) or unplanned ways (Vol.III Pl.19 b). Often various small units are drawn around the main row. But this despite most of the groupings have a sense of decorative compactness, or at least liveliness, because of the repetitive use of same form units (as in leaves, birds) or linear breakings (on sides of animals, roots of plants, bird feathers) or textures (on flowers, birds, animals), even similar directions repeating in various components.

Some of the organisations are planned decorations like embroideries (Vol.III Pl. 18 a, b, c, e) which are not so planned are even livelier (Vol.III Pl.17 c & Pl.18 d and Pl.19 b).

Probably, this freedom comes from a free use of their native imagination. When they come to imitating sundry
visual data (Vol. III Pl. 19 c), the results are far from satisfactory.

Alekh or wall drawing which is also practised by other peasant communities around. The Ayars and the Pancholis come very close to the Kharaks in the importance they give to wall drawings. They all use the same variety of motifs, and draftsmanship, though the Kharak drawings have an edge over theirs in technical freshness and in their wide use of animal and bird forms. The Kolis, Karadia, Rajputs and Paliwal Brahmins also draw, but their drawings are largely based on embroidered items like toran, chitariya, chakala, etc. and, among other motifs, 'walonum' (especially amongst Paliwal Brahmins). We have reason to believe that Kharak wall-drawings have made an impact on the neighbouring Rabaris and Bharwads (who being traditional itinerant groups had no wall-drawing tradition), and they too have started doing wall-drawing in a small way. This is also partially true of the Kumbhars of the region (Vol.III Pl. 22 c).

'Chitar' or coloured wall-drawings are done on the whitewashed walls of a Kharak house; they are generally seen on:

(a) the walls of verandah, (b) the walls of the
'paniyara', (c) the walls of the inside room, (d) the sides of the Kothis or Kothala, (clay built storage pots or cupboards).

They are not done on plain mud-washed walls.

The colours used are the usual packet colours found in the Kharak towns or villages: (a) Ultra marine (gali), (b) Indian red (geru), (c) red (rato), (d) green (lilo), (e) blue (bhuro), (f) brown (kathai), (g) black (kalo), which are generally bought in a Vohra's (haberdasher's) shop. They are generally bought in small quantities, never a whole packet. Each colour is prepared in water in an earthenware or metal vessel and ground down by the fingers.

Occasionally, the colours are ground in milk and warmed up over the hearth and the warm mixture stirred with a little sugar. This colour mixture holds to the wall better and the colours dry brighter and shinier, as milk and sugar make good colour binders.

The drawing is done by match sticks or straw stub, but the painting is done by a stick of babul tree chewed into a brush at one end. For softer laying of colour a piece of cotton tied to a babul stick makes a dabber.
Chitar, like Alekh, is done exclusively by Kharak women, of all ages. Most women take part in the painting, the more adept drawing the outlines. They are done (like alekh again) on special occasions like weddings and 'Aath' etc., when the house gets renovated. If women who draw come from outside the family circle, they are compensated with some gift or service and invited for the feast during the celebrations.

The process of drawing is simple; the woman holds the pan of colour in her left hand and draws with the right; while drawing on the lower wall she squats on the floor with her pans of colour around; in the middle of the wall she does the drawing standing or sitting on a stool, she stands on a high stool or a cot while working on the upper part of the wall.

Straight lines, vertical or horizontal, are made by holding a string dipped in colour against wall and vibrating it with a pull of the fingers. The usual colour used for this is ultramarine or brown. The outlines of shapes are drawn in either ultramarine blue, black or brown. For this a match stick or straw stub comes into use and since they do not hold much paint the lines are done in small strokes. So they tend to be a little uneven, despite the best efforts of the artists to make them neat and clean. This, however, does not detract very much from the quality of the work. When the outlines dry, the colours are filled in with the babul stick
brushes. Since the ground of the wall is not painted and hardened before painting, the paint moves a little of the whitewash below. So the first coat of colour is generally uneven and chalky. The second coat gives it evenness and strength of hue. After these dry the finishing lines, dots, etc. are added mostly by a match stick.

The motifs used in 'chitar' are more or less similar to those used in 'alekh'; the differences are few. In 'chitar' too there are motifs based on embroidered wall-hangings like 'torans', 'pachhit-pati', 'Chitariyas', as are found in 'alekh'. However, unlike in 'alekh', they paint other motifs like middle wall friezes and 'todaliyas' and semi-circular borders on the arches of the 'paniyara'. The animal motifs used in 'chitar' are also similar, like the felines, 'marghalo', elephant, rabbit, cow, also the birds and insects, peacock, parrots, sparrow and scorpion. The plant motifs used include plants grounded or potted plants and flowers on stem or flowering creeper; the human figures are either 'gopi' or 'walonun'. Besides these (as in 'alekh') the Kharak women have, of late, tried to make motifs of railway trains, buses, etc.

The 'chitar' based on embroidered wall hangings conform to the character and design of the embroidered pieces closer than 'alekh'. The 'torans' & 'chakalas' mainly used the chess-board and peacock's legs pattern for borders and 'koliful'
pattern for fillings, the number of units differ with the size and dimensions of these, there are 'torans' with five square divisions, there are others with eight and more similarly there are 'chakalas' with four square divisions, they are others with nine. Colours used for fillings are not exactly what are used in embroidery but they are equally bright, the normal colours used being yellow, orange, red, green and blue. The white is used as an additional colour with usually striking results; and the order of colour changes is elaborate enough to be lively. The chess-board pattern is generally done in blue and white, as also similar criss-cross or stripped relief bands. The 'chitariyas' (Vol. III Pl.20 a, c, d) also follow the same system, the designs keep close to the embroideries; sometimes all the component squares carry 'koliful' pattern; at other times they carry representations of flower or tiger or leopard. The 'pachhit-patis' or the mūd-wall friezes are generally floral scrolls.

The animal motifs used in chitar are fewer and of less variety than in alekh. The felines (Vol. III Pl.20 a, b, c, d, e) do not often have the linear elegance and playfulness of the white drawings, though one can notice about 10 kinds of these. Some of these are similar to those seen in embroidery, though a little cruder in shape and gesture. There are variations of this which do not show similarity in
shape with the motif commonly seen in embroidery but have
colour divisions appropriate to it, bands of bright blue,
orange, yellow and green each divided by outline in ultra-
marine. There are also some drawings of felines rather square
in shape as featured in painted 'chitariyas' or as separate or
twin units on the wall (Vol.II Pl.32 Figs. A, B). Occasionally
some of these forms are rather naive in concept and have
floral details added on though they have a charm of their
own (Vol.II Pl.31 Figs. C, E) (Vol.III Pl.21 a). Two samples
of drawings, however, stand out for their refinement, one
specially for its shape and almost anthropomorphic face with
a bindi or caste mark on the forehead (Vol.II Pl.32 Fig. G)
and another for its lively pose, and recticulated coat (Vol.
II Pl.31 Fig. D).

'Marghalo' occurs in the 'chitar' now and again and is
similar to the embroidered motif. So also the elephant form,
some of them more realistic (Vol.III Pl.21 b). One of the
animal motifs that one sees in chitar (and not in alekh) is
the cow; these are seen on the walls sometimes on the sides
of doorways or in a twin formation facing a plant (Vol.III
Pl. 21 c).

The plant motifs are, however, the most numerous
in 'chitar'. Apart from the plant or floral scrolls that go up
the side of the walls, or across the middle of the wall.
lothal, Kothal, etc., are generally painted with loose plant motifs of various kinds. Like in 'alekh, some of them grow from a small triangular mounds (Vol. III Pl. 21 d), some from pots or baskets of various kinds (Vol. II Pl. 25 Figs. A, C & Pl. 26 Figs. B, C, E). Most of the plant forms are not unlike those in 'alekh, there are some of them which are single stem growth (Vol. II Pl. 27 Fig. C), some which have simple straight branches (Vol. II Pl. 26 Fig. D), some which have branch and leaf units of different kinds (Vol. II Pl. 27 Figs. A, B).

With their bright colour, fillings, they are an impressive variety. The plant motifs in 'chitar' have a large variety of leaf and flower units (Vol. II Pl. 43 Figs. A, B, C) and, as seen already, a plant motif might use a number of these (Vol. II Pl. 24 Figs. A, D). Birds like peacocks, parrots, etc., are generally seen together with the plant motifs, they are most commonly seen with a plant motif on the 'panyaras', sometimes on the arches of the 'panyara' (Vol. III Pl. 20 b), sometimes on the walls in various places, positioned either above the plant in pairs (facing each other) or at the foot, as if picking at the root (Vol. III Pl. 17 b). The peacock forms are of various types, some follow closely the simple unit configurations as one sees in embroidery (Vol. II are Pl. 36 Fig. A). Others, more realistic (Vol. II Pl. 36 Fig. G), while there are some in-between types which share the
characteristics of both (Vol.III Pl.22 a, b). Of late, one sees even more realistic types that follow pattern book and calendar images but they are not as well conceived as the others.

The parrot and sparrow forms are fewer. The human figure motifs that feature in chitar are of two main kinds, the single female figure, generally known as woman or 'putli' (doll) (Volume II Plate 40) and the female or female-male pairs called 'walonum'. Although some of these figure motifs are schematic almost like the ones in alekh (Vol.II Pl. 38 Fig.A), there is a tendency for them to get more naturalistic of sorts in certain others, by getting padded with muscular curvatures (Vol.II Pl.38 Fig. B) or getting more precisely descriptive limb and hair details (Vol. II Pl. 38 Fig. C). In certain other drawings, especially in 'walonum' groups they get floral embellishments that make them look naturalistic, at least in general contour (Vol.II Pl.39 Fig. A) or they get differentiated in sex through secondary sexual characteristics like two globular breasts on the chest (Vol.II Pl.39 Figs. B, C) indicating a female; or through dress and coiffure characteristics. A plaited hair, and skirt-blouse contour indicates a female and a robe-like costume and bare head the male (Vol.II Pl.39 Figs. C, D). The difference is indicated through other
associational details like a crown on the head of a male and globular pots on the head of a female (Vol.II Pl.39 Fig.B). In 'walonun' groups the churn-stick keeps its identity in certain examples and in certain others becomes a plant or tree and there are more examples of male-female 'walonun' pairs in chitar than in alekh (Vol.II Pl.39 Fig. B).

The Kharak woman has used her natural ingenuity to forge simple 'graphic' equivalents to non-traditional visual facts like railway train, buses, etc. in 'chitar' too. In 'chitar' they are a little more elaborate. The engines are of various shapes, some pointed, torpedo like (Vol.II Pl.42 Fig. A), some rounded in front (Vol.II Pl.41 Figs. A, B), some old fashioned and rectangular (Vol.II Pl.41 Fig.C).

Some of them show figures in them, a headless driver at the steering wheel (Vol.II Pl.41 Fig.A) or a whole village group of women and children (Vol.II Pl.41 Fig.A), and the compartments are fairly convincing in certain cases (Vol.II Pl.41 Fig.A & Pl.42 Fig. B); in others they look like houses in a procession (Vol.II Pl.41 Figs. B, C) and they have human figure representations in them, like a whole row of romping children (Vol.II Pl.41 Fig. A). The Kharak woman-artists' encounter with urban visual material like pattern-books, posters, or the influence of drawing teachers of the local schools has not been so happy in its results; the plant,
bird, lotus, and rabbit motifs are lumpy and uninteresting. (Vol. III Pl. 23 a). Though occasionally, when they feature together with familiar motifs (as peacocks with the plant), they do get organised in some measure and the results are not too unhappy. The worst results are where the Kharaks of some graphic talent copy the illustrations from cheap illustrated literature.

An attempt is made below to describe the painting in the interior of particular Kharak house (measurements of the verandah wall being 18' x 12').

A toran is painted on the main doorways (Vol. II Pl. 44. A in Drg) and two chitariyas are depicted with chess-board design on both sides of the doorframe. A roundel is drawn around a wooden peg to the left of the toran (see C, in the Drg.) and a 'walonun' motif is painted to the left of that roundel (see D, in the Drg.). A tiger is painted to the left of the chitariya (see E, in Drg.) and a mango-motif pattern decorates the outer edges of the niche adjacent to the tiger (see F in the Drg.). A flowering plant is drawn below that niche (see G, in the Drg.).

Other motifs are painted on right side of the wall. An elephant is depicted to the right of the toran (see H, in the Drg.) and a straight plant topped by a double parrot
motif below the elephant (see I, in the Drg.). A 'chakala' having criss-cross filling in the body is on the right (see J, in the Drg.). A plant with paired peacocks is drawn below the 'chakala' (see K, in the Drg.).

All major motifs, subsidiary shapes, patterns and details are first outlined with match stick in ultramarine blue or brown. Later on divisions of shapes and large components of motifs are filled in by various colours, e.g., yellow, orange, red, light green, dark green, dark blue, brown, etc. These colours are applied two to three times to get the necessary brightness. The colour scheme is not descriptive; like in embroidery colours are used to divide and add liveliness to the shapes.\footnote{50}

Like 'alekh', the Ayars, Pancholies and Kolis of the region also paint 'chitar' and some of these show remarkable refinement. It is likely that some of these are not done entirely by themselves, but with the help of adepts from other communities.

Although Kharak women do still practice 'alekh' and 'chitar' on a considerable scale, the Kharak men look upon it with cynicism. In their eyes the embroidered costumes and the painted mud-houses are the symbols of backwardness. They would rather not have them, especially the younger generation.
So, when some of the more affluent Kharaks build pucca (or permanent) houses with brick, mortar, cement, they disallow painting on it for a variety of reasons saying it is not functional or it does not fit the image of the house or the sense of social status it indicates. But despite this, some Kharaks do commission their masons to do some kind of decoration on their walls, some based on traditional motifs (Vol.III Pl. 23 b), others based on motifs drawn from drawings, books, book illustrations, posters, even party symbols (Vol.III Pl.23 c). They are not of high aesthetic quality in comparison to the traditional wall decorations; they are rigid in division, while the latter are fluid and cover the wall in an informal meander, their motifs are not well-organised inspite of their trying to imitate sophisticated drawings, while the traditional forms show much liveliness and virtuosity within a simple repertory. These are done by professional masons, not peasants working close to the landscape, and so they lack environmental references. But this despite the fact that they are being done is interesting in itself and if many people commission masons to do so and press on them their specifications, a new tradition of decorative masonry may still grow. But such houses as carry such decoration are few at present. Most of the other houses prefer to be undecorated and drab like those of the urban middle class. Very similar in quality are the white
decorations on walls, doors, etc. pounced through stencils (Vol.III Pl. 23 d). The motifs are crude and not designed for the purpose and they show no awareness of the traditional motifs which would have readily lent themselves for such use. The stencils themselves seem to have been produced by the some hack-artists who decorate metal trunks.

From the above survey of the wall paintings of the Kharaks the following facts emerge:

1. The wall-painting, like embroidery, is at present a woman's art and its practice depends partly on their attitudes.

2. The wall-painting is related to the seasonal reconditioning of mud-plastered houses and the involvement of Kharak women in this activity; it will be a different story if the houses are lime or cement plastered or the reconditioning work is left to professionals.

3. In Kharak wall-painting the motifs and techniques are, like in their embroidery (especially wall-pieces), simple and within the reach of the skill of the average person; and the materials and tools used are of easily availability.
4. The fact that the Kharak women are active peasants living close to the landscape gives their motifs, regardless of their simple, geometrical or quasi-geometrical components (without any pretension to study and delineate the facts around) a pulsating liveliness and often a sense of delightful playfulness (Vol.II Pl.45).

5. They are able to construe to themselves new or unfamiliar visual facts within their familiar vocabulary of forms with considerable charm and freedom, but when confronted with prototypes of models outside these, lose their confidence and judgment.