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PREFACE

EAC-PM is pleased to bring out a report on the subject A State of Documenting Traditional Knowledge.

The report attempts to address the various issues associated with traditional Knowledge documentation. The current intellectual property system, which is based on western conceptions of individuality, focuses almost entirely on discrete new information produced by a specific author or creator, ignoring so-called "traditional knowledge." Much of human knowledge - from folk music to technical know-how about the medicinal properties of a specific plant - is the result of collaborative rather than individual effort. Such knowledge is not discrete and static, but rather evolves in response to the specific demands of a group or culture. For these and other characteristics, such traditional knowledge does not fit well within the current paradigm.

This report particularly focuses on the documentation and preservation of Folk paintings. India is a country with a diverse cultural heritage. It features a fusion of tribal and folk arts. Indian folk paintings are depictions of Indian culture that arose in a specific context and were passed down through generations. Each painting reflects the aesthetic, cultural, and spiritual sensibilities of a specific region.

These Indian folk arts are dwindling because people do not take them seriously and do not pass them down to future generations. This is due to the few incentives to preserve Indian folk arts. The need of the hour is to establish a framework for preserving traditions, which will aid in the preservation of these traditional paintings and serve as a link between immediate generations.

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Bilds Delong



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"whenever an old man dies, it's a library burning down"

— Amadou Hampâté Bâ (Malian writer, historian and ethnologist)

Introduction

Ideas and inventions have been passed down from generation to generation within many communities since time immemorial. Today's practice can be defined as a collective understanding of all inventions and developments that occurred over time and were then passed down as Traditional Knowledge (TK).

Long before the development of modern science, which is quite young, indigenous people have developed their ways of knowing how to survive and also ideas about meanings, purposes and values. It has become customary to refer to this kind of knowledge as "indigenous knowledge" or "traditional knowledge". ¹

What makes knowledge "traditional" is not its antiquity: much TK is not ancient or inert but is a vital, dynamic part of the contemporary lives of many communities today.² TK is being created every day and evolves as individuals and communities respond to the challenges posed by their social environment.³

Vidyām Dadāti Vinayam Vinayād Yāti Pātratām.

Pātratvāt Dhanamāpnoti Dhanāt Dharmām Tatah Sukham.

Knowledge gives humility, from humility, one attains character; from character, one acquires wealth; from wealth, good deeds (righteousness) follow and then happiness.

¹ (Magga, 2005)

² (WIPO, Intellectual Property and Traditional Knowledge)

³ https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/tk/920/wipo_pub_920.pdf

This ancient Sanskrit proverb emphasises the importance and power of knowledge. It also emphasises the importance of safeguarding TK.

Traditionally, knowledge has been constituted, stored and maintained in the framework of the oral culture. TK is crucial to a community's integrity. These knowledge systems are vital to people's livelihoods. However, the proceeds from these inventions rarely make their way back to the communities that created them. It is important to encourage indigenous peoples' right to preserve and protect their TK.

A major cause of TK loss is a lack of recordkeeping. TK documentation is a process in which TK is identified, collected, structured, registered, or recorded in some manner as a means of dynamically maintaining, managing, using, disseminating, and/or protecting TK for defined purposes. There are concerns that if documentation makes TK more generally available to the general public, particularly if it is accessible via the Internet, it may lead to misappropriation and use in ways that its holders did not foresee or intend.

Protection should principally benefit the holders of the knowledge, in particular, indigenous and traditional communities and peoples that develop, maintain, and identify culturally with TK and seek to pass it on to future generations, as well as recognised individuals within these communities and peoples.

In recent years, indigenous peoples, local communities, and governments—mainly in developing countries—have demanded Intellectual property (IP) protection for traditional forms of creativity and innovation, which, under the conventional IP system, are generally regarded as being in the public domain, and thus free for anyone to use. Indigenous peoples, local communities and many countries reject a "public domain" status of TK and TCEs and argue that this opens them up to unwanted misappropriation and misuse.⁴

TK is addressed in the following international forums:

- The International Labor Organization (ILO)
- The United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
- The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
- The United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
- The World Trade Organization(WTO)
- The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) etc.

Among various International Organizations and forums, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) has made remarkable contributions to protecting Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions.

⁴ (WIPO, Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions, 2020)

What is Traditional Knowledge?

Traditional Knowledge has been defined by various international organizations.

Definition by WIPO

According to WIPO, "Traditional knowledge (TK) is knowledge, know-how, skills and practices that are developed, sustained and passed on from generation to generation within a community, often forming part of its cultural or spiritual identity".⁵ WIPO currently uses the term "traditional knowledge" to refer to tradition-based literary, artistic or scientific works; performances; inventions; scientific discoveries; designs; marks, names and symbols; undisclosed information; and all other tradition-based innovations and creations resulting from intellectual activity in the industrial, scientific, literary or artistic fields.

Categories of traditional knowledge could include but are not limited to: agricultural knowledge; scientific knowledge; technical knowledge; ecological knowledge; medicinal knowledge, including related medicines and remedies; biodiversity-related knowledge; "Traditional cultural expression" in the form of music, dance, song, handicrafts, designs, stories and artwork; elements of languages, such as names, geographical indications and symbols; and, movable cultural properties.

Given the highly diverse and dynamic nature of TK, it may not be possible to develop a singular and exclusive definition of the term. For some concepts, the term applied by holders of traditional knowledge in their native language has no correspondence in other languages, because of the unique development of the concept in that tradition.⁶ Though there is not yet an accepted definition of TK at the international level.⁷

TK can be defined in two ways:⁸

- In a general sense: it embraces the content of knowledge itself as traditional cultural expressions, including distinctive signs and symbols associated with Traditional knowledge.
- In a narrow sense: it refers to knowledge resulting from intellectual activity in a traditional context and includes know-how, practices, skills and innovations.

In conjunction with stakeholders, there is a need to examine IP laws to remove anomalies and inconsistencies and update them. Traditional knowledge rights simply do not satisfy the fundamental justification for giving property rights in intangibles such as inventions and expressive works. Intellectual property is intended to promote creativity and innovation. Most

⁵ Ibid

⁶ https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/tk/768/wipo_pub_768.pdf

⁷ https://www.wipo.int/edocs/mdocs/tk/en/wipo_grtkf_ic_38/wipo_grtkf_ic_38_6.pdf

⁸ https://www.wipo.int/edocs/mdocs/tk/en/wipo_grtkf_ic_22/wipo_grtkf_ic_22_inf_8.pdf

TK, on the other hand, is not inventive in the same way that inventions and works that qualify for patents and copyrights are.

WIPO is primarily concerned with protection in the IP sense – that is, protection against unauthorized copying, adaptation and use of TK and TCEs by third parties. Two types of IP protection being sought are:

- 1. **Defensive protection** aims to stop people outside the community from acquiring intellectual property rights over traditional knowledge. India, for example, has compiled a searchable database of traditional medicine (Traditional Knowledge Digital Library) that can be used as evidence of prior art by patent examiners when assessing patent applications. Defensive strategies might also be used to protect sacred cultural manifestations, such as sacred symbols or words from being registered as trademarks.⁹
- 2. **Positive protection** is granting of rights that empower communities to promote their traditional knowledge, control its uses and benefit from its commercial exploitation. Some uses of traditional knowledge can be protected through the existing intellectual property system, and several countries have also developed specific legislation.¹⁰ It involves the enactment of specific rules and regulations and laws, as well as access to benefit-sharing provisions, royalty payments, etc.

The current intellectual property system, for the most part, ignores so-called "traditional knowledge." The intellectual property system, which is based on western conceptions of individuality, focuses almost entirely on discrete new information produced by a specific author or creator. However, much essential knowledge does not fit this mould. Much of human knowledge - from folk music to technical know-how about the medicinal properties of a certain plant - is the result of collaborative rather than individual effort. Such knowledge is not discrete and static, but rather evolves in response to a group's or culture's specific demands. Due to these characteristics and others, such traditional knowledge does not fit well within the current paradigm and accordingly tends to be overlooked in discussions of intellectual property.¹¹

Definition by UNESCO

UNESCO broadly defines TK under Article 8(j): Traditional knowledge and the convention on biological diversity.¹² According to UNESCO, "Traditional Knowledge refers to the knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity."

⁹ https://www.wipo.int/pressroom/en/briefs/tk_ip.html

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ (Cross, 2010)

¹² Article 8(j) states that "Subject to its national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices"

It tends to be collectively owned and takes the form of stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, the local language, and agricultural practices, including the development of plant species and animal breeds. Sometimes it is referred to as an oral tradition for it is practised, sung, danced, painted, carved, chanted and performed through millennia. TK is mainly practical, particularly in such fields as agriculture, fisheries, health, horticulture, forestry and environmental management in general.¹³

The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003 defines "intangible cultural heritage" as the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skill and ls - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.¹⁴

Article 4(3) of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions defines cultural expression as "Cultural content". It refers to the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities.¹⁵

Difference between Traditional Knowledge, Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expression



¹³ https://www.cbd.int/traditional/

¹⁴ http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

¹⁵ https://en.unesco.org/creativity/sites/creativity/files/passeport-convention2005-web2.pdf

¹⁶ Source: https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/tk/768/wipo_pub_768.pdf

WIPO's focus is on "traditional knowledge" as described above. TK is created, originated, developed and practised by "traditional knowledge holders". "Traditional Cultural Expression" (TCE) are a subset of "TK". TCE also called "expressions of folklore", may include music, dance, art, designs, names, signs and symbols, performances, ceremonies, architectural forms, handicrafts and narratives, or many other artistic or cultural expressions.¹⁷ "TK" is, in turn, a subset of the broader concept of "heritage".

"Indigenous knowledge", being the traditional knowledge of "indigenous peoples", is also a subset of "TK". As some "TCE" is created by indigenous persons, there is an overlap between "TCE" and "indigenous knowledge".

Not all TK is part of indigenous knowledge, but all of the indigenous knowledge is a subset of TK. This is because traditional knowledge may have been created by any individual or group of humankind whether indigenous peoples or not. That is to say, indigenous knowledge is traditional knowledge, but not all traditional knowledge is indigenous knowledge. The distinction between traditional knowledge and indigenous knowledge relates to the holders rather than the knowledge *per se*. Stakeholders of traditional knowledge are either indigenous peoples or local communities.¹⁸

Examples of Traditional Knowledge:

- Thai traditional healers use *plao-noi* to treat ulcers¹⁹
- Traditionally, the management of water resources in West Sumatera is based on Minangkabau customs, such as the *Paraku* irrigation system²⁰
- Bregenzerwälder Bergkäse is a traditionally produced Austrian hard cheese.²¹
- *Taanka* is a traditional rainwater harvesting technique indigenous to the Thar desert region of Rajasthan.
- *Yoga,* a group of physical, mental, and spiritual practices originated in India and its origins can be traced to northern India over 5,000 years ago.





Image 1*: Bregenzerwälder Bergkäse

Image 2: Taanka



Image 3: Yoga

¹⁷https://www.wipo.int/tk/en/folklore/#:~:text=Traditional%20cultural%20expressions%20(TCEs)%2C,other%2 0artistic%20or%20cultural%20expressions.

¹⁸ http://thailawforum.com/articles/IP-Traditional-Knowledge-Part1-5.html

¹⁹ https://www.wipo.int/edocs/pubdocs/en/tk/920/wipo_pub_920.pdf

²⁰ https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1755-1315/1059/1/012036/pdf

²¹ <u>https://www.iddri.org/sites/default/files/import/publications/id_0602_kiene_tkeurop.pdf</u>

^{*}Sources of all images are. mentioned in the Annexure 2

Why traditional Knowledge should be protected?

The existing international system for intellectual property protection was conceived during the Western industrialization era and developed in response to the perceived needs of technologically advanced societies.

These modern IP tools were developed as a means to provide a temporary monopoly to an inventor or creator as an incentive by rewarding their innovative and creative outputs. The notion that IP is a system to 'protect' intellectual or creative endeavour is thus a metaphor for the ability to prevent others from acts of misappropriation and to enable the owner of the subject matter to exclusively benefit from that invention or creation for a fixed term.²²

Indigenous people, local groups and governments, primarily in developing nations, have recently demanded equal protection for traditional knowledge systems.

TK, in most cases, is passed down orally from one generation to the next. Without written material, it becomes difficult to trace the origin of the knowledge system.

Most IPs, including patents and copyrights, are granted for a period of time, say 10 years or 20 years. In the case of TK, the period of protection is a bone of contention. How long can traditional knowledge systems be protected, especially since the knowledge systems are themselves evolving, is a question. There are no specific laws to protect traditional knowledge systems. Some parts and sections of existing laws can be used to protect the rights of the communities.

What does WTO say?

TK, TCEs and Genetic Resources (GRs)²³ have been raised in the context of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). While the TRIPS Agreement has no specific provisions on the issue of TK, the Doha Declaration, in 2001, instructed the TRIPS Council to examine the protection of TK and TCEs. Furthermore, discussions on the relationship between the TRIPS Agreement and the CBD are taking place within the TRIPS Council since the built-in review of Article 27.3 (b)²⁴ in 1999.²⁵

A concern that has been expressed in the discussions in the Council for TRIPS is about the grant of patents or other IPRs covering traditional knowledge to persons other than the indigenous peoples or communities who have originated the knowledge and legitimately

²² https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/diaepcb2014d3_ch5_en.pdf

²³ GRs as defined by CBD are parts of biological materials that contain genetic information of value and are capable of reproducing or being reproduced.

²⁴ Article 27.3(b)) allows governments to exclude some kinds of inventions from patenting, i.e. plants, animals and "essentially" biological processes (but micro-organisms, and non-biological and microbiological processes have to be eligible for patents).

²⁵ (WIPO, Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions, 2020)

control it. Several patents have been cited as examples, including regards to turmeric, neem²⁶ and ayahuasca vine.²⁷

Had this TK been available to patent authorities, particularly examiners, during the review of patent applications, it could have been regarded as prior art, effectively defeating the claims that the invention was novel and entailed an inventive step. This would have aided in preventing "biopiracy."

Prior art or the state of the art typically refers to the entire body of information that is available to the public before the filing of a patent application or, if a priority date is claimed, before that priority date.

In simple terms, the problem with the prior art and TK could be that, while indigenous peoples hold and use TK, and there are publications, databases, journals, periodicals, and other means through which TK is disseminated and made public, TK has rarely been recognised and considered as forming part of the state of the art for the patent system in general. Patent examiners have rarely conducted comprehensive searches and evaluations of traditional knowledge sources.

Since TK is often a combination of elements such as the cultivation of genetic resources, use of TK, ritual chants and ritual dress, protection can be most effective by using a combination of intellectual property and other laws.²⁸ Under the existing system, traditional artists and creators have legal rights through which they can exclude unauthorized use by others and obtain financial benefits for their efforts, including in the international market.²⁹

TABLE 1: Instruments to Protect TK Under Existing IPRs ³⁰

Applicable IP instrument	Currently Applicable IPR Conditions	Limitations and Problems:
	Industrial property	
TRADE SECRET	 needs to be of commercial value knowledge needs to be kept confidential no time limit for protection 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ The commercial value must be demonstrated in order to receive protection; protection could be easily breached if another group that uses the procedure makes it public. from a TK perspective

²⁶ India, IP/C/W/198, IP/C/M/48, paras. 57-59.

²⁷ Brazil, IP/C/W/228.

²⁸ United Status, IP/C/M/37/Add.1, para. 250.

²⁹ (WTO, 2006)

³⁰ https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/diaepcb2014d3_ch5_en.pdf

		⇒ To keep it a secret, effective measures must be taken. Knowledge that is specialised or communal is not always kept secret.
PATENT	 the invention must be new, inventive, and applicable to industry. the invention must be based on previously unknown information protection for 20 years from the date of application 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ These criteria may only apply to secret TK, but they do not apply to the more common forms of TK, which are widely distributed and, in many cases, already documented. ⇒ the holder of the TK often is not the inventor ⇒ If new elements are added to the TK, the inventive step may be too small or encounter other technical difficulties. from a TK perspective ⇒ TK needs to be made public in the application ⇒ limited temporal protection ⇒ After the term of protection expires, the invention's knowledge enters the public domain. ⇒ Difficulties in granting larger communities protection title.
UTILITY MODEL	 Need for novelty and utility, but not necessarily inventive step Protection varies by jurisdiction; generally, it lasts 10 years from the date of application or less. 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ no specific limitations from a TK perspective ⇒ Functional features in some TK may only be useful as a ceremonial element. ⇒ TK as such is not protected ⇒ Limited temporal protection
INDUSTRIAL DESIGN	 Does not have to be new, but it must have new aesthetic features Protection spans over 15 years 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ no specific limitations from a TK perspective ⇒ Functional features in some TK may only be useful as a ceremonial element. ⇒ TK as such is not protected

		\Rightarrow limited temporal protection
TRADEMARK AND GIS	 Must meet trademark requirements; must be a sign capable of being represented graphically, capable of distinguishing goods or services of one undertaking from those of another. Potentially perpetual if used 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ Some marks are already well known ⇒ Must be in line with the current system of classification of goods or services from a TK perspective ⇒ TK as such is not protected ⇒ Issues in managing GI or collective trademark
	Rights over plant varieties	
PLANT BREEDERS RIGHTS	 The plant's geno- and phenotype must be new, stable, distinct, and consistent. Protection spans over 15 - 25 years 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ TK is mostly associated with the use of wild plants and landraces of cultivated plants, which do not meet these requirements in and of themselves. from a TK perspective ⇒ TK associated with the plant as such is not protected
	Copyrights and related rights	
COPYRIGHT	 Religious texts and prayers must include original expressions of intellectual creations. A religious text or prayer must be fixed, which necessitates the incorporation of material objects As a performer, the shaman may be granted the authority to fix the performance. No need to register as a prerequisite for protection Protection spans over 50 years 	 from an IPR perspective ⇒ the author cannot be determined in many cases from a TK perspective ⇒ The value of protecting the words of the prayer may be very small because it is an element of a ceremony acting through many elements (symbolic values) ⇒ TK as such is not protected ⇒ This only applies to individual authors, not groups. ⇒ Limited time frame

Limitations of the current IPR system

- The current system tries to privatise ownership and is intended to be held by people or businesses, whereas traditional knowledge is owned collectively.
- This protection is time-limited, whereas traditional knowledge is passed down from generation to generation.
- It takes a narrow view of the invention, requiring it to meet the criteria of novelty and industrial applicability, whereas traditional innovation is incremental, informal, and occurs over time.

Call for Sui Generis Protection

Since IP protection has its drawbacks and flaws, there has been an increase in demand for Sui Generis systems of protection for TK. *Sui Generis* is a Latin phrase that means "of its kind."

In the domain of intellectual property, the word is frequently used to refer to systems of protecting intangible property, i.e., providing specific rights to individuals who have a genuine claim to them in a way that goes beyond popularly accepted ideas of IP protection.

What makes an IP system a sui generis one is its features to adequately fit distinctive characteristics and specialised policy needs.

Sui generis instrument shall provide a legal framework for the protection of TK, enforcement of rights of indigenous communities, prevent misuse and control of TK, provisions of ABS (access and benefit sharing) system etc. This has prompted several countries and regions to develop their distinct sui generis (specific, special) systems for protecting TK/TCEs.

Chapter 2

India's Perspective

Traditional knowledge (TK) and Traditional Cultural Expressions (TCEs) express the cultural identities of millions of Traditional and Indigenous Peoples worldwide. India has a diverse and distinct culture that has evolved through thousands of years and varies by location. When we think about knowledge tradition, the first term that comes to mind is 'Vedas.' India has always been known for its knowledge tradition and culture. Ancient civilizations recognise India's contribution to knowledge. For thousands of years, Indian traditional knowledge has been available in many forms such as classical texts, manuscripts, and/or oral communication. When we talk about knowledge, we are talking about language, philosophy, the inevitability of knowing, folklore, and sculptures.

The intangible cultural legacy of India stems from its 5000-year-old civilization and civilisation. Dr A.L. Basham highlighted in his book "Cultural History of India" that "While there are four main cradles of civilisation which, moving from East to West, are China, India, the Fertile Crescent and the Mediterranean, especially Greece and Italy, India deserves a larger share of credit because she has deeply affected the cultural life of most of Asia. She has also extended her influence, directly and indirectly, to other parts of the World."

The Indian constitution grants its citizens the Fundamental Rights to equality, equal opportunity, life, and personal liberty, as well as the freedom to preserve a separate language, script, or culture. Article 29(1) says any section of the citizens residing in any part of India having a distinct language, script or culture of its own has the right "to conserve the same."

Intellectual property rights and laws were formed in modern times and have subsequently kept up with technological changes around the world. However, practically all countries, particularly India, have a wealth of knowledge acquired by indigenous tribes and people. This knowledge bank has been passed down through generations and has come to represent the community's identity.

What government of India has done on documenting TK?

India, however, does not have any specific legislation for protecting Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions. But, the Patent Act, 1970, Plant Variety Protection and Farmers Rights Act, 2001, Biological Diversity Act, 2002, The Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act, 1999, Copy Right Act, 1957, The Trade Marks Act, 1999, The Designs Act, 2000, etc. have some provisions that can be utilized for protecting traditional knowledge.

One of the most important reasons to safeguard traditional knowledge is to avoid its commercial exploitation. Between 2500 and 500 BC, India developed many concepts such as Ayurveda, Siddha, and Unani, and as a result, India is the largest provider of such traditional medicinal systems as well as medicinal plants. As a result, India's traditional knowledge of diverse resources, such as the pharmaceutical system, is immense. Indeed, indigenous communities and natives are deeply concerned about biopiracy. Many indigenous tribes have relied on natural components such as spices and herbs for therapeutic purposes. Large corporations utilize these practices without paying credit to the people who invented them.

There have been numerous instances when firms have been granted patents for India's legacy. For example, India has had to fight multiple patents given to foreign firms for Neem, Turmeric, and Basmati, all of which are unquestionably indigenous to India. As a result, it is critical to both disseminate and protect such knowledge.

Bio-piracy cases:

Neem:

Neem has been used in India as a bio-insecticide and medicine for ages. In 1994 the European Patent Office granted European Patent No. 0436257 to the US Corporation W.R. Grace and USDA for a "method for controlling fungi on plants by the aid of hydrophobic extracted neem oil". The patent was revoked in 2000 on the ground that 'neem' has been used in India for centuries.

Turmeric:

Since ancient times, turmeric has been used for its wound-healing properties. In 1995, two Indian nationals at the University of Mississippi Medical Centre were granted US patent no. 5,401,504 on "use of turmeric in wound healing".

The TKDL was a major and significant step made by the Indian government to withdraw and retract the USPTO's patent on turmeric for its wound-healing properties and the EPO's patent on neem for its anti-fungal properties.

Traditional Knowledge Digital Library

The Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL) is a pioneering initiative of India, under the collaboration of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Ministry of Ayush, to prevent exploitation and protect Indian traditional knowledge at Patent Offices worldwide. The TKDL includes India's rich traditional knowledge of medicine systems from classical/ traditional books related to Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha and Sowa Rigpa as well as Yoga practices. The information from the ancient texts of medicine and health existing in local languages such as Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Bhoti, etc. have been digitized in five international languages, namely, English, French, German, Spanish and Japanese in the TKDL database as prior art.³¹

A total of 418885 formulations including 119269 in Ayurveda, 236399 in Unani, 54689 in Siddha, 4151 in Yoga and 4377 in Sowa Rigpa have been transcribed so far into the TKDL database.

As per the extant Government of India approvals in place, access to the database is given to patent offices worldwide that have signed non-disclosure access agreements with the CSIR. Fourteen patent offices including the Indian Patent Office (Controller General of 2 Patents, Designs & Trade Marks), European Patent Office, US Patent Office, Japanese Patent Office, German Patent Office, Canadian Patent Office, Chile Patent Office, Australian Patent Office, UK Patent Office, Malaysian Patent Office, Russian Patent Office, Peru Patent Office, Spanish Patent & Trademark Office and Danish Patent & Trademark Office have been granted access to the TKDL database.

The CSIR-TKDL Unit also files third-party observations and pre-grant oppositions on patent applications related to Indian traditional knowledge based on the TKDL evidence.

India is the only country in the world that has built an institutional framework to protect its traditional knowledge (TKDL). The TKDL enables the swift and almost free cancellation or withdrawal of patent applications about Indian TK.

To date, the TKDL has permitted the revocation or withdrawal of a significant number of patent applications asserting rights to the use of various therapeutic plants. In India, the TKDL is a one-of-a-kind tool that plays an important role in preserving the country's traditional knowledge.

Geographical Indications (GI Tags)

A GI tag is a type of intellectual property, a certification granted to specific items or products from a specific area, state, or country that are unique to that geographical region.

The Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration and Protection) Act, 1999 was adopted by India as a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO). GI tag in India is given by the Geographical Indication Registry under the Department of Industry Promotion and Internal Trade, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

The protection is granted to the undertakings and establishments located in that particular area and may use the 'geographical indication' on the exclusive goods produced in such area. This

³¹ Prior art constitutes all information made available to the public in any form before a given date that might be relevant to a patent's claim of novelty and inventiveness. If an invention has been described in prior art, a patent on that invention is not valid.

enables GI owners to take fast action in the event of a prospective or actual infringement of a registered Geographical Indication. GI products include agricultural, natural or manufactured goods, foodstuffs and handicrafts. Darjeeling Tea was the first Indian product to get a GI tag in 2004-05.

Few examples of GI tags:

- Darjeeling Tea, Santipuri Saree, Madhur Kathi Mats, Joynagar Moa etc. from West Bengal
- Saffron, Pashmina Shawl, Walnut Wood Carving etc. from Kashmir
- Srikalahasthi Kalamkari, Leather Puppetry, Etikoppaka Toys etc. from Andhra Pradesh.
- Kullu Shawl, Kangra Tea, Kala Zeera etc. from Himachal Pradesh









Image 4: Santipuri Saree

Image 5: Walnut Wood Carvings

Image 6: Etikoppaka Toys

Image 7: Kullu Shawl

Limitations of GI Tags

Getting the GI tag in India is indeed a long process. There is a need for clear, authentic evidence. As a subject of discussion, this undesirable competition tends to divide the nation along territorial, social, and Etymological lines. Most states have dismissed investigations. There is also a rush to expand the approval of more items with a GI tag in their surge to capture as numerous as possible. As a result, the concept of GI security for local endemic items has been called into question.

What has Kerala done?

Kerala, the southernmost tip of the Indian sub-continent is considered the homeland of the most diverse and richest traditional knowledge systems because of its unique cultural expressions which are directly or indirectly connected with the environment, ecology, biodiversity, etc., ranging from coastal, and plains to mountainous regions.

The diversity that occurs in the flora and fauna has played a major role in evolving a unique Classical Health Tradition (CHT) and Oral Health Tradition (OHT) in Kerala. Since time immemorial, traditional *Vaidyas* (Physicians) of Kerala have been utilizing location specific edible/medicinal plants.

The Kerala government however goes one step further and "offensively" attempts to create property interests around this knowledge, as would enable an active leveraging and use of this knowledge by communities within Kerala.

The major issue of the Kerala IPR Policy 2008 is the protection of traditional knowledge and biodiversity associated with such knowledge. The state proposes to commit all traditional knowledge, including traditional medicines, the practice of which sustains the livelihoods of many, to the realm of "Knowledge Commons" and not to the "Public Domain". While community or family custodians will have rights to knowledge that belonged to them, the rest of the traditional knowledge will belong to Kerala State. No entity registered as a medium or large enterprise may be deemed to have any rights over traditional knowledge. Any community or family custodian of traditional knowledge would have to register as a knowledgeable practitioner with the Kerala Traditional Knowledge Authority proposed by the policy.

The primary goal of the IPR Policy is to foster an environment that acknowledges and promotes creativity and innovation, as well as to provide the financial and technical resources needed to translate these into goods, processes, and services for societal benefit.

Odisha's Initiative

Odisha has come up with an encyclopedia on tribes documenting their age-old and unique traditions before they get entirely vanished from circulation.

The 3,800-page book has five edited volumes of 'Encyclopedia of Tribes in Odisha', published by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute and Odisha State Tribal Museum, with 418 research articles on tribals, including 13 vulnerable groups. Besides, papers contributed by its research personnel, the articles of other research scholars and eminent anthropologists on different aspects of the tribes and other states have also found a place in the encyclopedia.

Chapter 3

Documenting Folk and Tribal Paintings

India is a country with a rich and diverse cultural legacy. It has a mosaic of tribal and folk arts. The Indian way of life is rich in rituals, customs, beliefs, and a diverse group of gods and goddesses.

Art is a way to communicate emotions and feelings. Indian folk arts are a representation of Indian culture. The term 'Folk' means people of a community or group. Folk art refers to the artwork of people that is often an expression of community life. Ancient humans painted on cave walls, carved bone sculptures, and danced around the fire.

Folk Paintings are distinguished by subjects drawn from epics such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, as well as the Bhagavata Purana and daily village life, birds and animals, and natural objects such as the sun, moon, plants, and trees. Each painting reflects a region's aesthetic, cultural, and spiritual sensibilities.

The richness of India's civilization is reflected in these paintings, which represent the latent artistic talent of ordinary people who have received no formal training in this discipline. Folk arts are artistic traditions that developed in a particular context and were passed down through generations.

In India, the Chitra Katha tradition (pictorial rendering) played an important role in spreading the epics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and other Hindu shastras—by transferring paintings from temple walls to the walls of common people's homes. Different regions of India developed such art in their unique way to spread messages. Madhubani paintings from Bihar, Patua scroll paintings from West Bengal, Phad paintings from Rajasthan, Patachitras from Odisha, Mata-Ni-Pachedi from Gujarat, and Nathadwara Picchvai paintings are some examples.

The pre-modern world was full of colours. Artists used to extract colours from natural sources like vegetables, fruits, flowers and stones. These ancient forms of art have evolved over the years. Natural pigments and dyes have given way to acrylic paints and inks, and traditional paintings, which were previously used to decorate the walls of homes, are now depicted on canvas.

In the next section, five paintings have been discussed namely, Madhubani from Bihar; Kalamkari from Andhra Pradesh; Sanjhi from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; Gond from Madhya Pradesh and Warli from Maharashtra.

Madhubani Painting



Image 8: Madhubani Painting

Madhubani Painting, also known as Mithila Folk art is the traditional art from Mithila also known as Mithilanchal, Bihar. Jitwarpur village of Madhubani district is the main centre. Madhubani paintings are made with twigs, brushes, and nib-pens, and depict traditional stories about Ganesha, Lakshmi, Sita's exile, and many other Hindu mythological characters.

The paintings are conceptual in nature and depict events such as weddings, court scenes, social gatherings, and so on. The origins of this art form can be traced back to the epic of Ramayana, where Tulsidas depicts Mithilanchal being decorated with Mithila painting at Sita's wedding to Ram.

Lines, colours, and geometrical figures are all used extensively in Madhubani paintings, and there are no gaps in the paintings. Animal & bird motifs and flora are used to fill up any gaps in the paintings. When there are special events in the village or family, Madhubani paintings are drawn on the plastered walls of huts or households, according to an age-old tradition.

Some of the paintings are based on the following themes: Dashavatar i.e ten incarnations of Vishnu -Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Narsimha, Vaman, Parshuram, Rama, Balarama, Buddha and Kalki; Dasmahavidya- ten incarnations of Goddesses; Solah Sanskara for women and Solali Sanskara for men; Krishna Leela\ Ram Leela; episodes from Mahabharata and Ramayana etc. (Gupta & Gyan, 2018)

Madhubani paintings are classified into five styles:

a) Godna, b) Bharni, c) Katchni, d) Tantrik, and e) Kohbar.



Image 9: Godna Style

Godna Painting Style

This is the most basic style of Madhubani painting when compared to others. Chano Devi pioneered this painting style, which is similar to tattooing. The colours used were all natural, and the majority of the paintings depicted Hindu Gods and tree life. Concentric circles of flowers, fields, and animals are common in this style.



Image 10: Bharani Style

Bharani Painting Style

It is the most important painting style in Madhubani art. The paintings in this style are vibrantly coloured. The themes were primarily inspired by Hindu epics such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Blue, yellow, and pink are the most commonly used colours. Typically, the outline is done in black. Sita Devi, a Mahapatra woman Brahmin was a forerunner of the Baharani colour painting style. Typically, women of the Brahmin caste contributed the most to this style of painting.



Image 11: Kachni Style

Kachni Painting Style

In this style, only one or two colours are used in the painting. Kachni style placed a greater emphasis on intricate lines and muted colours.



Image 12: Tantrik Style



Image 13: Kohbar Style

Tantrik Painting style

The theme of this Madhubani painting style was based on religious characters from the texts. There were paintings of Maha Kali, Maha Durga, Maha Saraswati, and Maha Ganesha.

Kohbar Painting Style

Kohbar painting has traditionally been done in the Maithil culture to bless a newlywed couple. This painting primarily depicts Hindu wedding ceremonies. The kohabara ghar — a room prepared for a groom where he stays at his in-laws place after the wedding. This painting depicts the six lotus flowers encircling a single bamboo stem. These are fertility symbols.

These paintings were traditionally created by Brahmin women. Brahmins had a distinct style that included a lot of bright colours. The colours were all organic, the red colour was extracted from the Sindoor plant in the backyard, the green colour from the leaves, burnt jawar or kajal was used for black; turmeric or chuna mixed with milk from banyan tree for yellow; pailash flower for orange; bilva leaf for green and the rice paste for white.

These paintings started from the floor with a lot of tantric symbols and the knowledge was handed down from generation to generation. The knowledge continued and took the form of more decorative scenes from mythology – Ramayana and Krishan Leela etc.

Later it reached the Kayastha community, who used to work as munim (bookkeeper) in the zamindar's house. Because of the social interaction between Brahmins and Kayasthas, they got a peek into Brahmin households and learnt it. They did the fine line drawing and enclosure of individual scenes.

Then the painting travelled to the lower caste who painted on the mud walls of their house which included hunting scenes, nude figures, and the tale of their own lives.

Jitwarpur village in north Bihar would have remained unknown to the world had then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's friend Pupul Jayakar not asked All India Handicrafts Board chief designer Bhaskar Kulkarni to visit Madhubani in 1966.

Earlier mostly women practised it. Male practitioners came in 1965 – the year of great famine. Bhaskar Kulkarni went door to door to find out if they were continuing to do it and was is as a method of survival for them.

It was at that time women came out and said they are practising it but not making earnings out of it. So they were given papers and then the paintings were collected and sold. Women and girls were taught to paint and later paintings became commercial art. Art then started expanding beyond mythology and tantric art. People started painting on topical issues from female foeticide to covid.

These paintings have also gained international acclaim, with a Madhubani museum in Japan. Nowadays, the affluent class creates Madhubani paintings, though the 'core' values behind the paintings have remained intact.

Madhubani painting has received GI status in 2007. Some of the important artists of this wonderful art include Mahasundari Devi who was awarded Padma Shri by the President of India in 2011 for her paramount contribution to promoting the Madhubani art form, Jagdamba Devi from Bhajparaul, Madhubani was given Padma Shri in 1975 and the National Award to Sita Devi was a legendary Madhubani artist from Jitwarpur village who bagged Padma Shri in 1981 and Godavari Dutta is internationally-acclaimed. Her artworks are displayed in Mithila Museum in Tokamachi in Japan.

Kalamkari Paintings



Image 14: Kalamkari Painting

The literal meaning of Kalamkari is "painting made by the use of pen" (Kalam - pen & Kari – work). It is very popular in two districts of Andhra Pradesh, namely, Machilipatnam (or Masulipatanam) and Srikalahasti of Chittoor district. It is a type of hand-painted or block-printed cotton textile produced in parts of India.

Originally, this style was used to depict scenes from sacred texts such as the Mahabharata, Ramayana, and Bhagavatam. These paintings depicting deity stories were frequently used as decorative backdrops in temples.

This vibrant art form dates back to more than 3000 B.C. Folk singers and painters used to travel from village to village, telling Hindu mythology stories to the villagers. However, over time, the process of telling stories evolved into canvas painting. It was during the Mughal era that this painting style gained popularity.

Kalamkari is a 23-step process that uses only natural dyes. The cloth is first steeped in a mixture of buffalo milk and astringents to create Kalamkari. This is then dried in the sun. The colours red, black, brown, and purple are then outlined with a mordant before being applied to the cloth.

The black dye is made by soaking iron pieces in a solution of jaggery and water in a mud pot; a yellowish-coloured dye is obtained by mixing Myrobalam flowers with boiling water in an earthen or metal pot; alum or Phitkari is used on a Myrobalam-treated cloth for developing dull red colour and the blue colour is made by using colours obtained from the indigo plant.

Artists use a pen made by attaching fine hair to the pointed end of a bamboo or date palm to create contours for their designs. This is then soaked in a jaggery-water mixture.

There are two distinct styles of Kalamkari art in India: the Srikalahasti style and the Machilipatnam style.



Image 15: Sriikalahasti Kalamkari

Srikalahasti Kalamkari

Srikalahasti happened to be the main centre of this art due to the constant supply of clean and fresh river water. This style of kalamkari derives its inspiration from the Hindu mythological stories, epics and folklore. This style grasps a robust religious link due to its origin in the temples. The most prominent characteristic of the Srikalahasti style of kalamkari art is the free-hand drawing.



Image 16: Machilipatnam Kalamkari

Machilipatnam Kalamkari

This style of kalamkari differs from the formerly mentioned style because it is not exactly crafting with pen, per se. While making kalamkari art using this Machilipatnam style, the artist creates the draft and its basic design features with the aid of hand-carved blocks. These blocks, once carved, can be used over and over again for a long period of time.

The Balija community of Kalahasti, located in the southern corner of Andhra Pradesh, was the first to practise the tradition of Kalahasti Paintings. It had been practised since the 14th century but had declined rapidly by the beginning of the twentieth century. So much so that by the 1950s, Jonnalagadda Lakshmaiah was the only painter in the community.³²

Recently, two new categories of Kalamkari patterns have emerged, based on the states where they are created. Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat are two primary Indian states where two evolved and distinct styles of kalamkari are practised. While Gujarat draws inspiration from mythological characters and epics, Andhra Pradesh depicts palaces and forts, which are popular destinations in the country.

³² https://www.indiaculture.nic.in/national-list-intangible-cultural-heritage-ich

Kalamkari of Gujarat also known as 'Mata Ni Pachedi'. When the nomadic Vaghari community of Gujarat, who worship Mata, were not allowed to enter temples, they made their places of worship out of cloth illustrations of the Mother Goddess (Mata).

This art form was the family occupation of many rural women and craftsmen in the olden times. It is passed down from generation to generation as a tradition. Andhra Pradesh is still the country's primary centre for Kalamkari painting



Image 17: Mata Ni Pachedi

In 2008, Machilipatnam Kalamkari received the GI Tag. Karuppur kalamkari paintings and Kallakurichi wood carvings in Tamil Nadu recently received geographical indication (GI) tags. Both of these art forms are of the traditional variety. While the paintings are intricately created on cotton cloth with pens or brushes made from bamboo tree and coconut tree stems, the wood carving is primarily one in which the craftsmen specialise in carving temple-related items as well as furniture using traditional designs.

Sanjhi Paintings



Image 18: Sanjhi Art

Sanjhi Painting is an art form that arose from the Krishna cult and flourished in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. Sanjhi is derived from the Hindi word sandhya, which refers to the period of dusk with which the art form is traditionally associated.

It gained popularity in the 15th and 16th centuries thanks to Vaishnava temples. Sanjhi became recognized as a highly refined art form practised by Brahmin priests. The art of Sanjhi painting is currently practised by a small number of people and is only found in a few temples in India. The Radharamana temple in Vrindavan is one of these temples where Sanjhi paintings can still be found.

According to legend, Radha, Krishna's beloved, used to paint her walls with Sanjhi art to attract the attention of her beloved. She painted her freshly plastered cow dung walls with coloured stones, metal foils, and flowers. Seeing her, other Gopis in Vrindavan began painting walls with Sanjhi art to attract attention.





Image 19: Sanjhi Art in Braj Vrindavan

Image 20: Sanjhi on wall

To create a Sanjhi design, stencils are cut out of paper (usually by hand) with specially designed scissors. These stencils are used to draw rangolis on flat surfaces or in water. The surface is then sifted with dry colours. Some of the most common motifs are peacocks, bullock carts, horses, cows, butterflies, and trees.

Traditionally, stencils were made from rough paper or banana leaves, but modern artisans have begun to create artwork out of handmade and recycled paper. Since then, Sanjhi has remained popular, and during the Mughal period, contemporary themes were introduced for greater perspective.

Sanjhi paper cuts have also found a market in a variety of forms. Bindis, textile patterns, and henna designs are all created using stencils. Home décor and utilitarian objects such as trays, coasters, lampshades, mirrors, wall hangings, and window partitions also make extensive use of stencils.



Image 21: Sanjhi Papercutting Art



Image 22: Sanjhi Art on floor

However, an attempt to revive the Sanjhi art has transformed it from a ritualistic temple artform to an artform used to make home utilities such as lamps, curtains, and shades. In fact, pictograms of the art form were used in the Commonwealth Games in 2010. Sanjhi art is rarely known in its original form in modern times.³³



Image 23: Pictogram

³³ https://www.rachnakar.com/sanjhi-art-painting-with-scissors/

Gond Paintings



Image 24: Gond Painting

Gond painting is a folk art that is typically done on the walls of the homes of people from the Gond tribe, India's largest Adivasi tribe, which is primarily found in Madhya Pradesh but can also be found in pockets of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, and Odisha. The Gond people have been around for nearly 1400 years. It was originally carved on cave walls.

The term "Gond" is derived from the Dravidian expression "Kond," which means "green mountain." The Gond called themselves Koi or Koiture, but others called them Gond since they lived in the green mountains. It originated from the tribe's belief that "seeing a good image brings good luck." The Gond tribe believes that everything around them is sacred, and they depict it in their paintings, including trees, hills, rivers, birds, and animals. Gond paintings are inspired by Indian myths and legends, but they may also depict images from the tribe's daily lives.



Image 25: Gond Cave Painting

The Gonds narrate stories about their dogmas, gods, festivals, demons, and everything related to their way of life through paintings. Trees play an important role in Gond art. Trees are the most important for humans and animals because they protect them from the sun in the summer and from the rain in the winter. Trees provide both nourishment and food.

These paintings are intricate works of wavy lines drawn rhythmically and repeatedly. The wall paintings are made from natural materials found near their homes. The walls are first layered with pidor, a special soil, and various natural materials are used to render various colours. Coal, for example, for black, Chui soil for yellow, red soil or geru for red, tinsak plant sap for dark red, ramraj soil from around the Narmada river for yellow, sem leaves for dark green, and cow dung for light green, among other things.

The fibre of beaten bark is formed into a brush known as 'koochi', which is the basic tool for painting the walls of homes. The artist begins by plastering the area to be painted with a paste of soil, cow dung, and straw. After it has dried, the area is coated with pidor, which creates a smooth, white background suitable for use as a canvas.

Gond artists are known for their attention to detail, such as drawing inner and outer lines to achieve a high level of perfection and creatively using fish scales, dashes, and dots to give the painting a sense of motion.

The Pardhan Gonds are extremely skilled artists who are renowned for their paintings and music. The decline of agricultural life and social patronage has tended to reduce the Pradhans to a state of manual labour over time. Jangarh Singh Shyam, a Pradhan Gond, was the first tribal artist to work with canvas and paper. In 1981, he hosted a very successful first exhibition in Bharat Bhavan, and his meteoric rise to fame was highlighted by subsequent exhibitions in Paris and Tokyo.

The modern Gond painting is done on canvas with acrylic paints because they are easy to transport and hang on walls.



Image 26: Gond Painting



Image 27: Gond Painitng

Warli Paintings



Image 28: Warli Painting

Warli paintings are prevalent in Maharashtra's remote tribal areas, particularly in the North Sahyadri range - Dahanu, Talasari, Jawhar, Palghar, Mokhada, and Vikramgadh of Palghar district. It is one of the oldest styles of Indian folk art, having survived for thousands of years. The term 'Warli' is from 'warla', which means a piece of land. The Warli culture is centred on the concept of Mother Nature, and natural elements are frequently depicted as focal points in Warli paintings.

Although the origins of this art are unknown and no records have been found, many scholars and folklorists believe that it can be traced back to as early as the 10th century A.D. The Warli tribe was traditionally a semi-nomadic tribe that subsisted through hunting. Over the last few decades, the tribe has evolved to rely on a variety of agricultural activities for a living. It depicts their cultural and social lives.

Warli paintings are narrative works that require performance gestures and movement, with little room for facial expression. These paintings are displayed in the houses during the harvest season, weddings, and births.

These paintings are traditionally created with white paste on mud walls, and Salati grass or bamboo stick is used as a brush. They are composed of squares, triangles, and circles inspired by their observations of nature. Even though Warli is prevalent in areas close to Mumbai, the art remains unaffected by modern culture.

The circle depicts the sun and moon, while the triangle depicts mountains and pointed trees. Two intersecting triangles represent the human body: the top triangle represents the torso, and the bottom one represents the pelvis. Their precarious equilibrium symbolises the balance of the universe. The square, on the other hand, appears to be a human invention, indicating a plot of land or a sacred enclosure also known as Chauk. As a result, the chauk, ideally of Devchauk and Lagnachauk, is the central motif in each painting.

Since Warlis' life is so closely linked to nature, they worship it in various forms—the sun and moon, gods of thunder, lightning, wind, rain, and so on. The seasons are used to worship gods. They worship the god of rain after the first rice cycle, which is known as the J Varanadeva festival. This is followed by the worship of household gods during the Hirva, JVimai, and Jhoting festivals. The festival of the Tiger God comes next, followed by Kansan, the goddess of grain.

The Tarpa dance is a central component in many Warli paintings. The Tarpa is a trumpet-like instrument that is played by men in turns. The dancers form a circle around the tarpa player, their hands intertwined. Warlis believe life is a circle that does not have a beginning or end. Death is not an end for them but a new beginning.

There are two types of Warli paintings - ritualistic and non-ritualistic.

- The ritualistic paintings are the ones which connect the past, present and future. For example, Lagna Chowk, Dev Chowk, Kanna, etc are the ritualistic form of warli.
- The non-ritualistic paintings are done for decorative purposes, for example hunting scenes, agricultural activities, and festival scenes.



Image 29: Warli Painting on wall

Marriage Ceremony

A Suvasini (married woman) paints the marriage chowk or a square on the wall in this painting. The warli marriage lasts four to five days and is accompanied by a number of rituals. These chowks are painted to protect the bride and groom from evil spirits, to ensure fertility, and to enhance the couple's procreative abilities. Marriage chowks are classified into two types: Lagna chowk and Dev Chowk.



Image 30: Lagna Chauk

Lagna Chauk

It is a rectangle with the figure of Palaghat Devi, the fertility goddess. She is prayed to bestow good fortune on the bride and groom. The border is made up of various geometrical patterns. Variations of the Palaghat Devi are done on various parts of the painting. It is also done in the bride and groom's homes.



Image 31: Dev Chauk

Dev Chauk

It is usually depicted alongside the Lagan Chowk, a fiveheaded god, and a headless warrior. It can be drawn standing or riding a horse. It is done to ward off illness, misfortune, and bad luck for the bride and groom.

Tarpa Dance

Image 32: Tarpa

This is a popular Warli folk dance that is performed at night by both men and women. The tarpa is an instrument, and the person who plays it is in the centre. The dancers in the typical painting will form almost a circle of people and will move in an anti-clockwise direction.

Kanna



Image 33: Kanna



Image 34: Muthi

Kanna is the only Warli image that the Suvasinis have drawn on the ground (married women). It is thought to be a symbol of virginity, and it is drawn at the bride's house on the third day of the wedding. It is drawn around the pounding hole in their houses, which is otherwise used to separate seeds from husks. Kanna is created using a variety of colours, including white rice powder, yellow turmeric, red Kumkum, and orange sindoor.

Muthi

When new rice is brought home from the fields, muthi, or the fist, is imprinted on the walls of huts. This can be seen on almost all of the tribe's huts. These imprints can also be found on graniers, kitchen interior walls, ploughs, and grain storage baskets. The repeated imprint represents an abundance of food. The Warli art form was unknown until the 1970s. Bhaskar Kulkarni encouraged Warli artists to paint on paper rather than the mud walls of their huts. Jivya Soma Mashe broke the monotony of Warli being a married women-wall art tradition. He experimented with non-traditional painting techniques and created new images of everyday life.

The art has gained huge popularity at both international and national platforms because of its simplicity in shapes, use of single white colour, the minimum requirement of tools and creation of beautiful motifs.

Warli painting got its GI tag in 2014. With the help of a tribal non-governmental organization named Adivasi Yuva Seva Sangh, Warli was registered with a geographical indication as per the Intellectual Property Rights Act.

Need for Documentation

These folk arts are dying out as they are not being passed on to the next generation. Due to the onslaught of technification, globalization, displacement and migration, these traditions, lifestyles and communities are disappearing. In light of this, it became critical to establish a framework for preserving and promoting our inherited values and rich cultural legacy.

Despite the government's varied efforts, there are not enough experienced and trained personnel to administer India's cultural institutions, cultural industries, and cultural management. Aside from that, the Indian youth today are oblivious to their country's rich and diverse cultural legacy. The need for openness and understanding among people, as well as a healthy reaction to and respect for other traditions, has become paramount.

Initiatives by the Ministry of Culture

To protect, preserve & promote various forms of folk art and culture throughout the country, the Government of India has set up seven Zonal Cultural Centres (ZCCs) throughout the country with headquarters at Patiala, Nagpur, Udaipur, Prayagraj, Kolkata, Dimapur and Thanjavur, with the prime objective of protecting, promoting and preserving various art forms and cultures throughout the country.

Seven ZCCs are:

- Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, Kolkata
- North Central Zone Cultural Centre, Allahabad
- Northeast Zone Cultural Centre, Dimapur
- North Zone Cultural Centre, Patiala
- South Central Zone Cultural Centre, Nagpur
- South Zone Cultural Centre, Thanjavur
- West Zone Cultural Centre, Udaipur

These ZCCs organize various cultural activities & programmes on regular basis all over the country. The ZCCs also work towards the promotion of art forms by improving opportunities for the artists to perform and also by documenting their art forms. The special feature of the ZCCs is the emphasis on people's participation which is ensured through the adequate representation of exponents of various art forms, promotion of rural art forms, stress on folk art and tribal art and the organization of traditional village fairs and festivals.

Since November 2015, twelve Rashtriya Sanskriti Mahotsav (RSM) have been organized by the Ministry of Culture across the country. These ZCCs also organize a minimum of 42 Regional Festivals for the promotion of art and culture every year as per their programme calendar. Several art forms, including vanishing visual and performing art forms including folk, tribal and classical in the field of music, dance, theatre, literature, fine arts etc. are being documented by these ZCCs for proper storage of the treasure of knowledge for posterity. Several art forms have been documented in digital format (both audio and video formats). The art form is finalized in consultation with the state Cultural Department.

Further, for the preservation and promotion of various folk arts & culture of the country the following schemes are implemented by these ZCCs, namely, the National Cultural Exchange Programme; Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme; Young Talented Artistes Scheme; Documentation of Vanishing Art Forms; Theatre Rejuvenation Scheme; Shilpagram Activities and Loktarang – National Folk Dance Festival and OCTAVE – to promote the rich cultural heritage of North East region.

Under the Global Engagement Scheme, Festivals of India are organised in other countries to showcase folk art and other cultural events such as exhibitions, dance, music, theatre, food fest, literary fest, film fest, yoga, and so on.

The Ministry of Culture also administers various financial grant schemes like the Scheme of Financial Assistance for Promotion of Art and Culture, Scheme of Financial Assistance for Creation of Cultural Infrastructure, Museum Grant Scheme etc. to preserve, and promote Indian art, literature and culture in the country under which grants are given as financial assistance to the organizations and individuals.

No separate allocation of funds is being done art-wise. However, an annual grant-in-aid is provided to all the ZCCs for organizing various cultural activities/ programmes in their member States.

National List for Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)

The National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) of India is an attempt to recognize the diversity of Indian culture embedded in its intangible heritage. It aims to raise awareness about the various intangible cultural heritage elements from different states of India at national and international levels and ensure their protection.

Following UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, this list has been classified into five broad domains in which intangible cultural heritage is manifested:

- Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
- Performing arts
- Social practices, rituals and festive events
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe
- Traditional craftsmanship

The present items in the list have been collated from the projects sanctioned under the scheme for 'Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Diverse Cultural Traditions of India' formulated by the Ministry of Culture. Beginning in 2013, the scheme aims at reinforcing the diverse cultural expressions that are necessary for the continuous evolution and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage in India, as well as their transmission to future generations. It also includes the 13 elements of India that have already been inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The national list is a work in progress.

IGNCA

The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (IGNCA) in New Delhi, India, established in 1987, was designed as an autonomous centre providing for the study and experience of all the arts. Kala Nidhi, a national information system and databank, consists of a reference library of print collections, a large microfilm/microfiche library, a collection of slides, and photographs and audio-video materials covering many disciplines related to Greater India, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and West Asia. Cultural archives consisting of rare collections, a conservation laboratory, and a multimedia unit also form part of the organization.

Janapada Sampada Archives of IGNCA have the following folk painting on Kalamkari, Gond, Madhubani, Mithila, Warli, Hakusalli, Mahabharata, Pattachittra. IGNCA has a conservation lab which is safeguarding folk paintings in its collection.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

India is home to some of the world's most beautiful cultural symbols. The people of India are diverse, with a rich cultural heritage. Traditional literature, traditional arts and crafts, music, visual arts, ceremonies, traditional beliefs, traditional architecture associated with specific sites, as well as forms of traditional knowledge related to traditional medicines and traditional medical practises, agriculture, forest management, conservation, and sustainable use of biological diversity, are examples. As a result, traditional knowledge and cultural expressions are a body of knowledge vital to the day-to-day life of local communities derived from generations of living in close contact with nature.

Traditions and oral folklore have been used to pass down Indian culture from generation to generation. Indian folk arts are a reflection of Indian culture. It is a form of art created by the people of India for the people of India. Indian traditional art is a manifestation of this country's cultural heritage; gradual isolation from the larger population and craft workers will have an impact on the country's cultural sustainability.

It is difficult to determine a specific date for the emergence of folk and tribal paintings in India. Instead, one should discuss continuities, evolutions, and contemporaneity. Initially, many traditional painters were associated with social ceremonies, painting on the facades of village houses or scrolls as part of a traditional ceremony gesture. Folk art patterns, motifs, techniques, and materials have special meaning and can reveal a lot about the culture or society to which it has belonged. Each piece of art tells a story from the past or the present.

The issue is that these Indian folk arts are dying out as people are not taking them seriously and do not pass them on to the next generation. This is because there are few incentives to keep these Indian folk arts alive. There are also few opportunities for these artists to create their works without competition from dealers and showrooms that sell ready-made products at lower prices.

There are no authoritative definitions or data on the creative economy's size or shape. Social and economic policies are implemented with little regard for the creative economy and those who rely on it. Without timely care and caution, they are at risk of extinction, along with the small number of people and communities who still practise the art.

With technological advancement and changes in social behaviour, India's cultural heritage is becoming isolated from the larger population's day-to-day social activities. Exotic and indigenous Indian folk art forms are usually not shared or promoted on a global scale. The sensible use of technology has the potential to revitalise our cultural heritage by connecting rural India's craft workers with the larger population, who will hopefully become interested in these Indian folk art forms.

Given that current intellectual property rights (IPR) are an ineffective legal framework for protecting traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, there are no mechanisms in place to protect, access, and share benefits derived from traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions.

A national platform should be established to document folk paintings in collaboration with practising communities, with a well-organized system for research and publication. Also, there is a need to ensure that communities have effective control over the documentation and database of traditional knowledge based on their expertise, practices, and skills.

In the long run, the young population is most effective at carrying on cultural heritage. As a result, increased collaboration and partnership in the generation, access to, and utilisation of culture and tradition are required.

Art and rural tourism are still not well known among Indian tourists. A very small number of Indian travellers are willing to travel to remote locations, unassuming towns and villages no one has ever heard of, where they get down to the grassroots level, interact with the communities, and discover a world of culture and tradition passed down through generations.

The future of Indian Folk Arts is dependent on the support it gets from the government and the general public. Paintings are not about the end result but the stories, efforts, time and skills that go into it. These traditional paintings are windows to our ancient culture and an ideal tool to know about the past and the world around us. The more people appreciate these Indian folk arts, the more artists will strive to create pieces that will be remembered for many generations to come.

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Annexure 1: List of Folk art

S no.	Folk Art	Region
1.	Aipan Art	Uttrakhand
2.	Assamese Miniature Painting	Assam
3.	Bhil Painting	Madhya Pradesh
4.	Bhojpuri Painting	Uttar Pradesh
5.	Cheriyal Scroll Painting	Telangana
6.	Chittara Art	Karnataka
7.	Chitrakathi Painting	Maharashtra
8.	Dokra Art	West Bengal
9.	Kolam Floor Painting	Tamil Nadu
10.	Godna Painting	Chhattisgarh
11.	Gond Painting	Madhya Pradesh
12.	Jadopatia Painting	Jharkhand
13.	Kalamezhuthu Art	Kerala
14.	Kalamkari Painting	Andhra Pradesh Telangana
15.	Kalighat Painting	West Bengal
16.	Kangra Painting	Himachal Pradesh
17.	Kavad Painting	Rajasthan
18.	Kerala Mural Painting	Kerala
19.	Krishangarh Painting (Bani Thani)	Rajasthan
20.	Kondapalli Bommallu	Andhra Pradesh
21.	Kurumba Painting	Tamil Nadu
22.	Kutch Lippan Art	Gujarat
23.	Leather Puppet Art	Andhra Pradesh
24.	Mandala Art	
25.	Mandana Art	Rajasthan
26.	Madhubani Painting	Bihar

27.	Mata Ni Pachedi	Gujarat
28.	Masan Painting	West Bengal
29.	Meenakari Painting	Rajasthan
30.	Mysore Ganjifa Art	Karnataka
31.	Mysore Painting	Karnataka
32.	Mughal Paintings	
33.	Nirmal Painting	Telangana
34.	Pattachitra Painting	Odisha West Bengal
35.	Patua Painting	West Bengal
36.	Pipli Art	Odisha
37.	Pichwai Painting	Rajasthan
38.	Pithora Painting	Madhya Pradesh
39.	Rajasthani Miniature Painting	Rajasthan
40.	Rajasthani Phad Painting	Rajasthan
41.	Rogan Art from Kutch	Gujarat
42.	Reverse Glass Tanjore Painting	Tamil Nadu
43.	Saura Painting	Odisha
44.	Sanjhi Art	Uttar Pradesh
45.	Sohrai Art	Jharkhand
46.	Surpur Folk Art	Mysore
47.	Tikuli Art	Bihar
48.	Tassar Silk Painting	Odisha
49.	Tanjore Painting	Tamil Nadu
50.	Thangka Painting	Himachal Pradesh Sikkim
51.	Santhal Painting	West Bengal
52.	Warli Folk Painting	Maharashtra, Gujarat, Dadara & Nagar Haveli, Daman Diu

Source: indianfolkart.org

Annexure 2: Image Source

Image No.	Image Name	Retrieved from
1	Bregenzerwälde r Bergkäse	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.molkeprodukte.com%2Fprodukt%2Fbregenzerwaeld er-bergkaese-wuerzig-ca-500-g- 2%2F&psig=AOvVaw2UBdV9gY1QKYFll4Ev6Gcg&ust =1668596124482000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CB EQjhxqFwoTCMiF44yDsPsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
2	Taanka Water Harvesting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F en.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FTaanka&psig=AOvVaw2D WYA_4rQIpi6kwxkpuUps&ust=1668595971516000&sou rce=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCOC4uPiCs PsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
3	Yoga	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F freedesignfile.com%2F424472-yoga-silhouette-with- sunset-background-vector-07%2F&psig=AOvVaw3r9g8 eVZNknvojpRGAvj&ust=1668583824885000&source=im ages&cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCKiy- aXVr_sCFQAAAAAdAAAABA6
4	Shantipuri Saree	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F vikaspedia.in%2Fsocial- welfare%2Fentrepreneurship%2Findian- handloom%2Fshantipuri-cotton- saree&psig=AOvVaw3pRcAPL1YZdfdMQJ0yBLf- &ust=1668681276711000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved= 0CBEQjhxqFwoTCOi_nKjAsvsCFQAAAAAdAAAAB AE
5	Walnut wood carvings	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F cultureandheritage.org%2F2022%2F05%2Fwalnut-wood- carving-of-kashmir-in-north- india.html&psig=AOvVaw033ZqcQ- 2NxtzJl05WiMrk&ust=1668681619803000&source=imag es&cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCODroNLBsvsCFQA AAAAdAAAABAD
6	Etikoppaka Toys	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=http%3A%2F%2Fa ndhraportal.org%2Fcrafts- 7etikoppaka%2F&psig=AOvVaw2j55YJZ6Q-

		MUuM7ZyRVgbc&ust=1668682103357000&source=ima ges&cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCNjD- JDEsvsCFQAAAAAdAAAABAD
7	Kulla Shawl	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.dsource.in%2Fresource%2Fkullu-and-kinnauri- shawls%2Fintroduction&psig=AOvVaw0KmeepkgC6TsY IgsBEvLB7&ust=1668682292119000&source=images&c d=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCIDCvKzEsvsCFQAAAA AdAAAABAL
8	Madhubani	Painted by Akanksha Saini
9	Godna Madhubani Painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F dalitfoundation.net%2Fgodna- paintings%2F&psig=AOvVaw08G7sBK8ezT- OFjjcdX3wQ&ust=1668596236327000&source=images& cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCJDlw8GDsPsCFQAAA AAdAAAABAF
10	Bharani Madhubani Painting by Vibha Das of Ranti (Bihar)	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.dsource.in%2Fgallery%2Fmadhubani-paintings- bihar&psig=AOvVaw3YmizZ0jdumH8dW2QV45dg&ust =1668596280227000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CB EQjhxqFwoTCIjLytmDsPsCFQAAAAAdAAAABAJ
11	Kachni Madhubani Painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.pinterest.com%2Fdasdebalina84%2Fmadhubani%2F &psig=AOvVaw0HU13Ggn3bcVsDxans9aOm&ust=1668 596327047000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CBEQjhx qFwoTCODY4_GDsPsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
12	Tantrik Madhubani Painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.popbaani.com%2Fpost%2Fthe-mystique-of-tantrik- paintings&psig=AOvVaw01fwy7CF_s-OVTfqvKs- x_&ust=1668596378783000&source=images&cd=vfe&ve d=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCICexYWEsPsCFQAAAAAdAAAA ABAE
13	Kohbar Madhubani Painitng	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F sarmaya.in%2Fobjects%2Findigenous-tribal- art%2Fkhobar%2F&psig=AOvVaw1EuWcKrAUjU4SLA hU6jiaI&ust=1668596581513000&source=images&cd=vf e&ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCMDlmeaEsPsCFQAAAAAdA AAAABAT

14	Kalamkari	Painted by Akanksha Saini
15	Srikalahasti Kalamkari	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.joshuahs.in%2Fblogs%2Fnews%2Feverything-you- need-to-know-about-kalamkari- prints&psig=AOvVaw0NRXUpoAwsGsXijPqnBJq2&ust =1667905147399000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA 4QjhxqFwoTCLCV2oD1m_sCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAA
16	Machilipatnam Kalamkari	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F tklvch.wordpress.com%2Ftag%2Fmasulipatnam- kalamkari%2F&psig=AOvVaw3P- LBbLs_2hUTQXq24mTwm&ust=1667905340816000&so urce=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA4QjhxqFwoTCLDh- tz1m_sCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAA
17	Mata Ni Pachedi	https://www.dsource.in/resource/mata-ni-pachedi- ahmedabad/products
18	Sanjhi Art	Painted by Akanksha Saini
19	Sanjhi art at Braj Vrindavan	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.inditales.com%2Fsanjhi-art-braj- vrindavan%2F&psig=AOvVaw1hGVH9YvFWqZ3DgM9 Q0p9i&ust=1667905724860000&source=images&cd=vfe &ved=0CA4QjhxqFwoTCPiczJf3m_sCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
20	Sanjhi art on the wall	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F risdmuseum.org%2Fart-design%2Fcollection%2Fharyana- women-making-sanjhi-craft-village-new-delhi- 2018212&psig=AOvVaw3yMhyuSV7Oex4gtKB3bcVD& ust=1667905779149000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0 CA4QjhxqFwoTCNiHzrH3m_sCFQAAAAAAAAAB AE
21	Sanjhi Papercutting Art	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F cultureandheritage.org%2F2022%2F09%2Fsanjhi-art-of- mathura-in-uttar-pradesh-the-art-of-hand-cut-paper- designs.html&psig=AOvVaw3TsrZcZGA41_fayztpTfRi& ust=1669111843527000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0

		CBEQjhxqFwoTCNC4wLOEv_sCFQAAAAAdAAAAA BAn
22	Sanjhi Art on the floor	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F magikindia.com%2Fsanjhi-stencil- art%2F&psig=AOvVaw3TsrZcZGA41_fayztpTfRi&ust=1 669111843527000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CBE QjhxqFwoTCNC4wLOEv_sCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
23	Pictogram	https://www.rachnakar.com/sanjhi-art-painting-with- scissors/
24	Gond Art	Painted by Akanksha Saini
25	Gond paintings on the cave wall	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F jayahegvknewmuseumstore.wordpress.com%2F2019%2F 09%2F01%2Fgond-unpacking- greatness%2F&psig=AOvVaw2_2tbWPq5nFALpHBkMq Str&ust=1668073334821000&source=images&cd=vfe&v ed=0CA4QjhxqFwoTCJDB3cfnoPsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
26	Gond painting	https://www.caleidoscope.in/art-culture/gond-art-madhya- pradesh
27	Gond painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F blog.mojarto.com%2Fblogs%2Fgond-art-the-deccan- lifeline&psig=AOvVaw2uUjr- QEHq75JQb5BM6BtE&ust=1668058956299000&source =images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA4QjhxqFwoTCLjc3_6xoPsCF QAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
28	Warli Art	Painted by Akanksha Saini
29	Warli Painting on the wall	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F en.gaonconnection.com%2Fwarli-on-the-wall-the-warli- tribe-in-maharashtras-ganjad-draws-from-life-to-create- unique- art%2F&psig=AOvVaw07FJjGZTo31OeSAVgIRhnj&ust =1669128981545000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CB EQjhxqFwoTCODXvZLEv_sCFQAAAAAdAAAABA K

30	Lagna chauk painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F iteeha.com%2Fevents%2Fwarli-lagna- chawk%2F&psig=AOvVaw3iGjZr8vGSt6mvRtByMqdd& ust=1668242742148000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0 CBEQjhxqFwoTCJi-kdPepfsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
31	Dev chauk painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.memeraki.com%2Fblogs%2Fnews%2Fwarli- paintings-different-types- styles&psig=AOvVaw0Rfp_1ioMA02t0QXxSW1GE&ust =1668242681217000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CB EQjhxqFwoTCNDM3LvepfsCFQAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA
32	Tarpa painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F swayamkatha.wordpress.com%2F2019%2F02%2F07%2F abstract-art%2Fwarli-painting-folk- dance%2F&psig=AOvVaw2VpGhBRjk14gydiQv2feRU& ust=1668242805397000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0 CBEQjhxqFwoTCIi0u_XepfsCFQAAAAAdAAAABA N
33	Kanna painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F www.memeraki.com%2Fblogs%2Fnews%2Fwarli- paintings-different-types- styles&psig=AOvVaw1wOHR8_HI5_dj26LYB- Oe_&ust=1668243498088000&source=images&cd=vfe& ved=0CBEQjhxqFwoTCJC5ibvhpfsCFQAAAAAdAAAA ABAD
34	Muthi painting	https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2F maverickyogicom.wordpress.com%2Ftag%2Fwarli- painting%2F&psig=AOvVaw0nzqwqtm0IOvD8BFSEBTe 8&ust=1668243281408000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved =0CBEQjhxqFwoTCNjLudPgpfsCFQAAAAAdAAAAA BAJ