CHAPTER IV

KHARAK EMBROIDERY

Among the arts of the Kharaks embroidery\(^1\) doubtless has first place. They still embroider in quantity and have maintained persistent good taste and liveliness. All Kharak women embroider, regardless of age or position in life\(^2\); Kharak girls begin learning this skill as soon as they can thread a needle and most of them start work on skirt pieces by the time they are eight or nine. Embroidery is considered one of the main accomplishments\(^3\) of Kharak girls; it is usual to hear in a Kharak village people appreciating a girl's devotion to the craft with remarks such as "See, this girl has almost ruined her eyes by constantly embroidering!" or "See, this girl never gets tired of embroidering!" (Vol.III Pl. 24 a, b).

The Kharaks say that they learned the art from the Kanbis (from whom they learned the art of farming too, when they settled down in Dholka\(^4\)) over 200 years ago. Even today Kharak costume is about the same as the traditional costume of the 'Kanbis' and similar peasant groups\(^5\) and there are similarities in the motifs, patterns and stitches that they use. Over the years, however, Kharak embroidery has taken on
certain special characteristics (in turn affecting the embroidery of the other groups) and today, probably because the Kharaks are among the more prosperous farmers of the region and are conservative in their habits, has increased greatly in practice (while in the other communities it has registered a corresponding decrease). For the Kharaks of today home-embroidered fabrics, (for costumes, house decoration or decoration of cattle) are an essential part of the matrimonial gifts that go with a bride at the time of her wedding or with a young married woman at the time of her three "Anas" or the celebration of her first pregnancy. These are never bought or commissioned as a matter of custom; each girl makes her own pieces helped by other women of her family. And each Kharak woman takes pride in her skill and artistry in embroidery and enjoys showing her handiwork around (Vol. III Pl. 24 c). These gifts are sizeable; the norms of gift prevalent in an average household today are as follows:

The parents give as gifts to their daughter at the time of her marriage and later, her three 'Anas'.

(a) Forty to fifty embroidered blouse pieces ('kapada').

Thirty to fifty embroidered short-skirt ('chaniya') at the time of the first 'Ana'.
(b) Ten to fifteen embroidered blouse pieces ('kapada').

Four to five embroidered short-skirts ('chaniya').

Several embroidered wall pieces and animal covers at the time of the second 'Ana'.

(c) Four embroidered blouse pieces ('kapada').

Two to four embroidered short-skirts ('chaniya').

Two to four embroidered cradle-cloth ('khoya').

At the time of Third 'Ana'.

The various traditional items that Kharak women embroider today can be listed as follows:

1. Wall-pieces - (Embroidered textile hangings with which the Kharaks decorate their walls, doors and windows on special occasions).

2. Costume-pieces - (Embroidered short-skirts and blouses that Kharak women and embroidered jackets that Kharak children wear).

4. Miscellaneous items - (Cradle cloths, quilts, bags, gaming-cloth, etc.)

(1) The wall pieces are of the following kinds:

(a) Toran\textsuperscript{16} - horizontal embroidered frieze to go over door, entrance etc.

(b) Pawnkhulyan\textsuperscript{17} - smaller version of toran.

(c) Chakal\textsuperscript{18} - embroidered square cloth.

(d) Chitariya\textsuperscript{19} - embroidered friezes to flank the sides of a doorway.

(e) Todaliya\textsuperscript{20} - embroidered roundels for the sides of torans.

(f) Gol-Takiya - round embroidered cushions.

(g) Padado - embroidered door-hanging in the shape of a divided curtain.

(h) Sakhiya\textsuperscript{21} - embroidered covers for the two vertical inner sides of the door frame.

(2) The costume pieces are of the following kinds:

(a) Chaniyo\textsuperscript{22} - embroidered short-skirt.

(b) Kapadun\textsuperscript{23} - embroidered blouse.

(c) Bandi - child's embroidered jacket.

(3) The animal covers are mainly:

(a) Jhul\textsuperscript{24} - embroidered back cover for bullocks.

(b) Shingrotia\textsuperscript{25} - embroidered horn cover for bullocks.
An account of the various items is listed and described ahead. The items are tackled in consecutive order. At the beginning, each major group (as 'wall pieces', 'costume pieces', etc.) is introduced, which is followed by a description of accessories and techniques. A description of each current item follows this. The whole account is designed to give a systematic picture of the items in vogue, their format, design, fabrication and finishing.

1. WALL PIECES

Wall pieces are displayed in Kharak households during special festivals, ceremonies, weddings or religious observances. This brings the generally plain Kharak hutment to life. Its usual simple whitewashed walls with an occasional painted scroll or motif here and there begin...
looking rich and gay with the application of the embroideries. Their attractive colours and sparkling mirror-pieces bring in an unmistakable change in the atmosphere, in spite of the whole display being not over-planned or stagy. They are usually delightfully informal; the walls carry their imperfections, the embroideries their smudges and stains, and are not put together in measured rows; but all this does not reduce the drama.

The Kharaks display these pieces in the following way (Vol.II Pl.47) (Vol.III Pl. 25 a, b):

- The large 'toran' is hung over the main door of the house.
- A pair of 'gol-takiyas' is fixed on two sides of it at the two top corners of the door-frame.
- Below the 'gol-takiyas' come the pair of 'todaliyas'.
- The 'padado' comes below the big 'toran'.
- 'Chitariyas' come on the two sides of the door-frame.
- 'Sakhiyas' line the inner vertical sides of the door-frame.
- 'Pankothalyum' are used either to lengthen the big 'toran' or over the windows, and wall-niches.
'Chakalas' are used as square space-fillers between these on the rest of the wall.

Except for 'torans', 'chitariyas', 'sakhiyas' etc., which are necessarily designed to go on a doorway or entrance; the other pieces are used as space-fillers in various ways. If a house has more pieces than the wall can take, they still show them around pinning one over the other with disarming pride. The wall pieces are also used to decorate makeshift entrances and backgrounds of pandals erected for religious gatherings. The marriage pavilions of the Kharaks, usually built with bamboo poles in the courtyard of a house (Vol.II Pl.48) carry a 'toran' and sometimes a 'padado' at the main entrance, in addition to other items of embroideries like 'kandhi' and 'ganesh sthapam', that the Kharaks borrow from other communities like Kanbis, Ayars and Pancholis.

The Kharaks use the following in the embroideries of the wall pieces:

Ground Fabric - White cotton cloth (nena kalak) backed with the same material. The stitches go through both the layers. (Older pieces are, however, seen sometimes to have backings of cut pieces of old printed materials).

Edging - Heavy cotton or poplin in blue, red, green, yellow and orange.
Yarns - Cotton yarn trimmings (Falka), Floss silk (hir), twisted silk.

Yarns colours - Silk — pink, red, blue, green, deep red,
Cotton — yellow, orange, dark blue, violet, dark green, white.

Stitches - Chain stitch, open chain stitch (dori sankali), herringbone, close herringbone stitch (ado-fantyo), buttonhole stitch (gajano tanko), fly stitch (javla), long straight stitch (khajuro), stem stitch (ambalo) (Vol.II Pl.49 Figs. A to Q).

Other materials - Small mirror-pieces (khamp), generally round and a quarter to half an inch in diameter, abhala - large mirror pieces, set in brass or tin frames, rectangular or round, 2 to 2½ inches across.

Needles - Normal sizes of the needles used are: 5 mm, 5½ mm, 6 mm, 6½ mm.

Like most traditional embroidery, the Kharak embroideries too have certain common features, as measurement, motif etc., with a number of variants within each category. In the description below the common items come first, the variants later.

WALL HANGINGS
1. Toran

The 'toran' is a long, rectangular frieze with seven
pennants hanging loose from its lower border. It is usually 
hung on the main door of a house as a mark of good auspices 
and welcome to visitors and is considered essential on 
special observances and celebrations as weddings etc. The 
'toran' is also used on the entrance of a marriage pavilion 
during a weding or on special structures made for religious 
or quasi-religious observances.

Its usual measurements are: length - 36"; width of 
frieze - 14"; width with pennants - 23".

The prevalent layout of 'torans' is as below (Vol. 
II Pl. 50).

The main frieze (36" x 14") has a central rectangular 
figured panel (see A, in the Dgm.) roughly 26" x 5". This is 
surrounded by a series of framing borders, (see B to E, in the 
Dgm.) in the following order starting from the panel A out- 
wards: B - a border of couched mirror pieces (width - 1")
C - a border of chess board pattern (adadiya) (width - 1")
D - a border of flower-creeper (koyadabhat) pattern (width - 
4")
E - a border in peacock's leg (mor pagala) pattern on the 
top and two lateral sides of the frieze (width - 1'). Between 
the decoration of the rectangular panel and the row of pennants, 
a tailor sews on a coloured applique band (blue or violet, red) 
covered with generally a white guilloche pattern (see F, in 
the Dgm.)

The rectangular panel (A) is divided into 5 square 
or near-square sections (average width - 4") by vertical
borders of chess board or couched mirror pattern, generally used alternately. The spaces between are embroidered with broad flower or animal motifs. The flower motif stands for an unspecific specimen. The animal forms include those of tiger, cow, elephant, fantastical animal, 'marghalo' and donkey.

At the bottom of the frieze comes a row of seven pennants (Vol.II Pl. 502), generally 6 to 7 inches long with triangular ends. They carry geometrical decoration or floral and animal motifs.

A complete description of a contemporary toran is given below (Vol.II Pl.51 Fig. A) (Vol.III Pl.26 a).

The ground is of white bleached cotton, lined with similar but thinner material. Both the pieces are hand sewn to each other on the four outer edges. Embroidery is done through both the layers.

The body of this toran is 38" x 16" and it has seven pennants, each 9" x 6" wide (see G, in the Dgm.) hanging below. The central figured panel (see A, in the Dgm.) is 28" x 6" and is divided into five squares or near squares (each 6" wide) by vertical borders of couched mirror (see B, in the Dgm.) and chess board design (see C, in the Dgm.) in
alternate order. They are approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$" wide. The central figured panel is surrounded by a series of framing borders, leading from inside to outside, in the following order:

1. couched mirror, 2" wide
2. chess board, 2" wide
3. flower-creeper, 3" wide
4. peacock legs, 1" wide

(see B, C, D, E, in the Dgm.), the border E goes over only three sides of the panel. The first square of the panel has the representation of an elephant facing left, the second that of a flower, the third that of a 'marghalo', the fourth that of a flower and fifth a cow. The representations fill the squares as completely as possible and the forms used are of marked contour interest, like side forms of animals, the top forms of flower and leaf. Certain background areas are filled in with small leaf and flower motifs (see A, in the Dgm.). There is a sense of repetition in these animal forms, in general, shapes of the body, the legs, tails and snouts and some of these tend to be associated one with other; the round eye-forms are also repeated. The body of the elephant is broken by a triangular shape (which may go for a backcloth), the body of 'marghalo' and that of cow with two circular mirror pieces. The flower forms in alternate
squares also repeat each other.

The colours of the main forms and subsidiary motifs are used in an asymmetrical layout. The elephant in the first square is embroidered in violet with twisted silk threads while the triangle in its body has green in the middle and pink in the surrounding border (see A, in the Dgm.). The small leaf-details are in violet and green, the heart-shaped leaf between the elephants' legs being green, the twig and leaf pattern on the top being in violet. The flower in the second square has a central mirror-dot, with twelve bifoliate petals all done in violet. It has leaf-fillings at the four corners in violet and green. The 'marghalo' in the third square has yellow body, and its two tails are in violet. Its legs have violet outlines; of the fillings one flower and leaf is in violet while the remaining leaves are in green. The flower in the fourth square is similar in shape to that in the second square. Its petals are largely green, but the inner half inch of each petal is done in violet making a violet ring round the central mirror piece. The cow in the fifth square is in violet, with a mirror piece eye, and has mirror piece insets on the violet body. The leaf and flower forms around are done in green and violet, the heart-shaped leaf between the legs being in green, and the half-flower on the top in violet.
All the fillings are done in herringbone stitch, whether they be broad areas or narrow lines. The mirror pieces are couched in by buttonhole stitch.

The seven pennants (see G, in the Dgm.) are each 6" x 9". All are ornamented by small lozenges. In the second, the fourth, the fifth and in the seventh pennants the colour distribution divides the field into a rectangle at top portion and a triangle at the bottom (see G, in the Dgm.). Small mirror pieces are sewn at certain points on all pennants to add to surface contrast.

The upper and the two lateral sides of the rectangular body are bound with red, blue and green cotton piping, this being machine-sewn later by a tailor. The pennants, too, have edges of simple piping in yellow, blue, violet or green similarly tailored. Between the decoration of the rectangular panel and the row of pennants (see F, in the Dgm.) the tailor has sewn on a blue applique band covered with a white guilloche pattern. The tassels of coloured threads at the point of each pennant and the loops at top corners of the toran are also added by the tailor.

Though most torans have the same kind of components (Vol.II Pls. 52, 53), their detailings are considerably various, relating to the type of motifs used, their spacing
and use of colour and texture, or use of stitches and mirror pieces. There is considerable variety even in the characteristics of the pennants, some of which are just brilliant patchwork of various textile fragments, while some carry plain geometrical ornament and some more complicated floral and animal figuration.

At the present time, there are a few variations to the format, for instance, in the example described below:

**Variation No. 1**
(Vol.II Pl.51 Fig.B) (Vol.III Pl.26 b)

Here the overall measurements are slightly different (body 40" x 18", pennants 5" x 7"). In the central figured panel (see A, in the Dgm.) the motifs are aligned slightly differently; instead of three animals and two flowers as in the previous one, three flowers and two animals alternate; the flowers have fifteen bifoliate petals instead of twelve, in the first and in the fifth squares they are done in violet and green, violet being the central shading, which is larger here than in the previous torn. The flower in the central square is all in violet. The animal forms are a little livelier in this torn, especially, the leopard form in the second square (see A, in the Dgm.) with a dynamic curve in the body and expressive tail, limb and foot details; and a frontal head with a beard and two staring eyes.
The body of the leopard is in golden yellow while its paws, tail-end and the rims of the eyes are done in violet. The 'marghalo' in the fourth square is embroidered in green and with violet details around the eyes. The colours used are much the same as in the previous toran, but their layout is different. The borders of this toran are of the same type too, except that a border of leaf-pattern replaces the one of peacock's legs in the previous one. Of the seven pennants, the second and sixth have leaf and flower designs (some of the leaves are embroidered in green and some in violet, while flowers and a pair of branches below are in violet). In the first, third, fourth, fifth and seventh pennants, there are lozenge divisions but only in the middle portion; which is bordered all round (by couched mirrors in first, fourth and seventh and with the chess board patterns in third and fifth). Although the lozenges are filled with yellow and violet in the first, fourth and seventh, they are realized with lines of interlaced stitching in the third and the fifth, each having a mirror piece, fourth and seventh have horizontal cross bands due to colour divisions (see G, in the Dgm.). Other details are similar as in the previous example. The colour layout has an asymmetrical repeat.
Variation No. 2
(Vol.II Pl.54) (Vol.III Pl.26 c)

This example is larger in size (body 43" x 19", pennants 6" x 8"). The borders are in the usual patterns, peacock's legs, flower-and-creeper, chess board, couched-mirror etc. and the pennants too are all in geometrical divisions. The major change is in the central panel, where, of the five squares, the central one is occupied by a representation of Ganesh (the elephant-headed God of good auspices) and the flanking two are occupied by representations of elephant and leopard, each facing Ganesh. These representations, as one can see from the diagram (see A, in the Dgm.), are similar to animal motifs in variation No. 1 (Vol.II Pl.51 Fig. B) except for the fact that they have a more animated surface and the edges are broken with sawtooth decoration as one notices in Kambi and Kathi embroidery (and does not in the normal Kharak examples).

Variation No. 3
(Vol.III Pl.26 d)

This example is still larger in size (body 44" x 20", pennants 9" x 8"). The central panel is divided into six squares instead of the usual five by vertical and horizontal couched-mirror borders. All the pennants have
identical flower motifs with leaf details. A major change is apparent in the representation of animal forms and of the large flowers in the central panel which are arranged in alternate order in the six squares. Animal forms seem more realistic than other animal forms of earlier 'torans'. The elephants in the first square and in fifth square are shown in profile with details of face, tail and feet, while a cow in the third square has a body in profile and a frontal face with other body details. Animal forms are cruder and there is a stereotyped repetition in the flower and leaf motifs in all seven pennants, probably due to wood-block stamped design being used as a base. There are hardly any variations in flower-creeper pattern and other subsidiary shapes around the animal and flower forms in the panel. This example is a very recent one.

Pankothaliyun

'Pankothaliyun' or 'nanu toran' is a smaller version of the toran. It too has a rectangular frieze with a row of pennants at the bottom, but the pennants are smaller and fewer in number, the usual number being five. It is used over windows or niches or to add length to a toran.

Its usual measurements are: length - 25"; width of frieze - 12"; width with pennants - 18". The layout of the
'nanu toran' is similar to that of the 'toran' except that the central panel has generally only three sections and the number of borders are fewer. The pennants are smaller and fewer in number. The sections in the central panel are not always equal and carry floral or animal (or both floral and animal) figuration.

A description of a present day 'pankothaliyun' is given below (Vol.II Pl.55) (Vol.III Pl.27 a):

The body of this example is 25" x 12" and it has five pennants 7" x 5" wide (see G, in the Dgm.) hanging below. The central figured panel (see A, in the Dgm.) is divided into roughly three rectangles (each 4" x 5" wide) by vertical borders of couched-mirror (see B, in the Dgm.) of about 2" wide. The central figured panel is surrounded by a series of framing borders leading from the inner panel to the outer edges as in the case of the large toran, in the following order:

(1) Couched-mirror (see B, in the Dgm.), (2) chess board (see D, in the Dgm.), they are 3" wide. A border of the peacock's legs (see E, in the Dgm.), 1½" wide decorates the upper and lateral sides.

The first rectangle of the panel has the representation of 'marghalo', facing right, the second of a large
flower, the third of a leopard facing left. Animal forms and the large flower are similar in shape and arrangement as those represented in the large 'toran'. Even details, viz., leaves, row of triangles in the first rectangle and partly open buds in the second rectangle and row of triangles in the third rectangle are about the same as in the large 'torans'.

The colours of the main forms and subsidiary motifs are used in asymmetrical layout. The 'marghalo' in the first rectangle is in violet and details are in green and violet. The large flower has a small violet circle in the centre and is surrounded by a green circle on the outward sides. The 'leopard' in the third square is embroidered in yellow, while the broad serrated leaf and row of triangles are in violet and green. The outlines, as well as mirrors in the border are embroidered with violet, (see B, in the Dgm.). The chess board pattern is also embroidered in violet. The triangles of the peacock's legs pattern are filled in with different colours, as violet, green, yellow.

The five pennants are made of bright artificial silk without embroidery. They are alternately violet and yellow, the first and the last being violet.

All the filling is done in herringbone stitch,
whether they be broad areas or narrow lines. The mirror pieces are couched in buttonhole stitch.

The upper and two lateral sides of the body are bound with blue and yellow cotton piping. The pennants too have edges of simple piping in violet, green and yellow. Between the decoration of the rectangular panel and the row of pennants (see G, in the Dgm.), there is a blue applique band covered with a white guilloche pattern. Two cotton loops are also added on two upper corners of the panel by the tailor.

There are a few variants to this example.

Variation No. 1
(Vol.III Pl.27 b)

The body is 24" x 12" and pennants 6" x 5". The central figured panel is smaller in size than in the one described above, and it is divided into three roughly square compartments by two vertical couched-mirror borders and framing in the chess board pattern, (see B, in the Dgm. and C, in the Dgm.). A flower-creeper pattern surrounds this border and has more variations in details.

The first rectangle of the panel has the representation of a tiger facing right, the second of a large flower,
the third of a tiger facing left which is quite similar to that of the first rectangle. The flower-creeper band is not stereotyped as usual; it has some details, like parrots in a corner, or the half-flower that goes below it.

Variation No. 2
(Vol. III Pl. 27 c)

This example is smaller in size (body 23" x 16", pennants 6" x 5"). The borders of the toran are in the usual patterns, peacock's legs, flower-creeper, chess board, couched-mirrors, etc., and the pennants alternately carry geometric decoration and plain colour surface. The major change is in the forms of animals and surface treatment in the central panel. The first square of the panel has a representation of a cow facing left, the second of a large flower, the third is again a cow facing right. Animal forms are elongated and more naturalistic than those in the other torans. There is more surface variation by introduction of details, namely, eyes, ears, line detail and mirror insets on the bodies. The edges of animal forms are broken with sawtooth decoration (particularly at heads, necks, feet, etc.). This piece seems to be quite recent.
Variation No. 3
(Vol.III Pl. 28 a)

This specimen is also smaller in size (body 23" x 10", pennants 6" x 5"). The borders of this toran are in the usual patterns as in the previous specimen. In the figured panel, large flowers replace animal forms and central space between them is narrow and is filled with a leaf motif.

There are a few other variants, in which the figured panel is conceived as a unit (and not divided into smaller areas as in the previous specimens).

Variation No. 4
(Vol.II Pl. 56)

No.4,(a) It has overall measurements (body 26" x 12", pennants 7" x 5"). It has a large reversed peacock motif on the top of a smaller reversed elephant motif, and these are surrounded by flower and leaf fillers. The whole panel is bordered by a broad flower-creeper border and narrow peacock's legs sides. The pennants are all embroidered and carry alternately geometric and star-flower ornaments.

(b) (Vol.III Pl. 28 b)

It has the same measurements. It has a broad figured panel, carrying reversed peacock and floral and parrot motifs
arranged in a rather compact coverage. It does not have broad framing borders except the narrow peacock's legs border on three sides. Its pennants too have lively ornaments with floral and bird motifs.

(c) (Vol.III Pl. 29 a)

This example is slightly larger in size than the previous one (body 27" x 14", pennants 9" x 7"), but its figuration is smaller. It has a broad framing border in flower-creeper pattern and the reversed peacock motif in the central panel is larger and has greater stress. Its pennants are plain.

'Chakala'

As the name itself suggests, chakala is a square piece of embroidery. It has generally a central field with a main pattern which is framed by a series of borders as in the case of the 'toran'. Chakalas are generally used as space-fillers on walls between doors, sometimes level with them, sometimes in the upper space. The chakala in vogue these days has a big floral motif in the centre, called locally 'Surajgal' and a series of framing borders and appropriate fillings. There are many variants but their differences are small and mainly relate to size, positioning of minor motifs and the use of colour.
A typical example is described below (Vol.II Pl.57) (Vol.III Pl. 29 b):

This example has a measurement of body 33" x 32"). It has a large floral spread of about 20" in the middle (see A, in the Dgm.) surrounded by borders in the following order from inside to outside: (1) chess board, $1\frac{3}{4}$" wide (see B, in the Dgm.), (2) flower-creeper, 3" wide (see C, in the Dgm.), (3) peacock's legs, 1\frac{3}{4}" wide (see D, in the Dgm.). The central floral spread builds up in the following manner: (1) a small round petalled flower (about 2" in diameter) is embroidered around a mirror piece; around this a spiky 16 petalled flower is embroidered to the diameter of 9" (see A, in the Dgm.). The points of the spikes are topped by a leaf-like form to form a circle and 15 heart-shaped leaves are filled in the spaces between. From each alternate spike, reversed leaf forms are embroidered to make a whole ring of arches. Half-flower forms with rounded petals fill the arches and others with spiky petals stand out from the middle of the reversed leaf motifs. This composite flower now covers a diameter of about 19" and is referred to as a 'surajgal' (or sun flower) by the Kharaks. The open corners in the square are filled with four 'marghalas' forms and a few leaf motifs.

To give an idea of the colour scheme, the central mirror piece is couched down in violet, the small flower
around is in yellow. The large spiky flower is in violet and the leaf forms connecting the spikes is green. The reversed leaf arches are in violet and green but the flowers that fill the arches are yellow, around a mirror piece couched in violet. The flowers with spiky petals in outer ring are alternately in violet and green and their stems are in green and the base spot is yellow. All the 'marghalo' forms are in green but their double tails, and other details are in violet. The leaf and other space-fillers are in green and violet. The mirror pieces are also couched down in green or violet. The ground, as usual, is white.

The chess board pattern is in violet but its two outlines are in green (see B, in the Dgm.). In the flower-creeper border, the flowers are in violet, the leaves alternately violet and green and the dividing ribs in red. The triangles of the peacock's legs border are in violet, red, green, and yellow. The colours are used in symmetrical repeat.

All the filling is in herringbone stitch as in other embroidery, whether the lines or broad areas. The mirror pieces are couched in buttonhole stitch. Red and violet piping and four corner loops, tailor sewn, complete the piece.
To cite a few variants, example No. 2 (Vol.III Pl. 29 c) has all characteristics of the previous one, except the animal motifs used at the corners are replaced by 'half-flower' motifs.

Example No. 3 has (Vol.III Pl. 30 a) animal motifs 'marghalo' at the four corners but they are proportionately larger than usual. It also features a border with a 'leaf' pattern instead of the usual "peacock's legs" pattern.

In example No. 4 (Vol.III Pl. 30 b) the 'surajgal' motif is a predominant image due to the proper tying up of the 'arching leaves' (larger in size) and the round piping and half-flower motifs that come on top of them alternately with the spiky variety. The side fillings - too are so organised as to stress the flower shape in the ground surface. The animal motifs at the corners are less stylised in this example and the elephant and the cow are at the opposite corners.

Examples No. 5, 6 and 7 (Vol.III Pl. 30 c & Pl. 31 a, b) differ from the above or in small details like No. 5 has leopard and parrot motifs in addition, No. 6 a peacock motif in one corner, No. 7 has more stylised representation of animal forms, whether they represent the elephant, leopard or 'marghalo'. The colour schemes in all the modern chakalas
are the same; the general image is dark green and violet areas float on a ground of white, yellow and red. The changes are in the deployment of colour of a particular motif, sometimes the flower and animal motifs are done in any one of these colours, sometimes one motif is realised with combination of many colours.

**Chitarivas**

These are embroidered friezes flanking the lateral sides of a doorway. They are generally of 'L' (or 'leg' shape) and are fixed on the wall edging the doorframe. The top of the 'L' (or leg) is level with the top of the doorframe and the foot reaches to within 30 inches from the floor, turning away from the frame on each side. The top-end is rectangular and the foot-end, (turning away at right angle from the main fall), is triangular. The usual measurements are as follows: length of the fall - 57"; breadth of the fall - 16"; length of the foot - 36" and breadth of the foot - 16".

The general layout of the 'chitariya' is as follows (Vol.II Pl. 58):

It has a central decorative rib about 5" bread (see A, in the Figm.) along the middle of the fall and the foot,
that is framed by borders of couched mirror piece, chess board, and flower and creeper, peacock's legs pattern (B, C, D, E), their sequence, width and use vary but, generally, in recent pieces the flower-creeper pattern is the broadest of the framing bands (about 2¼"). The central rib is divided into squares or near squares by borders of couched mirror pieces or the chess board pattern, all along the fall and the foot, the last space towards the end of the foot having naturally a triangular and not squarish end. These spaces carry animal or flower forms sometimes in continuous succession, sometimes alternately.

A typical chitariya in use today is described below: (Vol. II Pl. 58)

Its size is as under: Length of fall - 47"; breadth of the fall - 16"; Length of the foot - 30" and breadth of the foot - 16".

The ground fabric is bleached white cotton. In this example, the central rib (see A, in the Dgm.) is divided into seven rectangles (each rectangle 4" x 3" wide) of the vertical 'leg' and one rectangle and one triangle of the 'foot' by couched mirror border 1" wide (see B, in the Dgm.). The framing borders of the piece are in usual order, (1) chess board pattern (see C, in the Dgm.), (2) flower-creeper pattern, 3" wide (see D, in the Dgm.), (3) peacock's legs...
pattern, 1" wide (see E, in the Dgm.).

In the six rectangles of the vertical rib, animal forms are represented in the following order, top to bottom, Tigers, 'marghalo', 'marghalo', elephant, donkey, elephant. There is also the representation of 'marghalo' at the band of the foot. A half-flower is embroidered in the triangle of the 'foot'. Animal forms are similar in shape and character to those represented in torans and chaklas. The colour layout is asymmetrical.

A tiger in the top square is in yellow and body details like eyes, nose, belt around neck are in violet and the leaves around the tiger are in green and violet. The 'marghalo' in the second square is in violet, its tail and legs details are in green. Leaf forms between their legs and around them are in green and yellow while leaves above the animal's body are in green. The 'marghalo' in the third square is in green and body details like eyes and tail are in violet. Leaf details around the 'marghalo' are in yellow and violet. The elephant in the fourth rectangle is also in green and details of leaves and small triangles are in yellow and green. The donkey in the fifth rectangle is in yellow. The elephant in the sixth rectangle is in violet and other details like tails and leaves are in yellow and green. The 'marghalo' in the seventh rectangle of the foot
is in violet, peripheral details like leaves and small dots are in yellow, green and pink. The half-flower in the triangle has a filling of violet in all its petals.

The couched mirror border and a chess board pattern are embroidered in violet (see B, and C, in the Dgm.). All the flowers and ribs between leaves are in red; but leaves are in green and yellow in the first group and green and violet in the second. This colour scheme alternates throughout the border (see D, in the Dgm.). The triangles of "peacock's legs" border are in violet, red, green and yellow (see E, in the Dgm.).

All the filling is in herringbone stitch as in other embroideries, whether the lines or broad areas. The mirror pieces are couched in buttonhole stitch.

Variant No. 1
(Vol.III Pl. 31 c)

This example has similar measurements as the previous 'chitariya' (the leg 47" x 30" and foot 16" x 16"). The borders of this piece are in the usual order (1) couched mirror, (2) chess board pattern, (3) flower-creeper pattern and (4) peacock's legs border. The leg and foot of the central rib are divided into nine rectangles. In the eight
rectangles of the vertical rib, animal forms are represented in the following order from top to bottom = tiger, 'marghalo', tiger, elephant, tiger, 'marghalo', elephant. There is also representation of tiger and flower in two rectangles of the foot.

The major change is in the representation of animal forms. They are more massive and cover more space in each rectangle. There are very less details of leaves, flowers and triangles around the animal forms in rectangles. Other details of borders and finishing are similar to those of previous 'chitariya'.

**Variant No. 2**
(Vol.III Pl. 31 d)

This example has similar measurements as the previous chitariya (the leg 47" x 30" and foot 16" x 16"). The borders of this piece are in the usual order (1) couched mirror, (2) chess board pattern, (3) flower-creeper pattern and (4) leaf-border which replaces the usual peacock's legs border. The leg and the foot of the central rib are divided into nine rectangles. The major change is in the central rib, where nine rectangles are occupied by animal forms like the elephant, tiger, donkey, 'marghalo', etc. These animal forms are more lively in character, and details around
Variant No. 3
(Vol. III Pl. 32 a)

This example has a measurement similar to the chitariya described above. The borders of this chitariya are in the same order as the previous one. In nine rectangles of the central rib, animal and flower forms are represented in the following order, top to bottom: elephant in the first square, flower in the second, and this is repeated in the remaining rectangles. Animal and flower forms lack character and surface variations, largely due to the use of block-stamped design. Other details are similar to those of the previous specimen.

Todaliya

These are embroidered and cushioned roundels, lightly stuffed with cotton. They are generally fixed on both the sides of the top jamb of the door frame. They come generally on the top of the 'chitariyas' and on either side of the 'toran'. They are used on very special occasions as weddings.

At present, there are two or three kinds of
This specimen is 11" in diameter. A large 'abhala' is embroidered in the centre. It is 1" wide (see A, in the Dgm.). This is surrounded by two outlines. This is surrounded by the chess board pattern - 2" wide (see B, in the Dgm.) and in couched mirror pieces - 3" wide (see C, in the Dgm.) and round them a ring of diamonds (see D, in the Dgm.) and this is circled around with frill with piping.

The 'abhala' is outlined in blue and green; the chess board pattern is in violet and mirror pieces are couched in green and pink thread alternately and the diamonds are in green and violet. The ground is white. This is surrounded by a piping in dark blue and this row of frills is green, orange, blue and red. There is also a loop on top. The variants have small differences, generally in the outer ring of decoration; instead of diamonds, leaf shaped forms are used and the colours of the motifs, borders, frill and piping are shuffled around variously. The sizes rarely vary (Vol.II Pl. 59 Fig. B).

Gol-Takiya

These too are cushioned roundels (as the name itself suggests) slightly larger than 'todaliyas'. A 'gol-
takiya' is pinned over 'toran'. They generally measure 16" in diameter. The general layout is similar to that of the 'todaliya'.

A description of a current example of the gol-takiya is given below: (Vol.II Pl.59 Fig.C).

This example is in 16" diameter. A large 'abhala' is embroidered in the centre. It is 1" wide (see A, in the Dgm.). This is surrounded by two outlines - $\frac{1}{4}$" wide (see B, in the Dgm.). Seven diamonds are embroidered around on outer edge - 13" wide (see C, in the Dgm.). Eight mirror pieces are filled in between those diamonds (see D, in the Dgm.). This is circled around with a frill with piping.

The 'abhala' is outlined in green and blue; the diamonds are in violet and green in alternate order. Seven mirror pieces are embroidered in pink and green alternately. The ground is white. The piping is in dark blue and rows of frills in blue, green, yellow and red. There is a loop on the top.

**Padado**

A description of typical 'padado' is given below: (Vol.II Pl.60 Fig. B) (Vol.III Pl. 32 b)

This example measures 3' x 3½'. It is in white
medium weight cotton ground fabric lined with similar material. Framing borders of this example are in the following order: (1) couched mirror, 1" wide (see B, in the Dgm.), (2) chess board pattern, 2½" wide (see C, in the Dgm.), (3) flower-creeper, 4" wide (see D, in the Dgm.) and (4) peacock's legs, 1" wide (see E, in the Dgm.).

Apart from these, there are two vertical couched mirror and one chess board border, each 2" wide, divides the 'padado' into two flaps in the middle (see A, in the Dgm.).

There are round flower motifs with central mirror dots in these two rectangles and these are surrounded by small-leaf forms. Around these other motifs are scattered; elephants with howdah, long stems with leaves ending in large flowers, small peacock, round flower, leaves and bud motifs. It is quite apparent from the diagram that the layout is symmetrical. However, the colour scheme is not.

The two large flowers are in red, the surrounding leaves are in green and its central mirror dots are couched down with violet. Two elephant motifs are in blue and body details in green, pink and yellow while the howdahs are in yellow and blue. The large flower to the left is in yellow with mirror dot couched down by violet, while a stem, leaves are in blue, pink and green in the left flap. Small peacocks
and other forms and space fillers are in blue, green and yellow. The large flower to the right is in violet with central mirror dot couched with pink.

The vertical and framing borders of couched mirror and chess board patterns are in violet. In the flower-creeper scrolls all flowers are in red, leaves in violet and yellow and the stems in pink. The triangles of peacock's legs border are embroidered in violet, red, green, pink and yellow.

All forms are embroidered in herringbone stitch and mirror pieces are couched down with buttonhole stitch. The edges are finished by cotton piping on the upper and lateral sides, and the arch - a frill of different coloured cotton in yellow, green and blue. Four loops are added to the four corners.

Sakhivas

These are embroidered friezes lining vertically the inner frames of the doorway (on which they are nailed).

The usual sizes are: length - 60"; breadth - 12". Unlike others, Kharak wall-pieces are done on coloured (not white) ground, orange, green or red being the usual colours.

A typical example in vogue today is described below (Vol.II Pl. 61 Fig. B).
It measures 60" x 12". The colour of the ground fabric is orange. The layout is similar to that of the 'leg' of chitariya. There is a central rib divided into seven near square compartments (see A, in the Dgm.) with borders in barley (jawala) pattern 1\frac{1}{2}" wide (see B, in the Dgm.). It is framed on the outside by a running border in thorn (Kanta) pattern 1\frac{3}{4}" wide (see C, in the Dgm.). Each compartment has in its centre a mirror piece, surrounded by a circular motif, known among Kharaks as 'sikal'. The inner sides of the compartments have repetitions of half-leaf motif all around.

The central mirror piece is couched down in violet thread. The 'sikals' are in white and yellow in alternate compartments. The borders (both the 'barley' and 'thorn' borders) are in alternating threads of white and deep blue. The half-leaf forms lining the compartments are green and pink alternately. The whole piece is framed with two lines of piping in yellow and blue and has four loops at four corners.

There are some variations to this. One of the most usual variations is (Vol.II Pl.61 Fig.A) where the rib is divided into lozenge-shaped compartments instead of rectangular ones; in such examples the division is not done by a border or the usual kind but by using a reversed half-
leaf motif. The colour scheme is similar to that of the one described above.

The embroidery of the Kharak wall-pieces of the present day have usually the following form components:

Borders (Vol.II Pl. 62 Figs. E to K).

1. Chain or mirror pieces - 'abhalani har'
2. Chess board pattern - 'adadiya'
3. Flower-creeper pattern - 'koyda ful'
4. Peacock's legs - 'mor pagala'
5. Small curved leaves (used both as fillers and borders) - 'vankiya'

The borders are used in a variety of ways to divide spaces, frame motifs and create textural changes.

Flower and leaf Motifs (Vol.II Pl.63 Figs. A to L & Vol.II Pl.64 Figs. A to K)

1. Round flower (gola-ful).
2. Round flower with petals divided at the tips (kapel goti).
3. Round flower with tapering petals (dhar valun gola-ful).
4. Star flower with curved lines at the tips (tara ful).
5. Half round flower (adadhu gola-ful).
6. Half round flower with petals divided at the tip (adadhu kapel gotivalun ful).
8. Half star flower with carved lines at the tips (ardhu taravalun ful ane vankiya).
9. Half flower with forked petals (tirakhi walun ardu ful).
10. Large flower with forked petals (tirakhi walun motun ful).
12. Agave flower (kevada-ful - 1 variation).
13. Flower-creeper (fulvel) - 4 variations).
15. Papita (popiyun).
16. Leaf (pan).
17. Agave spring shoot (kevada-no-chhodavo).

Animal Motifs


2. Tiger - 'vagha' - also called 'deepado' or 'cheeta' meaning that leopard or panther (11 variations) (Vol.II Pl.67 Figs.D,E, F & Pl.68 Figs.A to F & Pl.69 Fig. F) (Vol. II Pl.122 Fig. C).

3. Fantastical animal - 'marghalo' (8 variations) (Vol.II Pl.69 Figs. & B,C,D,E & Pl.70 Figs. A to C).

4. Cow - 'gai' (3 variations) (Vol.II Pl.70 Figs. D,E) (Vol.II Pl.123 Fig. A).

5. Horse - 'ghodo' (Vol.II Pl. 123 Fig. B).

Bird Motifs


2. COSTUME PIECES

The main embroidered costume items of the Kharaks are the short-skirts and the blouses that the women wear and the jackets worn by their children.

Short-Skirt

The short-skirt is the main items of a Kharak woman's costume. The younger women wear the brighter and gayer samples with colourful embroidery and many mirror pieces, whereas the older women wear more sober looking ones with simpler embroidery in muted colours, and with fewer mirror pieces on them.

The Kharak short-skirt is not really a skirt in the usual sense of the word. It is an open (lungi-like) waist-cloth that women tie round their waist (much like a lungi)
overlapping the two front edges about six to eight inches, crossing the two ends, pulling them tight round the waist and tucking them in.

It (Vol.II Pl.73 Pl.74 Figs. A, B, C, D) is, however, made of two separate lengths of coarse cotton cloth about 80" x 22" each, one lighter in weight than the other. The lighter piece is these days of poplin or light cotton material locally known as 'choliyun'. The embroidery is done on the heavier piece (generally called "madharasiyun" which is heavy 'choliyun' or jean) and this forms the lower portion of the skirt. The lighter piece is sewn on to this by the tailor after the embroidery is over, and so it is known to the Kharaks as 'chadayo' or 'added on piece'. The tailor also sews to this a waist hem with ornamental piping and adds on two small waist-tapes, at the two ends; these tapes, however, are more ornamental than functional as the Kharak women wear their skirts like lungis as already stated (Vol. II Pl.73 Pl.74 Figs. A, B, C).

The ground colour of the top piece (waist-piece) of the skirt is invariably scarlet (bright in the case of young women, muted in the case of the old). The ground colour of the bottom piece (the embroidered piece) is generally a matching scarlet, but in rare cases Kharak women
fancy black as a suitable ground for certain kinds of embroidered design. So most Kharak skirts have a complete scarlet ground; a few have half-scarlet, half-black ground.

The embroidery on a short-skirt covers the complete length of the lower piece to a width of 16". The embroidered decoration generally occurs in definite length-wise bands (Vol.II Pl.73). The upper three of these are hand-embroidered by the Kharak girl (or woman) and the lowest one is worked on with a sewing machine by the tailor who finishes the skirt. The top bands (see A and B, in the Dgm.) is 8 inches (or about) of embroidered field in any one combination of over 92 theme-patterns now in vogue. This stops short 8" to 9" of the right hand end of the cloth. The band below it is roughly 5" in breadth (see C, in the Dgm.) and goes across the whole length of the skirt but comes up vertically on the right edge of the cloth, framing the previous band closely on two sides. The vertical band finishes in a peak or a triangle. This band has a scroll motif in the middle and is bound on both sides by a compact border of different designs of smaller repeat, which go along its horizontal and vertical run and finish on a peak mound around the triangular end. On this peak there is generally a free sprig or bouquet design, using leaf, bird, animal or human motif(see C, in the Dgm.). Below this is the quilted hem that the tailor sews on
along the bottom edge and up the right edge of the skirt (see D, in the Dgm.). It is about 3 inches in width and is made up of 3 to 4 layers of cloth (usually silk) and is sewn together on the sewing machine like a quilt, often with floral and animal motifs. It is edged around with decorative piping of considerable variety. This hem adds stiffness and weight to the skirt-edge. In certain skirts the scroll motif of the band ‘C’ spills over its border into the designed field ‘B’ which gives interesting results. The three bands are very deftly organized in each skirt; they differ from each other in scale and texture of ornament, but are unified by an interpenetration of colour and the repetition of similar formal elements; together, they form a complicated rhythmic structure.

From what one can gather from Kharak women and the block printers, over 92 designs patterns are in vogue today. About 26 of these are reputedly old; the others have come into use in the last 35 years. By and large the patterns deemed old are field arabesque, using largely geometrical forms, some packed close together, some spaced out at calculated intervals (Vol.II Pl. 95 Figs. A, B, E, F). One of these 'daba dohala' (Vol.II Pl. 85 Fig.C) is no more in use.

The reigning tendency is towards using freer and more organic forms, though their shape ingredients are
simple, squares, diagonals, circles, half-circles, zig-zags, curves, etc., but the configuration has references, sometimes visual, sometimes fanciful, to things around — trees, leaves, household objects, birds, beasts, etc. The peasant associates designs with the forms they are familiar with (probably at the level of a common gestalt). Rarely are associative names suggested by clever pattern-dealers.

A comprehensive list of designs presently in vogue is given below. These are of 5 kinds, in terms of their usage: (1) those that are used on the skirt field, (2) those that are used in the scrolls of the band below, (3) those that are used in the borders of this band, (4) those that are used at the peak of this band, and (5) those designs which the tailors embellish the hem-border with.

A-(1) Patterns in use on the field/the skirts are listed below:

Patterns that use interlaced stitch are presumably old; one rarely sees interlaced stitch designs by themselves today in young people's embroidery, though they are found sometimes in combination with designs of a broader kind. They are generally found on the skirts of grown-up women, who want their designs to be staid and dignified. The others are mostly done in herringbone stitch.
(a) Patterns done in Interlaced stitch (Vol.III Pl.33 a, b, c, d & Pl. 34 a, b):

1. Five flower (panch phophal) (Vol.III Pl.33 a).
2. Small squares (chatakuda) (Vol.III Pl.33 b).
3. Rectangle mounted on triangle (adagal) (Vol.III Pl.33 c).
5. Tumbler shape (potalico) (Vol.III Pl.34 a).
6. Rotten babul tree (sardel bavaliyo) (Vol.III Pl.34 b).
7. Sweet-balls (ladava).

(b) Patterns that use field-arabesque (Vol. II Pls. 75 to 101):

8. Chess-board (adala) (Vol.II Pl.95 Fig. A & Pl.101 Figs. D, F).
9. Sheaf of corn (lepat-dodava) (Vol.II Pl.92 Fig. E & Pl. 97 Fig. C).
10. Boxes and old man (daba dohala) (Vol.II Pl.85 Fig.C).
11. Parsi vest (Parsi sadara) (Vol.II Pl.75 Fig. A).
12. Five fold Parsi vest (panch Parsi sadara) (Vol.II Pl. 78 Fig. A).
13. True house plan (sachi griha bandhi) (Vol.II Pl.75 Fig. B).
14. Water-Lily (ful komali) (Vol.II Pl. 78 Fig. B).
15. Cotton buds (kala sankala - 2 variations)\(^52\) (Vol.II Pl.79 Fig. D & Pl.84 Fig. B).

16. Babul circle (bavaliya sikal - 1 variation)\(^53\) (Vol.II Pl. 91 Fig. B & Pl. 97 Fig. F).

(c) Patterns that have a square grid:

17. Paras pipal tree (paras pipal)\(^54\) (Vol.II Pl.77 Fig.C).


19. Dish or Platter (thali)\(^56\) (Vol.II Pl.82 Fig. B).

20. Buckle-fish (buckle-machhali - 1 variation)\(^57\) (Vol.II Pl.82 Fig. C & Pl. 94 Fig. B).

21. Flying airplane (udta balloon) (Vol.II Pl.82 Fig. E).

22. Henna (mendina) (Vol.II Pl. 82 Fig. F).

23. Nine-hue pattern (navrang bhat) (Vol.II Pl.83 Fig.B).

24. Hairnet with flowers (veni jali) (Vol.II Pl.83 Fig.C).

25. Jasmine-bud (kacha mogra - 1 variation)\(^58\) (Vol.II Pl.83 Fig. A).

26. Musical instrument (vaja) (Vol.II Pl.88 Fig. A).

27. Half bitter Gourd (ardha karela) (Vol.II Pl.86 Fig.B).

28. Radio (radio) (Vol.II Pl. 86 Fig. A).

29. Garden (bagicho)\(^59\) (Vol.II Pl.80 Fig. A).

(d) Patterns with a diamond grid:

30. Castanets (kartal - 1 variation)\(^60\) (Vol.II Pl.77 Figs. B, D).
31. Bitter gourd (karela)\(^{61}\) (Vol.II Pl. 83 Fig. E).

(e) Patterns based on circle or using circle as a major repeat:

32. Carrying ring (indhoni)\(^{62}\) (Vol.II Pl.81 Fig. A).
33. Pomegranate (Dadam)\(^{63}\) (Vol.II Pl. 81 Fig. B).
34. Chess-board circle (adadiya sikal - 1 variation) (Vol. II Pl. 95 Figs. A, E, F).
35. Birds-circles (titida-sikal)\(^{64}\) (Vol.II Pl.87 Fig.C).
36. Tamarind pods (katrya)\(^{65}\) (Vol.II Pl.80 Fig. B).
37. Big circles (dabla or chakarda or gunchala) (Vol.II Pl.90 Fig. A).

(f) Patterns using half-circle in one or the other way:

38. Banyan roots (vad vela or snakes)\(^{66}\) (Vol.II Pl. 79 Fig. A).
39. Kumkum pot (kankavati)\(^{67}\) (Vol.II Pl.79 Fig. C).
40. Half cup or peahen and peacock (ardha vatka or dhelane-more)\(^{68}\) (Vol.II Pl.87 Fig. A).
41. Half garden (ardhi fulwadi - 3 variations) (Vol. II Pl.84 Fig.D, Pl.91 Fig.E & Pl.93 Figs. A, B).
42. Sweet neem tree (mitho limbado - 1 variation)\(^{69}\) (Vol.II Pl.81 Fig. C & Pl.88 Fig. C).
43. Neem tree (limbado - 1 variation) (Vol.II Pl.81 Fig. D & Pl. 84 Fig. C).
44. Custard apple, mango (sita phali, keri)\(^70\) (Vol.II Pl. 80 Fig. D).
45. Agave creeper (kevada vel) (Vol.II Pl. 83 Fig. A).
46. Compact agave tree (bathra kevada) (Vol.II Pl. 83 Fig. D).
47. Mango flower (keri-ful) (Vol.II Pl. 75 Fig. C).
48. Mango circle (keri-sikal) (Vol.II Pl. 94 Fig. A).
49. Chillies (marcha)\(^71\) (Vol.II Pl. 84 Fig. A).
50. Crescent (bijuna) (Vol.II Pl. 101 Fig. B).

(g) Patterns based on floral butis (as are usual in brocades and block prints\(^72\)):

51. Plant form (bhajabuti - vertical) (Vol.II Pl. 89 Fig. A).
52. Plant form (bhajabuti - horizontal) (Vol.II Pl. 89 Fig. B).
53. Bower (van jatra) (Vol.II Pl. 85 Fig. A).
54. Maina-parrot (mena-popat) (Vol.II Pl. 85 Fig. B).
56. Brass-pot (lotkya) (Vol.II Pl. 89 Fig. C).

(h) Zig-zags and Scroll patterns\(^73\):

57. River-stream (nadi-nera) (Vol.II Pl. 77 Fig. E & Pl. 78 Fig. D).
58. Cup-parrot (vatka-popat - 1 variation) (Vol.II Pl. 77 Fig. F & Pl. 93 Fig. F).
59. Doors and gates (deli-darwaja) (Vol.II Pl.84 Fig.A).
60. Lightning-creeper (vijali-vel)(Vol.II Pl.93 Fig.E).
61. Hanging neem fruits (latak-limboli)(Vol.II Pl.78 Fig.C).
62. Three circles (tran-sikal) (Vol.II Pl.90 Fig.C).
63. Half-closed eyes (ardhi-ankhadi) (Vol.II Pl.104 Fig.C).
64. Buckle-creeper (bakal-vel) (Vol.II Pl.94 Fig.B).
65. Wild-creeper (dhonk-vel) (Vol.II Pl.104 Fig.C).
66. Train-creeper (dhakka-gadi) (Vol.II Pl.104 Fig.E).
67. Pilgrim-leaf (tirath pandadi)(Vol.II Pl.85 Fig.A).
68. Circle-parrot (sikal-popat) (Vol.II Pl.104 Fig.A).

(i) Patterns with other forms:

69. Elephant or Marghalo74 (hathi or marghalo) (Vol.II Pl. 86 Fig. D).
70. Boat-fish (hodka-machhali)75 (Vol.II Pl.87 Fig. D).
71. Fan-circle (pankha-sikal) (Vol.II Pl.80 Fig. C).
72. Flowering tree (ful jhad) (Vol.II Pl.91 Fig. A).
73. Parrot fish (popat machhali) (Vol.II Pl. 86 Fig. C).
74. Chess-board and circle (adadiya-sikal) (Vol.II Pl.77 Figs. E, F).
75. Twelve peacocks (bar.mor) (Vol.II Pl. 100 Fig. A).
76. Flower star (ful tara) (Vol.II Pl.91 Fig. A).
77. Parrots and hands (popat-hath) (Vol.II Pl.99 Fig.B).
78. Peacocks and parrots (mor-popat) (Vol.II Pl.96 Fig.A).

(2) In the lower band, the following patterns are found
(they are the same as some in the above list) (Vol. II PIs. 101 to 105):

1. Parrot-circle (popat-sikal) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. A).
2. Bitter Gourd (kareli-vel) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. B).
3. Wild-creeper (dhonk-vel) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. C).
4. Train-creeper (dhakka-gadi - 1 variation) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. E).
5. Cotton buds (kala sankala) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. D).
6. Castanets creeper (kartal-vel) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. F).
7. Half-closed eye (ardhi ankhadi) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. G).
8. Fish-circle (machhali-sikal) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. H).
9. Train-creeper (dhakka-gadi - variation No. 1) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. I).
10. Half-garden (ardhi fulwadi - 1 variation) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. J).
11. Hairnet with flower (veni-jali) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. K).
12. Half-garden (ardhi fulwadi) (Vol. II Pl. 104 Fig. L).

(3) The small borders that bind the above are generally in one of the following patterns (Vol. II Pl. 106):

1. Blackgram or chess-board (adadiyā).
2. Thomas (kantani bhat).
3. Barley (javla)
5. Vertical triangular (dodavadi).
7. Interlaced stitch (kangari).
8. Peacock's legs (mor-pagal).

(4) The following 'bouquet' shaped motifs come on the peak of the band C (Vol.II Pls. 107, 108, 109):

1. Pair of peacocks with flower (morala).
2. Pair of parrots (popat).
3. Curd churning pair (walonun).
4. Woman (putali, stri).
5. Bouquet of flowers (fulada).

Kharak women draw from this large repertory of design and make their own layout and combinations. To an extent, their choice of motif and its layout depends on the choice of the woman who draws on the fabric (or the printer who prints the pattern). But each Kharak woman uses much ingenuity in her use of colour or in the breaking of colour areas, despite certain conventions in the use of colours (as will be described later) that they conform to. So there is a great variety of image in their skirt embroidery. The
variety increases from season to season.

The patterns most widely in use are the following:

1. Wall-clock - ghadial (2 variations).
2. Half-garden - ardhi fulwadi (3 variations).
3. Agave tree - kevada bhat (1 variation).
4. Compact agave tree - bathara kevada (1 variation).
5. Custard apple (sitafali).
6. Mango - (keri)

(5) The tailors who finish the skirts use a number of floral and animal patterns in the hem border at the bottom; some of them are becoming more adventurous these days with the help of improved machines though this does not always lead to satisfactory results. (Vol.II Pl.109 (1) Figs.A,B,C).

A list of patterns in use in the tailored border is given below (Vol.II Pl.110 Figs. A to I):

2. Peacocks facing potted plants (morala ane kunda).
In addition to these, the tailors use geometrical forms like scallops, guilloche, chevron, lozenge, etc. The tailor is more successful in his use of geometric patterns than of animal floral forms. These floral animal and bird forms are specially unsatisfactory when they are done with new sewing machines. The animals and bird forms embroidered on the older sewing machines are livelier and more compact (Vol.III Pl.41 a, b).

A description of a short skirt current today is given below (Vol.II Pl.111) (Vol.III Pl.32 c):

The specimen in question is 80" long and 44" width. It has usual an upper length cotton cloth ('choliyun') of medium weight 22" wide and lower length of cotton cloth of the same kind but of heavier weight also 22" wide. Both these are scarlet. The embroidery of the skirt is confined entirely to the lower length which covers an area of 78" in length and 14" in width approximately.

The embroidery is laid out in the following way
(Vol.II Pl.111), starting from the top the main field has two bands (A and B), the upper one (A) 5" wide and the lower one (B) 10" wide. These bands are subdivided into rectangular sections of about 8" in length. Consequently, both the bands have nine rectangular sections of this kinds. Each space is filled with the field motif, in this case 'Ghadial' ('wall dial'), half in the band A, and full in the band B. The motif is realized as follows: a central mirror piece, couched down by buttonhole stitch, surrounded by a 'sikal' done in herringbone stitch, makes the central hub about 1½" wide. It is surrounded by a double outline in chain stitch, with barley stitch filling. From this four diagonal bands reach out to the four corner of the rectangle each double outlined in chain stitch with barley stitch filling. These could be read as the hands of the dial. The spaces between the hands are covered with half-leaf and full-leaf motif (see Vol.II Pl.111). As mentioned above, the band B features this motif fully while the band A features it half, namely, it has a semicircular hub at the middle of the top line, which sends down two diagonal hands to the two lower corners of the rectangle. The details are similar.

This field is flanked on two sides below and the right by a framing band 5" wide (see C, in the Dgm.). This ends 'C' in a triangular peak topped by a reversed peacock
motif. This framing band has three scrolls; two in chess board pattern about 1" wide above and below a field scroll in lightning creeper design about 3" wide. The embroidery of the chess board pattern is simple enough (except for frequent colour change); the lightning creeper design is realized by 'half-sikal' motif spaced alternately in both sides of serpentine scroll done in double outline in chain stitch with barley stitch filling, with shading in herringbone stitch stressing each curve (see C, in the Dgm.).

The use of colour has an alternating rhythm. The 'sikals' and 'half-sikals' are generally done in white or golden yellow alternately. In the white 'sikals' the mirror piece is bound in pink and in the yellow 'sikals' in deep blue. The double borders (including the diagonal bands and circular rings of the central 'hubs') are done in golden yellow, their barley stitch filling in alternately lines in blue and white. The leaf details are bordered in white and yellow (the half leaves in yellow, the full leaves in white) and their filling is in opposing pairs of green and pink or red and deep blue. In the framing band, the chess board pattern is divided into triangular stacks in white, yellow, red and blue; the lightning-creeper has its central rib done in the same colours as the double borders, its shading in red, green and blue alternately and its sikals in the
same schemes as in the main field.

The reversed peacocks are in deep blue and body details like tails are in pink and green. The leaf-like crest and other leaf forms are in pink and green.

The peacocks and leaf-forms are all outlined with golden yellow by chain stitch. A mirror dot indicating eye of peacocks is couched down in red by buttonhole stitch.

In the 'sikals' in this specimen the herringbone stitch is used in such a way as to reveal the ground fabric through, intermittently, as small lozenge dots. Occasionally, in other specimens, this kind of breaking is effected by overlay.

This hand embroidered portion is edged by the tailor's finishing border 3" wide (see D, in the Dgm.). This border in this case is made of a layer of dark green silk quilted on three layers of poplin cloth. Where it joins the hem of the embroidered skirt it is outlined by a piping of triangular repeats in white. Below this it carries motif of flower and leaves, in white (flower) and green and blue (leaves), all machine embroidered. Under this, there is another line of piping similar to the one mentioned above. This completes the skirt.
As current today, Kharak skirts feature this 'ghadial* or 'wall-clock* pattern with some variations in each. These are generally in the dimension of the spacing as one can be seen in (Vol.III Pl. 34 c, d) or in the use of colour or in the motif that tops band C. In the variants cited one can notice that (1) the divisions of the field band (A and B) are equal and so feature full motifs, (2) that they use some bright spots of colours like turquoise blue, or small embroidered specks on a surface to add variety.

Such variations can be found in each use of motif; together they lead to considerable variety in image.

Embroidered Blouses

The blouses that Kharak women wear are backless. They have half sleeves (to the end of upper arm) the front is about 12" deep (ending just below the ribs) and has generally a deep 'V' neck and a fitting, contoured bodice; it is about 18" in width and covers the front and sides of the torso. Two sets of tapes fasten it behind, over the neck at the top and over the middle of the back at the lower edge.

A blouse is of the following components (Vol.II Pl.112 Figs. A, B, C, D, E):
1. Sleeves (A) (Bayun) (2)
2. Chest-piece (B) (till the lower part of the breasts) (Kukhiyo).
3. Belly-piece (C) (and below the breasts) Peti.
6. Triangular pieces below the arm (F) (Kari) (2).
7. Tapes (Kaso) (G)(4).

The blouses are generally of two kinds, cotton blouses for daily use and silk blouses that are worn on special occasions; grown-up women wear blouses only of the former kind whatever the season and occasion. Both kinds of blouses carry embroidery and have bordered and rolled or piped edges. Cotton and silk blouses have more than one colour in the bodies of blouses. The cotton fabric generally in use today is coloured poplin; the silk used is called Atlas.76

The colours generally fancied are green, pink, blue, and red and yellow in silk/red, dark green, blue, orange and yellow in cotton. The silk blouses are lined with fine cotton cloth; the cotton by coarse cloth. In the latter case the tailor often uses random cut-pieces.

The yarns and accessories used in the embroidery of
blouse are the same as for wall-hangings and skirts. The stitches used are chain stitch, herringbone stitch, button-hole stitch, running stitch and cross stitch. The following are used in the embroidery of blouses (Vol.II Pl.112 Fig.B):

1. Mirror pieces (khamp).
2. Thin silver lace (tui).
3. Spangles (tikadi).
4. Sequins (satara).
5. Lace (broad silver lace).

The blouses carry embroidery in their sleeves, the chest and the belly pieces (Vol.III Pl.35 a, b, c). The embroidery is done on these different pieces before they are sewn together by the tailor, and certain finishing touches are given after that. Currently the blouses are embroidered in the following ways:

1. Fully hand embroidered, like the skirt bodies.
2. Half machine, half hand embroidered (certain loops and scrolls are embroidered by the machine and finishing details are added by hand).
3. Not embroidered in the usual sense of the word but ornamented with stitched pipings, lace and
tinsel, with the help of a machine or by hand.

In the first case the embroidery is done by Kharak women and in the rest by the tailors.

In the hand embroidered varieties the following design patterns are found in use (Vol.II Pl.113 Figs.A to G):

1. Arm band (baju).
2. Flower-creeper (koyda bhat).
3. Angle pattern (vankiya).
4. True house plan (sachi griha bandhi).
5. Cup-creeper (vatka vel).

As can be seen some of these patterns are common with the skirt embroidery but their scale of use is different.

The lace-embroidered blouses are generally used by young women on special occasions and are mentioned as 'Thatched' blouses by the tailors. They carry the following patterns:

1. Arm band (baju).
2. Paired Ornament (berkha).
Typical specimens of the above mentioned varieties of blouses are described below:

(1) Silk blouse, fully hand-embroidered: The measurements of the specimen are 19" x 18" (Vol.III Pl.36 a). The basic material is green 'atlas' lined with poplin. Both sleeves are a "half-garden" pattern. Each pattern is 3" wide. The flower-creeper pattern and the half-garden pattern are repeated from top to bottom in alternate order on both the sleeves. The breast piece is hexagonal in shape, and has a paired flower motif in the middle and a border all around featuring the half-closed eye pattern. Shapes, details and borders are designed in symmetrical layout. Flowers are embroidered half in blue and half in red, leaf-details in blue, red and pink in the flower creeper pattern. Flowers are in white and yellow, leaf details in blue and red in the half-garden pattern. This is the case on both the sleeves. Two white circles having mirror-dots at their centres are embroidered in the middle of the hexagonal shape. These circles are double-outlined by blue and is surrounded by red and blue petals. The border of hexagonal shape in half-closed eye pattern is in blue and red. All shapes, patterns, designs are outlined in yellow except the flowers of the half-garden pattern and diamond shaped...
petals of central floral motif.

The blouse is finished by the tailor with four tapes as already described. Spangles have been sewn on lines between the designed bands of the sleeves and around the centre piece and its border. All outlines are done in chain stitch and all fillings, whether they are broad areas or narrow lines, are done in herringbone stitch. Mirror pieces are couched in by buttonhole stitch and spangles are embroidered in running stitch.

(2) Silk blouse, largely machine embroidered: The measurements of this specimen are 20" x 21" (Vol.III Pl.36 b). The basic material is pink 'atlas' lined with poplin.

In this specimen the shoulder of the sleeve carries a large zig-zag or chevron ornament alternated with floral insets. The middle of the sleeve carries an ornament in guilloche pattern. The bottom is made of bands of overlaid lace. The ornaments are all linear and done by the machine. The colours in floral insets, however, are hand embroidered. The lines are all in dark green, except some in the flower and leaf insets and a curved line in the middle of the sleeve. The fillings in the flowers are in dark red and blue. The lace, as usual, is in silver. The stitches used are chain for all the lines and herringbone for the fillings.
(3) Silk blouse - largely machine embroidered (Vol. III Pl. 35 c). Basic material is green 'atlas' lined with poplin. In the specimen the design is almost entirely realized by overlaying of silver lace (tui) whether in the border ornaments, largely geometrical, in the middle of the sleeves or its bottom end or the bottom end of breast piece, or the intervening rosettes of the shoulder of the sleeve or over the breasts. As usual, rows of laces and the sleeve and spangles are interspersed with other ornaments.

The cotton blouses generally carry embroidered ornament similar to specimen No. 1; they are not machine embroidered like the latter two specimens. The colours in use have already been mentioned. The embroidery uses cotton and silk threads and silver lace and spangles.

Bandi (Children's Jacket)

The children's jackets (similar to a loose waistcoat) are not traditional items in Kharak dress; Kharak children were not dressed usually with decorative garments like the children of certain other communities; 79 their use is recent. Naturally, the embroidery on the children's jacket fronts do not use the traditional patterns and borders; but conform to the design of the print pattern to which dealers have given currency. Some of the pieces,
however, are not without some charm.

A typical specimen is described below:

The size of this example (Vol.II Pl.114 Fig.A) (Vol.III Pl.37 a, b) is 18" (chest width) x 24" (fall). The basic fabric is white cotton fabric of medium weight (see A, in the Dgm.).

The embroidered ornament on this jacket consists of (1) borders with mango pattern referred to by the local women as 'ear of corn' pattern (see B, in the Dgm.) round the neck, and shoulder, and flower and leaf pattern at the end of the fall (see C, in the Dgm.); (2) field ornament on the front featuring a large parrot, a small coconut tree and a potted plant on each side and with loose motifs of flower and swastik on the sides; (3) field ornament on the back featuring a large potted plant, with elephant motifs flanking the pot below, and peacocks flanking the plant in the middle. It also has flower and swastik motifs as fillers.

The colours used are blue and green, with a little yellow here and there as on details of birds and the elephant, or the stray fillers. There is some use of mirror pieces as eyes of animals and birds and the centres of flowers and the stitches used are largely herringbone as
3. ANIMAL COVERS

The cattle of a Kharak farmer are decorated gaily on special occasions with embroidered trappings. The Kharak trappings are probably not as elaborate or sophisticated as the Kathi and Kanbi specimens; and not as distinctive, but they have their own charm. The cattle trappings are: the backcloth, horn cover, forehead cover and nose cover; those for horses are mainly neck covers. Typical specimens are described below:

(1) Backcloth or Jhul for Bullock
(Vol.II Pl. 115 Fig. B)

The body measures 48" x 32" on each side. The framed cloth or embroidered portion measures 28" x 24" (see A, in the Dgm.). This is coarse cotton material in orange colour. This orange field carries a spiky flower in the middle, flanked by two round flowers on two sides; the corners have motifs of elephant and tiger. The left out space carries sundry flower-and-leaf and swastik motifs. It is bordered on all four sides by a flower-creeper pattern about 2½" wide (see B, in the Dgm.). The central flower is in violet with a central mirror piece bound in pink, the flanking flowers are in green with mirror pieces
bound in violet and pink, the elephants are in blue with yellow details, the tigers in green and blue with blue details and the fillers are in green and blue. The border has red flowers and green or violet leaves and pink ribs.

The embroidered field is extended on three sides by applique borders in the following ways: (1) a narrow border with rhomboid breaking in red, white and blue (see C, in the Dgm.), (2) slightly broader border with white lozenge decoration on red ground (see D, in the Dgm.); (3) a broad scroll border with interlooping S ornament, made with red and blue applique on white ground (see E, in the Dgm.) and (4) a narrow edging border of triangle-repeat in white and orange with two corners overlaid by orange flower motif on white ground (see F, in the Dgm.).

The two side flaps as sewn together and a quilted hump cover comes in between, whose body is in bright green satin cloth and which is topped with a parrot ornament in green mashru stuffed with cotton, and having a tail of many coloured clippings.

(2) Pair of Horn Covers (Shingarotiya or Khobhala) (Vol. II Pl. 116 Fig.D) (Vol. III Pl. 38 a)

The specimen in question measures 18" x 6". These pairs have yellow cotton cloth for the ground. Two parts
are separately embroidered before they are sewn together with the sewing machine.

These horn covers are horizontally covered over with lines of ornaments in 'half-closed eye pattern' and row of mirrors alternatively. The 'half-closed eye' pattern is embroidered by white outline and the outside spaces are filled with green, red, blue and pink. The mirror pieces are bound in violet and pink. A bird form (mentioned as sparrow) made from satin cotton is attached to the peak of the horn cover. The bird has tail streamers of different coloured cotton clippings.

(3) Head Cover for Bullock (Matharavati or Lelavati) (Vol.II Pl.116 Fig. B)

This specimen measures 7" x 10". The basic ground is white cotton. A large flower is embroidered in the centre of the piece, surrounded by a border in mirror and leaf pattern and another broad one in the chess board pattern. The large flower is in pink, leaves in green, and mirror pieces are embroidered with violet. The chess board pattern is also in violet.

(4) Nose-cover (Nath) (Vol.II Pl.116 Fig. E)

The specimen in question measures 15" x 12". The
basic fabric is white cotton. It consists of a forehead band with two side pieces (shaped like a gateway). The forehead piece has a curved edge with a half-leaf ornament, which is topped by a border band (going through side pieces). This band has a narrow edging line in 'barley pattern' and its body is covered with a lattice ornament, with a flower in each pocket. The 'barley pattern' edges are in blue and black, the flowers are all in red and the leaf forms of the lattice design are in alternate green and pink, violet and red. It has two loops on top.

The neck cover (ghughī) of horse is being described below (Vol.III Pl. 39 b):

The specimen in question is triangular in shape; the base measuring 39" and the central rib 24". It is bordered on all sides with an embroidered band in "leaf-lattice" pattern filled in with mirror pieces; its central rib is also made of a similar border with mirror piece enclosed in a triangular lattice. The outer edges have a row of filled cotton.

In the outside border, the mirror pieces are bound in white and blue and the leaf-lattice forms are in green and pink. In the central rib, all the mirror pieces are in white
and leaf-parrot design in violet and yellow alternately. The frill has deep blue, green, red and yellow friezing over one another. There are few variations of the neck-cover of horse (Vol.III Pl. 38 b & Pl. 39 a).

4. MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS
   (Vol.II Pl.117 Fig. D)

Among these the cradle cloth (or Khoyun) is the only one in vogue today. It is generally composed of two layers of coarse cotton material at the borders and both loops at the four corners, and is generally of 30" x 18" in measurement. This is suspended by the four corners on the cradle-frame, hammock-like, to carry the child. The embroidery is on the outer side.

A typical specimen is described below. Its measurements are 26" x 20", and the ground is green. Its rectangular area breaks up in the following way: (1) a central rectangular field embroidered in the "half-garden" pattern, roughly 12" x 6" (see A, in the Dgm.), (2) a framing border around this in the chess board pattern, roughly 2" wide (see B, in the Dgm.), (3) a broader embroidered border around this carrying leaf-lattice design with flower insets about 3" wide (see C, in the Dgm.), (4) a tailored border with criss-cross machined ornament nearly 2" wide (see D, in the
Dgm.). It has four loops at four corners.

The half-flowers in (1) have a mirror piece in the middle and are yellow and white alternately. The stem is yellow and the leaves are alternately blue and pink. The board chess/pattern is in violet; leaf-lattice form feature bright green and pink, red and blue alternately and round flower insets are yellow and white (around the central mirror piece) alternately. The tailored edging is red with white and blue criss-cross ornament.

**EMBROIDERY**

**The Process**

All Kharak embroideries (whether wall-pieces, costume pieces or cattle-covers) are done in the following way:

1. The design is drawn on the cloth by a Kharak woman adept at drawing or stamped on by a block printer.\(^{30}\)

2. The design is embroidered by Kharak women. Although the stitches, colours etc. are conventional, not all the women used these in a stereotyped way.\(^{31}\)
3. The pieces are tailored and finished by the local tailor who is hired to work in each peasant home.\textsuperscript{82}

The Drawing

It is likely that women with a special facility to draw freely were few in the Kharak community even in days gone by; they are certainly few today. These women are in great demand whether to paint on walls or draw designs on cloth; formerly they worked for their clanswomen in exchange for other services but today they charge them money; for each drawing, whether it be a wall-piece or a skirt, they charge Re.1/- a piece. Since Kharak women do more embroidery today than ever before and so make greater demands on them, they are also not able to do these whenever asked, or promptly, as they do not yet function as professionals; they utilise only their spare time (after the normal chores in house and field) for such work. Block printers have, of late, taken advantage of this and are printing designs on fabrics from ready blocks. They charge only 50 paise per piece and deliver the printed cloth in half an hour, and so they are increasing their clientele. All the same, a number of Kharak women still prefer hand-drawn designs, and quite rightly so as these have a linear freedom impossible in the print and a sensitive draughtswoman effects subtle form and
space adjustments during the layout which add special liveliness to the design. According to the Kharaks, there are today six draughtswomen of accepted skill that they go to. They are:

1. Mithiben Karsanbhai Senta of Mahuva town.
2. Liliben Vasharambhai Kapadia of Mahuva town.
5. Pamuben Chhaganbhai Khodifad of Kumbhan village.
6. Maniben Nathabhai Gohil of Bhumbhali village.

The method they use to realise the drawing is simple, as also the accessories they use, which are:

(a) a tablet of washable blue/violet ink (which they dissolve in water),

(b) a coconut shell container (to hold the ink).

(c) a burnt-out match stick (with which to draw).

(d) a cotton string (with which to mark straight lines).

For drawing a conventional chakala design (Vol.II PIs. 118 to 121).
They take the square metre of white long cloth that their clients bring them, fold them in four, corner to corner, to find the centre, and mark this in ink. From this they draw radiating lines for the petals of the central flower, first two lines at right angles (following the diagonal fold), then lines bisecting these four angles, and then lines bisecting the resulting eight, so that they have 16 sectors, within a diameter of 10". They draw these into a spiky flower with 16 petals. Then they join the tips of the petals with leaf-like forms and make it into a circle and fill the triangular spaces between with other leaf forms. They then draw arches about 2" high joining the alternate tips of the leaves all around and fill these with a five petalled half-flower. From the feet of these arches they draw fan-shaped sprigs about 6" high, which extends the circular motif to about 22" in diameter. Then this is framed around by borders in the following order of widths:

1/4", 1/2", 1/2", 1", 1", 1/2", 3" or 4".

The borders are outlined by the cotton strings dipped in ink, held tight over the cloth and then vibrated to make the impression. The narrow borders are eventually single colour lines in the embroidered piece, the broad ones carry decoration in chess board, mirror piece or flower-
creeper patterns and the outer edge is generally finished with the peacock's legs. Now, the four empty corners of the central court outside the floral form are filled with animal motifs in diagonal symmetry and the other vacant spaces around are filled with miscellaneous fillers as mango, chilli, flower, plant or leaf motifs.

Although each of the draughtswomen mentioned has a speciality of her own, their work methods are more or less the same. The drawings for other categories of wall pieces, skirt and blouse pieces and other various items are done in the same way; first a spatial grid, then the fillers, then the borders; light coloured grounds (as are used for wall pieces, cattle trappings, blouses and even scarlet skirts) are drawn over with blue-violet ink, the deeper coloured materials (as are used in short skirts and blouses) are drawn over with a mixture of Khadi (white earth) and water.

Their drawings (Vol.III Pl.40 a) show great control and verve and the form organisations are subtle in most cases. The drawings as mentioned above take a woman about an hour to do. Hand drawing is naturally not stereotyped; it leads to changes in order, organisation, motif and spatial adjustments, either by accident or design, and so to
variety in image. But during the last 20 to 30 years block printers have broken into this field, the repertory of forms, units and motifs they use are based on conventional motifs, but the forms are rigid and often insensitive (Vol. III Pl. 39 c, d, e, f) and they do not have the delicacy or balance of the hand-drawn design. The tendency among them to get these designed (or improved) by drawing teachers from non-traditional backgrounds who have neither the skill nor the feeling to see the finer points of conventional design makes them worse. Luckily, the Kharak women's natural sensibilities and colour sense manage to transform these rather wooden motifs into livelier images, when they come within their range of skill and imagination; when they do not and have unfamiliar components, vulgarity results.

The major printing units that print design patterns for embroidery are:

5. Mohan Printing Works at Mahuva.

Kharak women go to these shops with their cloth
pieces and select the designs out of their samplers (printed on paper or cloth), instruct them how they want them laid out. The printer uses small size blocks with different form units and pieces them up into the desired pattern. These days, some of them keep ready-printed designs on suitable material for toran, chakala, etc. when there is seasonal demand; but they are mostly of questionable taste (Vol.III Pl.39 e, f).

**Embroidery**

Kharak girls start working on their trousseau some years ahead of their wedding; they do it generally at home; but it is also usual for them to go to their maternal uncle's house to do so, as there they are treated with special deference, escape their household chores, and have all the time to themselves to work on these. They spend, as already stated, all their spare time on embroidery. The working accessories they use are simple and have been already described.

Despite certain common characteristics, the processes of Kharak embroidery differ somewhat from item to item. The differences are largely related to the use of stitches, colours and the order or sequence in which an
embroidered design is developed.

In the wall-pieces the most commonly used stitch is a close herringbone. This is used to fill colour in the marked outlines of forms whatever their character. The plain linear borders, the figured borders in chess board, flower-and-creeper patterns, the large motifs of flowers, animals, leaves, creepers, etc, all are embroidered in closed and herringbone stitch in which the threads overlap each other and cover the ground of the form across it, from edge to drawn edge, and this gives the embroidered surface a dynamic hatched texture, even when done in soft floss silk. Any large motif area is divided into smaller areas at the stage of the drawing itself (as in the case of the central flowers of a chakala) or it is divided by an embroiderer on her own judgment, in an effort to avoid loose floats (as in the case of various animal forms); and generally a Kharak woman does this with natural sensibility, breaking the surface into an interesting configuration of planes which reinforce the form as well as enrich the texture (Vol. II Pls. 122 to 123). Another device a Kharak woman often uses is to bind down floats by little knots in a contrasting colour and add a pointillistic variety to the surface (Vol. II Pl. 68 Figs. B, C, D). Hardly any of the forms
in the embroidered wall-pieces carry linear borders; being shown in definite sharp colours on a usually white ground, slightly in relief, the necessity for any such borders is rarely felt; where it is, the vestiges of the ink drawing around the edges is found good enough. The only instances when an embroidered line is used in these is where a stem of a leaf or plant has to be delineated - which is generally done in a single or double stem stitch or closed or open chain stitch - or to add definition to the edges of a too broad flat border, or the edges of the triangles in the peacock's legs pattern. And these are generally done in loose darn stitch floats. Occasionally, there are instances of the edges of an animal form being broken with linear details on the back, round the face or tail. The small mirror pieces (khamp) are generally sewn on by buttonhole stitch, and the larger ones (abhala) by knots; they are generally featured in borders, in the centre of flowers, eyes of animals, birds, etc., but it is not unusual to see them used at other places too, whether on a motif or on the ground to add finish and sparkle to the fabric (Vol. II Pl. 122 Figs. A, B, C; & Pl. 123 Figs. A, B).

The colour repertory in the present day wall-pieces is as follows:
1. Violet (jambudio)
2. Magenta (rani kalar)
3. Pink (gulabi)
4. Red (rato)
5. Green (lilo)
6. Deep blue (bhuro)
7. Black (kalo).

But, occasionally an unconventional colour may sneak in. Since both cotton and silk threads are used, this adds variations to the accepted range of colours. Kharak women do use a kind of regular repeat in figured borders (1/2, 1/2 or 1234, 1234, or 1234, 1235 and so forth) though they can be seen to sidestep this in remarkably effective ways. In large figural insets (like the animals in a toran or chitariya) the repeat is not always quite regular in the detail though an order can be read into the main rhythmic stress (Vol. II Pl. 124 Figs. A, B, C, D, E, F). In most of the traditional wall-pieces the colour stresses get distributed throughout the ground, in some way or the other, and so emphasise the two dimensionality of the surface. Also the interplays of form and space in these is comparable to those seen in the patch-work fabrics of the same region (Vol. III Pl. 40 b).

The general sequence in which the wall pieces are embroidered is roughly as follows (Vol. II Pls. 125 to 129):
1. **Linear borders**

2. **Main motifs**

3. **Sub-motifs**

4. **Figured borders**

5. **Details, binders and fillers.**

1. The linear borders are first embroidered by herringbone stitch in one of the usual colours—yellow, green, red, blue, violet, etc. A woman first embroiders the innermost border (Vol.II Pl.125 Figs.A, B, C). She then does the next one. After that she does the guard borders. Some pieces have fewer borders and some more but the orderly working is more or less the same.

2. The central flower motif ('surajgul') is then embroidered. From the central mirror piece out to the final edge (Vol.II Pl. 126 Fig. A).

3. The animal motifs at the corners follow and with them the large filler motifs (Vol.II Pl.126 Fig.B) (Vol.II Pl.127 Fig. A).

4. The borders follow this and finally (Vol.II Pl.128 Figs. A, B, C, D).

5. The mirror pieces are couched over and small filler motifs interspersed in the field (Vol.II Pl.129 Figs. A, B).

The final stage every woman uses her ingenuity, for colour distribution and relationships.
In the embroidery of short skirts the process is slightly different, depending on the types of designs used; the stitches used in such embroidery are more various, and, today, a large number of the motifs used are outlined in chain stitch.

In the usual kind of designs used by Kharak girls today, the working order is as is given below:

1. At the first step they embroider in double outline the borders of the band 'C' (Vol.II Pl.130 Fig. A) in dark blue or black, in open chain stitch.

2. Then she embroiders the outlines of the motifs on the field 'A' and 'B' (Vol.II Pl.130 Fig.B) and the spatial grid in yellow chain stitch. Some of these outlines are single, some double (as in the case of the space grids).

3. Then the central scroll is also outlined in the same manner (of the band 'C') (Vol.II Pl.131 Fig. B).

4. The colour filling follows this. The circle and half-circle forms are generally done first in white and a yellow (in alternate order) in close
5. The colour filling of smaller details follows - leaves, flowers, buds, birds, other details, in pink, green, blue, and red, all in close herringbone stitch (Vol.II Pl.131 Fig. D).

6. The embroidery of the bouquet motif on the peak of the band (see C, in the Dgm.) follows this, in chain and close herringbone stitches (Vol.II Pl.131 Fig. C).

7. After this the borders of band (already outlined in chain stitch in dark blue or black) is filled in with the chess board pattern in close herringbone stitch in white, blue, yellow and violet, grouping the squares into triangular, lozenge or zig-zag shapes with selective use of colour (Vol.II Pl. 131 Fig. B).

This order holds good for patterns like Bagicho, Ghadial, Kacha Mogra, Buckle-Machhali, etc. (in which the motifs are laid out in a square grid). In the case of patterns like Kankavati, Van jatra, Angla Sikal, Limdo, Sitaphali, Keri, Vad-vela, in which the field is not so divided, there are no grid outlines, but the form outlines remain. In the
different kinds of patterns: Chess board, barley, thorn, etc. In the case of skirt fields that alternate round forms in herringbone stitches, with other motifs in an interlaced stitch (Vol.III Pl.40 c, d), chain stitch outlines are not used (understandably enough, as interlaced motifs themselves have sharp edge detail). This is specially so in the skirts of grown-up women which use coarse ground cloth, subdued colours and largely interlaced stitch motifs. Red and pink are rarely used in the fields of these skirts, only white, yellow, dark-green and blue; red and pink are sometimes used only in their hems.

In all skirt embroideries the mirror pieces are sewed on last. They are generally used in the centre of circles and half-circles, or the centre of squares, or eyes of bird forms etc. They are sewed down in buttonhole stitch. Certain conventions can be noticed in the use of colour in skirt embroideries; the circles or half-circles are generally in white or yellow (very rarely pink or orange); the outlines are generally in yellow chain stitch; in the colour filling of details on the field the following juxta-positions are usual - pink against green, red against blue.

The methods of embroidery of blouses is not different from that of the short skirts; here too, the design
outlines are done in yellow chain stitch and the colour filling in close herringbone; mirror pieces are sewed on by buttonhole stitch and the colour repertory is much about the same; cross stitch is only used to make surface dots or binders.

Similarly, animal back cloths are embroidered in the same method as the wall-pieces; while the head, face, nose and horn pieces for bullock, and neck pieces for horses are done in the ways short skirts and blouses are. Among the miscellaneous items the bags are embroidered in the way the wall-pieces are and the cradle cloths the way the skirts are, with similar stitches, motifs and colours.

**THE FINISHING**

The embroidered pieces of the Kharaks are sewn and given the final shape by tailors who work in their houses at various times of the year (generally before the 'Anas'). They tailor the items according to their suggestions and in a sense contribute substantially to their final look, with various complicated edgings and pipings. The tailors who work for the Kharaks are Kharaks themselves and currently there are eight such in the community.
1. Kansara Vasharambhai Ranchhod of Bhumbhali village.
2. Senta Bhikha Poona of Bhumbhali village.
4. Valiya Jiva Raghava of Bhumbhali village.
5. Kapadiya Khantabhai Dedhi of Tansa village.
7. Vala Keshav Jethalal of Mahuva town.

The methods of tailoring are as follows: torans big and small are backed and lined by coarse cotton material, both the frieze and the pennants; the upper and lateral sides of the frieze and the lower sides of the pennants are edged with coloured piping, the colours generally used for the former being blue or red or violet and for the latter, blue or red or green or yellow; often each pennant has a different coloured piping. Then the pennants are sewed on to the bottom edge in a close row and the joint is covered over by a cloth band in blue or violet, over which a guilloche pattern in white cotton thread is sewn on. The torans is then finished with polychrome tassels of cotton or woollen at the points of each pennant.

Chakalas, chitariyas and barasakhiyas too are backed and lined by coarse white cotton material. Chakalas are
generally bordered and finished by a single piping in blue, or red, or green, or a three-line piping using these three colours. Occasionally the tailors add a framing border inside, for instance, a band of red with a row of blue triangles sewn on it, sometimes facing the embroidered peacock's legs pattern that edges a chakala and either interlocking or (Vol.II Pl.132 Figs. A,C,D) facing away from it. The chitariyas are generally found embroidered in two pieces and (1) the vertical leg (or fall) that comes along the door frame, (2) the pointed foot that turns away from it at right angles. The tailor sews these up together into the usual 'L' shape, and then backs and finishes them in the way he does the chakalas (Vol.II Pl.132 Fig. B). The barasakhiyas are long rectangular pieces and they too are lined and finished in the way chakalas are done. The todaliyas and gol-takiyas are finished by the sewing of the backslip which makes them into a kind of light cushion; after they take the cotton filling, they are edged with piping and frills in various coloured cotton. The cotton material used for lining these days is white 'madarpat' and coloured poplin are used for preparing patch-work and frills.

In finishing a short skirt, the tailor shows a great amount of skill and virtuousity. The lower edge of the short
skirt is generally finished with parallel bands of 3 to 7 strips of folded piping (Vol.III Pl.41 a, b) often broken into design by the application of small triangles, squares and tongues of folded cloth meticulously sewn in. The pipings are generally in bright colours (of the usual range) and the folded shapes are generally in white or yellow. Over this and below the embroidered band comes the thick tailored border; it is generally about 3" broad and is made of several folds of cotton material topped by coloured silk sewn together in various designs of a mock-quilt kind on a sewing machine (generally zig-zag and criss-cross patterns and simple flower, bird and animal forms) (Vol.III Pl.41 a,b). This border is sewed on with a decorative piping all round, all along the lower edge of the skirt and up the right corner (like the embroidered border C and ends in a triangle like this band does but 2" short of the embroidered field. Once the lower (embroidered) piece of the skirt is finished in the above manner the upper piece (chadayo) is stitched on to it and then the waist line is rolled and piped and the waist tapes are sewn on.

The designs used on these hems have a kind of geometrical structure as long as they are done on the old kind of sewing machines; they tend to lose this when they are done on the more versatile machines of today which have
embroidery attachments.

The hand embroidered blouses are just sewn together by the tailor occasionally with a piece of piping or lace added on at certain seams or borders. There are however in vogue today certain blouses that the tailor embroiders fully or partly on his machine, using for this ready borders, lace and sequins (Vol.III Pl.35 c & Pl.36 d).

On the back cloths for bullocks too the tailor generally does a lot of work. Although the back-cloth has two flaps and on each side of the animal's body and each flap measures roughly 36" x 48" it is not fully embroidered; the embroidered portion is generally smaller and it is edged round with colour applique borders by the tailor and brought to the required dimensions. For these spiral, scroll, chevron and other designs are used and the two flaps are finished with coloured piping on three sides (bottom and the two lateral edges). They are then joined over the spine line of the animal and, towards the front, skirt round a hump cap (that covers the hump of the bullock and secures the back cover in position). The hump cap is a conical quilted cap (almost like a tea-cozy) and is generally made of green satin on the outside and green cotton cloth inside and has cotton stuffing; it is quilted and sewn in ribs or diamonds (Vol.II Pl.115 Figs. A, B).
Its peak (or conical top) is decorated by a little stuffed rag-parrot (or sparrow) with bright green body and beak in a streamlined curve and a tail of gay coloured cotton clippings at the other end. The embroidered neck cloths of the horses are finished with a brocade border for the central rib, sometimes worked over with a guilloche design. The outer edges flaunt frills of bright cotton material (yellow, green, red, blue) and an edging (about 4" to 5" broad) of coloured netting at the ends of which hang with tassels of different coloured cotton and woollen clippings. The embroidered head, forehead and horn covers of cattle are finished with coloured piping; the two pieces of horn covers are sewn together with a strip of red or green cloth between them and are ringed at the bottom with blue or green cotton material. Sometimes the horn covers have bright tinsel strip sewn on them and carry cloth-sewn bird froms on the tips, much like the hump-covers (only smaller in size). The forehead, nose and face covers too are generally finished with piping and straps of red and green.

The cradle cloths are edge-finished with coloured piping, like other materials, but they also carry at the four corners, four tailored loops (out of thick cotton cloth). The bags too are finished in the same manner.

Besides these, the tailors put together with cloth
applique and quilting, the following items:

1. Cattle cloths for normal use (sadi jhul)
2. The gaming cloth (chopat)
3. The seed bag (vavaliyo).

(1) The present day 'sadi jhul', is generally made of coarse cotton material with bordered woven strips of red, green and blue; the strips are generally about 2" broad and about 6" apart; simple applique edging and some field motifs are embroidered on this. Rarely, some quilting is done. The usual size is 36" x 48", side.

The specimen (Vol.II Pl.133 Fig. D) in question is 36" x 48" side; and of coarse cotton cloth, with red green and blue strips as usual; its face sides are decorated with two applique borders. The outside one is made of triangles and the inside of lozenges in red, blue, orange and green. They are edged around with red, green and blue piping. On the field, there are 3 six-petalled star-shaped flowers in red, done in applique, in loose ornament.

(2) Gaming cloth or 'chopat' is used by Kharaks to play a game of dice on; it is a fabric gaming-board. This is generally made of coarse cotton material, one lined on another. It is generally cruciform, two 2 feet across, and
6" broad each side (Vol. III Pl. 42 a).

The example in question is of the usual measurement. The ground is in red; the squares are marked out by overlaid piping in white. The stressed squares where the tokens pause or change movement are marked by diagonal crosses in the same kind of piping. The outer edges are bordered with blue, yellow and green piping. 'Chopats' differ in design and measurements piece to piece; in some, figured materials are used with plain materials for applique.

(3) Seed bag (vaivaliyo): The seed bag carries the seed and is hung on the sowing frame which also carries the seed-barrow. The shape of the bag is not unlike the normal rag-bags. They are also used to carry money etc. It is shaped like a truncated triangle, flat and broad at the bottom; the top carries a closing string laced through.

The specimen illustrated (Vol. III Pl. 42 b) is of coarse unbleached cotton, and carries a star-flower design on one side.

CHANGE IN IMAGE OF KHARAK EMBROIDERIES

The foregoing account tries to present the facts about Kharak embroidery as is prevalent today in some kind of order - the description of the items, their functional
background, their structure and design, and the skills involved in their making and finishing. But as has already been mentioned Kharaks admit that they learnt the art of embroidery from the Kanbis nearly two hundred years ago; they do not believe that they had an earlier tradition of embroidery or if there was one, they no longer have memories of it, nor do they have any ancient samples to support such a contention. The earliest samples traceable among the Kharaks today cannot be more than a hundred years old and even these are rare and in poor condition. In any case if one goes by the different varieties of work that can be seen in a Kharak house today and by the information the old Kharaks volunteer on these, Kharak embroidery has undergone a slow change in image through the years in most of the items and the tendency has apparently been to move from closely packed geometrical or quasi-geometrical decoration to a looser figurative one, with a greater variety of organic or a near organic forms.

An attempt is made below to trace the transition in each of the items.

**Toran**

About hundred years ago the image of the 'torans' was the same as it is today. The ground material of the 'toran' too
was white similar to what it is today, except that it was hand-spun, hand-woven material. The yarns used were also similar, except that the colour range was limited and was weighted on red side, the common range was pink, red, crimson, violet, yellow and orange (green and blue were absent). The stitches used were much about the same as today's but there was a greater use of darn stitch in surface fillings and a more sparing use of close herringbone stitch.

Among the accessories reels in turned ivory (heervatiyun) were used to wind silk threads on (Vol.III Pl. 42 c).

The general layout, dimensions and components of the 'toran' were not different from those of today's. They had horizontal friezes and pennants along the bottom edge, the friezes had a central band of decoration, divided into squarish areas which was framed around by several figured borders. They were also finished in the way they are finished now.

The main difference lay in the decorative components, which were entirely geometrical about 100 years ago, whether in the central band of the frieze or the surrounding borders or in the body of the pennants. Carefully worked out geometrical motifs covered most of the ground cloth
which showed out in elegant lines between forms (as compared to the greater proportion of ground that shows out today) and the pennants had a rather uniform geometrical pattern (like closely packed diamond, ear or corn or mirror piece patterns).

(1) Motun Toran

According to the Kharaks the design in vogue about 100 years ago was the one that feature a 'dabra' (box) pattern in the central panel (Vol.II Pl. 134 Fig. A)(Vol.III Pl.42 d). This is framed around, as can be seen, by border with geometrical decoration either in the 'mirror dot', chess board, dabla or 'peacock's legs' patterns. This kind of design is no more current among the Kharak, but it still is among the Kanbis, Kolis, etc.

(2) Nanu Toran

There are no old examples of these traceable now, except one form called 'tarapariyun' (Vol.II Pl.135) which is a kind of 'nanu toran' which has a geometrical design on the main body, in 'dabra', chess board and peacock's legs patterns (as seen in old 'toran' in examples) except for a recticulated frill suspended below (in place of the horizontal line of pennants). This form is no more in vogue; where among the Kharaks or other sister communities.
The Kharaks say that their 'toran' design underwent a definite change about 70 years back. The format remains the same; the central panel is still geometrical but the design is no more based on the simple 'dabla', it is based on the 'koliful' (Vol.II Pl. 134 Fig. B), in the framing borders there is the introduction of floral motifs; the third border now is in the flower-creeper pattern, still current. There is also a little more variety of design in the pennants. This design also is still current among the Kanbis and Kolis. About 50 years ago, according to Kharak accounts, the central frieze ceased to be geometrical in design (Vol.II Pl.136) (Vol.III Pl. 43 a). It had a row of large flowers, in definite square compartments. The border in flower-creeper pattern persists; the pennants also start having floral or plant designs. About 30 years ago the use of animal forms came in; the introduction is attributed to a specially inventive Kharak woman. Animal forms alternate with flower (Vol.II Pl. 51 Figs. A, B) in central frieze; the borders do not undergo any change. This design is still widely current among the Kharak; of late there are specimens which make greater use of the animal motif both in the frieze and pennants.

(3) Chakala

From Kharak accounts the image of chakalas too have
undergone change in design parallel with 'torans', though the format and size has not changed substantially. About 100 years ago the kind of 'chakala' the Kharak embroidered were much about the same as their sister communities Kambis, Kolis, etc., did. It had only geometrical motifs (Vol.II Pl. 137 Figs. A, B); the usual design, as can be seen in the diagram, was a square sub-divided into nine squares by borders in the mirror piece (or chess board) pattern. The squares have broad 'dabla' filling. This whole piece is framed around by a border in 'peacock's legs' pattern and coloured piping. There are some variants to this (Vol.II Pl.138 Figs. A, B). About 70 years ago the 'koliful' motif gets into use; there are some examples in which the 'dabla' and 'koliful' motifs are used alternately in the general field (Vol.II Pl. 138 Fig. B). At the next step, the chakala features a border in flower-creeper pattern around a field in geometrical design as in the 'toran' does (Vol.II Pl. 139). About 50 years ago the Kharaks put into prominent use flower motifs (Vol.II Pl.140 Fig. A).

The field is still divided into four squares each holding a large flower. This kind of design is still current. Of about this time one can locate certain 'chakalas' featuring bird and plant motifs (Vol.II Pl.140 Fig. B). The recent
chakalas, as already described, have a large design of a flower (called 'surajgal') covering the central field, surrounded by fillers of plant and animal forms.

(4) Chitariya

Among the 'chitariya' too there was a parallel change in design. No 'chitariya' has been located with 'dab' design (as 'toran' and 'chakala' have been) but a number featuring the 'koliful' design have been located (Vol.II Pl.141 Figs.A, B). 'Chitariyas' of this design are not current now among the Kharaks but they still are among the Kanbils, the Kolis, etc. Following this, floral motifs take over from the geometric motifs (Vol.III Pl. 43 b) and still later the animal forms came into use, sometimes entirely by themselves. These have already been described.

(5) Todaliyas and Gol-Takiyas

Of these no old specimens cannot be located and in the recent examples changes are marginal. They have remained largely geometrical in design.

(6) Padado

'Padado' or a door curtain is apparently a relatively new item among the Kharaks; most of them believe that it gained currency in the last thirty or forty years. Typical
specimens have been already described. No old specimens have been located.

COSTUME PIECES

Short-Skirts

Kharaks believe that the short-skirts that they wore is not largely different from what they wear today in cut, shaping, design, layout etc. (though the skirts of the Kanbis and other communities are slightly different). But they do agree that there have been changes in the image of decoration through the years. In this, one has to depend to a large extent on what the old Kharaks say as old skirt samples are hard to come by - skirts being in constant use and unlike wall-pieces and other items, liable to wear out and be cast away. Besides this, one can get some idea of the changes from the survival of some old patterns in today's embroidery, whether it be among the Kharaks or the Kanbis.

About 100 years ago, the general layout of decoration on the Kharak skirt or its finish was not very different from what it is today. But the materials were somewhat different. The basic fabric was generally hand-spun and hand-woven cotton material, heavier, softer, more textured (and more suitable for embroidery of geometrical and interlaced
patterns, which involve counting of threads). The colours were the same but the materials were dyed locally with indigenous dyes; the red ground cloth was known as 'choliyun' and the black one as 'kharvi'.

The yarns used in embroidery were mainly loom-waste cotton yarn and floss silk yarn (hir). The colours current in silk were pink, red, green, blue and in cotton, yellow, white, blue, violet, dark green and black. Mirror pieces (khamp) were in use; and in the hem border, pink and olive green cotton materials were used for piping.

The stitches in use were mostly the same as of today — chain, herringbone, buttonhole, straight and cross and certain of the traditional accessories like 'heervatiyun' were in use.

The main difference was in the use of designs, their repertory was not as large as it is today. The following is a listing of the design patterns then in use:

1. Boxes and old men (daba-dohha).
2. Birds (titida).
3. Fingers (angala).
4. Blackgram or chess board (adadiya).
5. Parsi vest (Parsi sadara - 2 variations).
7. Babul circle (bavaliya sikal).
8. Sheaf of corn (lepat-dodava).
11. 'Sheaf of corn' in horizontal alignment (ada lepat-dodava).
12. Sweetball (ladava).

Out of these patterns, 1, 11 and 12 were usually done on a black ground and others on scarlet.

In these the design repeats on the field were generally in regular linear, horizontal bands; the motifs were smaller and so the field accommodated three to four bands one above the other. And the motifs in use were simpler and without marginal embellishments or breaks, like birds, leaves, dots, lines etc. (Vol.II Pl.35 Fig.C) (Vol.III Pl.33, a to d and Pl.34 a, b).

Chain stitch outlines, as are widely used today, were rarely used then. The main stitches used were close herringbone for fillings and buttonhole for sewing mirror pieces. The motifs were more closely packed and the ground
colour broke out more uniformly; so even without a calculated geometric grid (though this can be seen in certain designs). The frequent and regular repeats led to the illusion of a close arabesque and the whole designed field has less formal variations, the regular repeat of lozenges, sikals or half-sikals led to a staccato rhythm. Besides, the colour range was smaller than todays and the tailored hem border was simpler and carried mainly geometric or near-geometric floral design; piping and scallops or guilloche edgings were, however, as common as today (Vol.II Pl.110 Figs. E, F, G, H, I).

Through the time Kharak skirt embroidery increased in the range of its forms.

New patterns were added to their repertory about 50 years ago, or so they say; the names of these patterns are as follows:

2. Parrot-cups (popat vataka).
3. Carrying ring (indhoni).
4. Kumkum pot (Kankavati)
5. Banyan roots or snakes (vad-vela or naganina).
6. Agave tree (kevada - 1 variation).
7. Sweet neem tree (mitho limbado - 1 variation).
8. Pomegranate (dadam).
11. Parrot-circle (popat-sikal).

The patterns continue still to be arranged in horizontal bands on the field but the compactness of the arabesque loosens up. The sikals and half-sikals that were in the prominent repeat (and therefore the main keys or rhythmic stress) are now more surrounded with ancillary motifs of leaves and birds of various kinds and these tend to be outlined prominently by yellow chain stitch. The areas filled with colour too tend to get worked over by small cross and knot stitches for livelier surface detail (Vol.III Pl.34 c, d).

The embroidered fields start using motifs in interlaced stitch by themselves and together with other flat motifs (Vol.III Pl.40 c). In the last 30 years more patterns have been added to the Kharak repertory.

They are:

1. Paras pipal tree (paras pipal).
2. Dish (thali).
3. Flying/planes (udta balloon).
4. Henna (medina).
5. Nine hue patterns (navrang bhat).
6. Hairnet with flowers (veni-jali).
11. Castanets (kartal - 1 variation).
13. Tamarind pods (katrya).
14. Big circle (gunchala).
17. Bower (van-jatra).
18. Maina parrot (mena-popat).
19. Flower-pillars (ful thambha - 3 variations).
20. Twelve-peacocks (bar mor).

Interlaced patterns:

22. Diamond shape (adagal).
23. Bundle (potalio).
24. Rotten babul tree (saradel-bvaliy). 
Now the basic ground fabric used is not always hand-spun, hand-woven material; mill made materials have come into use. Among the yarns used there is a larger variety; twisted silk and art silk yarns are added to floss silk yarns. The colour range has widened and included lemon yellow, sap green, turquoise blue, deep blue, ultramarine blue, and brown as in the prevalent range. Most of the traditional accessories like 'heervatiyun' are no more used. The patterns are not always hand-drawn as previously; a large number of women get their skirts, block-stamped with the patterns from the traditional block printer.

The patterns in the field are larger and has less obvious geometric repeats. Instead of four or five lines of horizontal repeats as was common before, the new skirts have sometimes only just two. Certain simple forms like 'sikals' has now more edge details (Vol.III Pl. 41 c); there are more linear details in grid borders (Vol.III Pl.34 c, d).

There is a greater variety in the use of stitches and their combinations; in outlines and filler motifs. The tailored hem border has started having more variety of image and texture (Vol.II Pl.109(1) Figs. A,B,C & Pl.110 Figs. A to I). The current examples have already been described in details.
EMBROIDERED BLOUSES

As we understand from the Kharak account, there has hardly been any basic change in the design of the blouses through the years. The changes have been largely in the basic material used and the range of colour. From what the Kharaks remember they did not use a great number of blouses in olden days. Also fewer blouses were given as matrimonial gifts; the usual number was four silk and four cotton blouses. The silk blouses, however, were made of real 'atlas' brought into Saurashtra from the main silk centres, Surat and Ahmedabad, and it used to cost according to them about Re.1=25 for a hand length (nearly a yard).

The ground colours current those days in silk blouses were pink, green, blue, and yellow; and the embroidery was done in floss silk (green, red, pink, and blue) and cotton (white and yellow) and the method of embroidery was much about the same as today's white or yellow outlines in chain stitch, colour fillings in herringbone and mirror piece couching in buttonhole stitch. The only difference was that this was embellished further with a kind of 'zardozi' work using tui (silk lace) and satara (spangles etc.).

The common designs used were - agave tree (kevada bhat), wild creeper (dhonk-vel), true house plan (sachi griha
bandhi) and like today the tailors sewed the blouse up and attached silver lace borders at the end of sleeves.

The cotton blouses generally used hand-spun, hand-woven material which were dyed by the village dyer and printer, the material cost the Kharaks about 3 'anas' a hand-length. The ground colours in cotton blouses were deep yellow, blue, green, red and indigo, they were used in the same combinations as today and the embroidery on them was similar to that on silk, using colours, stitches, and mirror pieces similarly but the cotton blouses were not worked over with metallic yarns, laces and spangles whether by the embroiderer or the tailor.

The common designs used were agave tree (kevada), neem tree (limbado), wild creeper (dhonk-vel).

Since the last 50 years, the Kharaks claim that the blouses are gifted in larger numbers, 8 silk and 8 cotton pieces to begin with. Today the number is larger. The materials used for silk blouses are not all genuine 'atlas' any more (the term 'atlas' is used now for a variety of ground fabrics that include silk, artificial silk (bhindi) etc. in various weaves) though these come from the same delivery centres - Surat and Ahmedabad. Similarly, the ground material used for cotton blouses are now mill-woven
poplins or similar material. Their prices are higher; 50 years back they were about Rs.2=50 for 'atlas' and Re.1=50, for cotton per hand length, now they are ten time higher. The materials used are larger in colour range today; to the traditional colours - orange, lemon yellow, bright greens and violets (in silk), bright reds, blues and greens (in cotton), have been added. The yarns and stitches used for embroidery are the same as before and the layouts are similar. Embellishment with metallic yarns and spangles are now rarely seen, or only to a small extent, on hand-embroidered blouses; while they are used to a larger extent on machine-embroidered ones. The motifs that are in vogue today are - hand circle ('hath sikal'), lightning creeper ('vijali vel'), half-closed eye ('ardhi ankhabi'), etc.

ANIMAL COVERS

The change in design in animal covers has more or less corresponded with the changes in design in the wall-pieces; with similar layout, borders, motifs, stitches and craftsmanship.

Talking of the back-cloth, old specimens are reported to have had exclusively geometric decoration. Following that 'dabla' motifs were replaced by 'koliful' motifs after which round flower motif and flower-creeper design became
current (Vol.III Pl. 43 c). The kind of back-cloth currently in use has already been described. The other animal cover items have not undergone much change in character.

There are, however, certain embroidered items that are no more in use today and, so, are not made any longer. One of these is "kothali" or the bag for keeping ornaments, which was partly quilted and partly embroidered (Vol.II Pl.142 Fig. A). As can be seen from the diagram, major part of the bag is quilted; the basic material is white cotton material, generally old and used. The embroidered motifs are done in interlaced stitch and the borders are done in herringbone stitch; the quilting is done with threads of red, yellow and blue and the borders are in the blue and the motifs alternately red and orange. It carries couched mirror pieces in the centre of the flower motif and at the intersections and joints of the borders. The bag has similar decoration on both sides, and size is 27" x 15".

Another such item is "madardi" which resembles a saddle-bag, and is generally used to store or carry special clothes, ornaments or dry fruits (Vol.II Pl.142 Fig. B).

Its usual size is 30" x 12". The material is coarse white cotton; the back-cloth is a continuous piece, the top
cloth has an opening in the middle and two loops-and-knot fasteners. The bag is decorated on both sides; the bag referred to has embroidery in 'dabla' pattern on one and 'star-flower' pattern on the other; the 'dabla' units are in red, pink and golden yellow alternately, the 'star-flowers' units are in pink and two shades of red; there are mirror pieces in the centre of both the 'dabla' and 'star-flower' units. The motifs themselves are done in darn stitch, the mirror pieces couched down in buttonhole stitch.

Embroidered gaming cloth (or chopat) (Vol.II Pl.142 Fig. D) is also no more in vogue. It usually measured 21" across and each flap of cross was divided into 27 squares by embroidered line. Each of these squares carried a couched mirror piece; the special squares were marked by cross lines and a floral motif. The central piece carried a large flower motif in the middle round a mirror dot; its corners were filled with leaf motif. It was then bordered by a band in barley pattern. All the flaps and centre piece were finished with piping. In the specimen referred to, the border lines are in violet all the mirror pieces are bound in violet. The central flower is in red, pink and yellow, the flanking leaf forms in green. The main squares are in red, pink and blue. The pipings are in red and green. The stitches
in use are herringbone and buttonhole stitch. A special kind of 'nanu torn' called 'tarapariyun' is also out of vogue, this has already been described.

While certain items as the above have disappeared from use among the Kharaks today, there are other items that have come into use. They are of the following kinds:

(1) **New Hand-embroidered items**: which have come into use recently (during the last 20 years). These do not carry traditional designs or patterns and depend mostly on block-printed, not hand-drawn, motifs. Most of these (except the last item) come into use during weddings:

1. Ceiling cloth - 'ulech.'
2. Door-top piece representing Ganesh in a niche shaped field - 'Ganesh-sthapan.'
3. Door hanging - 'torn.'
4. Pillow cover - 'galep.'
5. Towel - 'rumal.'
6. Shopping bag - 'theli.'
7. Ear cover - 'kania.'

(2) **Bead-embroidered items**: bead embroidery is a new development among the Kharaks though it has been a thriving craft among Kathis and Kanbis and Banias for nearly
two centuries. Most of these objects are small in size. Some are decorative objects used in the household and other items are for cattle trapping.

1. Purse - 'batavo'.
2. Carrying ring - 'indhoni'.
3. Ceremonial pot - 'kalash'.
4. Coconut - 'naliyar'.
5. Forehead cover for cattle - 'matharavati'.
6. Nose-cover of cattle - 'nath'.

(3) Other craft items - the Kharak girls have started making largely under urban influence, are comparable to those current in lower middle class, urban neighbourhoods, though adapted for use in a Kharak household.

1. Toran - with glass tube-pieces.
2. Toran - with fused electric bulbs.
3. Toran - with strung medicine ampules.
4. Frame embroidery of bird or animal in plastic buttons, beads, etc.
5. Tree (or 'zad!) made by beads.

They also tend to use wooden reels in a line to decorate their wall shelves.

(4) Readymade machine embroidered items: made and
sold by the tailor, especially 'padado'. This is a new development, though still rare among Kharaks. The other peasant communities like the Kanbis etc. have become more rapidly urbanised and have given up their conventional arts to a large extent (especially in the vicinity of cities) and buy readymade items today, especially 'torans', 'Ganesh sthapans' and 'padadas'. The Kharaks are not as much tempted; one sees these only occasionally in a Kharak household.

The new hand-embroidered items have one thing in common. They have very little similarity in design to the traditional pieces; their motifs are not made up of simple and definite geometrical or near geometrical components as the traditional motifs nor is their layout always well-organised or compact. The motifs tend to be more realistic, if crudely so; their forms have contour details and foreshortening of a naive kind. They are rarely hand-drawn; but printed from the block printer's collection of blocks; if hand-drawn, they are done so on the models provided by drawing teachers or their sampler books. Their general aesthetic standards are poor; though, occasionally, a Kharak woman of outstanding sensibility is able to invest these unfamiliar motifs with some liveliness and relate them into a kind of compact arrangement. But this happens
rarely. The materials and colours, stitches and techniques used in the embroideries are not different from those used to make conventional items.

Description of typical examples of each listed item is given below:

(1) 'Ulech' - or canopy-cloth
(Vol. III Pl. 44 a)

This specimen is 10' x 9'. The ground cloth is white coarse cotton cloth with thick lining. It has at the edges a frill in red, green, blue and violet cotton material, and a border in featuring flower and leaf motifs. The field holds various motifs; about 3' of the central area is covered with circular rows of flower and leaf-motifs; around this a roundel of male and female figures performing 'dandiya ras', described in embroidered inscriptions as Ram and Sita. In the rest of the field, there are large floral medallions at the four corners, and the representation of Ganesh or Lakshmi in the middle of each side. These are flanked by coconut tree motifs. On the side of the image of Ganesh are represented motifs of the elephant and 'Lalji' (or the infant Krishna), paired on each side, on the other where Lakshmi is represented, the motifs are used the peacock and squirrel on one side and the peacock and lion on the other.
There are also a few sundry animal and bird forms as fillers. The colour used are violet, green, pink, red and yellow, in order of stress.

(2) A typical example of the Ganesh sthapan currently in use measures 18" x 15" and is in the usual niche format. The ground is white cotton. It has the representation of Ganesh in the centre, flanked by two women attendants and is bordered in the following patterns in order - couched mirror, chess board, flower-creeper and peacock's legs. It is finished as usual in red, green and blue piping.

(3) The 'toran' in question is not very different in format and measurements from the traditional one; the difference is in the design used (Vol.III Pl.45 a). It does not have the old geometric structure and the various framing borders. The motifs are freely floated around and are ill-conceived. The main field has a centre Ganesh flanked by sprigs, a male and female pair doing the 'dandia ras' and another sprig in that order. There are embroidered inscriptions of 'Radha' between the figures and 'Bhale-padharya' (Welcome) on the top line in two places. These are flanked by flying bird motifs. The pennants carry flower and bird motifs. The colours in use are violet, yellow, green, red and pink, in the order of stress. The field is framed by a single
floral border and white piece is finished with blue piping.

(4) Galep (or pillow cover) is a very recent item, similar to the ones in urban use. The ground is white and the measurement is 18" x 12" (Vol. III Pl. 45 b).

It features a central flowering plant in a pot, flanked by two peacock forms. It has an inscription of 'Jai Hind' (Victory to India) on the top and floral fillers. It is framed by a flower-creeper border. The colours used are violet, green, yellow and pink, in order of stress.

(5) The rumal too is a fairly recent item; the ground is white in medium weight cotton, its measurements are generally 30" x 20" (Vol. III Pl. 45 c). In the present example, there is the representation of a potted plant in the centre, flanked by two large peacocks, at the corners are bouquets; there are representation of Ganesh in one side and Lakshmi on the other and 'Lalaji' on the other two — Ganesh is flanked by deer and Lakshmi by lions. Representations of the butterfly and horse come in between. The whole field is framed by a flower-creeper border. The colours are violet, green, yellow and pink in order of stress.

(6) Theli (or shopping bag) is also a new item; similar to those current in urban centres. It is of white cotton
material, and measures 18" x 12" usually. In the present example (Vol.III Pl. 46 a) each side carries a large motif of peacock on plants with sundry motifs floating around - like the sun, moon, stars, crescent, crossed flags, etc. It is generally framed by a flower-creeper border and carries a heavy frilled piping at the edges in various colors. The usual colors used are as violet, green, red, yellow, and pink in the order of stress.

(7) Kania or ear-covers (Vol.III Pl. 46 b) also are used over the ears of bullocks as decorative covering. They hang over the ears from the horns and are secured on the ear by a cross-strap below it. They usually measure 12" x 6", have a leaf-like shape, and are generally in colored cotton material. The body carries decoration in the "cotton bud" pattern and is bordered by a line of spangles and has a piping of silver, blue and green.

4. (1) New 'padado' or door-curtain is similar to the other items; it does not have the old geometric divisions and is loosely covered by various motifs like Ganesh, Krishna; waronun, cows, birds, tigers, and other motifs. The motifs are similar to those already described, as they all come from the same printers' blocks, and they all have the same infelicities. Embroidered inscriptions
like 'Swagatam' and 'Jai Hind' also feature on these. The colours too are similar, the stress is on violet, green and yellow (Vol.III Pl. 46 c).

(2) Bead embroidery, as already mentioned, has gained currency among the Kharaks in the last 20 years; although other communities have practised the craft for nearly 300 years. The practice of this craft among these other communities has dwindled suddenly during this century. One of the reasons cited is the high price of Italian beads on which the craft depended and the decline in the quality of the beads they used. Another reason is the rapid urbanization of these communities and their growing disinterest in all their home crafts. Kharaks, however, have picked up in the meanwhile this skills. They do not use Italian beads but whatever beads are available in India. They also do not practise the craft in a large way, like the Kathis and Mahajans did at one time.

The beads used today are in size .2" to .3"; they are of opaque glass. The Kharaks buy these from the Vohras, who sell them with the other accessories for embroidery. The price at the present is 40 naye paise for 100 grammes. Occasionally, the Kharaks use beads from old pieces. The usual colours in use today are white, red, orange, green,
brown and blue.

Bead embroidery is done on either materials (like in the case of purses, cattle trappings, etc.) or objects (like indhoni carrying ring, kalash (pot or coconut).

The embroidery is done in two techniques - one using single beads, another using multiples.

(i) **Purse or 'Batavo'**

This item comes (Vol.III Pl.47 a), in many sizes. The one illustrated is 8" deep and 9" broad at base. Its ground is of green 'atlas' lined with green poplin; the design is of a packed square arrangement of the parrot motif (with facing pairs sharing one head). The parrot motifs are left blank and the field around is covered with bead embroidery and couched mirror pieces. The beads that cover the field are all white; the mirror pieces are bound with blue or yellow threads. The parrots have bound mirror pieces for eyes and their outline are done in yellow chain stitch. The mouth of the purse has the usual string-lacing and the sides have friezes knotted in blue, yellow, and green woollen yarn.

(ii) **Carrying Rings ('indhoni')**

They are used to carry pots (Vol.III Pl.47 b,c,d),
on ceremonial occasions. In the illustrated piece the beaded cover is about 2" wide, 1½" height and 5" to 6" across. It has another loose band attached on one side, ending in a corner when the indhoni is kept on the head this band is designed to dangle on the back like a plait. It has a looped frieze going all around it at the bottom about ½" broad.

The main band carries a design in which plant and peacock motifs alternate. The loose band is decorated with what looks like a pot below and a tall plant growing, on the top. The ground is white, motifs are in blue, green and yellow. The looped frieze is in blue and white. The beads are embroidered in the single-bead technique.

(iii) Kalash or ceremonial pot

It is carried on the indhoni. The base pot is generally of brass, silver or stainless steel (Vol.III Pl. 47 b). The pot in question is about 8" high, 7" wide at middle and 2" at the base. The bead embroidery covers its sides; the ground is in white beads and the figuration in coloured bands. At the bottom there is a row of star-flowers and over this a row of dancers, with linked hands, over the rim a row of leaf motifs. The motifs are in dark blue and green.
(iv) **Naliyar or coconut**

It goes on the top of pots on ceremonial occasions (Vol.III Pl.47 b). Like the pot this coconut shell is covered in the same manner; the ground is white and the surface is divided into two areas, by a line, the conical top which has slanting lines in a kind of twist, and the lower body which carries Ganesh and tree motifs alternately. The motifs are in violet, red, yellow and green.

(v) **Forehead cover for cattle (Matharavati)**

The ground cloth is green medium weight cotton lined with similar material but thicker in weight. The example in question (Vol.III Pl.48 a) has the following measurements - width 2'-6", fall 9". It is an inverted triangle in shape. There is a large 'abhala' in the centre bordered by sequins and flanked by small leaf-motifs on both sides. A small bud motif fills the nose of the triangle. The left out area is filled by small mirrors and white beads.

The leaf and bud motifs are outlined with chrome yellow in chain stitch, and the body in the base cloth. The white beads are embroidered in the single bead technique and the large 'abhala' is knotted with threads on the piece while small mirror pieces are couched down with buttonhole stitch. Sequins are embroidered in running stitch.
The edges are bound by red, green and blue cotton piping. There are pink and white tassels, at the edges, which are tied into shape by a loose running string.

(vi) Nose cover of cattle (nath)  
(Vol. III Pl. 48 a)

This example has the following measurements: Length of side straps 1'-6" and width of nose band 9". It has a green cotton ground cloth lined with similar but thicker material. A running row of peacocks facing left are embroidered on the front band with a group of diamond shaped dots on the triangular part. On the top, peacock and plant motifs alternate on the side straps whose triangular band on the top carry two small cross lines and dots.

The peacock and plant motifs are in blue, green, yellow and white beads in the single bead technique. The ground area is embroidered with white beads.

The bottom edges have a line of silver lace followed into a saw-tooth design; below it comes the lines of piping in blue, green and red. Loops at the two bottom corners of the nose band and the two top ends of the side-straps complete the piece.

(3) The new items that Kharaks make out of throwaways like fused electric bulbs, small phials of medicine,
cigarette cartons, etc. cannot be classified as serious crafts in comparison with their conventional ones and none of them show much sensibility or skill (as one notices amongst certain tribals who use new urban materials with greater sensibility); they are the result of their living in towns and cities - side by side with urbanised communities. These, however, are not found in a large measure and are the result of Kharak youngsters amusing themselves with these throw-aways. The current items are of the following kinds:

(i) Garland of old electric bulbs filled with coloured rags (measurements 3' - 5") ; this is often strung on the doorway with or without a traditional toran (Vol. III Pl. 48 b).

(ii) Hanging (or jhumar) made by stringing together small medicine bottles containing coloured rags into a circular mobile (bead work mobiles of this kind are as traditional). They are hardly larger than about 9" (Vol. III Pl. 48 c).

(iii) Door-curtain or trimming with strings of free hanging glass tubes (Vol. III Pl. 49 a). This is also a quasi-urban item, usually from middle class and well-to-do houses. They
carry a geometric break-up in various colours and sometimes a figural ornament (e.g. two peacocks facing a potted plant). The colours used are blue, green, grey and white.

(iv) Bead embroidered picture on black flannel (Vol.III Pl.49 b), the present piece which measures 16" x 12" shows a gross looking parrot on a tree branch (being one of the current motifs seen in quasi-urban households, along with rabbits, ducks, etc.). The areas are built up by sewn-on plastic beads, the branch in white, flowers in violet and green and the parrot again green. The eye, beak and neck-band are red.

(v) Trees (or zads) done by the Kharaks today (Vol.III Pl. 49 c) are rather crude versions of trees done in Bania and Kathiṣ households in olden days with imported beads. The Kharak uses coarser wire and larger beads, in brown, red and yellow (in this instance). Other examples may have other colours. On the stem a tree is built in aluminium wire. The Kharak women then makes the flower and leaf units by stringing beads on the wire and shaping them.
These are tied to the armature and the branches are neatly bound around with thin wire. In this example, the flowers have white beads in the petals and red beads in the centre. The leaf units are in red or green.

(vi) Wooden reels (kokadi), which the tailors throw away are often used by Kharak women to build an edge on their wall-shelves (on which they display their metal-ware). The reels are nailed on in close rows and the result is quite pleasing.

(4) The Kharaks do not buy readymade embroidered items from the traders in a large way; the item which sometimes finds its way into a Kharak household is the 'padado'.

**Door-curtain (padado)**

This example in question (Vol.III Pl.49 d) measures 3'-2" - 6". It has a white medium-weight cotton ground, lined with similar material. This is machine embroidered by the tailor. All the lines and filling are in a mechanical chain stitch. The design and motifs are like latter day padado based on blocked samples.
Gujarat and Saurashtra has had a long and varied tradition of embroidery compared to other regions of the country. Some of this embroidery was professional (practised by specialised craftsmen for special categories of patrons); some of it was non-professional (practised by women of the household to embellish fabrics of personal and household use). The earliest references to the professional embroidery of the region are found in Marco Polo's chronicles and subsequent to that there are a number of references in other sources. Ain-i-Akbari mentions the institution of an imperial Karkhana for embroidery in Ahmedabad among other places, Bernier confirms the existence of such Karkhanas (Kar Kahays) in his travelogue. The embroideries of this region (along with other textile items) were also a major item of foreign trade quite early in the day; they are known to have been so from the 16th century as the trade records of the East India Company and other agencies reveal. This continued to be so till about the beginning of the 19th century, when the situation changed; the decline of the Mughal courts dispersed the craftsmen among the smaller principalities and changes in taste in other countries weakened the demand for embroidered fabrics.

The dispersal of the embroiderers of the Mughal
Karkhanas among the smaller courts had a salutary effect on the skill of local craftsmen. In their company they acquired great sophistication in both the image and technique. The sudden efflorescence of Mochi embroidery in Bhuj (Kutch) is an example of this; traditionally leather workers and embroiderers on leather trappings$^{102}$ and so given to the wide use of chain stitch with the use of the awl (ari) their embroidery takes on much practical finesse when they start working on textiles (both costumes and furnishing) during the 19th century. Later when the court patronage of Bhuj weakened down, some of these Mochi embroiderers went into the service of Kathi chieftains of Saurashtra, taking with them their technical sophistication.

The practice of non-professional embroidery among the various communities of the region should have as long a history as the professional (probably longer); this field has not been fully investigated yet. Very old examples of these are hard to come by; this being less cherished as family heirlooms than the professional pieces, and, being more frequently used, worn down and discarded. Most of the existing pieces are probably not older than the 19th century.$^{103}$ The practice of such embroidery was common among most communities of the region irrespective of social
and economic status; women of the Kathi (land owning chieftains), Mahajan (effluent tradesmen), Jat, Lohana, Kabi, Kharak, Mehr, Ahir, Bharwad and Rabari (peasant and herdsmen) even Brahmin (priest) communities embroidered to a greater or lesser degree; the embroidery of each community had certain special stylistic and other features; although a number of them shared many common traits. Some of them were simple and naive in both image and technique, some more sophisticated; the Kathi embroideries are remarkable for a kind of pictorial sophistication while those of the Jats and the Lohanas (of Kutch) for technical finesse (in both cases probably due to close contact with professional traditions)\textsuperscript{104}. The peasant and other embroideries fall in-between, but are distinctive all the same, for their functional appropriateness, vivacity of ornament, luxuriance of colour and texture, and presentational variety. Among these, the Kharak embroideries are probably the simplest. The Kharaks do not do anything as individual as the Ganesh Sthap\textsuperscript{a} of the Kanbis (unfortunately a vanishing item at the moment) or as technically accomplished as the costume embroideries of certain other communities; their repertory of both design and technique is limited. But it is precisely this simplicity that makes their needlecraft an interesting field of study, the fact that they are able to produce an aesthetically
satisfying range of objects within such a small repertory, obviously within the skill and visualisation range of any individual (of the fair sex), attracts study and analysis.

The character of the various items that the Kharaks embroider, whether costume pieces or wall-decorations or cattle trappings are not singular; these items are similar to those in use amongst the other communities of the region. For instance, the Kanbis, Karadiya Rajputs, Paliwal Brahmins, wear the same kind of dress that the Kharaks wear, except for the fact that they tie their skirts differently. The Kolis too will come into the group but their blouses have a longer breast-piece. The Ayar and the Pancholis too have similar dress with the difference that their skirts are in plain red and black cotton (called 'jibhi') and carry no ornamental embroidery, and their blouses, like those of the Kolis, have a larger breast-piece. The Ayar and Pancholi blouses are slightly different from those of the previous communities in that they carry less thread embroidery and more spangles and tinsel. All these use printed wraps (called differently 'Odhani', 'Panchhedi' and 'sadlo' according to their length)\textsuperscript{106}; there are slight changes in their preferences for colour and design\textsuperscript{107}. The Bharwads and Rabaris of the region\textsuperscript{108} too wear plain coloured skirts (in black or red) in cotton or wool; their blouses though similar in cut, are all made
of silk and heavily embroidered with a profusion of mirror pieces. Their younger unmarried girls wear cotton wraps like the girls of the other communities but their women wear those made in wool and often decorated with tie and dye.¹⁰⁹

As one has already seen the general characteristics of these embroidered decorations is also shared by certain communities.¹¹⁰ Similarly, textile house decorations are used by various communities in Gujarat and Saurashtra. (see Table No. 1). These are part of the reconditioning of houses before a ceremony or a social event; which is universal in all kinds of societies but certainly inescapable in the Hindu society where the motive is partly sanctificatory (and so religious) and partly decorative,¹¹¹ although this reconditioning takes various forms in various parts of the country. The use of textiles to do this seems to be widely prevalent in dry region cultures (where impermanent textile habitations and shelters are commonly in use) or other cultures under their influence, or in places where quick redecoration is warranted by religious drama or court ceremonial.¹¹² Naturally, some of these textile items are developments from certain non-textile forms; for instance the torans. Torans are traditionally a string of leaves (as the name 'Pankothaliyun' of the small toran still
points to) often mango leaves or similar leaves sanctioned by local religious custom (Ashok, Coconut, Ashopalav, etc.) hang over the door-step with a sanctificatory purpose (to keep out evil influences, spirits, etc. and attract benevolent influences); this custom is universal in Hindu society on all marked or ceremonial days; but this can be seen amongst other groups too. Pennants, streamers and festoons being used over the doorway or house approach to signify a joyful occasion. To a certain extent the textile 'torans' (even architectural arches) do hark back through some of its features to vegetal decoration.

The various kinds of women's costumes among peasant herdsmen communities in Gujarat and Saurashtra differ largely in the localisation of decorative interest. Those of the Kharaks, Kanbis, Karadiya Rajputs, Paliwal Brahmins, are similar; in those the embroidered ornamentation is localised on the chest and sleeves of the blouse, and a broader at the bottom of the skirt. The wraps have printed ornament. This is the case with the Kanbis and Satwaras of the Jamnagar district too, though their skirts have more colourful bodies and they carry richer ornament (Vol. III Pl. 49 e). In the case of the Pancholis, Ayars, Bharwads and Rabaris the embroidered ornament is confined to the chest and sleeves of
the blouses, and printed or tie-dyed ornament to the wraps.

Among the Kharak women, the embroidered interest is on the skirt hem (almost 16" in breadth) and the front and sleeves of blouses. The skirt decoration grows upward from a functional hem of quilting and piping (to stand wear and facilitate proper fall). The embroidered area on the top of this is an embellishment. (Vol. III PI. 50 a,b,c,d). To explain the example illustrated in (Vol. III PI. 50 a) the rectilinear quality of the bottom hem is echoed in the rectilinear embroidery of the borders of second hem. There is further echo of this in the decoration on the field in interlaced stitch. Similarly, the curvilinear spiral of the second hem is echoed in the curvilinear repeat of the bottom of the body. Again in (Vol. III PI. 50 b) the quilting the second hem and the ground all have curvilinear repeats, the piping and the border of the second hem have geometrical ornament. The examples illustrated in (Vol. III PI. 50 a, b) too reveal such a dove-tailing of ornamental interest. This is augmented by the use of broken colours.

The general divisions the bands or their component borders go into arches, squares, rectangles or zig-zags (both angular and curvilinear) and most of the spatial units are
what result from such a division, square, rectangle, triangle, circle and half-circle, and various combinations of this (Vol.II Pl.92 Figs. A to F & Pl.93 Figs. A to F). This divisional simplicity on one hand brings a certain robustness into the design and on the other makes very little demand on the skill of the peasant draughtswoman-embroiderer. The close filling in of the space units by the motif reinforces this. The ground fabric is seen little more than a narrow linear frame (Vol.II Pl.97 Fig.A). The motifs naturally are geometricised or into form-conglomerates that go into a geometrical space division (Vol.II Pl.97 Figs. C, D, E & Pl.98 Figs. A, B, C). The units are simple, the design patterns are made by various organisation of these within the spatial divisions (often contrapuntal in nature as the double names of most patterns signify); slight variety in detailing change these units or grouping of units, often 'leaf' with 'fish' into 'bud', or 'palm' into 'pod' or 'gateway' into 'parrot!' etc. etc. (Vol.II Pl.143 Figs. A to I), (Vol.II Pl.188 Figs. A to G).

These led to a playfulness of image (which is an omnipresent quality in all decorative art but very specially so in the oriental). This is the case in all skirt embroidery whether of the only geometrical small unit variety of the earlier years, or the more sinuous large unit variety of
today (Vol.II Pl.82 Figs. A to F & Pl.93 Figs. A to E) which seems to be a special contribution of the Kharaks. They all break into simple geometrical space units and motifs which adjust with each other (Vol.II Pl.92 Figs. A to F; Pl. 93 Figs. A to F & Pl.94 Figs. A to F).

The embroidery techniques are generally simple, if effective. The use of an open chain stitch for lining is easier than the use of a closed one as its openness tends to dissipate linear imperfections; similarly the use of a closed herringbone stitch is simpler than the use of regular darn stitch, as its natural cross hatching over-cross any irregularity in filling. The general use of the stitches is comparable to that seen in professional embroidery of the region (if not so accomplished); the uniform use of chrome or golden yellow for the lines and yellow to white for the 'sikals' and 'half-sikals' seem to be peasant equivalents to the use of gold and silver threads and in is equally (if not more) effective. The breaking in of various consanguineous and contrasting colours in the scarlet ground is also highly expert, as this near-enamelled areas build up red brown foil to set off the yellow and white tracery and the metallic sparkle of the mirror pieces (Vol.III Pl.34 c, d). The use of dark coloured threads around the mirror pieces and the hem
border bands is also an expert use of colour relief.

To think that all these qualities are the personal discoveries or innovations of individual embroiderers will be a mistake, though such discoveries and innovations did add up into what we call tradition today and still continue to do so. But these additions and innovations are generally marginal; even though their impact on the final image might be striking. This will become clear if we observe (Vol.III Pl.52 a, b & Pl.53 a, b), the last three specimens of skirt embroidered by a young Kharak girl called Davalben. One can see that her use of colour is quite individual and adds special liveliness to each piece, over and above the basic pattern, so marginal though it be the contribution of an individual embroiderer is not a negligible one. Very often a rather rigid form pattern that a printer sells is brought to liveliness by the individual embroider (Vol.II Pl.144 Figs. A to D) (Vol.III Pl.54 a, b, c).

Though this again depends to considerable extent on the geometrical simplicity of its components. This is largely the case with mostly the printed samples for skirt embroidery; as they have a regular repeat and so tend themselves to geometrical organization even if the component units are not so conceived. (Vol. III PL.54.d).
The wall-pieces of the Kharaks have more figurative variety than those of the Kanbis and the Mahajans of the region\textsuperscript{116} (except the Ganesh Sthapati of the Kanbis), but are less sophisticated than those of the Kathis or the Kanbis of another region. The Kathi friezes have more often an episodal composition showing processions of deity with worshipping devotee on either side (Vol.III Pl.55 a, b), sometimes even representation of a story from Ramayana or Mahabharata (Vol.III Pl.55 c), the Kharak pieces do not have this nor do they have individualistic images like in the traditional Ganesh Sthapati (Vol.III Pl.56 a, b, c, d) of the Kanbis. All the Kharak pieces break into, compact geometrical drawings — central friezes with compartments surrounded by a number of framing borders; the fillings are purely decorative and have no thematic undertones. The use of animal forms is a speciality in recent Kharak wall-pieces, they are caged in each compartment; the nearest examples to these elsewhere are the animal forms in applique items (Vol.III Pl.56 e & Pl.57 a) used by other communities (which are very rarely seen these days).

Though in skirt embroidery the filling motifs are aligned compactly in the space divisions, in the wall pieces the ground shows to a greater extent; especially in pieces
ascribed in the last 50 years. The ground in these is always white (unlike blue-black or indigo in Kathi embroidery or golden yellow or orange in Kāmbī and that of indigo in Mahājan embroidery and the fillings are seen against this in sharp silhouette. The silhouettes are sometimes frontal (most of the flower forms), sometimes profile (most of the animal forms); though some of them have both the features (as in the case of flower-creeper pattern where the leaves are in profile and flower frontal, or the leopard where the face and legs are frontal and body is in profile (Vol. II Pls. 145, 146, 147, 148). The forms are made of simple components, like in skirt embroidery and the variability in the alignment of these components and their colour composition makes for considerable animation in these pieces; while the similarities in shape of the components of varied forms (body silhouettes of elephant, horse, etc. face silhouettes of elephant, horse, cow; triangular, squarish or circular decorative details on the body of animals), similarly between tails, trunks, trappings, etc., and floral space fillers (Vol.II Pl.145) (Vol.III Pl.57 b) and their direction and thrust build up an alternative (cross-compartmental) network of rhythm (Vol.II Pl.146 Figs.A to F, Pl.148 Figs.A to C).

The organization of these components lead often to
some ambivalent images like 'marghalo'\textsuperscript{117} (elephants with some features of cattle or birds or horses or vice versa), and their colour details to a splintering of their separate identities; animals, birds and flowers though they be, they are nameless partners in a kaleidoscopic world. This gives each wall-piece, especially the traditional pieces (Vol.III Pl. 57 b), an abstract quality. The wall-pieces, like the skirt pieces, vary in quality individual to individual but where the compositional grid is observed they all have a minimum quality; especially if the design is hand-drawn (Vol.II Pls. 92 to 98). The tendency to use printed designs (which has increased of late) doesn't lead to\textsuperscript{110} the best results, largely because of the lack of such a compositional grid (Vol.III Pl.59 e, f) or breakup of forms into simple components that can be played around with; this takes them beyond the skill and talent of the Kharak peasants. The printed samples as a rule are atrocious in space handling and motif. The motifs are crude, too complicated of contour, use foreshortened details (Vol. III Pl.45 a, b, c and Pl.46 e), have no ambivalent form components, and they are floated around loosely in space. Left to themselves Kharaks can do better as the comparison of two of their 'padada' (Vol.II Pl.144) (Vol.III Pl.54 a, b, c) will show. In their wall-pieces Kharaks use a limited range of motifs,
although each motif is made up of simpler form components and depending on a variable adjustment of these components, the motifs get some variety though the range of this variety is small, if we compare these to the skirt designs. Organisational variations too are not many, these are largely related to size of the various motifs or units, their positioning which, however, do lead to noticeable changes in image (Vol. III Pl.30 a, b, c & Pl.31 a, b). Some of these pieces have remarkable compactness and animation.

The use of colour in the wall pieces has a certain hoping order, though not always regular in a descriptive way. This is to say that not always is an elephant black or blue, or a leopard or tiger yellow, in the same frieze they may have different colours; the order of colours is in a kind of alternative or repetitive rhythm the character is which changes from piece to piece. Often a sensitive Kharak woman juggles in the colours around in a quite unexpected ways as already illustrated.

In short, the above analysis of Kharak embroideries inform us that:

1. they are quite simple in design and technique,

2. the designing begins with dividing the field
into grid of close-knit geometric space divisions,

3. the motifs fill these spaces closely (as in the case of skirt embroideries) or not so closely (as in the case of wall embroideries); in both cases effecting a compact space coverage,

4. each motif is made of simple form components, and various motifs share similar components, this leading to a repetitive rhythm in the total design,

5. The organisation of these form components into a motif has its variables, which often results in individualities in motif and ambivalence in image,

6. The colours are used in these in a certain hoping order which scatters each colour over the white field to a greater or lesser degree and emphasises the two-dimensionality of the design,

most of
7. the embroideries in spite of their basic grid or space divisions, have alternative cross-compartmental rhythms working over them
through the varied disposition of such component form units, and splintered areas of colour,

8. the embroideries tend to lose in quality when the space divisions are indefinite and the motifs do not break into simple form units and use of colour is more for descriptive and not aesthetic reasons.

Of these the last point is particularly significant as it explains to some extent the factors that control quality and aesthetic sensibility in non-professional (household) arts, practised by the generality of people, not specially endowed ones. To put it simply arts of this kind should have design and technical components that come within the skills of the average practitioner.

Writing comes easily to all people because its form components (or alphabets) come within the reach of the skill of the average person; it is only when decorative arts are conceived as picture writing and its alphabets are within the reach of the average person, that they work best. This does not overtax people's skills, it does not frustrate them and keeps their basic sensibilities active. (This could be considered true of other folk and popular arts, be they folk
or popular music or folk or popular dancing). If the components are too sophisticated and outside the range of skill of the average practitioner their workmanship becomes crude, their sensibilities flag and their results into spiritless repetition and the quality suffers. This is not so to say that in each community there will not be any specially endowed persons, there certainly are (and the Kharak community is no exception) and these are the people who innovate or add a new dimension to this picture writing (Vol. III Pl. 52 a, b & Pl. 53 a, b), which is the less endowed imitate and add to their repertory and the cumulative banking up of all this is what makes for the quality of the non-professional art tradition. It is this limited range that makes a decorative art active and popular, with a vocabulary which is within the understanding and skill of every person.

Within their range of values the Kharak women's embroideries have their own criteria of judgment of what is good and bad; though their terminology may not be that of an art or craft critic. Some of these are related to the following conventions (generally sound in taste) like their choice of colours for the lower (tailored) hem of a skirt with red or red brown body is green, dark green, blue, mauve, pink and yellow, or for one with black body is pink
or lemon yellow or their belief that in a skirt the design is best when it is closely knit with a lot of design and colour breaks. They do look forward to certain technical standards for example that the open chain stitches of the outlines should have regular interstices in the shape of grain (or dana) that the fillings should have no loose floats and should be regular, the bind of threads (or 'likh' that hold a mirror piece (khamp) to the fabric should be completely hidden under the final buttonhole stitch), that the circles or sikals should be in the shape of a full moon etc.

The grown ups of the community scrutinise the workmanship of each Kharak girl's work and criticise their quality and no girl takes to her husband's house a piece of embroidery that is adjudged sub-standard, or even shows it around; they generally gift them to their younger sisters.

Whatever this may be the prevailing survey of embroidery practice among the Kharaks through the years does brings out the following facts—, namely:

1. The practice of embroidery has increased among the Kharaks in quantity in the last 50 years, in proportion to their increasing material prosperity.

2. The image of embroidery has also change through
these years to the extent that Kharak embroidery is not imitative of the work of other communities as it used to be but has today its own special features.

3. Embroidered fabrics are a sizeable portion today of the matrimonial gifts that go with a bride or married woman to her husband's house.

4. Parallelly, the practice of embroidery and the use of embroidered fabrics has decreased in quantity, if not completely disappeared, in other communities of the region, both peasants, traders and others, as their prosperity has thrown them often open to urban influences, both in education and ways of living.

5. So, the persistence of embroidery (and other sister arts) among the Kharaks is largely due to their conservatism on the cultural scale, meaning their adherence to traditional customs, costumes, household effects, etc. and their general disinterest in modern education (especially amongst women) - which preserves in them and their society the arts and
artifacts of traditional peasant society (in spite of the fact that they have readily adopted modern agricultural methods and technology).

6. Notwithstanding this, the Kharaks may not be able to defend themselves from the effects of city contacts and the new education and certain vulgarities that come with it. These arts and artifacts may disappear unless one can engineer their persistence within this change.