Chapter 2

Handicrafts of India and the Chandua Craft: A Historical Investigation

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2.1 PRELUDE:

The last chapter dealt with the theoretical introduction to the concept of globalisation by understanding its historical processes, describing various theories and theorists associated with it and the phases through which Indian economy and society have adopted to the policies of liberalisation and globalisation. The present study has adopted a unique/contextual definition of the process of globalisation, after thorough investigation into various theories and analyses. Subsequently, the globalisation process is analysed in following chapters taking the Indian handicrafts and Chandua craft into consideration. The present chapter deals with the historical analysis of the Indian and Orissan handicrafts industry with special reference to the Chandua craft.

India has a history of rich and diverse cultural tradition. Among its diversity, the legacy of India’s craft tradition always enjoys a special distinction owing to its beauty, dignity, form, style and aesthetics. ‘It hardly requires an emphasis that India with her enormous variety of crafts and craftsmen withstood all kinds of social
pressures, economic hardship as well as political vicissitude since very early
days.' (Bhattacharya and Chakravarti. edt. 2002: I) 'To write about Indian Handicrafts
is almost like writing about the country itself. So vast, complex and colourful and yet
with a simplicity and charm, difficult to attain under comparable conditions'
(Upadhyay, 1976:1). It is well recognised that Indian handicrafts have very ancient
origin and are of high quality. They have customarily received royal and aristocratic
patronage and handicrafts artisans were honoured by other communities. The
versatility of the various materials used in Indian handicrafts items, such as wood,
stone, metal, grass, glass, cane & bamboo, textiles, clay, terracotta and ceramics,
makes these products distinctive and unique. The International Encyclopedia of the
Social Sciences states that, since the crafts include all activities that produce or
modify objects by manual means, with or without the use of mechanical aids, the
range of study is very broad and there is an equally wide range of social forms within
which the craftsmen operate (1968: 430). In 1880 G.C.M. Birdwood wrote that, 'the
code of Manu has secured in the village system of India a permanent endowment of
the class of heredity artisans and art workmen, who of themselves constitute a vast
population; and the mere touch of their fingers, trained for 3000 years to the same
manipulations, is sufficient to transform whatever foreign work is placed for imitation
in their hands, into something rich and strange and characteristically Indian.' (Cited in
Jaitly, 1990: 09)

Emphasizing upon the greater value of the arts and crafts, T. M. Abraham says, 'the
world of art and craft is as valuable as the world of science, philosophy or ethics. Like
art, crafts reflect the state of human society through the individual. Craft treasures like
art's, give us a glimpse into the core and kernel of the collective mind and societies
through the mirror of individual mind that created them' (1964:2). The handicraft of
India is just another precious component of the vast Indian culture and heritage.
Whether it is intricately decorated metal craft or the spectacular marble inlay work or
the exquisite paintings, Indian handicrafts are going places with their marvelous
ethnic designs and flourishing textures. Several forms of arts and crafts have been
originated and flourished since the Indus-valley civilisation in 3000 BC. A significant
development has taken place in the realms of stone crafts, metal crafts, textiles,
paintings, pottery, wood craft and many such hand woven and handmade items.
These art forms at first began as an expression of inner creativity but with the passage
of time, they evolved as full vocation and the craftsmanship of Indian artists drew attention world over. To quote D. N. Saraf, “the workmanship of the Indian craftsmen is so exquisite that throughout the 18th and 19th centuries India was known to other countries on the trade route more by her crafts than by her art, religion and philosophy” (1991: 52). The artifacts were made for different purposes, i.e. for trade and commerce, for kings and monarchs and also for common people. The journey of the development of arts and crafts has passed through several stages involving several belief systems and traditions. These articles portray a clear understanding of the ever-interesting narratives of Indian crafts. The time stands as true testimony to the evolution of the art and craft as the Indian civilisation grew from life in the caves to the palatial buildings in the modern cities. Various excavations have revealed the details of the ancient history of the Indian crafts heritage. Excavations of tools clearly tell the tale of the nature of production and the aesthetic standards of the respective period. Tools and techniques used today reflect the traditions of the early age. The present day artisans use the techniques inherited by them from their forefathers in the creation of their crafts.

The Rigvedic literatures, being religion based depict the fact that such objects of art and crafts were directly or indirectly associated with the religious rituals and the beliefs of the people. The main types of vessels and pots used by the ancestors that are referred to in Rigveda are made of different materials. The most popular material used for offering sacrifices and worship in religious ceremony, was wood, while clay pots were made principally for domestic uses. Different literature also refers to the use of metal pots by the ancestors. Leather too is mentioned as having been used for making vessels. Besides, ornaments were also made out of wood and metal. Interestingly, the scriptures also give the note of the use of gold and silver among the people of ancient age.

Handicrafts are usually made by using rudimentary technology and major part of the work is done by the skillful hands of the artists without using any machinery. There is considerable level of confusion and difficulty on the true definition of the term handicraft. As said by Leibl and Roy, 'most people use the terms 'craftsperson' and 'artisan' interchangeably, some refer to 'handicrafts', or to 'cottage industries', or 'household industries', or 'traditional industries' and some other limit the definition of
‘craft’ to those items possessing clear artistic value, or to those with demonstrated export success while few others include any occupation that involves manual labour' (2003:5366). However, academicians and government bodies widely use the operational definition of handicrafts forwarded by the, Ministry of Textiles (Government of India), by The Task Force on Handicrafts in 1989, which defines it as ‘items made by hand, often with the use of simple tools, and are generally artistic and/or traditional in nature. They include objects of utility and objects of decoration’ (See Report on the Task Force on Handicrafts for the VIII Five Year Plan, 1989, also in Leibl and Roy, 2003:5367). This definition is quite similar to the one adopted by International Trade Center (ITC) which describes that ‘Artisanal products are those produced by artisans, either completely by hand, or with the help of hand tools or even mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most substantial component of the finished product. These are produced without restriction in terms of quantity and using raw materials from sustainable resources. The special nature of artisanal products derives from their distinctive features, which can be utilitarian, aesthetic, artistic, creative, culturally attached, decorative, functional, traditional, religiously and socially symbolic and significant’ (Quoted in Leibl and Roy, 2003:5376).

2.2 INDIAN CRAFTS LEGACY:

The history of Indian handicrafts is as old as the Indian civilisation itself. In order to trace the origin of Indian art and craft one needs to go back to almost 5000 years in the pages of history. The Indus Valley Civilisation (3000 B.C.-1700 B.C.) gives the first references about the richness of the craftsmanship of the Indian artisans. The craft tradition in India has revolved around the religious belief systems of the people, the rituals they practice and day to day needs of the masses. The demand by the royalty for the crafts of their imagination and predilection also played an important role in shaping the craft tradition among the artisans. The craft goods were also made keeping an eye on both foreign and domestic demand. Notwithstanding many foreign invasions, and frantic attempt to kill the vast creative tradition of the country, these craft heritage continue to flourish till date owing to the assimilative and accommodative Indian culture showing the hallmark of unity amidst diversity. The creativity and innovative talent of the artisans of all ages have been the testimony to
this vast cultural asset. A brief analysis of the historical past of Indian handicraft is discussed below.

I. **Indus-valley civilisation:**

Since Indus-valley civilisation (3000 BC-1700BC), several varieties of arts and crafts have been originated and flourished. The Indian textile, paintings, stone crafts, metal craft, music, wood craft, pottery craft etc have seen significant development in the annals of history. These art forms began as an inner expression and creativity of the artists but in later course, they evolved as full vocation. Evidences from the excavation site at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro substantiate the richness of the craft tradition of the Indus valley civilisation. The craftspersons not only catered to all the local demands but also surplus items were sent to outside places like ancient Arabian locations via sea routes.

II. **Vedic Age:**

The Indus Valley Civilisation was followed by the Vedic age (1500 B.C.), which again gives ample evidence of the rich tradition of cultural creativity by the artisans of the time. There are numerous references in the Vedic literature on artisans involved in weaving, pottery making, wood crafting etc. The Rig Veda in particular refers to a variety of pottery made from wood, clay and metal. It also refers to weavers and different weaving crafts. In fact the earlier reference to the great tradition of Indian textiles has been found in the Vedic literature. ‘In the sixth Mandala of the Rigveda there has been a distinct reference to weaving occurrence to the words tantum and vayanti. Moreover, the Rigveda contains the word tasara meaning a weaver’s shuttle’ (Pal, 1978:62). Further, Rustam J Mehta has mentioned that in the Rig Veda, there is a mention of gold cups and vessels encrusted with gems (1960: 1). The very ancient origin of Indian jewellery has been traced in Vedic literature as well. The sage Kakshivat, the author of many hymns of the Rig Veda, prays for a son decorated with golden ear-rings and a jeweled necklace. (Mehta, 1960:15)
III. State Empires:

The concept of state was developed by the rise of the Mauryan Empire in the 3rd century B.C. Both literary and excavated evidences show that during the time of Ashoka, 84,000 stupas were built in India, including the world famous Sanchi Stupa, which has beautiful stone carving and relief work crafted on it. Numerous sculptures from the excavated sites of Bharhut, Mathura, Amravati, Vaishali, Sanchi etc show female figures adorned with an array of jewelry showing the craftsmanship of the artists of that time in jewelry making. The iron pillars of Vaishali (Bihar) and Delhi, created during the time of Emperor Ashoka, are spectacular evidences of metallurgy.

IV. Post Mauryan Age:

As a result of invasions from central Asia, the period between 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D. was a period of political instability in Indian history. The sculpture of the Kushan king Kanishka from this period depicting him wearing boots made of leather and a heavy warm coat is said to be reflecting the influence of the central Asian Culture on Indian craftsmanship. Jewelry work, sculpture, textiles, leather works, metal works, etc. are the main handicrafts that are understood to have inherited these foreign influences and assimilated them in accordance with the Indian style. So the Indian handicrafts got a wind of change and variety of designs and styles cropped up during this time. The Gautam Buddha sculptures found in North Western frontier region of the Indian subcontinent gives substantial evidence of western influence including the Greek culture.

V. Gupta Age:

The Gupta age (AD 320-647 AD) is referred to as the golden or classical period in Indian history. The rock cut temples of Ellora and the Ajanta murals are the two cardinal evidences of the craft work during this period. These murals give us a realistic view of the lifestyle and culture of the people of that time. The craftsmen of this period under the royal patronage excelled in jewelry, woodcarving, stone carving, sculpture, and weaving. There was major boost and support to the handicrafts sector and respect for people engaged in such activities.
VI. Medieval India (1206 AD – 1857 AD):

The handicraft artisans under the Delhi Sultanate (1206 AD -1526 AD) during this period flourished in the field of pottery, weaving, wood carving, metal works and jewelry etc. But during the medieval period, the Indian handicrafts showed a marked shift from north India to the south. There has been a remarkable contribution by the Cholas kings and the Vijaynagar Empire for the development of the crafts like bronze sculpture, silk weaving, jewelry and temple carving. Jagannath Temple of Puri and Khajuraho caves relate to that period. The Mughal empire is called as the golden period for the Indian Handicrafts. The Taj Mahal, the peacock throne were the creations during this period. Different kinds of jewelry, glass engravings, miniature paintings, the famous Rajasthani paintings, Kutchh jewelry etc all started during this period. Inlay work, carpet weaving, enameled jewelry were also very popular during these period. The making of enameled jewellery, carpets and even textiles were developed into a fine art. During these period the artisans were commonly employed by the kings and princes who engaged them for making different handicrafts by paying them salary. The great Mughal emperors Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jahan particularly are known for their great patronage of the arts and crafts of India. (Mehta, 1960: 2) These Mughal rulers attracted master artisans from all over the world and added a number of skills, techniques and designs to the already rich repertoire of the Indian master craftsmen (Dhamija, 1970:5).

VII. Modern India (Since 1857 AD):

With the collapse of the Mughal regime the patronage extended to the Indian handicrafts was lost. Uncertain political environment discouraged trade so also the workmanship of the Indian artists. But still during the early nineteenth century, Indian crafts continued to flourish and were of high attraction both among the nobility, common masses and the foreign consumers. 'The cotton and silk textiles of Burhanpur, belonging to erstwhile Central Province of India, woven with gold-plated silver thread were exported as far as Turkey and Poland and were second only to the famous fabrics of Dacca and Surat; the fine cloth of Chanda was exported as far as Arabia.' (Blennerhasset, 1889, 1; Harnetty, 1991, 459)
Modern India since the mid-nineteenth century with the advent of the British, experienced the influence of the western culture. The golden period and the flourishing Indian handicrafts began deteriorating during this period owing to the malicious colonial rule. 'The alien Britishers in the early days of their rule were not likely either to check the decay of indigenous artistic traditions or to initiate a new and fruitful movement for a resurgence of the artistic instinct and activities' (Saraswati, 1973:50). 'A slow decline began for which there were several causes: the extinction of native courts with the rise of British power, changes in fashion which followed the spread of British rule, and competition from British imported cloth. This decline did not affect all weaving castes equally or occur in all places simultaneously though' (Harnetty, 1991, 459).

The annexation of princely states and the subsequent annihilation of different courts after the arrival of the British system caused great harm to the handicrafts and handloom sector in India. A report suggests that before the extinction of the Poona state in 1818, the export of cloth woven in Nagpur city and adjacent areas to Poona came to between Rs. 1,200,000 and Rs 1,400,000 a year; by 1826 this had fallen to scarcely Rs 300,000 with another Rs 150,000 worth of cloth sent to Bithur, near Cawnpore, the place of exile for the former Peshwa, Baji Rao (Jenkins, 1827, 101; Harnetty, 1991, 460). The closure of the courts of different rulers virtually stopped the patronage given to the crafts by different nobility and gentry. Again the annexation of Nagpur state in 1854 had a similar depressing effect with the disappearance of the court and camp of the Raja of Nagpur, not only on the local industry but elsewhere. The Raja was a great patron of the manufactures of Burhanpur and used to buy cloth of gold worth hundreds of thousands of rupees. (Harnetty, 1991: 460) As Harnetty also mentioned, when the court of Maharaja Sindia withdrew its patronage after the transfer of the town to British rule in 1844, it adversely affected the weaving tradition of Burhanpur. (Ibid, 460)

That the Indian goods are of high quality and no foreign product could match them was the understanding of none other than a high ranking British officer J. Forbes Watson, who was asked by the then Secretary of State for India (See Harnetty, 1991) to examine the Indian handloom goods and the taste and fashion of the Indian people so as to make it easy for the British manufacturers to make goods that can be easily
sold in Indian markets among the Indian consumers. Watson’s meticulous study came out in the form a handsome book (See Watson, 1866). Watson’s impression was that Europe would probably never be able to make such items as handloom brocades and embroideries cheaper than India (Harnetty, 1991: 463). With considerable foresight and giving emphasis on the Indian handmade weaving clothes, he commented. ‘This leads us to remark that there are certain fabrics which will probably always be best and most cheaply manufactured by hand’ (Watson, 1866: 7; Harnetty, 1991: 463). Whatever may be the fact, the Watson report must have helped the British manufacturers in understanding the Indian taste and fashion that resulted in large scale influx of British manufactured goods into India. ‘They were manufactured in close imitation of the local products of places like Nagpur and Umrer, of the then Central Province of India, their color was brighter, their texture was at least as fine, and they were thirty per cent cheaper. Their novelty and superior appearance captured a large share of the market and local handloom weavers suffered accordingly’ (Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces 1865-66, p. iv; Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India, 1870: 332; Famie, 1979: 101; Harnetty, 1991: 463). Following this, gradually the export of the Indian handmade goods gradually started declining and the import of the British machine made goods started increasing. Table 0.1 shows the trend in the Central Province.

So, ‘at the opening of the nineteenth century, the handloom weavers had supplied all the textile requirements of the country and had maintained a flourishing export trade, notably to Britain. This reached its peak in value in 1800 and in volume in 1802, thereafter, imports of Indian piece goods to Britain declined sharply in face of competition from the growing British cotton industry which was well protected by stiff import duties until 1826’ (Farnie, 1979: 96-7; Harnetty, 1991: 472). The British policy had not only affected the export of the Indian handmade goods but also had minuscule its share in domestic markets too. According to Harnetty, along with other reasons, the domestic market for handloom cloth declined with the expansion of British rule, the termination of the East India Company's trade monopoly in the year 1813, the abolition of internal trade duties between the year 1844 and 1848, the improvement of communications, especially from the year 1854 when the construction of railways made the penetration of markets in the interior easier, and the absence of any tariff protection for indigenous industry (1991: 473). At the turn of the nineteenth
century, India was absorbing more than 40 per cent of total British cloth exports to the world.¹ (Sandberg, 1974: 140; Harnetty, 1991: 473)

Table 0.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports of Piece Goods</th>
<th>Exports of Country Cloth</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English Mds Rs</td>
<td>Indian Mds Rs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>22,881 4,157,169</td>
<td>60,352 2,500,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>58,496 5,686,495</td>
<td>54,277 4,419,699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>29,070 3,495,123</td>
<td>55,052 5,775,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>58,402 6,615,671</td>
<td>52,893 5,605,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867-68</td>
<td>101,474 9,431,978</td>
<td>61,582 5,400,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-year av.</td>
<td>54,067 5,877,287</td>
<td>56,231 4,740,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>90,749 7,713,665</td>
<td>32,741 1,637,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>83,446 7,181,470</td>
<td>18,888 953,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>114,185 10,562,112</td>
<td>15,824 989,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>104,947 9,707,597</td>
<td>9,648 603,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>104,945 9,654,910</td>
<td>9,197 570,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-year av.</td>
<td>99,654 8,963,951</td>
<td>17,260 950,728</td>
</tr>
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<td>25,616 1,496,253</td>
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The year from 1600 to 1757, the East India Company acted as a trading corporation and its principal activity was to bring goods and different products into India and exchange them for Indian goods like textiles, handicrafts and spices which it sold abroad- in Britain and other countries. Although the company was taking profit from such ventures, it increased the export of Indian goods and encouraged their production. That was probably why the Indian kings and Zamindars encouraged the company’s establishment in India in the beginning. As a matter of fact, the Indian products especially different handicrafts and textiles flooded the British markets and were in high demand among the consumers. This laid to the British industries to put

¹ Note: In the period 1885-94, average annual British cloth exports to all parts of the world were 4,904,342,000 yards of which India took on average 2,085,758,000 yards, worth on average £18,320,000 annually. In fact, British cloth exports to India increased both in volume and value up to 1913 but India’s share of total British exports declined slightly after 1894 from 43 to 41 per cent. (As cited in Harnetty, 1991, 473)
pressure on the government to restrict the Indian goods. By the second decade of the eighteenth century laws were passed banning Indian goods in British markets. The British government wanted to protect its rising machine made goods which could still not compete with the cheaper and better quality Indian goods. As Kumarappa says, even as late as 1802, ships and warships for England were built by India, and England borrowed plans and designs from Indian builders (1944: 108).

Then, the Industrial revolution in England really changed the dynamics of economic relations between India and England. Modern machine, factory system and capitalism were the hallmark of the British industries during the second half of the 18th Century. Now instead of export of Indian goods to Britain and other countries, the British Indian government formulated policies so as to make it for them to export raw materials like raw cotton from India and import the finished machine made goods from Britain. Therefore, Bipan Chandra rightly remarks, agricultural India was to be made an economic colony of industrial England. Referring to R C Dutt's analysis of Indian economy, Mukund observes, 'Britain had transformed India from an exporter of manufactured goods to an importer of cloth, using political power to keep down a competitor with whom the British manufacturer could not have competed on normal terms' (Mukund, 1992: 2057).

As it is known, the return from the production of raw-materials is always less than occupations engaged in processing the goods for consumption. Therefore, separating raw-material producers and goods manufacturers into two different watertight compartments beyond political boundaries will definitely lower the income of the raw-material producers in comparison to the income of the goods manufacturers. This was what happened during British imperialism in India. ‘The raw-material producers (the people of India) have been consigned in perpetuity to lower and decreasing income, while the manufacturers (people of Great Britain) have attempted to assure themselves of the higher-yielding sources. This is the essence of imperialism.’ (Kumarappa, 1944: 108)

The government of British India made policies of free trade so as to allow unrestricted entry of British goods into Indian markets. A major obstacle as Bipan Chandra, et.al. write, to the rapid industrial development was the policy of free trade which was on the one hand, ruining India’s traditional handicrafts industries and, on the other,
forcing the infant and underdeveloped modern industries into a premature and unequal and, hence unfair and disastrous competition with the highly organised and developed industries of the West (1989: 96). Indian handicrafts were exposed to the fierce and uneven competition of the machine-made goods of Britain and finally faced complete extinction. Even Indian goods were subjected to heavy import duties on entry into the British market. Making a pertinent observation A.K. Coomaraswamy remarks ‘the Musalman Puritanism did not, as a matter of fact, injure Indian art in the way that contact with western civilisation has injured it’ (Cited in Saraswati, 1973:65).

Although the ancient Indian villages were self-sufficient and prosperous and the village handicrafts of the country were of international repute, the colonial period of Indian history proved to be a bad phase for the Indian craft industry. Looking at the deplorable condition that the industry suffered from, Gandhi had remarked that, “as I read Dutt’s Economic History of India, I wept and as I think of it again my heart sickens. It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared” (Gandhi, M.K, 1938: 93. Also cited in Mathai, 2000: 189; Jena, 2008: 112).

After the British penetration, Indian society witnessed the western education and the British education system produced a kind of society which prided in living in the western mode, speaking the western language and thinking the western way. The love and attachment towards Indian culture and tradition was gradually receding. Indian art and craft which had so long been an integral part of the life of the people became so to say, objects of contempt and ridicule (See Saraswati, 1973:67). Instead there was an interminable desire for the western fashion and style. Saraswati goes on saying, ‘No art can expect to thrive in this state of general apathy and it is no wonder that all artistic traditions of the country were in a state of complete disintegration by the end of the 19th century (1973:67). Making an important observation in this context, Jasleam Dhamija remarks that although the Indian artisans had to face the chief foreign imports and the influx of the western culture, style, design, fortunately most of the handicrafts artisans were spread over the country-side and were essentially catering to local needs. As many areas were physically isolated from outside
influences, the skills of these areas survived. A number of crafts were also closely associated with religious observances and thus they too were retained in all their purity (1970:6). However, the severe damage that the British rule had done to the Indian crafts are beyond any suspicion.

VIII. Post-Independence period (Since 1947 AD):

The Swadeshi movement pioneered by Gandhi during the freedom movement had remarkable effects on saving the craft tradition of the country. It had addressed both the plight of the craftspersons and the dire need of preserving the ancient cultural heritage of the Indian society. Considering the significant role of the handicrafts sector in the country’s socio-economic development, the government of free India as a matter of policy wanted to promote the handicrafts sector and develop the small scale and cottage industries. Not only it had the potential of providing employment to a vast segment of craftpersons belonging to different castes, religions and communities, it also had prospects for generating substantial foreign exchange for the country while preserving its cultural heritage. So, the government monitored and evaluated the growth and performance of this sector and implemented policies, programmes, schemes so as to bring this sector to the mainstream of development.

Five years after independence, the government of India set up an All India Handicrafts Board under the dynamic guidance of Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay (Dhamija, 1970: 6). The reputation of Smt. Chattopadhyay and her personal involvement helped securing fund and resources form both central and state governments for overall development of this sector. In what could have been said as a very important effort by her was a parallel programme run to create awareness among the people of their historical past and cultural heritage. Exhibitions were organised in different places in the country and abroad and dying crafts were revived. The Central Cottage Industries Emporium in New Delhi was crucial in bringing awareness of quality goods and helped in imparting a sense of pride in the craft tradition and cultivating a taste for folk art and craft (Ibid: 7). Its role was crucial in making the craft once again attractive among the Europeans and Americans. This led to growing demand for the art and craft goods which in turn enforced more production leading to providing employment to the artisans across the country. In short, the sector which
was ravaged by the ill policies of the Colonial government, could now be saved, so also thousands of artisan communities who were depending upon their age old hereditary occupation. The Handicrafts and Handloom Export Corporation (HHEC) under the able guidance of Smt. Pupul Jayakar, set up a number of sales shops which exhibited the best of crafts and helped to build up the market for crafts abroad (ibid: 7). Export friendly policies helped the rise in handicrafts exports from India and raised the employment opportunities for a large number of people besides restoring the great cultural heritage of the country.

2.3 INDIAN HANDICRAFTS – SOME REFLECTIONS:

Handicrafts in India are not just objects of utility or decoration. Craft is a part and parcel of the socio-economic and religious life of thousands of the craft communities spread across the country. According to Rustam J. Mehta, ‘the craftsmen of ancient India traced his descent from Vishvakarma, Lord of many Arts, Master of a Thousand Handicrafts, Carpenter to the Gods, the Architect of their celestial Mansions, the Designer of all ornaments, the First of all craftsmen. This mythological origin provides him with a proud religious background for his hand-work and a spiritual incentive to give of his very best.’ (1960:1)

The craftsmen in India produce two kinds of crafts – rural and urban, showcasing the feature of a progressive and developing economy. By this the artisans meet the demand of both the rural and urban consumers. Whereas the rural people need simple and cheap utilitarian goods, the urban people want costly, stylish and sophisticated items for both decorative and utilitarian purposes. Such kind of initiative by the Indian craftsperson has sustained the tradition of both the rural and urban crafts. Depicting the Indian artisans’ versatile role, A. K. Coomaraswamy remarks, “Broadly speaking, he is associated with that life in one of three ways; as a member of a village community; as a member of a guild of merchant craftsmen in a great city; or as the feudal servant of the king, or chieftain of a temple” (1909:1, Also in Pal, 1978:3). As a feudal servant he had to cater to the needs of the royal family, while as a chieftain of a temple his duties were multifarious specially including the maintenance of the temple as well as its accessories (Pal, 1978:3). There are several Indian craft forms which have very ancient origin. A brief analysis of several craft forms is given below.
I. Potter’s Craft:

One of the important traditional crafts of India, its origin has been traced from prehistoric age. This craft was developed during the Neolithic age when the nomads had settled to a stationary life. It can be divided into two major categories – pottery and terracotta. Speaking highly of Indian potteries, Sir George Birdwood said, “Truest to nature, in the directness and simplicity of its forms, and their adoption to use, and purest in art, of all its homely and sumptuary handicrafts is the pottery of India” (Birdwood, 1884:387; Pal, 1978: 4; Mehta, 1960:80) Along with the food habits of the people of the time, potteries clearly depict their socio-religious customs, technological development and even their socio-economic condition.

Neolithic potteries were of coarse and handmade representing pale-grey or burnished grey, red, orange etc. Potteries of Neolithic times were found from Gujarat, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Kashmir which were mainly of utilitarian nature like jars, vessels, bowls etc. (Pal, 1978: 5). It is established from the Neolithic origin of the Indian pottery that people knew the art of producing fire and made pottery by hand long back.

The next important phase in the history of pottery is called as the ‘Chalcolithic’ phase which is characterised by the use of metal especially copper and bronze. Chalcolithic pottery is divided into two categories – Harappan and Post-Harappan. The Harappan pottery has been found in good number of sites like in Bara (Haryana), Rupar (Punjab), Kalibangan (Rajasthan), Hasanpur (Gujarat) and the remains of post-Harappan Chalcolithic cultures have been found in Eran and Nagda (Madhya Pradesh), Bahal (Maharashtra) and Akhar (Rajasthan) (Pal, 1978:7). The remains of potter craft belonging to different periods of history have found from different places in India showing the long historical tradition of pottery making in India. Potteries belonging to the first millennium BC are found in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, of those belonging to second-third century B.C are found in Kolhapur, Nasik in Maharashtra. Potteries belonging to period between 200 BC and 650 AD are decorative in natures which are found in North India and the potteries of about 14th century AD are by and large utilitarian products (Pal, 1978:11-16). During the present time, the blue pottery
of Delhi and Jaipur, Rajasthan and glazed pottery of Karigiri, Andhra Pradesh are famous for variety of colours and variety.

II. Terracotta:

As mentioned above, along with pottery, the potter craft also includes terracotta that too has a long historical past. These are merely objects for domestic use in households and for worshiping as idols. Terracotta are also used as children’s toys. ‘According to many scholars, the origin of this craft in India may be traced back to the Zhob and Kulli cultures, which are known to have flourished in Baluchistan in the first half of the third millennium BC (Pal, 1978:19). The terracotta art of urban Harappa shows the artistic excellence of Indian craftspersons. The important centers of the Mauryan terracotta are Pataliputra in Bihar, Rupur in Punjab and Rajghat, Mathura in Uttar Pradesh. In modern times also the terracottas play a cardinal role in the Indian craft horizon which people use for both decorative and utilitarian purposes. Goalpara (Assam), Baragarh and Balasore (orissa), Mathura, Lucknow (UP), Patna (Bihar) and Rajgram (West Bengal) are the important terracotta centres during the modern times (Pal, 1978:24). Although in modern times machine made cheap products flood in the market, the artists still try to maintain the originality and aesthetics in the craft keeping pace with the age old tradition.

III. Stone-Cutter’s Craft:

This is another important craft which has very ancient origin in India. It is believed that this craft was originated in the second half of the third millennium BC. During the period between first century BC and fifth century BC, the stone-cutter’s craft very much flourished at Gandhara, Mathura, Jaggayya-peta, Amaravati, Nagarajunakonda, Goli etc. (Pal, 1978:27). The earliest stone-carving of the Mohammedan era dates from AD 1438 and started with the building of the Juma Masjid at Jaunpur by Shah Ibrahim Sharqi in this year and finished sometime in AD 1448, probably by Sultan Hasan Sharqi (Mehta, 1960: 52). This craft reached at its peak during the time of the Gupta rulers who had spread in North India. ‘The unique sculptural findings from Mathura and Sarnath not only testify to the great technical skill of the stone image makers of the age, but also signify the Gupta classical tradition, reverberation of
which may be felt in the artistic activities throughout the country, in the North as well as South‘ (Pal, 1978:29). At present, the chief centers of stone-carving are Udaipur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Ajmer, Jodhpur in Rajasthan, Agra, Mathura, Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh, Gaya in Bihar, Warrangal, Nirmal in Andhra Pradesh and Ahmedabad, Kthiwar in Gujarat. Puri in Orissa is also very famous for Stone work.

IV. Wood-Carving:

As found from different literature, wood-carving is said to be a very ancient crafts in India since it has been traced that it was in use by the people of this country long before the stone craft which itself has very ancient origin going back to pre-Mauryan times. Wood is used in almost all the construction works, whether it is in temples, buildings or houses, and the Indian artists have meticulously acquired the skill of wood-carving since ancient times. It has been noted that the palaces of the great Maurya King, Chandragupta at Pataliputra which surpassed in splendour the royal residences of Susa and Ekbatana were all made of wood (Pal, 1978:35). As stated by Percy Brown2, “of the fortification surrounding this great capital city of the Mauryan empire nothing has survived except fragments of the wooden ramparts unearthed at Bulandi Bagh, near Patna, Bihar, the beams of which by their size prove that the Greek envoy’s account of its dimensions was by no means exaggerated” (Brown, 1956: 6; also cited in Pal, 1978:35). During the nineteenth and the twentieth century, the most notable centers of wood carving are Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Madras in Tamil Nadu, Visakhapatnam, Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh, Surat, Ahmedabad in Gujarat, Nasik, Bombay in Maharashtra, Puri in Orissa, Srinagar in Kashmir and Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh. These places still continue their artistic craftsmanship in making dolls and toys and many other varieties in wood.

V. Ivory Craft:

Among the most intricate and meticulous crafts of India is the ivory-carving. As Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya (1976) says, a Vedic text includes ivory work amongst the noblest of crafts. Like other traditional crafts, Ivory-craft has also very ancient origin. The remains of this craft have been found during excavations in various

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2 Percy Brown was former Secretary and Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta. He was also Principal of the Government School of Art, and Keeper of the Government Art Gallery, Calcutta.
Harappan sites. It has played an important role in the socio-economic life of the people of the Harappan period. During the nineteenth and the twentieth century, ivory-craft came to be recognised as one of the principal artifacts of the country. The various decorative, utilitarian and ritual objects such as casket, miniature door, comb, powder boxes, inlaid jewelry boxes, lamp-stands and images of different gods and goddess are the objects produced by the ivory artisans of India. Now to save the elephant population, there has been a worldwide ban on the ivory products, but the old products are still in high demand.

The ivory carvers of Bengal, Rajasthan and Delhi are known for their meticulously engraved models of ambari hathi or processional elephant, bullock carts and caskets. Orissa has a history of offering ivory inlaid furniture to the Jagannath temple at Puri. Thrivantapuram in Kerala has its reputation in ivory carving for centuries. The most attractive pieces made by the talented ivory carvers of Kerala are the mythological figures and natural objects.

VI. Textiles:

India has a very diverse and rich textile tradition. As claimed by different scholars, of all crafts of India, textiles are certainly the oldest. Its origin has been traced way back to the Harappan period. 'The discovery of fragments of finely woven madderdyed cotton fabrics and bobbins at Mohenjo-Daro traces back the antiquity of Indian textiles to over 4000 years' (Mehta, 1960:95, Pal, 1978:61) Again, Pal (1978) gives a detailed account of the very ancient origin of weaving tradition and its reference in Dedic and Puranic literature. As he says,

'From the Ramayana we find that the weaving industry was carried to its perfection. We hear of beddings decorated with gold, coverlets decked with gems and jewels, coverlets decorated with gold, carpets decorated with gold and silver, carpets dyed with the colour of lac, cloth decorated with designs and blankets and carpets with variegated designs on them. In addition we have mention of wollen stuff, cotton and silk garments. On the occasion of Rama's proposed consecration as 'Yuvraj' the streets of Ayodha were overspread with patta-vastra and silk clothes. Sita used to wear yellow silken cloth while in panchavati firest.' (1978:66)
During the period between seventh century BC and third century BC, Benaras, Bengal, Kalinga (Orissa), are reported to be famous for cotton and silk weaving (Ibid: 62-63). During the period between sixteenth century AD and eighteenth century AD textile craft appears to have existed in good numbers of places like Golakonda, in Andhra Pradesh, Burhanpur in Madhya Pradesh, Dacca (Now in Bangladesh), Delhi, Agra in Uttar Pradesh and in Kashmir. Rustam J Mehta says, ‘it was from India that were exported to ancient Egypt the very fine muslins used as shrouds of the Egyptian royal mummies. Silks also were exported to this land of Nile, perhaps from Bengal’(1960:1). Way back in 1655 AD, Terry Edward in his ‘Voyage to the East Indies’ wrote about India saying “the natives there shew very much ingenuity in their curious manufactures, as in their silk stuff, which they most artificially weave, some of them very neatly mingled either with silver or gold, or both; as also in making excellent quilts of their stained cloth, or of fresh-coloured taffeta lined with their pintadoes or their satin lined with taffeta, betwixt which they put cotton wool, and work them together with silk.....”(Cited in Mehta, 1960:2).

Textile weaving has played an important role in the social and economic life of the people in India. During the nineteenth and twentieth century the textile crafts became widespread and famous. Different types of traditional textiles either of cotton or of silk are found to have been manufactured, the most important of them being brocades, muslins, embroidered fabrics, tye-dyed and printed calico cloths, the patolas and the carpets. (Mehta, 1960:95-130; Abraham, 1964:127-147; Mukherji, 1888:332-367; Pal, 1978 : 73) At present Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Manipur, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Uttar Pradesh are important textile producing centers.

VII. Carpets:

The true expression and simple philosophy is displayed in the Indian carpet. As in case of many other crafts, the weavers here also derive their source from their sensitive perception of nature. In fact their creation is a translation of the beautiful nature. Besides, the designs also depict puranic story, legends, romances and different flora and fauna. Carpets are manufactured in cotton, wool, silk and even velvet. Literatures on the Indian textiles and carpets suggest that the craft is of great antiquity and has been widely practiced since very early times, though we have no surviving
examples of work dating much before the 16th century due to the perishable nature of this craft (Pal, 1978: 82). As to Chattopadhyay, normally when reference is made to the carpet it is the woolen pile carpet which took birth in this country in the 16th century. Though its origin may have been Persian, once the Indian weavers picked up the craft, they made it their own (1976:63). Stressing on the attractiveness and variety of the Indian carpets, She further points out that, 'owing to the growing and very diverse demand of the foreign market, the Indian carpet weavers have been able to successfully meet a surprising wide range of demands from delicate Indo-Persian to the abstract Scandinavian, from sturdy Central Asian to the reticent 'Queen Anne' and the quite Aubusson, from the heavy Savonnerie to the quaint Chinese (Ibid). Although many claim that the Indian carpets weavers have borrowed the original technique from their Persian counterparts, there are conflicting views on it. As to Shanti Swarup, eminent art historian, 'it was once believed that India learnt carpet weaving from Persia. But the methods and designs of the carpet weavers in our country are so peculiarly indigenous and so distinctly recognizable from those of other countries that this theory has now been abandoned' (Cited in Mehta, 1960:131).

Important carpet producing centers in India are Mirzapur, Bhadohi and Agra in Uttar Pradesh, Jaipur and Bikaner in Rajasthan, Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh, Amritsar in Punjab and Walajapet in Tamil Nadu. Srinagar in the Kashmir valley produces the most finest of all Indian carpets. These days, the designs and colours are made keeping in mind the requirement of the modern market both national and international.

VIII. Jewellery and Ornaments:

Since ancient times, jewellery has been a part of the Indian culture and civilisation. Varieties of gold, silver, copper ornaments have been found in different Harappan and Mohenjodaro sites. 'From the archeological finds recovered from Harrappa and Mohenjodaro, Lakhirabar (Gujarat), Rupar (Punjab) and Kalibangan (Rajasthan), there is a clear picture of the jewellery and ornaments used by the people of the period' (Marshall, 1931:528-529; Pal, 1978:83). The principal types of ornaments used during the period were ear-rings, finger-rings, head ornaments, bracelets, necklaces etc. According to different literatures, the period between second century
BC and third century AD was the glorious period for the ancient Indian jewellery. The great epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata also describe about the jewelry worn by the monarchs and their wives.

In Indian artists make ornaments practically for every part of the human body. Right since the ancient times, jewelleries are made both for humans and for gods and goddess to be offered during various religious ceremonies and also for decorating animals like elephants and horses, on different occasions. During the period between 1501AD and 1800 AD glass bangels, beads of semi-precious stones, lapidary works including making of cups, handles of knives etc, lac bangels, enameled jewellery and ornaments in gold and silver appear to have been very popular among the contemporary population (Pal, 1978:94). Ornaments and jewellery still play an important role in the socio-economic life of the people in India since almost every household use jewellery ornaments. Rajasthan, Delhi, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat are known to be leading jewellery producing states during the present days. The filigree work of Cuttack, Orissa is very famous not only in India but also in foreign countries for the amazing skill of its artists and the delicacy of the craft.

Referring to the anklets used by peasant women at Bundi in Rajasthan, during a lecture in 1901, Sir Thomas Wardle said, “I bought for a few annas a bronze chain anklet, but all cast in one mould together, quite a common thing, but so wonderfully made that one of our best foundry owners told me he did not think anyone could do it in Europe” (cited in Mehta, 1960:20). ‘In India, jewellery is not worn because of its intrinsic value alone, but because it is beautiful, because it serves to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the poor and rich alike – the former by the simple ornaments of silver; the latter by the dazzling master pieces in purest gold that the Indian craftsmen is capable of turning out’ (Mehta, 1960:25; Pal, 1978:101). Now India is a leading exporter of gemstones and manufactured jewelry. The present day jewellery tradition of India shows the assimilation between traditional and modern designs and techniques.
2.4 ORISSAN CRAFT HERITAGE:

Orissa, one of the backward states of Indian union, is a treasure of affluent arts and crafts. Due to the reigns of different rulers in Orissan history, the society, culture, arts and crafts of the state have undergone significant transformation leading to accommodation, assimilation and sometimes innovation of cultures from time to time. Skillful artists and craftspersons of Orissa are meticulous to maintain their original native art by continuously processing it to adapt to a changing taste and fashion of the modern times. Stone carving, wood carving, appliqué, embroidery, silver filigree, palm leaf incised design and metal craft etc. have got superior designs and enthralling beauty by the unique and wonderful craftsmanship of the Orissan artisans. It is known and admired world over for their primitive quality dexterity, precision, novelty in designing and concepts (Pathy, 2005:369). Such superior arts and crafts of the state have not only become famous throughout the country but also have got a place worldwide. A unique and fascinating aspect about the art and craft of Orissa is that they are directly or indirectly associated with the religious rituals observed in context of Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of the world famous temple at Puri. A brief analysis of the major crafts of Orissa is given below.

I. Patachitra:

The *Patachitras* of Orissa are the icon paintings that include the palm-leaf etching, wall paintings, manuscript paintings, etc. The village of Raghurajpur near Puri is renowned for this internationally recognised craft. *Patachitra* paintings were traditionally drawn by the people belonging to mahapatra and maharana caste. The word *Pattachitra* is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Pata' meaning a painted peace of cloth. Gods and goddesses, images of animals and birds, Lord Krishna etc. are depicted in the paintings of *Pattachitra*. Broadly, the stories attached to the paintings are religious in nature and are based on the epics. The stories of Rama and Krishna are usually portrayed on the Pattas.
II. Brass & Bell Metal Ware:

Metal works are also important in Orissa’s craft legacy. The fine engravings on brass and bellmetal utensils, bronze bangles and pots are significant contributions of the artistic community of Orissa. Artifacts made of metal, particularly brass, find pride of place in the homes of Orissa where lamps and lamp stands made of different metals are used during the worship of deities both in temples and Oriya households. The artisans also make elephants and horses and many other animals from brass and decorate them with intricate and attractive designs. Many household articles and utensils are also made out of brass and bell metal. The brassware of Orissa reveals the high craftsmanship of the artisans and their flamboyance for innovation.

III. Filigree Work:

Called as the queen of all handicrafts, the Silverware or filigree work of Orissa, locally known as tarakasi is widely known in the country and has got international recognition too. The artistic excellence in filigree work of places like Cuttack is a unique illustration of rare workmanship which is never found anywhere else in India. Forms of animals and birds, ornaments like brooches and earrings used by women are made of silverware. Silver filigree can be of two types, ornamental and decorative. Pure silver pieces are melted in order to make fine silver wires and then pressed into different shapes. The smaller articles are directly modeled into various designs.

IV. Potter Craft:

The state of Odisha has also very rich tradition of terracotta and Pottery crafts. The earthen pots are still commonly used in rural areas and also in various religious and social functions. The potters make potteries of different sizes and colours adorned with fish and flower motifs. Horses, elephants and different other animals are made as terracotta to meet local demands during religious occasions and also for decorative purposes. The potter also makes clay toys and simple and attractive figures of human beings which are purely decorative items. Terracotta toys are made in every part of Orissa. The toys are simple in design and bear the taste of the local tradition in which they are produced.
V. Horn work:

Another important and well known craft of Orissa, Horn works are made out of the horn of the cattle. Primarily the products are utilitarian in nature like combs, flower vases and pen-stands. Horn Work in Orissa is mainly done by the artists of Paralakhemundi in Gajapati district and Cuttack. The work here is mystical and showcases an outstanding fashion design. It manifests a lively appearance and dynamism.

VI. Golden grass:

Golden grass and Cane works are also beautiful in appearance and scrupulous in designs made by the ordinary households spread throughout the state holding incredible aptitude and far-fetched tradition. The women are the chief weavers of the baskets and hand fans which are made from golden grass. Floor mats are also woven out of the golden grass.

VII. Stone & Wood Carving:

Proven to be the milestone in the handicraft history of Orissa, stone and wood crafts have a long cultural heritage. It is apparent from the numerous ancient monuments, caves and temples in Orissa that the art of stone carving here is very old and has very ancient origin. Stone carving is an age-old craft of Orissa. As found from different literatures, the present stone carvers are actually descendants of the great artisan community who once scaled the distinction in temple building. The carved products include replicas of temples, images of gods and goddesses, and many more household decorative items. Wood carvings of Orissa are almost equally popular. The difference between the wood work of Orissa and that of other states is that the former is plain and shining with smooth polish and without any coating of lacquers on them.

VIII. Handloom:

The most popular item in Orissan handmade goods is its handloom saris. Generally the villagers in Sambalpur district weave the saris on looms. Sambalpuri cotton saris
which are smooth and have ample varieties in colour and style combination are very
famous and in demand not only in Orissa but also outside it. Hand woven bed sheets,
bed covers, table cloths, curtains and dress materials are equally popular throughout
the country.

IX. Appliqué craft:

One of the most important cottage industries encouraged by temple rituals and very
much associated with the Jagannath temple of Puri, is the appliqué work of Orissa.
Clothes of different colour are stitched in shape of elephants, peacocks and many
other animals and birds, out of which are made garden or beach umbrella, lamp shade
and much more decorative and utilitarian products. Saris and other attires are also
designed these days with appliqué motifs which are gaining lot of popularity among
foreign tourists.

Notwithstanding the rich tradition of art and craft in Orissa, there has been very little
importance given by academicians and researchers to study its multiple arts and craft
forms. The famous art historian Charles Louis Fabri very rightly makes a forceful
argument in this context when he says that,

“....I have quite frankly found no book, and not even an article, that has ever
attempted to deal in a consecutive, chronological manner with the art history of this
state (Orissa), without doubt one of the richest in the entire subcontinent; there have
been archeological and iconographic studies in some areas of Orissan art; but it may
be stated with no fear of contradiction that even in archeological matters Orissa has
been one of the most neglected areas of this country. Such a step-motherly treatment
of a state so rich in antiquities remains a mystery to most of us.” (1965:xxi)

2.5 ORISSAN HANDICRAFTS DURING ANCIENT PERIOD:

In ancient and medieval Orissa, next to agriculture and trade, handicrafts and
industries played a cardinal role in the economy. It was due to the increase in the
number of population and the day to day needs of the people that different handicraft
products developed along with agriculture. The growth of urban centres and urban
life, the development of commerce, internal and foreign, etc. contributed to the
growth and volume of various crafts and industries (Mohapatra, 2002:129). As in the
case of other states, in Orissa also in earlier days the craftspersons were attached to the village communities and their livelihood depended upon their service to the villagers. ‘In ancient Orissa several crafts and industries developed during the Nanda and Maurya rule as the evidences from the excavated sites at Sisupalagarha (near Bhubaneswar), Jaugada (in Ganjam) and Asurgarh prove (Mohapatra, 2002:129-30).

It is written in the Mahabharata that the people of Kalinga (the ancient name of Orissa) along with others presented to the Pandavas different varieties of clothes such as Dakula (a variety of fine cloth), Kausika (silk cloth), Patroma (silk or cotton garments) etc. (Mohapatra, 2002:130) This shows Orissa's expertise in textile industry since early days. 'The excavation sites at Sisupalgarha (near Bhubaneswar) reveal the ancient origin of pottery craft of Orissa. The fragments were traced at Mauryan lever ascribed to 300-200 BC while a greater amount of such ware was found at a later level dated 200 BC to 100 AD.' (Mohapatra, 2002:130) Excavations at Jaugada near Ganjam reveal a variety of pottery of the Mauryan period, a red ware in the form of jar like vessel with thin walls and light body was found which proved the advancement of pottery technique at that time (Mohapatra, 2002:130. So the Kalinga under the Mauryan rule was a highly developed civilisation having expertise in different arts and artifacts.

Textile and ivory were the main articles for export from Kalinga state during ancient times. Arthasastra names Kalinga as one of the seven countries which produced the best type of fine cloth and one of those four countries which produced the best type of elephant (referring to ivory crafts) (Cited in Mohapatra, 2002:131). During the period of Kharavela (During First century BC), in ancient Orissa along with agriculture, crafts and industries became predominant features of economy. The important industries that were developed and prepared by that time were stone masonry, smithy and weaving besides agriculture and animal husbandry (Sahu, 1984:108; Mohapatra, 2002:132). Sculptural representations on the early caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri depict the dresses of the people of that age. Hence it can be assumed that textile industry continued to flourish in Kalinga (Mohapatra, 2002:132).

Again ancient Orissa was not backward in jewellery making. The sculptural evidences found in Udayagiri and Khandagiri show that both male and female were greatly fond
of ornaments and as a result it could be traced that the jewelers and goldsmith were
naturally prospered (Bhattacharya, 1978:19; Mohapatra, 2002:133). Besides, different
other excavations show the use of different ornaments by the King, Queen and also
people belonging to all classes. The artisans communities comprising the stone
masons, carpenters, smiths and professional castes carried on profitable business and
contributed not only to the healthy growth of social order but also to the art and
culture for which Kalinga was famous (Mohapatra, 2002:134). Literatures support the
view that a new school of stone cutting and stone masonry was patronised by Asoka
which had great impact on the building activities in all parts of India (Ibid). In
Kalinga, the earliest example of art expressed through stone is the elephant figure at
Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar which testifies to the patronage of such art by the Mauryan
emperor Asoka (Sahu, 1984:130; Mohapatra, 2002:134-35). From Udayagiri,
Khandagiri and also Sisupalagarha, evidences of the existence of stone art have been
found, the origin of which have been traced back to ancient Kalinga, during Asokan
and post-Asokan period particulary under Kharavela(Sahu, 1984:130; Mohapatra,

During the Mauryan period(Third century BC), carpentry and wood-carving had also
flourished. The furnitures like chair, bench, stool, sofa, etc were manufactured for
domestic purpuses whereas carts, chariots, boats and ships were constructed for
maritime as well as war purpuses and in addition to the ordinary carpenters who were
employed in making household furnitures or other articles, there were skilled
workmen employed in building carts and chariots and building boats (Bandopadhyay:
244; Mohapatra, 2002:135). So the profession of wood-carving was flourishing by the
first century BC. Similarly there were many other professional classes like basket
markers, potters, leather workers, garlenders and sweet makers who catered to the
need of the society and profitability earned their living (Sahu, 1984:136; Mohapatra,
2002:136). The artisans and the craftsmen were dependent on the village community
for food and other goods whereas the cultivators and agriculturists took the help of the
craftsmen for getting agricultural implements (Mohapatra, 2002:136). So Jajmani
system was very much in practice at that time in Orissa as it happened in other parts
of India. And it is also evident from this analysis that the existence of various
handicrafts and cottage industries in ancient Orissa must have given ample
employment and livelihood opportunities to a large number of people. So, crafts industry played a crucial role in the contemporary economy of Orissa.

From the middle of the sixth century AD to the middle of the eighth century AD, during the rule of the Sailodbhavas, several crafts and industries were developed. Sculptural representations of the period provide some ideas about the prevalence of different crafts like textiles as in the sculptures of the period dress like Dhotis, Sadis, Chadar, etc are found (Mohapatra, 2002:139). In fact it was during the Sailodbhavas' rule that the temple architecture in Orissa started.

During the first half of the eighth century AD, during the Bhauma rule, textile and other craft was also an important part of the economy next to agriculture. Manufacture of cloth, stone work, metal work, carpentry, poetry, ivory craft, perfumery and jewellery were commonly practiced profession (Pradhan, 2006:60). Speaking on the high quality textile of the Bhaumakars' period, R.L.Mitra remarked that ‘in neatness, elegance and richness of design and execution it is no way inferior to the finest production of the Benaras loom of the present day’ (1986:80; also cited in Mohapatra, 2002:142). Besides cloth and textile, jewellery, pottery and carpentry also flourished during the Bhaumakara period.

During the Somavamsi period (Middle of the ninth century AD to early twelfth century AD), great varieties of crafts and industries were in prosperous state. Textiles, metals crafts like gold, silver, bronze and copper were flourishing during the period. Different literatures that take sources from epigraphic evidences suggest that people during the Somavamsi rule were widely using ornaments like ear-rings, ear-flower, necklace, anklets, armlets, etc. (See Mohapatra, 2002:147-150). Like in the earlier period, wood crafts and potter crafts were also in fine state of development during this period.

During the eleventh century AD, during the reign of eastern Gangas, besides agriculture, several crafts and industries developed which enriched the rural economy of the time. Though clear evidences are not available, epigraphic evidences reveal the existence of gold jewellery during the period (Mohapatra, 2002:138). During the Gangas, pottery was an important craft and was practiced by many people. The
Kumbhakara (potter) as a professional caste is mentioned in the Lingaraj temple inscription (Mohapatra, 2002:151). Besides, perfumery and textile were other two important industries that the people during this period excelled in. The Ganga period is said to be Orissa’s age of temple building as these period saw the two peerless monuments: the Jagannath temple of Puri and the Sun temple of Konark (Pradhan, 2006:102). This proves the artistic superiority in stone carving during the period.

Along with agriculture small scale cottage industries in the form of different crafts continued to contribute to the economic life of people during the Suryavamsi Gajapati period (15th and 16th century AD). Crafts and industries might have attained a high degree of excellence owing to the skill, excellence and enterprise of the craftsmen and also due to the availability of the abundant raw materials during this period, but due to the political factors of the period, gradual decline in the field of crafts and industries was also felt (Mohapatra, 2002:155). Resources are meager though to suggest the exact details of decline. Textiles industry boomed during this period both in rural and urban areas. Although there are no evidences of temple building activities during the Suryavamsi Gajapati period, they employed expert artisans and craftsmen for the maintenance and repairing of the old temple (Ibid).

Then from late 16th century till first half of 18th century, Orissa came under the Muslim rule which resulted in the migration of Muslims to Orissa. Though there was no spectacular improvement in the Hindu monuments, few arts still continue to flourish. Paintings on the walls of the temple and clothes and illustration of Puranic themes in the palm leaf manuscripts continued to prevail during this period (Pradhan, 2006:218). However, the establishment of the Muslim rule in Orissa affected the day to day life style of the people in relation to their use of ornaments, dress, art and craft.

The arrival of the Europeans started way back in late 16th century. In Orissa, Portuguese were the earliest European traders to establish themselves at Pipili and prior to them the Arabs played a significant part in the Indian Ocean trade and could be found in all the important ports on both the eastern as well as the western coasts of this sub-continent (Tripathy, 1986:7). ‘The first settlement of European traders took place in the year 1514 AD when the Portuguese merchants were permitted by Raja Prataprudra Dev to trade in Orissa. Their first settlement grew up at Pipili’ (Tripathy,
So the Portuguese settled in Pipili long before 1599 followed by the Dutch in the year 1625 as the second foreign business community in Orissa (Das, P. C, 1997:215). The affluence of the state which had abundant raw material, several varieties of manufactured goods along with hand made goods like arts, crafts and textiles, profoundly fascinated foreign traders to come to Orissa. The English came to Orissa in 1633 as merchants and established their factories in Hariharpur and Balasore much before they came as rulers in 1803 (Das, P. C, 1997:215). Later French also joined their European counterparts and established factories in Balasore, Hariharpur and Pipili. The internal trade had also flourished during this period and Orissa had trade relation with other part of the country.

To sum up, as it has been mentioned earlier, Orissa had a great tradition of small-scale village industries in areas of textiles, salt, metal craft, wood craft, etc. The cotton and silk textiles manufactured in Orissa had an extensive market in the Asiatic region from the remote past. The people of Kalinga, erstwhile Orissa, maintained commercial intercourse with the islands of Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya and others collectively known as Malayassa or Suvarnadvipa (Rao, 2000:189; Panigrahi, 1986: 463; Panda, 1997:132). In Kharavela’s time Kalinga had trade relations with Persian coast. Meher also mentions that very fine quality fabrics produced in Utkal or Kalinga got exported to Arab, Persia, Egypt, Peru, Malaka, Java, Sumatra, etc. for sale (1995:8).

Apart from other handicrafts, cotton fabrics were the principal item which was traded with other countries and also other parts of the country during medieval times. Weaving in fact was practiced in all societies. It flourished even in the tribal tracts of Orissa; however they chiefly catered to the needs of the tribal population of the adjoining areas (Tripathy, 1986:15). It has been observed that high quality clothes were used in the temple of Lord Jagannath to decorate the temple deities and the used pieces of such clothes, sometimes formed part of gifts bestowed by the King (Tripathy, 1986:15).

The extent of the prevalence of weaving industry in Orissa is well evident from Francisco Pelsaert’s statement that “In Chabaspur and Sonargaon with the
surrounding villages and indeed as far as the Jagannath (referring to Puri), all live by
the weaving industry, and the produce has the highest reputation and quality" (Cited
in Tripathy, 1986:16). This proves weaving industry was very extensively spread in
Orissa during the period.

2.6 ORISSAN HANDICRAFTS DURING BRITISH PERIOD:

By the time the Britishers came to this country, India was affluent of all kinds of
indigenous arts and crafts. Its economy was in a state of prosperity. As said by
Radhakamal Mukherjee, when the English traders came to India in the seventeenth
century, India was described as the ‘Agricultural Mother of Asia and the industrial
workshop of the world’ (1967:1, Pradhan, A.C, 1997:241). The western nations at that
time were the chief importers of Indian textiles and handicrafts. Similarly, as in other
parts of India, the textile industry of Orissa also attracted the Europeans. There are
literatures which give enough evidence on Orissa’s trade relation with other countries
during the British period and even much before the British established their rule over
the region. Orissa’s trade was mainly based on handicrafts goods and textiles besides
few others. However, as said by Rasananda Tripathy, the absence of systematic data
prevents one from presenting a satisfactory description of the foreign sea trade of
Orissa in the 16th century (1986:7).

The European companies like the Dutch, the English, the Danes and the French were
vital in carrying out export and import trade from Orissa ports. By the mid-17th
century the Dutch and the English were firmly established in the ports of Orissa
(Mahapatra, 2000:108). By the 1670s they had opened factories in Pipili and
Balasore. It was the delicate fabrics produced by the weavers of Balasore that helped
to maintain the factories of no less than five European nations, i.e. the Portuguese, the
Dutch, the Danes, the French, and the English (Pradhan, A.C, 1997:242). They were
so proficient in weaving muslins and other clothes that many present day weavers of
Balasore district, now known as Gaudia Tantis, are said to have migrated from
Bengal to learn the secrets of weaving (O’Malley, 1906:63; Pradhan, A.C, 1997:242).
Textile, which was practiced extensively by the Oriya households received further
boost during the seventeenth century apparently due to arrival of the foreign
companies and later the establishment of Dutch and English East Indian Companies.
The new European traders found that Indian textiles were items of Inter-Asiatic trade and hence, were keen to procure textiles from different parts of India (Tripathy, 1986:37). Although there were obstructions by the Mughal rulers of the time, the European traders continued their trade in cotton goods.

The invasion of Orissa by the Marathas later caused great harm to the weaving industry in Orissa. The Marathas objected and opposed to the cotton trade by the Britishers devastating the flourishing trade. All through the period of Maratha misrule (1751-1803), the general dislocation of trade and industry caused by their raids and the cessation of English import caused the cotton industry in Orissa to languish (Pradhan, A.C, 1997:246). There was a gradual fall in both quality and quantity of the textile goods. During the beginning of the 19th century the Maratha rule was ended and the English took their place. But the already declined textile industry couldn’t be revived owing to the introduction of the British colonial policy which wanted to deindustrialize India and make it a source of raw materials for the post-industrial revolution British factories. This British commercial policy was intended to import the Indian raw cotton and export the finished factory made cloth to Indian market which was quite detrimental to the indigenous small scale industries and virtually destroyed it.

The same kind of situation prevailed in Orissa too. Like other Indian handicrafts, the British policy also hampered the Orissan craft industry in a full scale. As said by Rao, the impact of European trading companyed over the native merchants of Orissa and over the textile and other industries of the region was both restrictive and harmful. (2000:190) Although the indigenous weaving industry continued in Orissa till late 19th century, due to lack of transport for the imported machine made goods, poverty, simplicity and the traditional self-sufficient habits of the people of Orissa, (Pradhan, A.C, 1997:247-48) by the early 20th century cotton yarn and piece-goods constituted the chief import of Orissa (O’Malley, 1906:139; Pradhan, A.C, 1997:248). So with the advent of the British, markets in Orissa were flooded with machine made, fine foreign clothes which were obviously of superior quality and sold in relatively cheaper price. The consumers preferred the cheap, attractive mill made cloth rather than the hand-woven costly items made by the local artisans. As a result the demand for the local clothes began declining. Development in communication like railways made the import of British clothes easier.
Cotton cultivation, spinning and weaving of cotton cloth had almost wiped out in the region. Although people in areas like Cuttack, Sambalpur, Bhadrak still continued with the tradition, the census of 1901 in Cuttack district where there were 33,000 weavers indicated that many of them had entirely given up their hereditary occupation and lived on cultivation and those who still worked at the loom had to add to their income by their earnings from other sources (O’Malley, 1906:134; Pradhan, A.C, 1997:248). Similarly, in the Balasore district, out of the total weavers’ population of 56,000, only 9,000 were still carrying on their traditional business of spinning and weaving (O’Malley, 1906:63,130; Pradhan, A.C, 1997:248-49). As stated by Gopabandhu Das, “It is needless to say that weaving has from times immemorial been the chief cottage industry in this country but most of the handloom-weavers have under the peculiar economic pressure caused by the foreign influence, been driven out of their family occupation and are now reduced to extreme poverty. A movement organised for the revival of the industry will not only help dying community but will foster a spirit for new industries among our artisan classes” (Cited in Samal, 1990:106). The colonial policy of the English rulers not only affected the cotton textiles but also hampers all kinds of hand made goods in the state in due course of time.

Like other Indian states, Orissa’s traditional economic structure was based on a fine balance between the village based small scale industries and agriculture. But the colonial policies ruined the flourishing native industries. As said by Kar, the economic policy pursued by the British based on the principle of colonial self-interest led to complete dislocation of the traditional economic structure in Orissa (1999:387). The weavers, blacksmiths, shoe makers, metal workers, and wood-carvers, everyone lost their age-old occupation. Kar further notes that the destruction of flourishing industries like textiles (and salt) led to large scale unemployment as modern industries were not promoted by the British government (1999:388). This situation made Orissa industrially very backward and its small scale village industry was ruined substantially.

External trade through Orissan ports which was in a booming state declined due to the indifference of the British government leading to increasing economic distress. After
Orissa became a separate state in 1936, the first Congress ministry headed by Biswanath Das in 1937 made sincere efforts to revive the native industries and initiated legislative measures to mitigate the distress of the peasants (Kar, 1999: 389). The destruction of native handicrafts industry, downfall of agriculture and decline in maritime trade all accommodated to the growth of abject poverty in the state. In a speech in 1925, during his tour to Orissa, Mahatma Gandhi remarked, “Orissa is the poorest of all provinces. Nowhere is found such a large number of beggars as we see in Orissa. For them Swarajya means one full meal twice a day” (as cited in Kar, 1999: 390).

2.7 HISTORY OF PIPILI AND CHANDUA CRAFT:

Chandua⁴ craft or Appliqué art is the process of cutting coloured cloth into shapes of different animals, flowers and objects and stitching them on to a piece of broad cloth. ‘Applique’, which is a French term, refers to a technique of superposing patches of coloured fabrics on a basic broad fabric. The edges of the patches are being sewn in some form of stitchery by which the craft looks attractive. Appliqué work is different from a simple patch work in which small pieces of cut fabrics are usually joined side by side to make a large piece of fabric (Mohanty, B.C, 1980:5). The patch work technique is also used to repair a damaged cloth. The Chanduas (Canopies) are generally of square size with different lengths and one important aspects of the Chandua is that in conformity with the square size of it, the layout is decorated with panels forming squares within squares, having the central square piece decorated in circular strips (GoI & NISDR Report, 2007).

The appliqué technique has been adopted by householders and craftsmen achieving bold, brightly coloured and sometimes three-dimensional patterns giving a festive and glamorous look to a fabric distinct from what can be obtained in block-printing, screen-printing and kalamkari technique and is used in dresses, floor coverings, canopies and walled enclosures, wall and door hangings, quilts, covers for bullocks and horses, umbrellas, banners etc, comprising a wide range of items required for house decoration and for social and religious functions (Mohanty, B.C, 1980:5). Though different appliqué works are also seen in other parts of India like in

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⁴ Chandua is the local term for Canopy which is a particular appliqué product made by the Darajis of Pipili. But the term Chandua is used here alternatively for Applique art.
Rajasthan, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, it is only in Orissa and especially in Pipili that the craft has a special and unique design and carries a living and active tradition since centuries. Although places like Paralakhimundi, Khalikote, Berhampur and Bhubaneswar in Orissa are also known for appliqué products, Pipili is the place which is historically linked to the craft and has original artists practicing since long.

Pipili, best known as the 'craft village' is situated on the way from Bhubaneswar to Puri. It is a small town surrounded by some villages famous in and outside Orissa for its dazzling appliqué craft. Each and every family of Pipili is engaged in this profession. Most of the people of the villages depend on this appliqué craft for their day to day living. It is a town and a Notified Area Council (NAC) which comes under the jurisdiction of Puri district. Puri has an ample and distinctive variety of handicrafts. Best among them is the gorgeous appliqué work of Pipili. It is forty kilometres from Puri, and twenty kilometers from state capital Bhubaneswar, at the intersection where the Konark road branches from the Bhubaneswar to Puri road.

Pipili has been historically a very significant place since it is here that the first European merchants in Orissa- the Portuguese had established their factory way back in 16th century as has been mentioned in the previous section. 'After the British occupation of Orissa in 1803, Pipili showed its prominence and participated in the 'Paik rebellion' of 1817 and later with the gradual march of time, it took part in the freedom struggle and after independence it also took part in various political and cultural activities of the state (Pani, 2004:304).

The origin and development of Chandua craft is dated back to very ancient times. Although different literatures suggest that Chandua craft flourished during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, still its origin may have been traced to much before. It is depicted in different literatures related to Orissan history and handicrafts that the appliqué work or Chandua craft were first produced for the Lord Jagannath temple of Puri primarily to adorn the deities. Later these attractive and painstakingly designed craft was used by the elites like kings, zamindars and businessmen. Each and every family of Pipili is engaged in this appliqué craft. Most of the people of the village depend on this appliqué craft for their livelihood. The traditional tailors belonging to daraji caste at Pipili carry out the Chandua profession or appliqué
works. It is a hereditary craft and the occupation is passed in from father to son. As to
B.C.Mohanty, Chandua work or appliqué work is confined to people of Daraji caste
with surnames of Maharana and Mahapatra. The word Daraji commonly relates to
professional tailors but the Darajis of Pipili may or may not know tailoring. It is
likely that certain group of people who were tailors earlier, in course of time came to
be known by a caste of the same name - Daraji (1980:5).

Chandua (Canopies) and Chhatris(umbrellas) that bear magnificent appliqués
designs of great artistic skill are manufactured at Pipili and Puri. Heart-shaped fans or
Trasa mostly used in religious functions, Alata, Adheni are also being made out of
appliqué work along with different canopies (Chandua) and wall-hangings. Besides,
bed cover, sofa cover, lamp shed, door screen, vanity bag, window screen, letter bag,
Batua, money purse, pillow cover, hand fan, table cloth, etc are also being made with
appliqué work these days. In temples, canopies are hung over the deities to protect
them from dust. The Darajis cut out figures of animals, birds, flowers and even
images of Gods and Goddesses most commonly the image of Lord Jagannath out of
richly coloured clothes and arrange symmetrically on a broad piece of cloth and stitch
in place to produce an attractive design. The colour combinations of clothes are
usually yellow, white, blue, red and black. In recent years, for variety, green too has
been applied quite often enlivening the craft even more. These articles are made of
simple coloured cloth, velvet cloth, plastics, threads, bamboo sticks, wooden boards,
iron wares glass, etc. The broad base cloth is generally stronger than the cut out
patched appliqué cloth. 'The cloth used previously was hand-spun and hand-woven
cotton cloth which added weight and strength to the material although it appeared a
little coarse. The cotton cloths used are mostly markin, salu, satin and poplin. Markin
is invariably used for backing cloth in canopies, jhalars, etc which are comparatively
heavier. Markin and salu are long cloths of plain weave. Salu is of light structure'
(Mohanty, B. C, 1980:7). The traditional stitching of the appliqué work bear the
typical local crafty names like Mugaphalia, Haradphalia, Kandulaphalia, Kitikita and
Bakeiya and the familiar and common form of motifs are parrots, inverted parrots,
purna kumbhas, dancing girls, betel leaves, Rahu ascending mode (the eight planet)
(Pathy, 2005:376). According to B. C. Mohanty, the stitches mainly adopted in the
appliqué work are of six main categories. They are discussed below.
1) The Bakhia stitch: It is a simple running stitch which is used either for keeping the patches in position temporarily on the base cloth till they are finally stitched to it, or for fixing the motifs which are specially made (not simply cut out figures) and then stitched on to the base cloth i.e. mali flowers, padded figures, etc. Several stitches may be picked up quickly at each insertion of the needle.

2) The Taropa stitch: It is like simple hemming stitch is used for stitching appliqué patches on the base cloth where the edges of the patches are turned in and then stitched and the stitch is almost concealed underneath the patch.

3) The Ganthi stitch: It is similar to blanket stitch and button-hole stitch, is used for attractive embroidered motifs.

4) The Chikana stitch: This is also called chain stitch and is popular in appliqué work. It is an embroidery stitch built up by looping of threads and is used in binding the edges of the appliqué patch without turning, as well as for making textural and ornamental effects on motifs.

5) The Button-hole stitch: It is used for Mudias (rings) fixed to large canopies for hanging and for fixing round-shaped small mirrors for decoration. It is similar to blanket stitch although the needle is inserted from outer edge in this stitch.

6) The Ruching stitch: This one is used for gathering a strip of cloth to make an appliqué motif like Malli (1980:8).

The association of Pipili Chandua with the celebration of different festivals is such that now any type of worship in any temple is virtually incomplete without its use. Chandua, chhatries and trasas like appliqué products are increasingly finding place in festivities. According to Sri Sadashiva Ratha Sharma of Puri, ‘some of the items like dice board (made of patch work on cloth) are used during the ‘Kumar Purnima’ festival and Magadha topi (made of cloth with fine appliqué work) is worn by Kansa in Kansabadha drama. Some of the trasas are called Garuda trasa (yellow background) and some Gobinda trasa (black background) carried at the head of processions during festivals (as cited in Mohanty, B. C, and 1980:6). In past also, these products were widely used in annual Dola parva. Giant-sised umbrellas or Chhati of appliqué work are produced for use on different festivals like Dola. Such are also used in lawns and sea beaches as garden umbrellas or beach umbrellas. In the car festival or Rath Yatra of Lord Jagannath, Chandua is used very significantly.
Embroidery work with motifs of fish, frog, etc on black cloth is used in *gajauddharana besa* (decoration of the deity) on the *Magha purnima* day. A canopy called *trimundi chandua* with motifs of 27 stars and geometrical forms in appliqué work is used during *snan jatra* and also decorated fabrics with motifs of *rahu, kalasa* etc are used during the *Rath yatra* (Mohanty, B. C, 1980:6). Since the Lord's rituals are more of the nature of the daily routine of human being, appliqué fan, appliqué umbrella etc are in rampant use to save the deity from the scorching heat during summer or the rough weather. In one of the famous festival of Puri temple, *Chandan yatra*, the entire procession is taken out displaying and covering the deities with appliqué umbrellas or *Chattri*.

As told by B. C. Mohanty, the Rajas of Puri had appointed artisans as *Sebaks* for their regular supply of articles required for the day to day rites (*sebas*) performed in the temple and also determined the quantity and rates at which the supply was made. And *Daraji* caste inhabitants of Puri were also appointed to supply the requirements of tailored articles for Lord Jagannath, and for different festivals (1980:5). Taking evidences from some primary sources, Mohanty goes on saying

"......that Maharaja Birakishore appointed in the year 1054 AD Jagannath Mahapatra, Banamali Mahapatra, Rama Maharana, Siba Maharana and others for this purpose. Maharaja Mukunda Dev appointed Ganesh Mahapatra for the same purpose in the year 1280 AD. A certificate was issued approximately in 1754-55 AD indicating that Padan Maharana, Narayan Maharana and then Lokanath Maharana served as *sebakas* for the same purpose. Raja Mukunda Dev authorised in the year 1920 AD Hadu Mahapatra's son, Lokanath Mahapatra to charge a fixed amount on all offerings of tailored materials for Lord Jagannath even though these were sewn by other tailors. A similar certificate was issued under the seal of Rani Suryamani Dei during the reign of Raja Divyasingha........The appointment of *sebaks* is hereditary. Only adults of the family, well versed in tailoring work can be employed in the service of the deity. In case of their negligence other *sebaks* could be engaged. The leader of the *sebaks* is called *sardar* and he gets one extra part of the *bhoga* for the work. Ganesh Mahapatra, 67 years of age, is one of such leaders. His forefathers Maguni Mahapatra, Lokanath Mahapatra, Siba Mahapatra, Kanduri Mahapatra, Ramakrishna Mahapatra, Lenkudi Mahapatra were all *sebaks*. The sons of Sri Ganesh Mahapatra are also *sebaks*. There are 14 families, the adult members of which work for the temple. There are about four more families who don't work for the temple. Sri Madhab Mahapatra, one of the sons of Ganesh Mahapatra, has married the granddaughter of Hatta Maharana of Pipili" (1980:5-6).
So, the Pipili Chandua makers are the successors of those daraji caste people employed by the Kings for making appliqué products for the Puri temple and the craft has the originated in 1054 AD or before. According to the District Gazetteers of Puri district, ‘Pipili is a place inhabited by a number of tailors, who prepare cloth bags or purses and embroidered quilts, which are much prised by the Oriyas’ (1929:326). According to Prof. Jagannath Patnaik, the work of Chandua might have been originated during the Ganga rule (eleventh century AD - time line mine) as a necessity of flag (Pataka) in the ceremony associated with the installation of the images inside the Jagannath temple at Puri (as cited in Pani, 2004:304).

Tourists coming to Puri buy Chandua in Pipili on their way and offer the banners to the deity. Besides they also carry many decorated and utilitarian items of Chandua work to their home. The traditional craft which was confined to the Puri Jagannath temple and worshiping of few local village deities during the early days has now been in great demand both in national and international markets. Apart from its use in temples, festivals and religious functions, during present times with the advent of modernity and global culture, different garments of varied designs are also made with appliqué work. So, with changing time the appliqué makers have reoriented the crafts according to the modern taste and fashion. Dresses like frock, blouse, money purse, handbags, vanity bag etc. made with appliqué motifs are in great demand among tourists. Screens, wall hangings of bigger size with appliqué touch are also been made depicting the different characters of religious myth and puranic story for decorating houses. Having an ancient tradition of making splendid pieces of art by hands, Oriya artists have long been presenting their awe inspiring master pieces to the world. There are a lot of handicrafts that have been running as the life force in the cultural land of Orissa.

As discussed in this chapter there are a myriad of craft traditions in India, which have age old history, as old as the human civilisation. The craft tradition depends upon many factors - social, economic and regional. The present status of any craft owes much to its rich traditions of the past. Evidences from various literatures and also archeological excavations conducted in different parts of the country give the

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5 Prof. Patnaik is a leading historian and has written a celebrated book on Pipili, “Itihasa Prusthare Pipili” (Oriya).
testimony that India in various period of history had many arts and crafts—some of
them in very high standards. Its beyond doubt that, if the industrial arts and crafts of
India reached a state of almost near perfection, the very fact that they have survived
so long all the vicissitudes to which they must have been subjected, was no doubt
greatly due to the encouragement afforded by the powerful and even petty princes and
rulers, and the aesthetic inclination of the common people of different ages (Pal,
1978:101-02; Mehta, 1960:3). Most of the crafts from the past continue to flourish
due to their utilitarian nature, popularity in both domestic and foreign markets.

Crafts in India historically grew as a result of two needs of mankind: utilitarian and
decorative. But some crafts were also evolved around various religious rituals and
temple worship. Despite many complexities involved in the production process, each
craft is individualistic and localised in its appeal. Crafts differ from region to region,
place to place. In fact the essence of the Indian society—‘Unity in Diversity’ is truly
reflected in its crafts forms too. The beauty and aesthetics of Indian handicrafts have
survived the ages and they remain popular not only in India but also the world over.
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