Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Review of Literature

Clothing reflects about one's membership in a culture and of the many groups he/ she belongs or relates to within a culture. Costumes forms an important element amongst all the cultural expressions defining one's identity in India. Eicher writes ethnic dress is a notable aspect of ethnicity. Again, Claus and Korom states that a folkloristic or an ethnographic study includes the study of culture, history and psychology. These represent the three fundamental dimensions in which expression exists. What forms and shapes any expression is the past (history, tradition), the outer context (Culture) and the inner motivation (psychology). And there are always other pertinent lines of inquiry-political structure, economics, geography and others (Claus P. and Korom F.,1991: 41).

Therefore, the present chapter aims to take a preliminary glimpse of the factors coming under the purview of the subject under study.

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2.1. Theoretical review:

2.1.1. Accounts on Indian Cotton Textiles: History, trade, production and evolution

Cotton is the fibre most closely associated with the Indian sub-continent and Crill further adds that it is not an overstatement to suggest that without its presence the entire history of India, and thus the world, would have evolved dramatically differently. One species, *Gossypium arboretum* ('tree cotton'), grew wild in the damp sandy tropical areas bordering the shores of south western India and further west along the coasts of the Red sea, Egypt and the Horn of Africa. It was most likely first harvested by man in the Neolithic period for its seeds, as both a food and oil crop, but it was probably in India that its hairy fibres were first collected, deseeded, spun into thread and woven into cloth (Crill R., 2015:4).

India has been famous for its cultivation of cotton and production of cotton cloth from ancient times. Literary works are replete with references to the varieties of cotton cloth manufactured in India. Buddhist *Jatakas* and Jain canons refer to the production of cotton and cotton garments. Cotton cloth was known to *Panini* and was used during *Grihyasutra* period. *Patanjali* knew the cotton cloth as well. The earliest archeological evidence about the cotton cloth comes from Indus valley site, Mohenjodaro. The evidence of cotton cloth has been recovered at *Ujjain, Rairh, Bairat, Paithan and Kaundinyapura* and it has been dated between c. 600 B.C. to A.D. 100 (Mahajan M., 1986:120,121). The world's earliest surviving woven cotton fragment has been found not in India itself but at Dhuweila in Jordan, dating from around 4450-3000 BC. This cotton cloth was almost certainly imported from Indus Valley settlements as explained by the literature (Crill R., 2015:5).

John Irwin remarks that when the history of Indian textiles was fully studied, it was likely to be found that European trade documents of the seventeenth century constituted the earliest detailed source of information. The European nations in the seventeenth century commerce with India- in their order of importance as textile traders – were the Dutch, English, Portuguese, French and Danes. During the two thousand years which intervened between the Roman period and the decline of the handloom industry in recent times (till 1959, when paper was published) there had been no significant change

in the main areas of Indian textile manufacture. They are described in the *Periplus* of the first century A.D. in much the same terms as they were described by the travelers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The main areas were three: *Western India,* with Gujarat, Sind and Rajputana as the focus; *South India,* comprising the Coromandal Coast as it used to be known, stretching from the Kistna Delta to point Calimere, and North-east India, including Bengal, Orissa and the Ganges valley (Irwin J.,1959:5).

The wealth generated by such trades combined with self-sufficiency in food crops, was the basis of the economy of northwestern India. That wealth allowed the expansion of further settlements, which encouraged the development of local cultures. Without cotton domestication, cultivation and export, the art, culture and history of India would necessarily have developed quite differently (Crill R., 2015:5). Plain and dyed calicoes, ranging from the finest and most expensive muslins to the cheapest and coarsest sackcloth, constituted the main bulk of the textile exports from Western India.

Plain white calicoes: The finest quality were the muslins, which were bought both as piece goods, under the name of '*serribaffs*' (Persian *shanbaft*), and in forms of and girdles turban-pieces. '*Serribaff*' were much in demand in Islamic countries for making into shirts or *cabayas* for the wealthy. The English bought large quantities of both kinds for sale to the Levant Company and re-export to North Africa and Turkey. Turban pieces were known as 'Shashes', the best girdles as '*guldars*' and '*sallowes*', both of which had their heads brocaded or embroidered, sometimes with gold and silver thread. Most of these fine muslins came from the Burhanpur, which was the main muslin weaving area of Western India in the seventeenth century. He further mentioned that cheap grades of cotton produced in Gujarat also played an important part in English trade. These were '*dutties'* and '*seryas'*. *Dutties* came from hindi dhoti, which then stood for piece good material and not of the modern dimensions. They were a speciality of Dholka, near Ahmedabad. '*Seryas',* woven mainly at Broach and Ahmedabad, was very strong cloth, both plain and striped, much used as sailcloth and for flags. It was also sold in England for use as napkins and towels (Irwin J.,1959:22-23).

Painted and printed cotton textiles: Throughout the ancient trading world, from Mediterranean to China, India was famed as the greatest supplier of dyed and painted cotton textiles. The ability to control the brilliance and fastness of colour was

universally admired. The early twentieth century discovery of western Indian mordanted and resist dyed coarse cottons in the sandy graves of Fostat (old Cairo), where they had served as funery shrouds, marked an important moment in the understanding of Indian textile history. Most significantly, it opened up an earlier chapter in the large volume export trade in cotton goods, much of it centered on the Red sea trade. The most famous categories of Indian trade cloth were the hand painted *chintzes* made for the Srilankan, Persian, Armenian, Indonesian, Japanese, Thai and European markets throughout the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Printed textiles have been historically produced in most parts of India, although the craft was most often associated with Gujarat and Rajasthan. While there existed huge variations in the quality of the printing, the process was the same throughout the subcontinent (Guy, Thakar and Crill, 2014:13-23).

Calicoes patterned in the loom: The favourite phrase used in early records to describe goods of this kind was 'calicoes dyed in the thread before making': meaning simply that they were woven with different coloured threads. In this way it was intended to distinguish them from the calicoes dyed after weaving. These clothes were exported mainly for the slave populations of both East and West Indies. They were grouped under the generic term called '*guinea cloths'* or '*guinea stuffs'* (Irwin J.,1959:22-23). Hundreds of towns and villages across the subcontinent gained local reputations for their individual varieties of cotton, each possessing special characteristics. In addition, cotton subspecies, each of which thrives in different environments, display a wide range of colours- not just white, but off-white, yellow, pink and brown.

Historically all Indian cottons were handspun using a drop spindle. The spinning wheel (charkha) was probably introduced from Iran by the thirteenth century, allowing greatly increased production. In India, almost everyone hand-spinning cotton into thread tended to twist it in the anticlockwise direction or in the 'Z' direction. 'Z' twist has always been the first step in establishing the provenance of historic Indian cotton textiles (Crill R., 2015:5).

***The Indian Loom*:** The first loom used in India to weave the cotton cloth of the third to seventh millennia BC were simple ground looms, in which the warp was stretched out in front of the weaver in a figure of eight, and had one fixed heddle-rod. This was

simple piece of wood with loops of strings (leashes) tied to alternate warp threads, which could be raised to create shed. Through which weft threads would pass to form the woven cloth. The loom that became the most widespread across the entire Indian subcontinent (and remains the most common type of handloom used today) was the pit loom, which was probably in use in India by 1000 B.C. This was basically a ground loom stretched over a shallow pit under the warp. All basic weaves that involved a single warp and single weft, could now be produced on the pit loom: additionally, with hand manipulation, the weaver could create discontinuous weft techniques such as brocading. Ground looms, pit looms and backstrap looms all require the warps to be stretched out in the tension in front of the weaver. Double weave such as *khes* were also produced on the pit loom, as were most of the other textile types woven in India until twentieth century (ed. Crill R., 2015:5).

Broudy further explains that the pit treadle loom is the earliest known treadle loom to be used in India. It is conceivable that a single-treadle loom preceded it, but no evidence to that effect has yet been discovered. According to some experts, the Indian loom probably changed but little in four thousand years. The loom as described in Mill's History of British India, consisted of two bamboo rollers, one for the warp and one for the cloth, and a pair of harnesses. The shuttle somewhat longer than the width of the warp, also served as the batten. The weaver suspended the harnesses from the branch of a tree under which he had dug a pit to accommodate his legs and the 'treadles' of the loom. These treadles consisted of a loop tied at the bottom of a string attached to each harness into which the weaver inserted his big toes for changing the sheds. The breast beam was pegged to the ground and warp was stretched out its full length. Other even more primitive versions of the pit loom undoubtedly existed in India. Because so little was needed in the way of the loom 'frame', the pit loom was ideally suited to an environment that offered little wood for construction. What continues to astonish textile historians is the delicacy of the fabric that was produced on such a crude tool. Mill as quoted by the author states: 'The weak and the delicate frame of the Hindu is accompanied with an acuteness of external sense, particularly of touch, which is altogether unrivalled: and the flexibility of his finger is remarkable. The hand of the Hindu, therefore, constitutes and organ adapted to the finest operations of the loom, in a degree which is almost or altogether peculiar to himself (Broudy E., 1979:105).

The pit loom may have followed some of the same trade routes as cotton, for it turns up in Sudan looking in the 1920s much like the primitive Indian pit loom. Whether the treadle originated in India with the pit loom is not known. Most authorities establish the invention of the treadle in China, but the weaving of both cotton and silk dates back to comparably obscure eras in India and China. The significance of the pit loom lies in the fact that it is possibly an evolutionary stage in the development of the modern treadle loom. How much it influenced subsequent loom development is unclear, but some of the trade routes from China passed through parts of northern India, much cloth was shipped at an early period out of Indian ports. It is entirely possible that some Indian technology was passed along with the muslins. Although it was used in Persia, Sudan, Egypt, and probably the Arabian Peninsula, the pit treadle loom itself did not follow the course of cotton west in Europe. By the time cotton was cultivated in Europe- probably not in significant quantities until the Venetian and Milanese enterprises of the fourteenth century- another kind of loom had made its way west from the Near east. This was the horizontal treadle loom, an adaptation of a loom that is believed to have originated in China (Broudy E., 1979:110,111).

The trajectory and loss: The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held in London in 1851 was hailed as a wonder of modern times. An array of Indian textiles selected by the East India Company were displayed in the exhibition. Leading figures in the organization of the Great Exhibition, such as Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave and Owen Jones were the advocates of the design reform movements. In seeking to educate manufacturers and the public about the principles of good design, they held up Indian textiles as worthy examples. Another primary objective of the Great Exhibition, and subsequent exhibitions was to facilitate trade between nations. The international exhibitions provided examples of textiles from which manufacturers could take inspiration and potentially reproduce and export. A set of 18 volumes entitled *The Textile Fabrics of India*, which contained fabric samples from across India, detailing their region, of reproduction, cost, weight and dimensions. Under the leadership of John Forbes Watson, these impressive sample books were distributed to chambers of commerce and school of art across Britain to function as guides to aid British manufacturers wishing to expand new markets.

For East India Company, India was the main market for British goods, and the benefits of this were already evident in the growth of the Lancashire Cotton mills since the 1780s, which by the 1830s were exporting fifty-one million yards of the fabrics to India. European fabrics made inroads into the markets for mid-range and fine fabrics. They appealed to the Indian population because of their low prices, quality, fastness to synthetic dyes and prestige of being able to dress in European cloth, which came to be regarded as cleaner as and finer than homespun. Indian weavers suffered because they were unable to compete with the quality and prices of imported fabric and were only able to maintain a hold on the market for either very coarse or extremely fine cloth. At the same time, India too was beginning to industrialize its textile production. The first cotton mills were established in Bombay and Ahmedabad from the late 1850s onwards (Patel, ed.Crill, 2015: 184-187).

The Swadeshi Movement: Khadi occupies a prominent place in discourses on the freedom struggle from the perspective of textiles. In keeping with ideas of swadeshi and self-manufacture, this fabric was used as a vital means for non-violent resistance to colonial rule. The Gandhian ethos of rural revitalization was taken forward by work of individuals like Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay and Pupul Jayakar, and with state support, eventually, into the founding of institutions such as the All India Handicrafts Board, the Weavers Service Centres and the Handicrafts and Handlooms Export Council, to enable infrastructure for the craft sector. From the early 1990, government institutions started becoming less responsive to the needs of the sector. Politics shifted gears, financial priorities changed with an almost exclusive focus on the urban, industrial and digital. The ensuing neglect of the rural craft sector was reflected in the phrase used by politicians and policy makers to describe the sector as a "sunset" industry, viewed through the lens of subsidies, rather than muscular economic activity contributing to GDP. Outside of direct government support, however, analogous developments were taking place across the country. Steady experiments, whether in small ateliers or at the grassroots ensured that some traditions were brought back to their original inspirations by both private and non-profit organizations (Kaul M. and Sethi R., 2016:14, 26).

Acclimatization and resurgence of hand skills in modern times: Even today, in homes, workshops, villages and factories across India incredible qualities of amazing textiles

are being produced. The producers and practitioners so far had managed to feed in the cultural requirements of rural India. Both the practioners as well as consumers have been adapting yet preserving and valuing the old customs. The changing times have gradually made the severe intrusions into the village weavers' traditional grip. Power looms' produce have recklessly substituted handlooms. In such a chaos, lucky few have managed to evolve the realm of the hand crafted textiles and others are exploring various dimensions associated with them in order to serve the purpose of design requirements. The approaches ranges from aspiration generation to mitigation of problems associated with handicrafts and handlooms.

Balram S. states that most of the artisan's work may be tradition base but creativity and innovation can be found in plenty in the way he adapts his creations to ever-changing needs. Innovations can be seen even in people's solutions to many day-to-day problems. These solutions too spring up from the demand or 'pull of economic and physical necessity as well as the urge or 'push' of the inherent imagination in him which is awakened by his constant keeping in 'touch' with the problem (Balram S. 2011:138).

There is a long tradition of NGOs working with textile communities across India to develop artisanal skills and generate ways of making an income, such as Dastakar, Sewa, Khamir, Kalaraksha and Somaiya Kalavidyalaya. Some of these NGOs teaches artisans about design and encourages them to explore their traditions in a contemporary context. The graduates from these places call themselves the artisan designers (Patel, ed.Crill, 2015: 218).

Maggie Baxtar discusses a case of 11.11/ Eleven Eleven brand that has connected the slow fashion movement as their brand's unique selling price. Reviving and preserving Traditional techniques as a genuine alternative to Industrial production and globalization is a fresher concept that is growing and being accepted upon by both the designers and the patrons. Another case discussed by Baxtar is of Playclan and Goodearth. Both being product design companies, explore digital designs and printing technologies on their products including textiles and tap into the collective psyche of 'Indianness' (Baxtar M: 2015:17, 134).

Divia Patel remarks that the constant adaptation of handskills continue to yet make an international impact. However, the emphasis has shifted from an appreciation of hand woven fabrics and designs as seen in the pre-independence period to a focus on handmade embellishment (Patel, ed.Crill, 2015: 215). Many designers like Stella Jean, Karl Lagerfeld, Marchesa, Isabel Marant and Jean Paul Gaultier has utilized India's rich and colourful heritage in terms of weaves, prints, cultural, colour story etc to come up with the perceived oriental exotic collections.

Many of these examples stated by Divya Patel along with the traditional Indian pieces lie together in the V&A museum explaining the relationship between the old and new, survival and extinction, handcrafted individuality and mass production.

2.1.2. Salience of Folk costumes and textiles in India:

Individual humans rarely live in isolation but gather together in social groups. The interactions of individuals living together and communicating on many levels have strong influences on how people dress. Social life, social class structure, social roles and changes or patterns in social behavior comprises of important areas in the field of costume study. Throughout history, clothing has served many social purposes (Tortora and Marcketti, 1989:4).

India and its people provide some of the most striking and colourful sights. Attire, adornment and decoration play a vital role in both material and spiritual aspects of life. Here, dress and ornament do more than simply protect and enhance the body- they nourish the soul (Bhandari: 2005:13). India has been experiencing the culture of the people coming from outside the land right from the beginning-be it the Greeks, the Kushans, the Mughals, or the British. And each one had something to share with the people living in the land- art, food, costumes or rituals. One of the most important carriers of the assimilation is the costumes.

Historically the richness of India's textile tradition is unparalleled, with a value that transcends mere economics. Cloth has always been present at all the major lifecycle and rituals in India, and is still visible in much of everyday religious observance and everyday customs. The subcontinent's unique natural resources of textile fibers and

dyestuffs have combined with millennia of ingenuity and innovation to create an astonishing array of fabrics. Almost every region developed its own textile specialties, whether in weave, dye, print or embroidery- and sometimes combination of several of these. Many of these specializations were based on the availability of local resources. Some of these specialisms retained their unique local characteristics over time.

Pre-partition India, explains Karun Thakur, was one of the world's richest and most diverse sources of 'folk textiles'- if by term one means textiles produced for personal, family or local community. One can easily think of thousands of examples from the nineteenth century when traditional textiles and costumes were first systematically studied and documented; one therefore assumes that this had probably always been the case across the Indian subcontinent. Some categories are still well known, for example hundreds of major and minor groups of embroideries produced by for each different tribal, religious or ethnic community in rurak Kutch, Kathiwar and Rajasthan in India's west, and adjacent Sindh in present-day Pakistan. The list of traditional 'folk textiles' can sometimes become blurred over the period of time. Local textiles produced in the home for personal use acquire a wider reputation, and offers are made to sell them or make new ones for sale. This may happen with textiles or almost anything originally made for use in home or local shrine; the artefacts gain a wider reputation and commercial production begins, so the distinction is not always obvious to an outsider. Originally, folk textiles are not commercially produced objects intended for sale outside ones' own community (Guy, Thakar and Crill,2014:133).

Most of which are still carried out in India today, where in spite of industrialization and the opening up of global markets, millions of people are still involved in making cloth by hand. While the number of weavers involved in hand weaving decreases from year to year, India's ministry of Textiles' Annual Report from 2013-2014 states that 'Handloom weaving is one of the largest economic activity after agriculture providing direct and indirect employment to more than forty-three lakh weavers and allied workers. This sector contributes nearly eleven percent of the cloth production in the country (Crill R. 2015:9).

Crill further states that some pieces of fabrics that were made and sold in India were fabrics sold in the bazaar to be used as household furnishings and dress. In many cases

the same rectangular length of cloth could serve as a shawl, bedcover, turban, baby-carrier, lungi, canopy, cradle, facecloth, container to carry one's belongings. The author adds that unstitched lengths of fabric are especially versatile in the subcontinent, as draped or wrapped garments have always been a staple element of India's wardrobe. From the turban, shawl and shoulder cloth to the dhoti, lungi and sari, these garments that can be used immediately and without any modification, exactly as they are when taken from the loom. In addition to local textiles specialities, the bazaar would provide plainer locally made cloth for utilitarian purposes. Unstitched and uncut pieces were considered ritually pure by Hindus as they had undergone a minimum of potentially polluting human touch. Garments requiring cutting and sewing were traditionally more favoured by Muslim society as they could be made to cover the body more fully (Crill R. 2015:81).

The folk tradition has several dimensions, or contexts, to researchers must attend if they are to understand it. These are;

- *The cultural context:* By this is meant all of the cultural knowledge one must possess to fully understand a piece of folklore and what it means to the people who transmit it. This includes the understanding of not just the meaning of the words of a piece, but also the social references it may make- references to particular customs and beliefs, the symbolic and metaphorical dimensions of items.
- *The performance context:* By this is meant the social and temporal contexts as well as the location in which a piece of folklore is performed. A large and important part of this is the social context- the social status of the performer and the social make-up of the audience. But the temporal context is important as well, and includes aspects of the time of the year and the time of the day.
- *The individual context:* Folklore does not just exist in a society, it exists in the lives of individuals. There is always a psychological element in the re-creation of a tradition.
- *The comparative context:* To fully understand a piece of folklore one must go beyond the particular event and often beyond the particular culture in which the event takes place. Specific motifs and tales can be found in many countries. Why? How did these situations come about? What can one say about an item of folklore,

they find in different cultures? Before one can answer these questions, one have to study the items in a comparative perspective (Claus P. and Korom F., 1991:40).

2.1.3. Gujarati Textiles- Production, Trade and Classification:

The cultural tradition identified by archeologists as 'Harappan', which is characterized by the emergence of settled agriculture and urbanization, probably endured as long in Gujarat as anywhere in western India. This complex was linked with Indus Valley Civilization. Available evidence from Gujarat indicates that Harappan settlements were sparsely distributed, and it is possible that pastoralists, with their own earlier traditions, occupied the intervening territory and were not only engaged in economic exchange with the settled communities but were also implicated in commerce between settlements. Several aspects of contemporary Gujarat finds parallels in Harappan times: methods of house-building, pottery-making techniques and the use of water-pots, the form of bullock cart, the importance of foreign trade, the cultivation of rice and wheat, and the occupational specialisations of areas within villages (Shah H. :88). Although, no textile survived from this period, archeological evidence in the form of spindle weights, cotton seeds, the impression of a woven textile found at a grave site and a fragment of cotton fibre reportedly dyed with madder, confirms that the people of the Indus Valley Civilization were cultivating and processing cotton.

The region of Gujarat was a major source of cotton for Harappan civilization, settling the stage for continued production of the crop in the state down to the present day. A carved steatite figurine retrieved from Mohenjodaro, dated about 2000 BCE, was draped in a mantle decorated with a repeated trefoil design. A similar pattern known as 'Kakkar' (meaning cloud) still features in the contemporary hand embroidery of Kachchh and is also blocked on ajrakh (Edward E., 2011:18).

By the first century CE, India was at the heart of a trading network that extended from the Mediterranean to China. Indian textiles were key commodities of the period. Gujarati merchants were key figures in that maritime world exploiting the coastal routes of the Arabian Sea and also the Indian Ocean from their home ports developed along the extensive Gujarat littoral. Boats sailed west to the ports of East Africa and the Middle East carrying goods that reached Egypt via the Red Sea and thence to the

markets of the Mediterranean world; others sailed east to the markets of Malaysia, Indonesia and China. By the end of the first millennium, the Hindu Banias (merchants) who had dominated trade Southeast Asia for several centuries were forced to relinquish their supremacy to Arabs and Indian converts to lslam, many of whom were from the trading and textile- producing communities of Gujarat, notably the Bohras (or Vohras). The first Arabian incursion into the subcontinent was in 643 CE when the ports in Sindh, Saurashtra and along the Gulf of Cambay were raided As a result of that contact Gujaratis were among the earliest converts to lslam in India. Gujarati trade with Southeast Asia rested on the highly profitable and refined exchange of Indian textiles for Indonesian spices: Gujarati cotton and silk textiles, as well as cottons from the coast, for pepper, nutmeg, mace and most sought after of all the spices – cloves. The lure of Gujarat's thriving trade attracted foreign merchants and accounts of those early travellers provide details of business activity in the state, in which the production and export of textiles was prominent.

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According to the Periplus the west coast was the prime trading area of India and Barygaze (later known as Broach, now Bharuch) on the Gulf of Cambay in Gujarat was not only the leading port of the day but was also a significant production center. The Periplus lists cotton textiles as Major trade goods from India, although the periplus mentions only the Red Sea trade, merchants from Gujarat , Bengal and the Coromandel Coast also dominated the sea-going trade in Southeast Asia during the first millennium. It is difficult to assess exactly when the Indian textile trade with the east was established but archaeological evidence suggests that Indian merchants were active in Southeast Asia by the first century CE, if not earlier. By the end of the first millennium, the Hindu *Banias* (merchants) who had dominated trade Southeast Asia for several centuries were

forced to relinquish their supremacy to Arabs and Indian converts to lslam, many of whom were from the trading and textile- producing communities of Gujarat, notably the Bohras (or Vohras).

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In the twelfth century, Chau ju- kua, the inspector of foreign trade in Fu- Kien in China, commented that, 'The native products [of Gujarat] comprise great quantities of indigo, myrobalan, and foreign cotton stuffs of every colour. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta-Shi [Arab of Persian] countries for sale. Marco Polo one of the first Europeans to visit Gujarat in the late thirteenth century, Gujarat's cotton cultivation and indigo production and was impressed by quality of its embroidery observing that, 'In this province of Gozurat…… they also work here beautiful mats in red and blue leather, exquisitely with figures of birds and beasts, and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire. These are marvelously beautiful things……'

Remarkably, there is material evidence of this trade. The oldest extant textiles from India are cotton fragments that ware retrieved from sites in Egypt. Notably Fustat and Quseir al-qadim remnants of the medieval trade that saw the dispersal of cotton textiles from Gujarati ports via the Red sea to Egypt and beyond. The fragments retrieved from sites in Egypt are strikingly similar to textiles found in Southeast Asia of a comparable age which have been preserved whole as '*Maa'*. The use of common techniques and designs is apparent: in some cases the textiles are identical, suggesting that Gujarati

crafts people were simultaneously supplying cloth and dress to communities thousands of miles apart, serving a widely dispersed export trade as the home market.

The Mughal Empire heralded a flowering of the arts and crafts in northern India under a system of royal patronage. Craftspeople were brought in from Persia and a Mughal style evolved that melded Islamic principles of design. Persian decoration and the vernacular styles of the subcontinent that influenced all aspects of material culture. Another Frenchman jean-Baptiste Tavernier, the particulars of indigo dyeing in Gujarat: 'The baftas, or cotton cloths required to be dyed red blue or black, are taken uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad because these two towns are near the places Where indigo is made, which is used in dyeing (Edward E.,2011).

Textiles were also a notable part of the tribute paid to the emperor by provinces under his sovereignty. In Gujarat this meant regular supplies to the court of the renowned Ahmedabadi silk brocades and chain stitched embroideries in silk and gold thread (jari). When Europeans first arrived at the trading centers of the Indian Ocean in the early sixteenth century, they discovered a highly organized trading system that was run by Arab, Indian and Chinese merchants. One of the earliest, the Portuguese traveler, Tome Pires, remarked open the prevalence of Gujarati merchants: 'There is no doubt that these people have the cream of the trade… There are Gujaratees settled everywhere'.

It was initially only as a sideline to the spice trade that indian cottons were brought to Europe. But by the beginning of the seventeenth century chintz from the Coromandel Coast and *baftas*, plain red and blue dyed cottons from Gujarat, had become significant commodities in their own right. The volume of goods from Gujarat and other parts of India supplied to Britain led to a considerable trade imbalance which had to be redressed with silver bullion. But as Mughal authority weakened in the eighteenth century the karkhanas dispersed and artisans sought employment at the regional courts other centres of production, and the British East India Company gradually assumed control of the administration of India (Edward E.,2011). .

It was in 1858 that queen Victoria launched what became known as the Raj---which lasted until Indian independence in 1947.Nonetheless, the First mechanised cotton mill was established in Mumbai in 1854. The first in what was to be the second principal

centre of the cotton industry in western India, Ahmedabad, come in 1861 through the initiative of Ranchhodlal Chhotalal and a group of local financiers. Indeed, so many mills were set up in subsequent years- including the Calico Mill (1880) which became one of the largest corporation in India- that the city earned the sobriquet of 'the Manchester of the East'. In the post-colonial period, Gujarat has embraced the policy of industrialisation that was launched by Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first prime minister of independent India. It has developed into one of the most heavily industrialised states in the Republic, where the historic culture of entrepreneurship has been supported by nodal agencies that were established in the early days of nationhood. In 1947, the year of independence, the Ahmedabad Textiles and Industrial Research Association (ATIRA) was founded and other key institution followed, notably the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) in 1961, and the National institute of design (NID) and the Centre for Environmental planning and Technology (CEPT) IN 1962 (Edward E.,2011).

2.1.4. Traditional draped garments of men in India

John Forbes Watson has described that before the invasion of Muslims, the art of sewing was rarely practiced in India. Anterior to that period, it is probable that nearly the whole clothing of the people comprised of loom made articles. Strict Hindus, as per him considered people who wore garments composed of several pieces sewn together as the one causing abomination and defilement. He had marked his observations as throughout India, Hindus had later adopted to wear made-up articles while Muslims then would frequently content themselves with the simpler covering which was more peculiarly the dress of the Hindus.

Turbans: The turbans are certainly the most eye-catching feature of the Indian man's attire ensemble writes Vandana Bhandari. She elaborates evidence of its existence is found in some of the earliest literary sources. It finds mention in the Vedas, where men are said to have draped an unstitched garment, usnisa, elegantly around their shoulders or on their heads. From the earliest times a hierarchy was established, that specified what type of headgear a person could wear. Although primarily a man's accessory, both literary and archeological evidence indicates that women also wore headgear. For example, in vedic literature, there is a reference to Indrani, wife of Indra, the king of the gods of the Hindu pantheon, wearing an usnisa. Some of the oldest sculputures in

Sanchi and Bharhut, which date to the first and second centuries A.D., testify to the existence of turbans. They are visible in paintings and find mention in folk songs, proverbs and literature (Bhandari V.: 2004, 113).

Chandramani Singh illucidated importance of Pagri (turban) being an important item of a man's attire. To appear bare-headed before elders was considered affront to them. Therefore, pagari was a compulsory headwear for people of all ages or class in society. One could appear in court without an angarkhi or achkan, but not without a pagri. Pagri was a status symbol. On the twelfth day of the father's death, it was ceremonial to crown the eldest son with a pagri before all the kith and kin. The pagri ceremony implied that the responsibility of maintaining the prestige of the family till now shouldered by the late father, falls henceforth on the son's head (1988: 34). While Sir Forbes Watson talked about the physical function of Pagri being a head cover. He writes as its chief function is the protection of the head from the heat of the sun, it was usually made up of fine muslin like texture, which when folded is at once light, bulky and porous thus admiringly fulfilling its main function. He wrote that of the materials employed in manufacturing of turbans, cotton occupies the first place. Besides being cheapest and most abundant it has the merit of being a good non-conductor and of permitting at the same time the free escape of perspiration. He further adds that of the materials employed in the manufacture of turbans, cotton occupied the first place. Besides being the cheapest and most abundant, it has the merit of being a good non-conductor and of permitting at the same time the free escape of perspiration. It is farther recommended by the fact that it admits of the ready introduction of colour materials for the purposes of adornment. Silk, however, is used to some extent by the higher class: - several places (like Seringapatam in old times) being famous for the manufacture of silk turbans.

Wool is not often used in the manufacture of the turban pieces; when it is used, they are generally in the form of small shawls, those of embroidered Cashmere cloth being good illustrations.

The tribe or caste to which the wearer belongs frequently determines the size and shape of the turban, and there are numerous varieties which take special names from their forms or from the materials of which they are made.
Following are some of the names by which the Turban, or Pugri, is known:-

- *Puttee-dar pugri:* a compact, neat turban, in very general use both by Hindus and Mahomedans.
- *Joore-dar pugri:* Similar to the *Puttee-dar pugri*, but has a knot on the crown. Worn also by Hindus and *Mahomedans.*
- *Khirkee-dar pugri*: full-dress turban of Hindu and *Mahomedan* gentlemen attached to native courts, and with the *Goshwara*, or band of brocade, is portion of an honorary dress presented on certain state occasions to persons of rank by native princes. In the lower provinces this is, however, worn by Hindus only.
- *Nustalik* : a full dress turban of the finest plain muslin, used with the court dress of *Mohomedan* Durbars, as at Delhi in olden times, and at Hyderabad This form was very small, and fitted closely to the head.
- *Chaveedar:* A form of turbans used by Mahomedans of Mysore and South of India. The court form of the ancient Beejapore monarchy, continued by Tippoo sultaun.
- *Sethi:* used by bankers, & e. A small form not unlike *Nustalik.*
    - *Mundeel:* Turban of muslin, with gold stripes, spots, and ends. Usually worn by military officers.
    - *Surbund/ Surbuttee/ Buttee*: Derived from *Sur* the head and the *Bandhua* to bind- Buttee signifying twisted or coiled round.
    - *Morassa*: A short turban.
    - *Umamu*: A loose turban.
    - *Shumla:* A shawl turban (Watson J..,1866)

Dhoti: The word dhoti or *dhotan* is generally traced to the Sanskrit word *dhauta*. It is one of the earliest known draped garments in India and continues to be worn even today (Bhandari V.: 2004, 105). B.N. Goswamy mentions that it went under different names including *antariyavasas, Kaupina, Kaupinavasas, pata, vasa*. He described that the dhoti falls from the waist and partially or fully covers the legs by the pleating, folding and knotting of an unstitched length of cloth. The fabric for a dhoti is woven as a single rectangular piece and worn without any cutting or stitching. These were worn depending upon individual taste and preference and there occurs elegant descriptions of the placings and type of knots of the dhoti at the waist (Goswamy B.N., 2000: 8). Its size varies from two to five meters in length and one to one and a half meters in width (Bhandari V.: 2004, 105).

The dhoti itself not being capable of varied too much in its cuts, the most fashionable among men preferred to show off their tastes in the knots which the dhotis were fastened. How the ends of the dhotis were left varied again from person to person, or with the regions, but the loose hanging dhoti is as much heard of as the one that had its ends taken from between the legs and tucked into the waist at the back, thus giving greater ease of movement to the legs, while adding a certain elegance to its appearance. But one does hear of dhotis trailing on the ground also, thus indicating that the styles and the lengths were many and dhotis were the universal male garment of India (Goswamy B.N., 2000: 8).

Cummerband or Patka: The cummerbund or patka is a waist band made from a long, narrow, strip of cloth. Cummerbund literally means 'article those ties around waist' and defines the function of the garment. The patka, on the other hand, is derived from the Sanskrit word patta and describes its more physical aspect, the closest meaning to this word being 'strip'. The ornamental fabric is placed around the waist and the long length wrapped several times around. It is then knotted, with its two ends falling gracefully down the front or on the left side. The article seems to be more decorative than functional in nature and found favour with royalty and nobility. The sumptuous garment is finely woven, often with gold and silver threads either in the patterning or worked into its body to add to its extravagant beauty. Fine block printing techniques and beautiful embroideries embellish the cummerbund. Cotton, silk, and, sometimes, wool was also used to make this accessory (Bhandari V.: 2004, 112).

Singh C. writes *patka* served two purposes- it girded up the loins and gave agility to the body and secondly, as the weapons were tucked in the waist band, the hands were free. (1988: 37)

Loongee/ Shoulder Clothes: Before the introduction of the art of sewing, the dress of the male Hindu, in addition to the head cloth, consisted of two scarf-formed pieces, one of which was worn over the shoulders and upper part of the body, and the other was used as the covering for the loins and legs. The first of these are called *Longee* and the second a dhotee. Loongees or scarfs for wearing over the body and shoulders, are of

the more importance because they afford greater scope for the introduction of those designs which were successfully employed in turbans.

The scarfs of shoulder cloths were manufactured in pairs, with a fag in between for convenience of separation. *Loongees* were worn over the shoulder in a variety of ways. The calico sheet called *Dohar*, was doubled and worn over the shoulders in winter. A scarf consisting of two pieces stitched together in order to increase the widths were called *dupatta* or *dopatta*. Silk and wool loin clothes, or combination of both were *Pitamber* and were worn at the times of meal. At the meal time, the Brahmin or the other strict Hindu were ought to wear no other garment than a *Pitambe*r, the head and the body to the waist being covered (Watson J..,1866).

2.1.5. Geography of producing area and morphology of producers and patrons:

Gujarat is derived from the word Gujaratta that is land protected by or ruled by the Gurjar, or from Gurjar – rashtra, the country inhabited by the Gurjars. The Gurjara people lent their name to the territory first known as Gurjara. The identity of Gujarat emerged around sixth century A.D. Gurjardesha, Gurjara Ratta and Gurjar Mandala were the terms earlier used to denote the region around Mt. abu including southern Rajasthan and parts of North Gujarat. The word Gujarat for a larger region including Lata and Saurashtra (or Surath) of southern Gujarat gained currency during Chalukya period (942-1299 A.D.). The Arab traders called the entire region Gujarat. Thus, the territorial identity of Gujarat gradually evolved. The present day space inhabited by the people speaking Gujarati language was recognized as a separate linguistic region after the reorganization of the states in 1956. Saurashtra or Surath was the good country or the land of good people. Kathiawar derived its identity from the Kathi, its dominant ruling lineage once upon a time. Gujarat's identity is defined interlaid by language, territory, dress, cuisine, folklore, artistic traditions, and local customs and so on. Gujarati which is derived from Sanskrit, evolved from Saurseni Prakrit and Gaurjara apabhransa, and acquired a distinct character around twelfth century A.D.

The state is divided into four eco-cultural zones, defined by dialects (i) North Gujarat where Charotari is spoken comprises the districts of Panchmahal, Sabarkantha, Banaskantha Mehsana, Kheda, Anand, Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar. (ii) South

Gujarat dominated by Gujarati speakers consists of the districts of Valsad, Bharuch, Vadodara, Surat and Dangs. (iii) Saurashtra zone where Kathiawadi is spoken, covers Junagadh, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Amreli, Surendranagar and Bhavnagar districts, and (iv) Kutch (Kachchh) where Kachchi is spoken, the western most district of Gujarat (Singh K.S., 2003). Clusters of communities unique to each of the four regions of Gujarat such as; ***Saurashtra*:** Patanwadia, Patni Jamat, Patni Vankar, Khant, Kathi, Sathwara, Sindhi Luhana, Rabari, Machhi, Turi Barot, Turk Jamat, Sepai Jamat, Vanjha, Langha, Wagher, Wandharo, Bhatia, Girnara Brahman, Depala, Brahmakshatri, Gavli, Bafan, Memon, Charan, Ahir Boricha, Ahir Sorathia, Ahir Paratharia, Ahir Maschoiya, Kharwa, Makrani, Baloch, Arab.

Kutch: Raysipotra, Romya, S.amma, Sumra, Theba, Attarwala, Saraswa Brahman, Bharwad, Bhopa Rabari, Miyana, Jat Muslim, Bohra Alivi, Jadeja Rajput, Haolaypotra, Hingora, Hingorza, Ker, Khaskali, Langha, Majothi, Manka.

South Gujarat: Anavil Brahman, Bhil Vasava, Thakore/Thakrada. Patel, Rathodia, Tai, Kunbi, Varli, Kotwalia, Lad Bania, Mahar, Maharashtrian, Mangela, Kokna, Kolgha, Bairagi Bawa, Bhavsar, Bhisti, Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu, Chaudhari, Dubla, Dhodia, Padmasali, Parsi.

Northern Gujarat: Anjana Patel, Vayati, Tirgar, Thori, Patelia, Pomla, Rathore, Bhil, Vyapari, Vahivancha Barot, Vahivancha Charan Gadvi, Targala, Madari, Nododa Rajput, Barot, Audichya Brahman, Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Banjara, Goelalare, Gollalare, Bohra Alivi, Dudhwala, Kagzi, Godha, Golsinghare, Damor, Gamit, Humad, Jew, Madali.

2.1.5.1. Regions and Districts under study:

I. North Gujarat: The region of North Gujarat includes three districts namely Patan, Mehsana and Banaskantha. Patan and Mehsana, replete with architectural excellence, represent the height of Gujarat's cultural achievements during the Golden period of Solanki rule. Patan is the historic town, formerly known as Anahilvada-Patan. It was Gujarat's capital city for more than 600 years. It was founded in 746 by Chavda rulers, ruled by Solanki Rulers (942-1244) and later by Vaghelas. It is a home to Rani ki Vav, Patola weavers and the Bohra Havelis at Sidhhpur. Banaskantha, at the

northeastern periphery of Gujarat, is characterized by undulating hills and forests from Aravali Range (Desai A., 2007: 214).

Ahmedabad: In the early eleventh century the area of Ahmedabad was known as Ashaval and was ruled by a Bhil chief. In 1074, the Solanki King Karnadev defeated the Bhils and built a neighbouring settlement called Karnavati. A little more than three centuries later, King Ahmed Shah of the Gujarat Sultanate was hunting on the banks of the river Sabarmati when the unusual sight of a hare chasing a hound caught his attention. Impressed by the act of bravery he decided that precinct must possess some miraculous quality. In 1411, he shifted his capital from Patan to Ahmedabad, which would evolve into Gujarat's most eminent city.

The rich mercantile class has played the important role in the prosperity of the city. As traders, they dealt primarily in indigenous materials and commodities- cotton textiles and indigo. They also traded in luxury goods but promoted local value addition by local craftsmen. This brought prosperity not only to themselves but also to the city and its surroundings. The trading classes were generally Jain and Hindu, while the master craftsmen were Muslims. This led for the comfortable symbiosis between the different communities. By catering to a wide clientele ranging from ordinary people to royalty, the merchants ensured that the business never suffered irreversible setbacks. As investors, they supported anything from new enterprises to military campaigns. While ethical in personal lives, they were indifferent about what they traded in or financed, as long as there was profit to be made. The city was about business and was well linked to the important ports of Khambhat and to flourishing markets in surrounding regions and in faraway Delhi, Agra, Rajputana and Malwa. Entrepreneurs adopted technical know-how from other parts of India and from abroad. It was through these efforts that the city earned its nickname- "Manchester of the East"(Desai A., 2007: 83).

II. **Saurashtra:** The Saurashtra peninsula is in the Western part of Gujarat on the Arabian sea coast. The name Saurashtra continued till the middle of the eighteenth century. When the Marathas invaded this area they had to fight the Kathies; and they named the region Kathewad or Kathiawad. Saurashtra, "the land of Hundred Kingdom", was divided among some 220 princely states before becoming the part of Gujarat. It was popularly known as Kathiawar for the Kathi tribe that migrated to

Gujarat around the 7th- 8th C. AD. The different theories about their geographic roots unanimously point north of Saurashtra. Most places in the peninsula retain a small town feel, local cadences of Gujarati called Kathiawadi, and a tradition of a daily siesta when everything shuts down. The region abounds in religious shrines, wild life sanctuaries, palaces and relics of royal legacies. From the Asiatic lions of Gir and the Jain temples of Palitana to ancient ruins scattered in Barada hills and the laid-back Portuguese- influenced enclave of Diu, the region offers a wide spectrum of fascinating places to visit (Desai A., 2007:240).

From the old records maintained by the Barot genealogists containing the family histories of Saurashtra and from the Persian documents, it is known that under the Chudasma and Muslim rulers, Saurashtra was divided into nine territorial units. The Barot describes Nav-ghan as the acclaimed rule of Nava-Saurashtra. Abul Fazal, mentions Sorath having nine divisions, namely, Prabhas Kshetra, Dwarka Kshetra, Panchal, Bhal, Halar, Zalawad, Gohelwad, Babariwad and Kathiawad. Watson mentions ten divisions: Zalawad, Machchu, Kantha, Halar, Okha Mondal, Baradi Sorath, Babariawad, Gohilwad, Undar-Saravaiya and Kathiawad (Naik and Pandya : 3). Under the Sultanate of Guajrat, Saurashtra was divided into five divisions, namely, Halar, Gohilwad, Zalawad, Sorath and Kathiawad. These continued under the British rule. Following reorganisation of states in 1956, the present state of Gujarat was formed on 1st May, 1960 with the following districts of the Bombay state: Jamnagar district (Halar and Okha Mondal), Bhavnagar district (former Gohilwad), Surrndranagar district (the old Zalawad), Junagadh district (Sorath and Porbandar) and Rajkot district consisting of the old Kathiawad territory.

Surendranagar: Both geographically and culturally, Surendranagar is the interface between Gujarat and Saurashtra. To its north and east is Little Rann of Kachchh, home of the Indian Wild Ass. The eastern boundary of the district roughly coincides with what several thousand years ago may have been a sea channel connecting the Gulf of Khambhat with the Rann, when it was an extention of the Gulf of Kachchh. Even today, the narrow strip of land between the two gulfs is flat and barely a few meters above sea level. The district has various attentions such as the Wild Ass Century near Dasada, the eleventh century gates of Jhinjhuwada and the colourful tarnetar fair. It has three

medieval towns, capitals of erstwhile princely states such as Wadhvan, Dhrangadra, Halvad and Limbdi with their forts, palaces, gates, stepwells and temples.The countryside is practically littered with stepwells and the ruins of the ancient temples. Cotton plantations comprise a major part of surendrangar's income and a significant share of the state's cotton production. Thangadh, near Tarnetar, is a major center for ceramic production. The districts northern edge along with the little Rann is lined with salt panes in which brine is accumulated and evaporated in the sun, leaving behind slat which is collected and purified in factories. Surendranagar town, on the Bhogavo River, is not very old by Indian standards. It was established by the British in the nineteenth century during the reign of Maharaja Surendrasinhji, as an extension of the much older Wadhvan (Desai A., 2007:298).

Limbdi: The capital of a princely state in Jhalawad, Limbdi was a prosperous cotton trading center between Saurashtra and the rest of the mainland Gujarat. The arcaded bazaar, a conscious attempt in urban design, terminates at the handsome palace that has now been converted into the Vivekanand Memorial.

Jamnagar: Once known as Sudamapuri for its association with Krishna's childhood friend, Sudama, the city of Porbandar is best known as the birthplace of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The Jethwa Rajputs named it their capital and ruled from here for 1,200 years. Its central position between Veraval and Mandvi allowed the port to flourish in trade, mainly with Arabia and Africa. It continued to thrive during the Mughal rule, so much that the Portuguese attacked it in 1531, burning boats and looting civilians to establish their power along the Saurashtra coast (Desai A.,2007).

Porbandar: Until it's merger with the Indian union at Independence, Nawanagar was one of the more important princely state of Saurashtra. It was established by Jam Raval in the 16th c. and ruled by his descendants. The capital was Jamnagar which now gives the district its name. Legend associates the area with Krishna, who migrated from Mathura and established his kingdom in Dwarka. The Jams trace their ancestry to Krishna's Yadav clan During his reign, Jam Ranjitsinhji (1907-33) developed a city based on the western model inspired by his extensive exposure to Europe (Desai A.,2007).

III. Kachchh: A region of environmental extremes, Kachchh extends from the salty marshes in the north and east through grasslands of Banni and the central highlands down to the verdant coast along the Guf of Kachchh. During summertime the seawaters recede, leaving behind a broad swath of salinw swamps, otherwise known as the Ranna of Kachchh. When the rains submerge the Ranns, the land becomes a virtual island resembling the back of a turtle, which is called kutcho in the local language and gives the region its name. The coast and the marshlands attract many migratory and domestic birds, including giant flocks of flamingo.

From the Great Rann rise sporadic outcrops of firm land known locally as beyt (island). Excavations on one such beyt known as Khadir have unearthed the most significant city outside Pakistan, of the 5,000 year-old Indus Valley Civilisation. The seals and pottery discovered here suggest that it was a bustling port, with links to places as far as Zanzibar and Mesopotamia. Throughout the history of Kachchh, until the advent of railways, the region was an important node on the trade routes in this part of Asia. This mercantile tradition has endowed Kachchhis with an inclusive worldview that long preceded colonisation and globalisation. Extensive contact with the world has fostered a rich ethic mix in Kachchh while the contact with Sindh, a neighbouring region in Pakistan, has been particularly important in shaping its cultural contours, especially language, cuisine and crafts (Desai A.,2007).

2.1.5.2. People: (Vankar, Barot, Vaniya, Bharward, Rabari, Charan, Ahir)

The section encompasses brief literature study on the communities coming under the purview of study in terms of their history, origin, culture and lifestyle.

1. **Mahyavanshi Vankar:**

Gujarat state gazetteer states that the predominant schedule caste in the district of Ahmedabad and Surendranagar was Vankar including Maru vankar; Chamar or Bhambhi; Mehtar and Shemna.

Origin: Perez M., writes that Vankar, from the verb *vanvu*, “to weave,” means weaver. She establishes that the link between weaving and untouchability is not uniform throughout India.

Sects and sub-divisions: The *Vankar* derive their name from the traditional profession of weaving. They are also known in some parts of the state as *Meghwal Ganeshya, Harijan, Dhed* etc. The original home of the *Mahayavanshi vankars* is Patan in the district of Mehsana from where they migrated to other districts of Gujarat after Independence. It is said that during the reign of Sidhraj when the *Sahasralinga* lake became dry due to the curse given by *Jasma*, a virtuous man Maya (from vankar community) volunteered to be sacrificed so that the *Sahasralinga* lake would again be full of water. Thereafter, the *Vankar* came to be known as *Mayavanshi Vankar*. They are schedule caste community. Their total population in Gujarat, according to 1981 census, was 1049837 (including *Dedh, dhedh,Vankar, Maru vankar)*. They speak Gujarati language and use gujarati script. *Mahyavanshi Vankar* are distributed in Patan area of Mehsana district. *Daskoshi Vankar* lives in villages falling under *Daskori* area, while *Maru vankar* belonged to *Marwar* region of Rajasthan. Other than these groups, there are vankars who settled in the city of Ahmedabad in late eighteenth or nineteenth century and considered Ahmedabad as their *Mulgam* (native place) and call themselves *Mugami Vankar*. All these groups are characterized by cultural distinctions and they maintain strict endogamy among themselves. The *Mahayavanshi Vankar* has clans (*ataks*). Some of these are Solanki, Parmar, Rathore, Makwana, Chauhan, Vaghela, Gohel, Chavda, etc. All these clans enjoy equal status. The prime function of hese clans is to regulate marriage alliances.

Social status: They consider themselves lower to other communities like Rajputs, Brahmans, Thakur, Ravalia, Koli, Bharwad, Rabari, Vaghri, etc. but higher than Chamar, bhangi, Senwa, Turi and Adia. Being a scheduled caste, they do not mix with other socially high placed communities freely, especially in the rural areas by tradition. So they reside on the outskirts of the village and outside the walled city in urban areas. They have a separate well, burial place etc. in rural areas, milk cooperatives accept milk and ration shop provides rations. However, they keep their distance. The community has scholars, artists, teachers and they are ready to go to any part of the state to seek jobs.

Marriages and rituals: Mates are acquired through negotiation by parents and elders. Marriages are arranged by parents through negotiation. Parents of both sides get

themselves satisfied first and thereafter, the boy and girl are asked to see each other and their formal approval is sought. Marriage day is fixed by the priest or Garoda.

Joined as well as nuclear types of families are common among the community. Daughter-in-law observes *parda* in front of father-in-law and husband's elder brother. Joking relations exists between man and his wife's younger sister and between a woman and her husband's younger brother. Only the sons are entitled to inherit ancestral property after the death of their father. The eldest son succeeds after the death of the father. It is his duty to take care of all kind of obligations like payment of loan, education and marriage of younger brothers and sisters. The women of *Mahyavanshi vankar* do not enjoy equal status. They have no right of inheritance. They help in economic activities besides their domestic chores.

Occupation: The traditional occupation as well as principle source of livelihood of *Mahyavanshi Vankar* is weaving. They are also engaged in agriculture, government service and as labourers in textile mills. They totally depend on the local market for their day-today needs. The medium of exchange is cash. Child labour exists.

There exists a *Jati Panchayat* (caste-council) among the community. Nine to ten villages together constitutes a *Tad* consisting of sixteen to twenty members that is two members from each village. Its main function is to settle all kinds of local disputes. If a *Tad* fails, to solve their problems, then cases are referred to *Paragana Panchayat* on *Nyat Panchayat*. Malpractices, divorce, theft and violation of social norms of the community are the common type of cases which occur among the *mahyavanshi vankars*. *Jati Panchayat* had a right to boycott the defaulter or fine him. Money collected in this way is spent for the welfare of community by constructing *Dharamshalas, Mandirs*, and by providing financial assistance to the needy. The level of literacy among the community is very high when compared with the general rate of literacy as reported for scheduled caste. Their attitude towards family planning is positive. They avail of modern medical facilities. They receive benefits of the special component scheme introduced by the state Government of Gujarat (Krishna G., 2002:807-811).

2. Rabari:

Origin and history: The Rabari link their origin with Shiva and their mythical ancestors, Sambal, whom Shiva created out of his sweat to look after the camel which he created. Another version is that Shiva made Parvati look after the camel until one day she refused to do so any longer. So he made a doll of grass, put life into it and entrusted the camel to its care- to the care of the first Rabari. According to another account, Shiva gave Sambal three apsaras, celestial damsels, as wives, from whom he had a son and four daughters. Shiva, the ascetic god, then asked Sambal, now he had a huge family, to leave his celestial abode and live outside. According to yet another tradition, the Rabari were originally Rajputs who, instead of marrying Rajput women, married Apsaras, a sin the legend. Subsequently they were called Rahabaris, "goers out of the path", because they did not marry Rajput women (Randhawa T.S.: 1996:93).

When Hieun Tsang passed through Kachchh in the 7th century, he linked it with the kingdom of Sindhru and described Koteshwar on the northwestern corner of the region. At about this time there are some clear references to the Ahirs, Rabaris and Kathis inhabiting parts of Kachchh. But J. Jain maintains that the first Rabari settlements in Kachchh dates back to the 14th and 15th century around events in Lakhpat- Nakhatrana areas (Randhawa T.S.: 1996).

It appears that the original home of the Rabari was Marwar, from where they spread into other parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Those of Kachchh appear to have taken a different route altogether. R.E. Enthoven traces Rabari origins to the time of Allauddin Khilji, when they lived in Jhalrapatan (Rajasthan). In one of his expeditions to Rajputana, alla-ud-din heard of the extra-ordinary beauty of a Rabari girl of that place and wanted to marry her. The Rabari craved a short respite to consider the matter, giving their bards as hostages. They then secretly left the place, and wandering west came to Nagar summa in Sind, where a Sumra prince was ruling. He gave them shelter. This kingdom was destroyed by a Muslim invasion in 1350 A.D. forcing the Rabaris to take refuge with the Samma Rajputs and flee with them to settle in Kachchh. They never forgot the kindness of Nagar Summa King who suffered misfortune on their account so, to this day, women wear white cuda bracelets and black shawls as a mark of mourning (Randhawa T.S.: 1996).

Between the 15th and 17th centuries, Rabaris were divided into culturally distinct groups. Between 1955 and 1956 when borders were sealed between Sindh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, most of the Rabaris remaining in Sindh fled to India. Their language has strong Marwari and Punjabi elements mixed with the local regional language.

Migration and formation of sub-sects: The earliest settlement of Rabaris in cutch was Morchimana, a village near Matano Madha in Lakhpat District. Vagham Chavda Gadha and Ghuntali, the two villages with which the first advent of Sammas in Cutch is associated, were also situated in or near the same district, a circumstance which lends support to their belief that they came to cutch with the Sammas about the year 1320. The Rabari further attribute the easy terms on which they hold land in Cutch to their devotion to the present ruling tribe of Cutch. So complete was their exodus from Sind that not a single family was left. The present Rabari families in sind are immigrants from Cutch. Some of the Rabari families, especially those in anjar and Vaghad, appear to have come from Marwar.

Migrations took many routes in Gujarat resulting in settlements of regional sub-groups. In Kutch the Kutchi, Dhebaria and Wagadia Rabaris spread in contiguous territories in the central belt of the region. Jhalavadi, Panchali, Gohilvadi, Vadhiyara, Machhukatha Rabaris migrated from eastern Kutch in the fifteenth century to the eastern Saurashtra peninsula, passing through the Rann to north Gujarat and south into Jhalavad region. Jhalavadis, Panchalis and Gohilwadis settled in Surendranagar, Panchali and Gohilvadi territories. Here they remained one endogamous intermarrying sub-group till about 60 years ago. Bhopas living in the northwest of Saurashtra, fissioned from Kutch and Dhebarias of western Kutch, migrated east to Vaghad in the fifteenth century, then south through the Rann into the Saurashtra and west to Halar. In the fifteenth century, apparently a Marwari princess was given in marriage to the King of Junagadh. She was accompanied by cattle herds and Rabaris. Thus the sorathis migrated directly from Rajasthan into north Gujarat and the Sorath region of southern Saurashtra in the forests of Junagadh. Patanvadi Rabaris of north Gujarat live near Patan where the highest percent of Rabaris are found in India. They herd cows and buffaloes, own farmland and have not transmigrated for over thirty years.

Sects, sub-sects, clans and regional variations: This great pastoral group is spread over the western plains of India from Rajasthan to Kachchh. They are Hindu camelmen and drivers, shepherds and cattle-breeders. The areas that Rabaris currently inhabit are indigenously recognized as four basic regions: Kutch, Saurashtra, North Gujarat and Rajasthan, hence, presently falling into three distinct, endogamous, regional and tribal group: those of Rajasthan (Chunwalia), of the central area of Gujarat (Patanwalia) and of the erstwhile princely state of Kachchh, now also in Gujarat. They are also called Rahwari, Raika (in Rajasthan) and Bhopa (in Gujarat). There are further sub-divisions, according to region (like th Daysee-Kachela, Dhebaria, Wagadia of Kachchh) or by their various clans. There is even one Pitalia section around Jaisalmer which, in keeping with their name, may not wear ornaments of any metal other than brass. Each has its own social habits, language, dwellings, dress and ornaments but, as a group they have maintained their distinct style over the centuries in spite of the differences that have shaped their history.

Of the three groups in Kutch, only Wagadias appeared in the 1981 census as a scheduled tribe, numbering 7,806, and they still lead a semi-nomadic lifestyle. Kutchi Rabaris can be found in western regions from Lakhpat to Nakhatrana and in areas sarrounding Bhuj. Dhebaria Rabaris, south and south east of Bhuj in areas around Anjar, Mandvi, Rappar. Wagadia Rabaris of eastern Kutch in Samakhiali, Vaghad and Rappar Talukas. Patanvadis in Mehsana district of north Gujarat; eastern Saurashtra has Jhalavadi of Surendranagar, Machhukatha of Morbi, Panchali of Jasdan, Vadhiyara of Amreli, and Gohilvadis of Bhavnagar district. Western Saurashtra has Sorathi of Junagadh and Gir forest, and Bhopa of Dwarka. Inter marriage among subgroup is forbidden, resulting in fragmented groups with each village and community maintaining a very distinct identity.

Religious practice and celebrations: The Rabaris are Hindu by religion, worshipping the mother Goddesses, Ramdev Pir, horsemen heroes and the sainted dead. Some are followers of Jogi, Nath Bawas and other sects. They still worship the goddess Hinglaj and before partition of the subcontinent, used to make pilgrimages to her shrine in Baluchistan. The seat of one of their tribal goddesses, sikotra, is at Jodhpur.

Marriage and other rituals: Earlier they used to have child marriages but not so much now. In parts of Kachchh, in late summers, after the monsoon rains and their year's wanderings, they celebrate all marriages on one day only: Gokul Ashtami, the birthday of Lord Krishna.

3. Bharwads:

Origin and history: Regarded as offshoots of the ancient Yadukul or Nandbaba of Gokul, Bharwads claim to have come to Gujarat with lord Krishna. From Gokul to Mewar, then on to Gujarat, Kathiawar and Kachchh, they are closely related to Rabaris. (Mehta M: 2001: 26). These are the pastoral group, mainly seen in the Saurashtra region of present day Gujarat. They are sturdy, handsome lot, friendly and frolicking. Their extroverted nature distinguishes them clearly from other pastoralists and their flamboyant spirits along with the nomadic feelings of hospitality are not dampened even during the worst of droughts. The Bharwad are fond of merriment and at the proverbial drop of a hat they will break into their famous dance, the dandiya ras, especially at their annual sojourn to the Tarnetar temple in the Surendranagar district of Gujarat. More than anything else, this zest for life provides relevance for their mythical association with Lord Krishna (Randhawa T.S.: 1996: 92).

The term *Bharwad* is reported to be modified form of the word 'Badawad' and 'bada' means sheep and 'wada' in Gujarati refers to compound or enclosure. The person who possess compounds or pens in this caste of shepherds were known as Badawad which in course of time came to be known as Gadarias. In south Gujarat they were referred to be known as 'Ahirs'. The Gazatters of amreli (1973) states that Bharwad is a caste of Shepherds. There are various versions of the origin of the Bharwads. According to one version stated by Enthoven (1920) which connoborated by the origin myths of the community, is that Gokul Vridavan near Mathura was their original home. They then migrated to Mewar in Rajasthan and finally to Gujarat where they spread out. Another version states that the Bharwad originated from Bharude, a community of cattle herders in Madhya Pradesh. They might be a section of the Ahirs of Gujarat since the occupation of Ahir is also Cattle breeding. According to another account, during the eighteenth century, a tribal leader, Anavil Bharuvad, helped King Vanraj Chavda to recapture the kingdom which chavada's father had lost to an enemy. The people who call themselves as Bharwads are descendents of Anavil Bharwads and his associates.

They are mainly distributed in Jungadh, Rajkot, Surrendranagar and Bhavnaagar districts. They are also found in other parts of the state (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:194).

Randhawa also writes, though the original home of the Bharwad was said to be Gokul Vrindavan near Mathura, according to one story, they are of the same Hindu caste as the Mehers, to which Krishna's foster father, Nand Meher, belonged. From Gokul they are said to have moved to Mewar and from there to Gujarat, especially to the Saurashtra or Kathiawar region and even Kachchh. According to an early census classification (Baroda 1901), the section of the bharwad which tends sheep only is known as Gadaria, from gadar, meaning sheep (Randhawa T.S.: 1996: 92).

Sects, sub-sects, clans and regional variations: Bharwad sub-groups are Alari or Halari in Jamnagar, Bareli in Barala, Dungar in Junagadh, Raajkotia in Rajkot, Jhalawadi in Surendranagar, Wadhwania in Limbdi, Chuwar in Dasada, Khakhariya in Vadhiyar, Radhanpuri in Radhanpur, Banasia in Banaskantha, Haveli in Ahmedabad and Bhal in the Bhal region (Mehta M: 2001: 26). Enthoven (1920) writes that Bharwads numbered 95, 832 according to 1901 census. The population of Bharwads (1961 census) in Alech, Barda and Gir forests of Junagadh and a part of Jamnagar district was 59 and 531 respectively. They were forcibly evicted from 'neses' (settlement) of Gir forest and being rehabilitated in some of the villages of Junagadh district by the forest department. They communicate in Gujarati. They use Gujarati script. In Alech, Barda and Gir forests they are listed as Schedule tribes (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:194). In other areas, like Surendranagar district, they are classified as Other Backward Castes (OBC). They also live in Kachchh, spilling over from their home region of Kathiawar (Mehta M: 2001: 27).

The Bharwad is Saurashtra is divided into two endogampous groups' viz. *Motabhai* and *Nanabhai*. The two endogamous divisions viz. *Motabhai* and *Nanabhai* intermix freely. The origin of these two divisions is traced to a myth; Goverdhan Giri was worshipped by *Motabhai* so that the community could get abundant pastures. The Bharwads of south Gujarat are considered to be lower in social status to Saurashtra bharwads and they only give their daughters in marriage to the latter. Each division has a number of *atak* or *kul* (clan) among *Motabhai* Bharwads. Some of them among the *Motabhai*

bharwads are Rathadia, Jadav, Yadav, Matia, Sania, Bathela, Gomara, Kathodo, Mundhva, Dharangia, Colthar, Pancha, Dabi, Garia, Sasda, Babha, Lambaris, Dhangia, Ker, etc. Amongst the south Gujarat Bharwads, some of the clans are Chanduka, Rokadka, Kalwamia, Jodika, Gundayra, Kuhadiya, Khohadya, Dhahika. The first three clans amongst Motabhai claim higher status and inter marry among themselves. The chief function of the clans is to regulate mate selection. Those of Saurashtra tend to suffix the term Ahir or the clan name while those of south Gujarat suffix Patel to their name. They consider themselves at par with the castes like Rajput, Lohana, Vania, Charan and Darjee in the local social hierarchy. They claim that they are ranked above artisan communities like Suthar (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Kumhar and far above Vaghri, Bhangi, Chamar, Dubla and Naika and the Bharwad say that they belong to *Vaisya Varna*. Being pastoral they interact with a vast array of neighboring communities but for ritual purposes they keep to themselves. They do not accept or exchange food with Bhangi, Mochi, Chamar and Vaghri; however, they do so with the Lohars, Koli, Bania, Patel etc. the bharwads share facilities of road, drinking water, school, crematorium, temples and places of worship and offices of statutory councils with neighboring communities (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:195).

Costumes: The women in Bharwad community wear *Kaachuru* and Bandi as the upper and lower garment respectively. Men usually wear an ear ring made of silver called *variyo*. The length of turbans differs among the divisions of Bharwads. The symbols of the married women are *balliya* (ivory bangles), *vermillion* in the hair parting and *mangal sutra* (necklace) (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:196).

Essential to the dress of the men is an embroidered jacket, a *kedia*. Earlier it used to be hand-embroidered by their womenfolk but nowadays it is also embroidered by machine, on white or coloured material, with brightly coloured threads which can even be of the metallic variety, silver and gold. The *pachedi* or lower garment also has embroidery on it, not repetitive, but bold isolated patterns which stand out on the white, red, blue or green background cloth. The mojadi they wear on the feet are also ornately finished, with or without embroidery, with circular metal rivets laid out in geometric patterns. At the toe the mojadi extends into a pre-fixed, turned-in spout. Round his head, if he is a youth, the Bharwad will bind a brightly hued scarf knotted on the side in a breezy manner. If older, he will wear a white turban. Pierced into the top part of his ear,

weighing it down, will be heavy gold buttons called bhungari. The women are also sturdy and walk with a flowing stride. They wear a long skirt of a dark material and an embroidered bodice open at the back, loosely fitting the bosom and which just reaches the skirt. There will be ornaments hanging from the top part of the ear called loriyer, as well as from the lower part called nangli, a silver necklace, a sankli, and a garland of coin-like rings fixed on a coloured thread, falling to below the breasts, with a heart-shaped pendant called jibro. Heavy bracelets of ivory, which are now giving way to plastic, are worn along with silver ones. Silver rings adorn the fingers and the great toe. Heavy silvers anklets are seen below the hemline (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:196, Randhawa T.S.: 1996).

Occupation: The bharwads are pastorals who are permitted to graze their sheep and cattle in certain demarcated areas of reserved forest. Some bharwads possess dry agricultural land under Satharnal Scheme (1968). Besides the traditional means of subsistence such as grazing livestock, they earn their livelihood as agricultural laboureres. Although economic transaction takes place through cash medium, yet bharwads prefer to bartar seven to nine goats for a cow within themselves. Children work as Govan (shepherd boy) or as agricultural laboureres. Besides household chores, taking care of herds and flocks and collecting fuel and fodder, a woman contributes to family income by working as agricultural labourers (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:198). Apart from rearing cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, Bharwad sell milk in villages and towns. They are also paid in grain or cash for penning their flocks in empty fields as the droppings are highly valued manure (Randhawa T.S.: 1996).

Culture: The bharwads are vegetarian. The Gazetter of India- Amreli district (1972) states that Bharwads are non-vegetarian. *Jawar, bajra* are the common cereals they take. Occassionally wheat and rice are also taken. Pulses like tur (pigeon pea) and grams are consumed. They consume available vegetables and fruits. During festivals they eat homemade sweets like Ladu, Bundi, Lapsi, etc. the only change is the gradual switching over to a vegetarian diet under the impact of various socio-religious movements (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:198).

The bharwads profess Hinduism. Lord Krishna is considered the supreme God. Each clan has its own deity whose blessings are sought by newlywed couples. Their chief deity is *Masai Mata*. Worship of the deity is particularly common in those few villages

inhabited by a considerable number of Bharwads. At the regional level they have temple of *Masai Mata* worshipped by rural Bharwads. The most important sacred center is located at Morbi in Rajkot district. Desara, Diwali, Janamashtmi and Holi are the festivals celebrated. During Navratri, the bharwads observe fasts. Some bharwads also celebrate two local festivals which fall during the month of *Ashad (Beiso)* and *Magha (Beiso)* in which forecast regarding prospects of crops and rainfall are made respectively (Mohidden A. and Singh K.S., 2002:198).

4. Ahirs:

About 5000 years ago from amongst wandering tribes that came to Gujarat, Gop culture emerged. And Ahira coming from Mathura and Brindavan brought with them Raaslila or the art of dancing and singing, using flutes and wooden sticks. Their daughters-in-law taught Lasya to the gopis of Dwarka. Dandiya Raas of today is the gift of that tribe and this Gop culture gave birth to several unique fairs and festivals in Gujarat. It is believed that 170 tribes came to Kathiawar. Ahirs probably came across the Rann from Parkar. They are pastorals and former nomads. The Abhiras or Ahirs have different myths regarding their historical origin. The Bombay Gazetteer shows a southward movement of Abhiras or Ahirs. At the time of Alexander, they were in the northwest of the Punjab. Afterwards they migrated southward and settled in Upper Sind about the time of Ptolemy.

Ahirs also have traces of Scythian origin based on the custom of a widow marrying the brother of her deceased husband prevalent among Ahirs. Ahir is derived from the word Ahi meaning serpent. Hence they are of Scythian extraction since serpent worship is a typical characteristic of indo-scythian races. Their belief in totemism stamps them as non-Aryan. With no headquarters, they have settled in different regions and don't admit outsiders into their caste. When the Kathis arrived in Gujarat in the 8th century, they found the greater part of the region in possession of Ahirs. In the census of 1901, there were 1,04,894 Ahirs. The term is derived from the Sanskrit Abhira. They are found in Nasik, Kutch, Kathiawar and Palanpur, also in the provinces, Bengal and northwest provinces and Known as in all these regions. Another interesting belief is that they once lived in Deccan. At the beginning of the last century, they came to Gujarat with the English army. Later they split and one group Rajkot and Deesa. The Ahirs of Kutch and

Kathiawar are from those in the Deccan districts. They have preserved dialect that differs in some respects from Gujarati.

Ahir Habitats: Of the 18 million Ahirs in India, three lakh live in Kachchh. There are 11 sub-groups, the principal ones being the Machu of Dhoria Kunaria now living in Tapper. They got their name from the river Machhu near Morvi in north Kathiawar. Others are the Pranthali Ahirs of Pranthal District, Vaghad in eastern Kutch where they established a village called Vrajvani. They also live in Lodai, Dhrang, Sumeraser, vang. The Boricha of Kanthi, now living in Anjar, Sorathia of Sorath, south Kathiawar, now living in and around Anjar and Vaghad, Pancholi in Gohilwad, Chorada of the Chorad Island in the Rann now living in Adesar, Palanswa, Sanwa, Umiyu, Jatawada, Bela and other parts of Vaghad. They have now spread into Kathiawar. These sub-group do not intermarry. The Kathiawar endogamous divisions are Gujar Ahirs living in towns and Nesak Ahirs living in hamlets or ness. Except for the Sorathias who are held in disgrace because they betrayed Rao Navghan of Junagadh to the Emperor of Delhi, the others can dine with one another. Ahirs can be found in Bhuj, Mandvi, Rapar in Kutch and in Saurashtra.

Lifestyle: Ahirs are mainly farmers who sold milk and ghee but now have changed over to transport or salt business of the irregularity of rain. They are small landholders and some practice carpentry. Every monday is market day in Anjar where Ahirs with other pastoral groups of the region. Ratnal, inhabited by Ahirs is 15 km from Anjar. Paranthiya Ahirs of Sumresar in Bhuj have been living here from a long time. The Ahirs of Nirona claim to be of the Batha caste that can marry into other sub-castes like Chad, Dangar and Kerasia. Ahirs live in Bhuj, Anjar, Mandvi and Rapar as cowherds, their characteristic sign is Kavad, a bamboo lathi with slings at each end for holding pitchers and baskets. Ahir villages are in Ratnal, Habay, Lodai, Dhrang, Tapper Dhaneti. Ahir herdsmen of Bhuj, Anjar and Vaghad live in habitats known as Ahirpat (Mehta M: 2001: 34-42).

5. Barot

The Barot claim to have migrated to Gujarat from Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh. Bakshi Commission Report (1976) states that the Barots are also known as *Vahivanchas* because their main profession involved keeping genealogical records of their clients.

Sometimes they are also referred as *Vahivancha Charan Gadhvis*. These records include details of birth, death and marriages in the families of their clients. They have a wide distribution but are mainly concentrated in the districts of Mehsana, Panchmahal, Baroda and Ahmedbad. They speak in gujarati and few also understand hindi. They use gujarati script. However, they use *gingal* script for keeping records in their books called *vahi.*

The barots are purely vegetarian. The common cereals are rice, wheat and maize. Available pulses and vegetables are taken. Fruits are occasionally consumed but they abstain from taking liquor. Milk and milk products are an important part of diet. Sweets made of *ghee,* wheat and sugar are the special items for the pregnant women and nursing mothers.

The community has two sub-groups eg. *Brahmbhat* or *Raj Barot* and *vahivanchas*. The former regards itself superior as they used to maintain genealogy records of the royal houses and the aristocracy whereas the latter serve the commoners and also the people from caste placed low in the hierarchy. The two sub-groups are strictly endogamous. There are territorial groups. In north Gujarat there are three territorial subgroups arranged in a hierarchal order among the *Brahmbhats* which are six village group, twelve village group and twenty seven village group. Formerly, these groups intermarried but in recent times they have formed into endogamous units. These groups are not at par in the social level. The six village cluster is at the top and the twenty seven village cluster is at the bottom. They have economic differentiation and mainly marry within the cluster. Such endogamous units have exogamous gotras such as *Bharadwaj, Kashyap, Parasar, Bhrigu, Kapil,* etc. the Barot claim Brahman status on the grounds that they are descendants of the union between a Brahman male and a kshatriya female. Other communities rank them below Brahman and Rajput and higher than Suthar, Kumbhar, Luhar etc. in the local social hierarchy (Nanda D. H. and Singh K.S., 2002:137-140).

6. Vanias:

The generic appellation applied to the trading community within the Hindu fold was Vaisya or more commonly Bania, or in Gujarati-Vania. This is the term which the foreign traders commonly used, they could distinguish only between the Bania and the

Muslim traders. For them, every non-Muslim merchant was a Vania. However this general term encompassed a host of castes. Broadly, at least the major classification was among the Jainas and the Vaishnava Vanias.

The Hindus and the Jainas were ancient community in India. Their identity is marked by their distinct theology, philosophy, religion, and social mores and literary traditions, etc. The profession of Jainas in historical period has been primarily trade, both local and long distance, Jains were largely settled in Gujarat and Rajasthan; however, as traders they traversed across the country.

In the economy of Gujarat as a whole, there is no doubt that the dominant group in all trade matters was the Banias. Jain Vanias were called Shravak and Hindu Vaishya Vanias were called Meshri. The Meshri Banias were very religious and gave special importance to omens. They usually consulted astrologers for their important and religious works. They were staunch adherents of the Vallabhacharya sect to which they were said to have been converted in fifteenth or sixteenth century, and they showed extreme respect for their Mahajans or religious heads. The Banias employed Brahmins in all their religious ceremonies. As a rule, the priest belonged to the corresponding sub-division.

The Sanskrit word Banik or Vanik meant merchants. The Arabic word Baqqal, used in Indo-Persian writings as a synonym for Bania, meant ‘grain merchants’ in India and ‘greengrocer’ in Iran.

In view of similarities in the several sociocultural customs, outsiders were unable to distinguish between Hindus and Jains. Since the Jains were mostly traders they were regarded as a part of the Hindu Vaishya community. The Hindus and the Jains lived harmoniously. In Ahmedabad, Jains were more prosperous as a community, and better educated than their Vaishnava fellow Vanias. It cannot be denied that Jainism helped to mould the commercial structure of the Gujarat. This is true Vaishnavism also.

2.1.6. Material culture and cultural contexts of commodities: Importance of textile products in social life

Objects are material things people encounter, interact, with and use. Objects are commonly spoken of as material culture. The term ‘material culture’ emphasizes how

apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purpose of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to social activity. The field of material culture studies is a recent nomenclature that incorporates a range of scholarly inquiry into the uses and meanings of objects. It affords a multidisciplinary vantage point into human-object relations, where the contributions of anthropology, sociology, psychology, design and cultural studies are valued. By studying culture as something created and lived through objects, one can better understand both social structures and larger systematic dimensions such as inequality and social difference, and also human actions, emotion and meaning. Objects might be seen then as a crucial link between the social and economic structure, and the individual actor. A primary assertion of Material culture study is that objects have ability to signify things- or establish social meanings- on behalf of people, or do 'social work', though this culturally communicative capacity should not be automatically assumed. Objects might signify sub-cultural affinity, occupation, participation in leisure activity, or social status.

Furthermore, objects become incorporated into, and represent, wider social discourses related to extensively held norms and values enshrined in norms and social institutions. In complimentary fashion, objects also carry personal and emotional meanings; they can facilitate interpersonal interactions and assist a person to cut upon him or herself. Objects, then, can assist in forming or negating the interpersonal and group attachments, mediating the formation of self-identity and esteem, and integrating and differentiating social groups, classes or tribes (Woodward I, 2007:3).

Tim Dant writes that all objects are social agents in the limited sense that they extend human action and mediate meanings between humans. Whether an object is produced by the application of a craft skill, the mechanical operations of a factory or the bricolage of the unskilled with what is to hand, objects are shaped by culture which defines what certain types of things can do. It is the culture that specifies how we make sense of shapes, colours, textures, strengths, and channeling of energy and so determines how we make use of things and live with things. Many objects are embedded with function and style and a given object may contain a large number of interconnected objects, each of which contributes to the experienced function and style of the object. The process of cultural appropriation of material things is not reducible either to production or

consumption but it is do with a series of types of interactions between people and objects. These interactions with things- touching, making, looking at, talking and reading about, using, storing, maintaining, remaking and so on- are social in that they are learnt and shared within the culture.

Material objects are physically formed within a culture but are also socially constructed in the ways that they are fitted into routine, every day practices and ways of life. Culture is embedded and disembedded throughout the life of the object while the processes of production and consumption are organized around economic exchange. He further mentions that things are used in variety of ways. Things allows one to do what they need and want to do, things allows humans to communicate and enables to express the sense of cultural togetherness as well as individuality within that collectivity (Dant T.,1999: 13).

Attfield J. writes that the textiles a mediating tissue between the body and the external world has been considered in the various studies of material culture, for example in the objectification of social relations, as commodity, fetish and gift. Textile objects in the form of clothes and soft furnishings such as curtains, comfort blankets and carpets, are made of a particular type of material in two senses of the word- the physical and the cultural. This is a generalization, a truism even, of all artefacts- things made by means of human thought and hand. But is the specific material property of textiles as an interpretive tool, represented in the transitional object that differentiates it from the other kinds of things. Thus, textiles present a particularly apposite object type to illustrate how things are used to mediate the interior mental world of the individual, the body and the exterior objective world beyond the self through which the sense a sense of identity is constructed and transacted within social relations (Attfield J., 2000:123).

Similarly, what Tarlo argues for dress and material culture is also relevant to the present study:

Understanding the dual processes of differentiation and identification is central to understanding the development of any clothing tradition, for cloths are literally a means of classification- whether of individuals, groups, castes, classes, regions or nations. And in the same way clothes draw boundaries which excludes those dressed differently, so

they encompass and include those dressed in the same way. This is the process of identification, as explained by Tarlo in terms of dress (see; Tarlo E. : 1996: 318).

The process of analyzing artefacts to find out about the cultures in they were made works out two ways: the objects tell you about the culture, and the culture tells you about the objects. Miller outlines a series of contextual dimensions of material culture, summarized as below;

The artefact as manufactured object. Though most objects are functionally and symbolically flexible, some objects are intentionally produced for particular purpose, and, as such are constrained by the very nature of their manufacture.

Artefacts and function. There are variety of differentiations of objects based on their function, for example, in machinery or in technology, or in types of soles worn on special use shoes. But, what is more important, Miller asserts is symbolic and aesthetic variation like in shapes of bottles that contain different types of alcohol.

Artefacts and property. Artefacts are tied up with the development of personal property rights, and also with our sense of self. For example, one owns the clothing they wear, but this clothing also represents an important boundary of self upon which others may not infringe.

Artefacts, space and time. Social spaces acquire symbolic potency through the existence of particular objects and their location within space. Objects must also be contextualized in time.

Artefacts and style. Style refers to the capacity to arrange and order objects in an unique way. The notion of style is easily observed in the domain of home furnishing, where objects are differentiated along lines, and must be arranged in relation to one another in a coherent manner also as to convey a personal sense of style. Home furnishers must take into account things such as colour, texture and scale, sometimes paying attention to tried and true schemes of good taste, and other times, playing around with, even disturbing, such schemes to calculated effect (Woodward I, 2007:101).

Likewise, Spillman explains that Material culture consist of the artifacts created or utilized in a society or community. Through the material culture of a society, it is possible to explore the nonmaterial aspects of the culture: the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions present in that society. A material culture process has been developed

by the dress scholars specifically to study clothing as a material culture. Within this methods are three stages. These stages are:

1. Determining modal type;
2. Analyzing material, design and construction, and workmanship; and
3. Examining identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation.

Spillman and Reilly et al further ruminated dress with the culture and reflected upon the insights related to culture, dress and theories. The authors cites that the subjective elements of each culture are organized into unique patterns of beliefs, attitudes, norms (shared expectations of behavior), and values. Social stratification is an example of a subjective element of culture in which humans create categories for people according to age, race, and income level. This also includes social norms, stereotypes and prejudices. In addition to defining cultures, the book cites four cultural syndromes that apply to all cultures: cultural complexity, cultural tightness, individualism and collectivism. These four cultural syndromes were identified by Triandis.

Cultural complexity means that generally societies that subsist on hunting and gathering tend to be simple; agricultural societies tend to be somewhat complex; industrial societies are more complex; and information societies are more complex. The contrast between simple and complex culture is considered the most important factor of culture variations in social behavior.

Tight cultures have clear norms and deviations are met with sanctions. In tight cultures if a person does what everyone else is doing, he or she is protected from criticism. Tightness is more likely when norms are clear; this requires a relatively homogeneous culture. Loose cultures have unclear norms or tolerate deviance from norms. Cultural heterogeneity, strong influences from other cultures, and crowded conditions can lead to looseness (Spillman K. 2012: 3-5).

2.1.7. Handloom Industry in India:

Handloom forms the second largest economic activity in India after Agriculture. In regard to production, the industry is meeting one-third of the total cloth requirements of the masses in the country and their products are well known all over the world since long. The Indian weavers are not only providing the enough cloth to meet the internal

demand but also exporting numerous artistic varieties to the highly industrialized countries of the world. Despite large-scale expansion of modern textile industry in India, Handloom continues to occupy an important place in country's total economic support. It is a household industry, all family members work as one unit; the head of the household perform the manufacturing work, as where other member of the family do the supporting or ancillary role, work and burden is divided on the basis of age and sex.

In general the socio- economic condition forms the weavers to depend upon external agencies for infrastructural facilities. Some of them work independently some of them with organization and some seek outside support. The organizational structure of the industry could be divided into four segments. They are: Independent weavers, Master weavers, Co-operative society and corporate sector.

i. ***Independent or Individual Weavers:*** Out of the total weaving population most of them are either independent weavers or weavers who are working under master weavers segment. Theoretically, an independent weaver perform all the function relating to the cloth weaving alone that is, from purchasing of raw yarn and dyes, arrangement of finance, weaving of cloth, to the marketing and finished goods.

ii. ***Master Weaver:*** A master weaver also refers as generic term to people who get the yarn sized supply beams to smaller owner get the fabric woven and get the cloth processed. This system of master weaver has evolved over years. In past master weaver used to advance yarn to weavers working in their own houses, in recent years many master weavers have set up common sheds for weaving where hired weavers come and undertake production activities.

iii. ***The co-operative sector:*** The cooperative structure in handloom sector is in two part, apex society and primary society. The apex society is an umbrella body for primary societies hence weavers are basically member of primary society. The principal of cooperative as an instrument of economic and social reform was propounded in some of the European countries over a century ago. The first handloom weaver’s co-operative society in India was formed in 1905 after the passing of cooperative society act 1904.

iv. ***The Private sector:*** Till the end of fourth five year plan, weavers were getting assistance from cooperative sector only, weavers outside the cooperative fold were not getting any direct benefit from implementation of different institutional programs then it is felt that weavers outside co-operative fold should also achieve appropriate assistance, that is why the Sivaraman Study Team recommended the establishment of Handloom Development Corporations in different states. The main aim and objective of corporations to promote, own, establish and assist the rehabilitation. It is also undertaking other activities for the benefit of weavers which include modernization of looms, planning of production, payment of remunerative wages and technical training for weavers (Aman A., 2015).

2.1.8.1.Promotional organizations:

A network of support organisations was created to assist artisans in the six sub-sectors that come under the category of Traditional Industries. These were:

a. Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC)
b. All India Handlooms & Handicrafts Board (AIHHB)
c. Office of the Development Commissioner (Handlooms)
d. Office of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts)
e. Central Silk Board
f. Coir Board

Profiled below, these organizations assist artisans and agencies working with artisans, with inputs such as marketing, credit, training, and design and product development.

a. ***Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC):*** The KVIC was set up in 1957, to oversee the development of the khadi and village industries sector in India. Khadi denotes any cloth woven on handlooms from handspun cotton, silk or woollen yarn, or from a mixture of these yams. A village industry denotes any industry located in a rural area, which produces goods or renders services, in which the fixed capital investment per artisan or worker does not exceed Rs. 15,000. The KVIC is responsible for planning and implementing programmes for the development of the khadi and village industries sector. Its main functions are to:

- train artisans engaged in these industries

- build up a reserve of raw materials and implements and arrange for their supply to artisans
- provide for the sale and marketing of khadi and products of the village industries under its purview promote research in improved technology, and ensure its dissemination
- encourage the formation of co-operatives among those engaged in the manufacture of khadi and village industry products
- provide financial assistance to institutions and individuals engaged in the promotion of khadi and village industries

KVIC was expected to provide assistance in the form of finance, subsidies, technical know-how and training to the State Khadi and village Industries Boards. Each State Board, in turn, was anticipated to channelize these funds and ensure the effective implementation development programmes of the KVIC at the grassroot level. These programmes were planned to be implemented through a network of 31000 co-operatives and 1138 registered institutions. For marketing products of industries under its purview, the KVIC had set up around 13.000 sales outlets throughout India.

b. AIl India Handlooms & Handicrafts Board: The AIHIIB was constituted in July 1981, under the Chairman-Ship of the Minister of Textiles, with the Development Commissioner (Handlooms) and Development Commissioner Handicrafts) as Member-Secretaries. The AIHHB is essentially advisory body responsible for formulating development programmes for the handlooms and handicrafts sectors.

c. The **Office of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts)** is apex departmental organization for the development of the Handicrafts sector. The office functions through a vast network of organizations such as the Marketing and Service Extension was set up in 37 areas of craft concentration, 4 Regional Design and Technical Development Centres, and 524 training centres. The Office was also meant to assist the State Handicrafts Development Corporations in formulating schemes for the development of handicrafts in India. The activities of the State Corporations included: technical training, raw material supply, design and product development, and marketing.

d. The **Office of the Development Commissioner, Handlooms**, was set up in 1976. It served as the focal point for development of handlooms in the country, and was responsible for coordinating all the development schemes relating to this sector. Since this includes State plans for handloom development, the Office of the Development Commissioner worked in close collaboration with the State Handloom Development Corporations. The Weavers' Service Centres and the Institute of Handloom Technology comes within the purview of this office.

e. **The State Handloom Development Corporations** are responsible for the overall development of the handloom sector in their respective states. They are primarily concerned with trading activities, i.e., the supply of yarn and the marketing of cloth. Under the handloom development programmes, assistance is provided to weavers for modernization of looms, training in modern techniques, formation of co-operatives, and provision of credit, marketing, and supply of yarn.

f. Central Silk Board: The Central Silk Board was set up in 1949, and functions under the administrative control of the Ministry of Textiles. The function of this Board is to oversee all aspects relating to the development of sericulture and the silk weaving industry the in India. It also produces and distributes silkworm seed. At State level, the Board's programmes are implemented through the Directorate of Sericulture or the Directorate of Industry. The infrastructure of the Board is vast, and consists of 75 Regional Offices, 22 Regional Research Stations, 63 Research Extension Centres, Certification Centres, 22 Silkworm Seed Production Centres and 2 Raw Material Banks.

g. The Coir Board : The Coir Board was set up in 1953 for the overall development he coir industry in India. Its main activities are to improve, develop and diversify the range of coir products, arrange for their inspection, and market them in India and overseas. The Coir Board oversees the Central Coir Research Institute at Alleppey,and the Central Institute of Coir Technology at Bangalore. Also, under the Board's control are several Regional Training cum Development Centres, show rooms and sales depots located in different parts of the country.

OTHER AGENCIES:

i. ***Small Industries Development Organisation*** **:** The Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) was set up in 1954, and functions as an apex body responsible for formulating policies and coordinating and monitoring programmes for the development of small scale industries in India. Technical, managerial and related support is provided by SIDO through a network of Small Industries Service Industries (SISI's), extension centres, product –cum-process development centres, production centres, training centres and field testing stations. SIDO is also the National Coordinator for the District Industries centres for decentralized industries.

ii. ***District Industries Centres (DICs):*** In order to stimulate entrepreneurship in rural areas the District Industries Centres programme was launched in 1978. Each centre was headed by a General Manager, who in turn, is supported by Functional and Project Managers drawn from different disciplines. The DIC's are expected to coordinate all the schemes designed to assist village industries, and to provide under one roof, the entire package of assistance they require, such as land, building, infrastructure, power, raw materials, marketing, and training. The DICs also implement the Rural Artisan's Programme and self-employment programmes for the educated unemployed, besides undertaking techno-economic surveys.

iii. ***District Rural Development Agencies (DRDAs) :*** In 1970, the Lead Bank concept was introduced with the purpose of formulating District Credit Plans (DCP's) based on techno-economic surveys of each district. In conjunction with the Lead Banks, the DRDA's are responsible for preparing programmes for the identified beneficiaries, which are then incorporated in the District Credit Plans and Annual Action Plans of Banks. The DRDA's are also entrusted with the overall implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP).

iv. ***Weaver's Service Center:*** Recognizing the need for protecting our cultural heritage in the traditional skills of handloom weaving and for protecting the sector from competition from the powerloom and mill made textiles, the Government of India decided in 1956 to set up the Handloom Design Centres at Mumbai, Chennai and

Varanasi. The activities of these Design Centres were later expanded to cover other aspects of development of the handloom textiles and were redesignated as the Weavers' Service Centres. These Centres have done yeoman services in helping the handloom weavers in various aspects such as design development, design adoption, design dissemination, technical inputs in the form of research in looms, dyes, dyeing techniques, and innovations in appliances and accessories used by the weavers. For this purpose, the WSCs have been conducting live demonstrations, holding workshops and setting up laboratories etc. Over a period of time, the WSCs have collected samples of various designs and weaving techniques in order to preserve this heritage for posterity. Presently, 25 Weavers' Service Centres are functioning under the Office of Development Commissioner for Handlooms in various parts of the country.

v. **Indian Institute of Handloom Technology (IIHT):** With a view to meet this long-felt need of providing the necessary technical personnel for the development of the handloom industry, the Government of India had set up following 4 Indian Institutes of Handloom Technology in Central Sector under the administrative control of Development Commissioner (Handlooms), Ministry of Textiles. The Institutes have their own buildings.

2.1.7.2. Schemes of Assistance

For overall development of handloom industry/sector and welfare of handloom weavers, the Government of India has taken various policy initiatives and schemes interventions like cluster approach, technological up-gradation, marketing promotion, revival of viable and potentially viable societies through loan waiver and recapitalization assistance, availability of subsidized yarn and credit, besides, providing health and life insurance cover to the handloom weavers. The details of schemes being implemented by Ministry of Textiles, GOI are as under:-

Integrated Handloom Development Scheme provides need based inputs to clusters of 300 – 500 handlooms or Groups of 10 – 100 weavers for making them self-sustainable by providing them financial assistance for margin money, new looms and accessories, skill upgradation, marketing opportunities and for construction of worksheds etc.

Marketing and Export Promotion Scheme provides platform to the weavers and their organizations to participate in the domestic as well as international trade events and sell their products directly to the buyers.

Handloom Weavers Comprehensive Welfare Scheme: This comprises of two separate schemes viz. the Health Insurance Scheme (HIS) for providing Health Insurance to the Handloom weavers and Mahatma Gandhi Bunkar Bima Yojana(MGBBY) for providing Life insurance cover in case of natural/ accidental death, total/partial disability due to accident.

Mill Gate Price Scheme: This scheme makes available all types of yarn at mill gate price to the eligible handloom agencies to facilitate regular supply of basic raw material to the handloom weavers and to optimize their employment potential. Under the scheme, the Government of India reimburses the transportation expenses involved in the supply of yarn from mill to godown of the user agencies. In addition, a new component of 10% price subsidy on hank yarn has been added to the scheme since January 2012 for supply of cotton and silk yarn to handloom weavers and their cooperative societies.

Diversified Handloom Development Scheme: This scheme provides assistance for technological and skill-upgradation of weavers for design and product development through 25 Weavers' Service Centres and 05 Indian Institutes of Handloom Technology all over the country to improve the productivity and earnings of the handloom weavers.

Revival Reform and Restructuring Package (RRR): In order to open the choked credit lines to enable access to fresh credit for handloom sector, GOI has approved RRR package for waiver of overdue loan as on 30/03/2010 for eligible apex and primary weaver cooperative societies and individual weavers. The Government has also approved weaver credit card under institutional credit component, providing margin money assistance @ Rs. 4200/- per weaver, 3% interest subvention for three years and credit guarantee for 3 years by Credit Guarantee Trust Fund for Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises.

Comprehensive Handlooms Development Scheme: It has been formulated by merging all the major components of the schemes namely Integrated Handlooms Development Schemes (IHDS), Marketing and Export Promotion Scheme (MEPS) and Diversified Handloom Development Scheme (DHDS) implemented during the 11th plan and 2012-13 which is one of the components of National Handloom Development Programme (NHDP) for its implementation during 12th Plan. The scheme was intended to follow need based approach for integrated and holistic development of handlooms and welfare of handloom weavers. The scheme is meant to support weavers, both within and outside the cooperative fold including self-help groups, NGOs etc. towards raw material, design inputs, technology up-gradation, marketing support through exhibitions, create permanent infrastructure in the form of Urban Haats, marketing complexes, setting up of Weavers Service Centre (WSCs) and Indian Institutes of Handlooms Technology (IIHTs), development of web portal for e-marketing of handloom products etc (SRUTI: 1995).

2.1.8.2.Government initiatives :

I. **Textile India 2017:** A mega exhibition show cased the value chain of India. The aim was to position textiles India as a mega annual international event bringing global and Indian leaders on one platform. It show cased India‘s strength in the entire gamut of textile and apparel value chain, from farm to fibre to fabric to fashion. Establishing India as a global sourcing and investment destination. The vast sweep of Indian textiles extends from the hand woven sector on one end to the capital intensive sector on the other.

II. **India Handloom brand:** India Handloom brand has been launched by the Hon‘ble Prime Minister of India on the occasion of the first National Handloom Day on August 7, 2015. The Handloom Mark Scheme was launched by the Government of India on June 28, 2006 to provide assurance to the consumers about authenticity of handloom products. However, it did not cover the aspect of product quality assurance. Therefore, the India Handloom brand is an initiative for branding of high quality handloom products with zero defects and zero effect on the environment. It differentiates high quality handloom products and help in earning trust of customers by endorsing their quality in terms of raw materials, processing, embellishments,

weaving design and other quality parameters and by ensuring social and environmental compliances in their production. The registration for India Handloom will be granted to certain specified eligible entities in respect of identified product categories which meet prescribed quality parameters.

III. ***E-Commerce:*** Promotion of marketing of handloom products through e-commerce was one of the priorities of Ministry of Textiles. In order to promote e-marketing of handloom products in a transparent, competitive and effective manner Office of the Development Commissioner for Handlooms under Ministry of Textiles made a policy frame work under which any willing e-commerce platform with good track record can participate in online marketing of handloom products (Aman A., 2015).

2.2. Research review:

2.2.1. Costumes and textiles cultural studies, Craft studies and status reports

Dua S. (2014), studied the tradition and evolution of of ornamentation style and motif vocabulary of the printed textiles from Gujarat with an intention to trace the history and trade of the printed textiles of Gujarat to examine the ornamentation style of these traded textiles as well as influencing factors, from a contemporary point of view. Focus has been retained on documenting traditional textile motifs of ajrakh, and to record the changes that have taken place in them, over a period of time and to review the effects of this transition in order to understand the role of various factors, which have helped in preserving old skills and experience for the future. To achieve the objective, qualitative research was used, case study method was adopted and historic research was carried out. Purposive sampling method and snow ball technique was employed on categories of samples defined which were inclusive of printers, block makers, designers, retailers, artists and organizations. The data generated was henceforth, collated and analysed to reach conclusion through theory building and theory testing approach. The study yielded numerous theorized conclusions such as that the traditional textile culture's symbolic imagery is subjected to change with the course of time as well as with the influence of outside forces. Artisans in the present day created new designs with the injection of new ideas in the traditional forms rather than completely modifying it. Researcher also quoted that a lot has been done for the traditional craft of ajrakh, and it was requirement of the time to expand the design directory and technique innovation in the craft.

Dhingra S. (2013), elucidates detailed account of *patta* weaving craft practiced in Bastar and Koraput districts of chhatisgarh and Odisha. The study was organized under three phases-

i. Present status of the craft
ii. Optimization of the dyeing parameters of *aal* dye and testing of the dyed fabric.
iii. Product development in Kotpad cluster.

With an intention to meet set objectives, descriptive research design was planned out and interview schedule coupled with participatory observation technique was employed on dyers, weavers, award winning artisans, professional and local people

involved with the craft. The results reveal that *aal* dyeing is a rare phenomenon these days and were practiced only in kotpad village. Dyers had inherited the skill of dyeing and were well versed with the process. The tribal women were the actual patrons of the *pattas* who have shifted towards the use of much cheaper and affordable polyester saris. The optimized dyeing parameters for *aal* dyeing were standardized. The studied textile was translated into range of contemporary products in the category of garments and made ups with an intention to revive both weaving and natural dyeing craft and were exhibited in the galleries. Weavers got good response from the urban market and it was concluded that lack of new design, seed capital to improve infrastructure and market intelligence were the main challenges for the weavers.

Trivedi V. (2011), carried out her investigation with a view to document traditional wood block making craft of *Pethapur*. With a view, to gain insight in this almost diminished craft, she directed her efforts towards studying the life history of master craftsman: Mr. Maneklal Gajjar. The findings brought to light that, Mr. Maneklal Gajjar: a third generation artisan of his family, was instrumental in extending the knowledge of this craft to the people from educational institutes, designers, practioners, research scholars, art lovers, curators, media editors etc in India and abroad. The documented carved designs suggested the endless possibilities that can be carved on a wood block. The study reveals, the words of master craftsman, with agony, that the artisans of *Pethapur* were unable to adapt themselves to the changing market patterns and demand which was the main reason for its decline. Also, more than dozen people were trained in the craft process while only two could retain themselves in the craft. Hence, the study concluded itself suggesting that continuous and concentrated efforts were required for the promotion of craft and there was an urgent need for interventions to train new craftsman. (8)

Kongalla R. (2008), provides highly informative glimpse into the culture, climate and geographic dimensions of Arunachal Pradesh. The research narrows down to the *Miji* tribe- the main subject of the study. Miji tribe residing in Lowerdandzang village, Nafra were studied to record accounts of their social set-up, culture, ritual and traditions along with the status of women in the *miji* society, owing to the fact that weavings was prerogative to women in north-east. It was reported that weaving formed an important mode of livelihood for mijis after agriculture. *Miji* women wove on single

shaft back strap or loin loom, constructed using bamboo sticks, to weave 18" wide and 4 yards long fabric. The textiles woven were either formed the draped garment for males and females or was constructed into a garment. *Galle* was the lower garment for *Miji, Adi, Akka, Monpa and sherdukpen* tribes of the NEFA region. Shashorifall was the *miji* women jacket, *ghechetie* was a waist wrapping cloth, *greepdho* formed the vest and *greebolum* was a constructed skirt. The motifs were derived from nature and hunting tools; and occurred in geometric form; listed few were *pahad*, peacock, horse, elephant, *tirr*, tiger face and eye. The craft of bamboo and cane weaving was also taken into account and elaborate process of colloquially termed baskets- *Vang* and *Sigiyang* was illustrated.

Jain A. (2007), worked on revival of hand weaving of silk velvets in India for a diploma project with the support of Rahul Jain, a textile historian, researcher and technologist. The scope of his project included four phases- first dealing with research and documentation of Indian draw loom which included in-depth and visual documentation of draw loom, textual documentation of the local/ vernacular names, loom-set ups, operation, types of materials and yarns in use. Second phase comprised of setting up of a narrow width prototype loom for plain silk velvet with the assistance of professional silk weaver in Varanasi. Third phase included modification in the prototype loom for voided velvet Patterned in a single colour and finally in fourth phase, designer aimed to develop voided velvet pattern with multiple colour. The approach for setting up of the velvet loom and the weaving of velvets looked at the descriptive and analytical information of velvets and its techniques derived mainly from the textile itself. Such a system has been addressed as Internal systems of classification. However, the internal evidence was sought and blended with the external considerations which dealt largely with the contemporary ethos of the Banaras weaving community. The study yielded the fact that the weaver has to make sure the pattern lifting and the tension of the individual pile warp is left to the sensitivity of the weaver who has to make sure its optimally maintained and patterning with either voided or solid velvet takes equal time. The study concluded that adaptation of the present time drawloom of Banaras to silk velvet weaving was done with reasonable due to open mindedness of the young weaver. It was found that plain velvets are difficult to achieve when compared to patterned velvets because the tendency to make slightest defects appear is highest amongst them when

pattern over powers in figure velvets. The structure of the fabric though worked out easily at primary level, but weavers sensitivity and skill shall be of more importance along with the choice of yarn and structure.

Bhatia R. (2006), directed her efforts towards studying status and market trends of *Zardosi* craft in selected districts of Lucknow, Barreilly, Kolkata and Surat. The findings revealed that the craft existed as a commercial activity than a tradition. Earlier *zardosi* craft survived due to patronage of affluent and was an exclusive preserve of rich and fashionables but in current scenario commercialization of the craft and its resurgence on fashion scene has brought a boom in the export and domestic business. It was found to be operating as an unorganized sector that functioned broadly with four groups:

(1) Entrepreneur: business owner

(2) Middleman: *Thekedar*

(3) Contracted *karigars*: workshop based workers

(4) Sub-contracted *karigars*: home based workers

The results reported that *karigars* were muslims and only males were employed in the workshop while females worked at home as a leisure activity. (2)

Gupta M. (1995), studied the traditional leather craft of Rajasthan that were dispersed in the districts of Ajmer, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Jaiselmer, Tilona and Bhinmal.

Her findings reported that craft was practised by the people belonging *to Mehwal, Regar, Jingar and Debgar* community. The craft was carried out under two broad stages- Tanning and Fashioning. The hides of cows and buffalos were used which were tanned by vegetable tanning process locally termed as *Kaccha*. The tanning operation was mainly carried out by males. Fashioning was done at four stages, i.e. scraping of tanned leathers, cutting in desired shapes, ornamenting and finally sewing. Ornamentation i.e. embroideries were done by females while the *karigars* were again males. The range of products developed was camel accessories, leather chairs and stools, bags, purses, wallets, folders and *mojaries*.(5)

2.2.2. Handloom and handicraft status reports:

Mapdar S. (2011) conducted a study on Handloom Textile Clusters in India with special reference to select clusters in West Bengal with objective to identify the challenges faced by the stakeholders of shantipur handloom cluster in west Bengal and to come out with strategies for handloom development in West Bengal. A qualitative and quantitative approach was adopted for the study. In the first phase of qualitative approach, exploratory research design was implemented and the methods of data collection were focus group and in-depth interviews. In the second phase a descriptive research design was adopted and survey method was used for data collection from thirty government officials along with weavers, master weavers, dyers and designers. Results reflected that in Shantipur Handloom cluster, there were important gaps in the inputs, services or information flows that supports cluster development. It lacked the interaction and self awareness amongst working clusters. Also, there was a lack of common vision for their future or lack of requisite level of trust for firms to explore and exploit common interests. The groups of firms failed to think as clusters and there was lack of presence of support institutions. The research also brought out various aspects that had strategic and policy /managerial implications. These related to the formation of a consortium, the sustainability of the cooperative efforts through cluster based interventions, the capacity building of a weaver, marketing efforts to be made to improve upon the top line and the bottom line, the production related issues, financial aspects, and management practices.

The Crafts Council of India,(2011, vol.1 stage 1 &2), undertook Craft Economics and Impact Study (CEIS) to address the crisis of unawareness and misunderstanding that were faced by handicraft sector. The objective of this effort was to suggest a methodology that can provide authorities with a robust and reliable data-base for a sector.

To achieve the planned aim, an initial exploratory study in two stages was planned. The first stage consisted of secondary research and compilation of available data, statistics, institutions and data sources related to handicrafts. The next stage was a pilot field exploration in Karur and Kutch districts at household level.

Various kinds of critical gaps in the data pertaining to handicraft and handloom activity were found to be existing such as;

- Women working from home were observed to be treated as home workers, while a lot of weaving and other activities in India are home based.

- Several production stages were not being taken into account.
- Entire activities falling between the cracks – for example, potters are not included in the purview of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts).

Based on the findings revealed and other important information, such as geographic dispersion, intermediaries and other key characteristics of craft economy, study has been extended to stage iii and iv. The stage iii would extend household study to larger cluster study in the same region followed by scaling up experiment to at least 50 clusters across the country.

Menon V. (2010), argues that the village cottage industries of Kerala are under the threat of market challenges and struggles to place themselves in internal and external pockets to arrest the market control by imported products. She elucidates that to challenge the private traders; the aforesaid reviews insist considerable modulations in the marketing strategies of village enterprises to satisfy both their consumers and distributors. The generated fact warranted an in depth product modification and design diversification appropriate to match the customer expectation and values. The data generated in the research depicted high product concentration index indicating limited and repeated product range. Despite the probable reasons for above conditions like lack of training to artisans, unavailability of raw materials and worn out technologies, artisans respondents stated that there is absence of accurate and incessant flow of market information to design value oriented product mix to timely showcase their products. Researcher discusses that qualitative approach with quantified market data can improve the market performance of the artisans.

Sardiwal S. (2010), documented the traditional namda craft of Tonk district in Rajasthan and studied various developmental initiatives existing for its preservation, promotion and development. Her results revealed that the namda craft was practiced mainly by muslims and it was on deplorable state owing to varied factors such as competitive synthetic supplements available in the market, mutation in traditional aspects of craft in terms of motifs used, quality manufactured and techniques of production, etc

Her results, on scrutinizing various Governmental programs and policies aimed towards providing financial and marketing assistance to craft sector, reflected that

formulated objectives did not produce satisfactory results. To minimize this problem, several recommendations and suggestions were also formulated.

Mitra A., Choudhari P. and Mukherjee A. (2009), generated a diagnostic report on cluster development programme of Shantipur Handloom cluster. They methodology comprised of collecting information through intensive survey (involving detailed studies of the cluster to formulate a sustainable business plan) as well as extensive by doing in-depth surveys within villages under the entire cluster. Data was collected by interviews, observations and active participation. In order to execute the complete value chain analysis of the cluster, various actors were interviewed such as yarn merchants, mahajans, master weavers and designers. The study engendered results pertaining to the organic relationship between each actor involved in the cluster. It was found that only weavers under co-operative societies were availing benefits from various governmental organizations that too in a small percentage. The results also revealed that though the cluster possessed some inherent strength in terms of rich resources of traditional skills, it also had inherent weaknesses. The entire process chain was disintegrated, quality of products was not retained and there was lack in product and process innovation. The investigation concluded that in spite of all the odds, there was growing opportunity for market and product diversification.

Vaddi S. (2007), conducted a research with a major aim to study Khadi and Handloom industries of Andhra Pradesh focusing mainly on marketing strategies and consumerism. A sample of 28 Khadi and Handloom units was selected and the case studies of the weaver were carried out and traders-retailers and wholesalers of the centers were interviewed to generate both qualitative and quantitative data. The study led to the conclusion that the handloom industry doesn't have employment generation schemes. Therefore, weavers were decentralized and majority found work with master weavers. Also, there was lucrative market for handloom in private sector which was not observed in the Govt. sector. The researcher also opined that the consumers were well aware of the hand woven fabric and preferred purchasing those.

Grewal N. (1990), generated exhaustive data pertaining to social, technical and economic conditions of the artisans involved in craft of making floor coverings in the

state of Himachal Pradesh. The effect of application of acrylic finishes on wear characteristics of carpets was also determined by the study. The researcher adopted descriptive survey method for collecting first hand information pertaining to the craft and experimental procedures were worked to study the wear characteristics of the carpet. It was revealed that carpets, *karchas*, *thobies*, *durries*, *namdas* and *borus* were produced in the region as floor coverings. The production of floor covering was found be carried out under both organized and unorganized sector. The researcher also reported that it was a labour intensive industry which generated employment for both men and women. Weavers were either allowed to weave at their residence or they were made to weave in the premises of units. The problems discussed in the study were irregular supply of yarn, lack of marketing facilities, lack of designs and trained weavers, delayed payment of wages and difficulty in getting financial aid. The study also stated that the application of soft acrylic polymer on the carpet was helpful in improving some of the wear related properties of carpets but the effectiveness of finish was determined by its concentration and method of application.

2.2.3. Traditional skills resurgence and design development:

POOL (2015), Vinita Passary co-founsded her brand called **Translate** with her husband which offers the wide range of products that include women's wear, furnishings and accessories primarily to the people with the passion for handmade textiles.

The designer claims that her work revolves around drawings from the age of traditions of weaving and adding a present day relevance to the style. Their work is one of its kind attempt to reintroduce Pochampally Ikat weaves to suit urban chic and comfortable everyday fashion. The design process includes planning textile story in advance which is based on discussions with weavers, dyers, ikat pattern masters, cutting masters and tailors. Materials and sketches go hand in hand. They also experiment with materials newer with yarn counts and constructions.

2.1. Contemporary designs by Vinita Passary

Designs are mainly inspired from traditional ikat motifs of Pochampally region other Indian Traditional motifs form from nature etc and later sample fabrics are made in

varied colors and weight variations. After finalisation of patterns and colour, it takes about 30-45 days to weave the skilled fabrics.

Duality in order to provide exclusivity to a consumer and determining ethical practices, Azo-free dyes are used and all the textiles are batch produces. They also recycle the smaller pieces of fabrics as tassels on dupattas and stoles so there is no textile wastage. Vinita ascertains that she loves discussions with the weavers. Every time she meets artisans she gets to learn something from them.

POOL (2015). Jaipur base textile and clothing designer **Chinar Farooqui** established her label called **Injiri** which is a colloquial pronunciation of the word 'India'. She explained India is a historic world for real madras Checkered Textiles that were exported from South India to west Africa in the 18th Century.

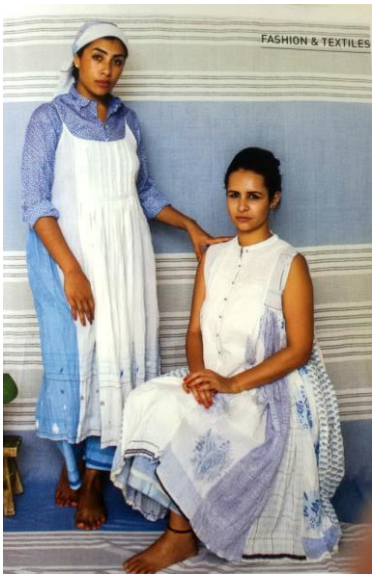
2.2.a. Contemporary designs by Chinar Farooqui

Her work is based the textile design incorporated into the hand woven fabrics. She does not believe in adding surface embellishment focusing instead on the process of making a garment. For her, it is the textiles that suggest the shape of thegarment so that the garment eventually tells a little story about the textile it is made of. She brings most of the inspirations of the garments from the local dressing styles of rural India and other folk culture around the world. It is the simplest work of peasants' farmers and the common

man that inspires her. Elements of textile design such as kor and kanni are used as important details on the garment to celebrate the entire process of hand weaving.

She engages several 'karigars'(craftspersons) from different parts of India including spinners, rangrez(dyers), bunkars(weavers), darazis(tailor) and Dastakars(finishing craftspeople).

One of her collection called "The Rebari Folk Collection" was an outcome of a collaboration with weavers from Kachchh who were producing organic cotton locally called Kala Cotton: that is grown and handspun in Gujarat.



2.2. b. Contemporary designs by Chinar Farooqui

POOL(2015). Neha Puri, designs for her label named **Mool** which means basic or fundamental in Hindi. Her inspirations comes from conversations, listening to people's experiences or visual or mental stimuli.the technique which she majorly focuses upon is stitch resist and involves dyeing at multiple stages. She mostly explores and experiments with new types of fabrics sourced from various craft clusters across India

POOL (2015), Debanshri Samanta under label **Debanshri Samantha** designs hand woven clothing for the woman with a fun yet offbeat sensibility. She makes Indo-western sillouettes for women clothes with a rustic sensibility but for urban wardrobe. She believes time is luxury and future is all about balancing sustainability and trend.

2.3. Contemporary designs by Debanshri Samanta

To her being anti-print is a lifestyle choice! Her label caters to an ageless client base and often have mothers and daughters picking up the same styles. Her collection

explicates workmanship, non-conformity, comfortability and accentuating new-age silhouette.

Pradeep Pillai, clothing and textiles designer and creative director of **Pillai designer studio**, works with various artisans clusters in Bihar, Andhra prades and Madhya Prades. He works in designing and weaving of 6 yards (saris) and employs use of geometrics, abstraction and asymmetry in Sari designs, which he asserts results in completely new design vocabulary that appleals to the younger generation.

Few of the illustrated examples are- Supplementary weft weaving techniques on tussar with tussar yarns as extra weft, introduction of newer motifs in baawanbooti saris of Buddhist Belt. Some of his designs are named “Sarnath”, “Surajpur” and “Padmapani” corresponding to the names of ancient Buddhist places of workship from where he derives his inspiration. During his travels he ensure to visit old stores that sometimes stocks a lot of old saris from the 1980s and 90s.

2.4. Contemporary designs by Pradeep Pillai

His process allows him to extract traditional sensibilities of simplicity in form and colour of old textiles lying in torn and dilapidated conditions. He convinces weavers

and reintroduces old motifs in texiles. He does not believe in following fashion trends or colour forecasts, for he doesn't wants his saris to go out of fashion but he forsees and hopes them to be accepted as heirlooms that passes from mother to daughter. Also, in order to achieve the objective of designing contemporary classics, he establishes balance between modern and contemporary such that if the design is modern, then the use of yarn would be very traditional and vice-versa. He asserts that challenge lies not only in creating new designs but also keeping the whole system running from procurement of the best quality yarn to convince weavers to try out newer and higher skilled techniques. A designer, he envisions to produce few designs that are timeless and can sustain a weaver's family for generations.

Ranjan M.P. (2010), in his research article talks about the status of Jawaja project. He mentions that in 1976, the Jawaja project was in full swing. Mr. Ravi J. Matthai and his team explored the role of design and management in the developmental needs of rural producers in India under the initiative called- The Rural Industry. The project was envisioned on 'the principle of dispensability of the interventionist' i.e. those who intervened in the craft sector should eventually withdraw for the benefit of the people so that they can learn to stand on their feet. He explains that initially the project had three components- leather craft, weaving craft and cultivation of local vegetables. The project also looked at the other areas of educating farmers and craftspersons to work together and teaching them skills to withstand pressures of globalization.

The major challenge, he states, for Mr. Matthai and his team was the weaning away of local craftspersons from the periodic bouts of indebtedness that they got into due to extreme poverty and their dependence on local money lenders. The caste based politics was another major challenge. Nilam Iyer, he mentions was capable of providing or wean them with confidence and feeling of independence which was achieved through product diversification. She guided them to construct new products for the alternative market. Her strategies and product detailing decisions helped them bypass the traditional markets that were prone to exploitations by the established traders. In order to take stock of the situation after thirty long years, post graduate students of product design were sent to conduct business process analysis study at Jawaja. It was found that the design action along with hand-holding had worked as an economic leveler for

the community in Jawaja. The leather workers and their families had prospered enough to be economical well off when compared to their counterparts.

Archita Singh (2015), developed range of textile surfaces through weaving and printing technique for Fabindia Overseas Pvt. Ltd for her diploma project. Archita executed indepth case study on her client that included its timeline, organisational set up, company overview, work flow, distribution and supply channel, business model and marketing strategy. The designer also executed brief study on customer requirements and Fabindia's competitors both in organised and unorganised sector. Fabindia offered her their planned theme –Tusrika and Kesariya for their upcoming collection. The designer pulled out motifs, explored them and later worked with various layouts based on motifs. The selected layouts were further explored in terms of colourways. The selected layouts in selected colour ways were got woven by weavers appointed by Fabindia in Amroha. The textures and motifs inspired from the Rajasthan architecture were explored by the weavers and colour sensitivity was retained in terms of colours used in the architecture. Designer again came upon with replicated motifs, and textured patterns inspired from the architecture, explored different layouts in different colourways. Later the selected designs were got printed by the printer of Bagru. The design collection was later launched at the store.