Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

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1.1 The problem of study:

Orissa is also known as Utkal— which denotes the land where art and craft have reached their pinnacle. This state is, renowned down the ages for its artistic monuments of superb architectural beauty and interest and is dotted with innumerable holy shrines, and has developed craft peculiar to this place and its traditions. Notwithstanding several stress and strain, some of this handicraft have lived through generations undaunted and have survived time to offer fair chance for revival.

Orissa, is the home of traditional arts and craft, and renowned for the temple of Lord Jagannath, is proud of its applique work, which unlike that in many other places is yet alive and flourishing, linked with a high degree of technical skill. This religious land has fifty-two craft which have taken the form of cottage industry (see appendix I). Each one of the craft was being pursued at the household level by a particular caste-group of artisans. Our concern here is applique craft.

Applique, which is a French term, is a technique by which the decorative effect is obtained by super-imposing patches of coloured fabrics on a base fabric, the edges of the patches being sewn on some form of stitchery. It is distinct from what is known as patch work in which small pieces of cut fabrics are usually joined side by side to make a large piece of fabric or for repairing a damaged fabric.

The applique technique has been adopted by householders and craftsmen for achieving bold, brightly coloured and sometimes three-dimensional patterns giving a festive and gla-
mourous look to a fabric distinct from what can be block-printing and screen-printing techniques. Applique technique is used in canopies, wall and door hangings, quilts, covers for royal bullocks and horses, umbrellas, banners etc. comprising a wide range of items required for house decorations and social and religious functions.

Applique work in textile fabrics has been the medium for expressing the human urge for decoration and luxurious living. When one looks at such fabrics one is impressed by the simple and imaginative compositions, which is rich in colour and artistic appeal. The applique technique has been adopted by people all over the world to obtain colourful designs for use in various aspects of their day to day life and the work is done by hand.

Many places in India are known for beautiful applique work by hand: the important regions being northern Gujarat, Bihar, Orissa, Tanjore and its surrounding areas and Rajasthan. Fabrics of different regions present distinct styles and methods of work. However, with the development of the machine age, the introduction of various new stitches with western motifs and colourful printed fabrics along with also tie-dye fabrics (bandhinis), the value of applique craft has considerably lessened, and the technique is in the moribund stage in almost all these places, dampening the aesthetic sense among the craftsmen as well as among the householders. Most of the earlier works have perished but some have survived. However in some places it is trying to re-establish itself and Orissa is one such region
where applique work continues, to a certain degree, by professionals (Mohanty, 1980:5).

In Orissa, applique work is done in Pipili, Puri and other places connected with the religious festivals and processions. Canopies, umbrellas, banners, covering of horses, doorscreens, wall hangings, small handbags, etc. are the most popular items. Recently items like cushion covers, bedspreads, lampshades, garden umbrellas and saree borders have been introduced.

The applique work in Orissa is mainly practised in Pipili and Puri, although a few workers practice the craft in some places of eight districts of Orissa (see appendix II).

In the past the work was confined to the Darji (tailor) caste with surnames of Mahapatra and Maharana. The word Darji is an Urdu word commonly related to professional tailors. The applique workers of Pipili and Puri belong to the caste called Darji who may or may not know tailoring. It is likely that a certain group of people who previously earned their living by tailoring, in course of time, came to be known by the caste of the same name Darji. According to Senapati (1977: 659) Pipili was a centre of considerable trade in rice and cloth and was inhabited by many tailors, who prepared batuas (cloth bags of semi-circular shape) and sujini (embroidered quilt) which are much prized by the Oriyas. He also mentions that Pipili figured somewhat prominently in the history of Puri.

The development and continuance of applique work in Puri and Pipili has been to a great extent due to the Jagannath temple at Puri. The Rajas/Kings of Puri appointed artisans as
sevakes (servitors) for the regular supply of articles required for the daily sevas (rituals) performed in the temple. Also, he used to determine the quantity and rates at which the supply of these articles was to be made. Members of the Darji caste in Puri were also appointed to supply the requirements of stitched articles for Lord Jagannath and for festivals. Darji caste members are also residing in other parts of Orissa. They however do not do applique work.

These Darjis are socially well organised. Every year a mela (fair), for two days during Baisakha Purnima (fullmoon day of Oriya month, Baisakha: April-May) is held at Kedargouri (in Bhubaneswar city near Lingaraj temple) where Darji caste people of Puri, Pipili, Banamalipur, Sakhigopal, Kadua, Balanga, Rajasa, Bhubaneswar, Ranapur, Khurda, Kujanga, Khallikote, Paralakhemundi, Badamba, Narasinghapur, Athagarh and Banki assemble and discuss their caste matters and other problems.

The above outline to the practice of applique craft in Orissa is mostly confined to Pipili-Puri sacred zone, stresses the importance of the craft both in the traditional past as well as in the modern times. The major problem of the study, therefore, has been designed keeping in view the prevalence of the craft as well as the practitioners of the craft, the Darji caste.

In the traditional Indian society most of the craft are caste based. In other words each and every group of craftsmen belong to one or the other caste group. The particular caste group is identified by the particular craft profession. It is the craft occupation which helps perpetuate the caste identity
and in turn the caste group continues with its ethnic identity in consonance with the practice of a definite craft. Thus, in the present study the applique craftsmen of Pipili-Puri complex are known under the caste group, locally called as the Darji.

The applique craft is widely known in India and abroad for its aesthetic beauty and religious importance. But the ethnic group, the Darji, the practitioners of the craft is little known. Moreover the description accounts about the craft lack systematic presentation of facts. In other words the literary style in the descriptions has been such that a scientific approach to the understanding of the craft has not been given proper weightage. In view of the present study, it seeks at first to present the description of the craft in a very systematic form to the extent of finding out the different classes and categories of the craft in addition to discover the ground formula of the different classes and categories of craft.

Since the craft is associated with the Darji caste group, it has been intended to consider the craft in the context of the society and culture of the Darji caste on the one hand and the other caste groups of Orissa as a whole, on the other. Besides discussing the present form of craft in the context of the contemporary society and culture of Orissa, it has also been considered very significant to discuss and analyse the practice of this craft in the past, expressing its historical significance.

The applique craft perpetuates as a traditional craft along with the continuity of the traditions of Lord Jagannath. In
the Puri temple and in many other temple traditions of Orissa the applique occupies a singular place which is rather strengthening itself from time to time and the applique craft tradition in the temple traditions go hand in hand inspite of many changes occurring in many spheres of ritual activities. Thus the applique craft tradition and the ritual traditions of Orissa have been discussed in the present work in an integrated manner.

The kings and the zamindars in the historical past were giving patronage to the practice of this craft and following them. Other people have also shown interest in the craft, both from the point of view of its ritual as well as aesthetic importance.

Association of the craft with the Gods, kings and caste has been considered the main research problem in the present undertaking.

Anthropologically it could be said that the present study is about a small scale society and its craft occupation fulfilling most of the criteria of a "little community study". The holistic prospective of the study has been stressed where the craft, the people practicing the craft and the wider society using the craft make up a tradition which could be understood only when they are linked up in association with one another. Therefore in this holistic study, an associative procedure has been adopted.

One of the main thrust of the research problem is to contribute to the understanding of Indian civilization through the study of this "little craft" belonging to a specific locality
but spread over wider regions, thus forming part of the wider Indian society and civilization. Many traditional craft are dwindling but the applique craft is continuing although in the recent years it has undergone transformations. The present study hopes to throw light upon the nature of 'continuity and change' of Indian society.

Keeping caste and craft at the centre the present study also intends to conclusively focus upon change and development in the overall applique craft tradition. The response of the applique craft practitioners, especially the Darji caste to the development stimuli have been discussed in conjunction with the processes of change and development taking place among the Darji caste community due to the impact of modernisation. Money orientation and marketing have influenced the life style and work habits of the Darji caste community which to a decisive degree determine not only the future of the craft but also the future of the caste community under study.

1.2 Objectives of study:

The objectives of the study are as follows:

1 - To make a survey of the whereabouts of the applique workers of Orissa.

2 - To find out the caste status of the applique workers in the locality of Pipili and Puri.

3 - To estimate the occupational status of the applique workers vis-a-vis other occupational groups in the locality.

4 - To find the history of the applique tradition of the applique workers.
5. To discuss, describe and draw the different forms of applique works in order to find out the pattern and its uniqueness.

6. To find out the nature and kind of applique tradition with the Jagannath Tradition of Orissa.

7. To assess the income level of applique workers and their standard of living.

8. To highlight on the day to day life of the applique workers with specific emphasis on their ritual practices and religious beliefs.

9. To point out the nature of change and development of the applique workers in the advent of modernization and development.

10. To analyse the craft and occupational life of the applique workers on the basis of their traditional cultural matrix and the direction of culture change.

1.3 Earlier references:

Although craft was present since antiquity, its inception in the field of academics is of recent origin. Keeping this in view, meagre work has been done in this direction. A few articles and handful of books are published basing on this topic which are dealt below:

R.J. Mehta (1960) in The Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India writes a few lines concerning applique and says that applique embroideries are not only confined to India but the same type of work is produced elsewhere in the world. In applique
embroideries pieces of cloth of different colours are placed on
the surface of the base cloth and embroidered along the edges
sometimes also over the surfaces.

Enakshi Bhavnani (1969) relates a few points about applique
in chapter 3 of Decorative Designs and Craftsmanship of India.
Bhavnani says that in the district of Puri in Orissa applique
work was done in patterns of dots, flowers, birds, animals,
circles, cones, in colours of yellow, green, red and black. It
was done in highly decorative modes, on ceremonial umbrellas,
canopies and fans and animal trappings which were and are still
utilized in processions and ceremonies.

According to the author applique work is also found in
Assam, Manipur, where elegant shaped motifs are cut out of red
coloured cloth with the base being of yellow colour cloth materi­
al and the entire border is attached to the dancing costume or
skirts, above this border mirrors and sequins are fixed in lines
to enrich the pattern. The mirrors are set in with buttonhole
stitches generally done by red silk thread. These are mostly done
for personal use, where each tribal group specialises in its own
particular style of designing. In these places again it is a
woman's craft and complicated designs are embroidered by employ­
ing a bamboo needle. Motifs as flowers, birds, fishes, animals,
geometrical forms and circles are effectively used with charming
multi-coloured combinations.

Tarak Deb Bharati (1973) in an article "Eastern Indian
Handicrafts: A Preliminary Survey " published in Folklore
a journal of anthropology states in just four lines that the
tailor artists of Pipili have become specialised in giving gorgeous look to their applique works by preparing *chanduas* (canopies) and cloth umbrellas on which animal and geometric motifs are stitched.

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay (1976) in *The Glory of Indian Handicrafts* has devoted five chapters to applique craft present in the different states of India in vivid detail. As per the author, applique is found in the states of Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Bengal, Bihar, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, Kashmir, Manipur and Himachal Pradesh. In Orissa the famous applique evolved around the eminent Shri Jagannath temple of Puri. It is used for items like umbrellas, canopies for parties, large tent for public gatherings, garden umbrellas and lamp-shades where small patterns are cut out and sewed on a plain background to form large designs. Here normally the backgrounds happens to be of white colour while the applique is done in bright red. Applique work is also seen in Gujarat where it is different from that of Bihar and Orissa. There the work exclusively is done on items of household use but not on personal items. In this state it is based on patch work in which pieces of coloured patterned fabric is finally cut into various shapes, sizes of different colours to form a motif and stitched together on a plain background to form a composite piece. The work is done in bright colours with designs of peacock, horse with a warrior in resplendent armour and caparisoned elephants with a howdah. Rajasthan is proud of its beautiful and varied embroideries. One such work worth mentioning is *pichhwai*. This is a rich embroi-
dered cloth which grew up around the temple of Srinathji, as Lord Krishna is known there, and encouraged. Pichhwas can also be made in applique by the use of different materials. Here usual background is of red cotton with white cord for outlines and utilising the colours as cream, green, yellow and black for the needle work. The woman of Jaisalmar do very beautiful embroidery. They make a spread called ralli which is of applique being ornamental in nature, where different coloured cloth pieces are stitched into a decorative pattern. In the state of Bengal applique is also seen. It has got two styles, the bigger and bolder patterns are done on large articles as tents, canopies, banners, bedspreads, hangings etc., and the smaller patterns are on items of personal use. Lotus usually is present at the centre of a piece. The applique work of Bihar is done for personal need and commercial purpose. In this work two techniques are used, as khatwa, which is more complicated, where a complete piece of cloth is cut into different patterns and the entire composition attached. While in the other, strips are cut out in the shape of motifs and stitched on to a single piece of cloth to make a composition. The commercial items are canopies, tents and large wall hangings. The traditional designs have trees, flowers, animals or birds stitched in khatwa style. The background colour here is usually dark red or orange and the motifs worked in are white with some parts in blue. In Tamilnadu a unique type of applique is done in Tanjore. It is for decorating temple interiors with hangings, smaller sizes being especially used in temple chariot processions. Some are flat pieces hung behind the image
as a background, others long and tubular hung beside the image, like colourful pillars. The motifs are religious, like the images of Devi Durga, Lord Ganesh, Lord Kartikeya (brother of Lord Ganesh), Lord Shiva, Devi Parbati and so on. To brighten the effect, the pieces of felt in muted colours are used for applique along with strong dark shades with superb effect.

In Uttar Pradesh the delicate chikan work or shadow work is seen in minute applique work called katao is made use off, in which the same fabric as the background material is used for applique work in small cut pieces. Kashmir famed for its incomparable beauty and gorgeous landscape seems to be reflected in its magnificent needle work. In this beautiful state gabba a variety of carpet and wall decoration has applique on it. This work has circular star in the centre named as moon and the floor covering has bold designs in floral and geometrical patterns. The wall decorations have small sizes for children’s rooms with birds and animals even of nursery rhymes on them. In the northeastern state of Manipur delicate and attractive applique is only seen in turbans where the combination of work is of white on white. The state of Himachal Pradesh has also gabba carpet with applique decoration on it.

In Gujarat an embroidered panel over the doorway is a sign of good omen, called toran is found. Bengal is noted for its kantha embroidery. The word kantha means patch cloth. Various types of kantha are made for different purposes. The most spectacular, the sujani, generally rectangular in shape, is used as spread on ceremonial occasions. In Bihar also sujnis are wit-
nessed, this is a quilt made of old sarees. Madhya Pradesh which specialises in small fancy bags called *batuwas* used for coins, betel nuts, scent bottles etc. In Mumbai, Hyderabad, Madras and a host of other lesser known places it is also found.

According to the Gazetteer (1977) Pipili was prominent in the history of Orissa as it was seized by Prince Khurram (later on Emperor Shah Jahan) in 1621 A.D. when he advanced from the Deccan to Cuttack and then to Bengal in revolt against his father. Hence the presence of Muslims in Pipili. Applique craft in Pipili is hereditary which is also a practice in Puri, where traditional items of religious importance are few and new variety of items have been introduced.

B.C. Mohanty (1980) is the only person who has given a brief summary about applique craft in Orissa in *Applique Craft of Orissa*. This is the only essential book which has touched the vital points of this topic, in this region. He puts forward that applique craft artisans of Orissa belong to the Darji caste who have been in service of Lord Jagannath since 1054 A.D. or may be even before. The main centres of this craft are Puri and Pipili while to some extent it is found in Parlakhemundi, Khallikote and Butapali.

Large items are produced in limited numbers while small items are produced in bulk due to demand. Colour combination of traditional items are in black, red, yellow and green while current products of bright shades of blue and turquoise, are being used. Bold motifs as leaves, flowers, animals, birds and astral bodies such as *rahu*, (the demon that swallows the sun and
the moon during eclipses) sun, moon are made which are then fixed to the base material with the help of various stitches in embroidery.

With the merger of Indian states with the rest of Orissa and the deteriorating condition of the maths (monasteries) due to lack of patronage this craft did not bring reasonable remuneration and was faced with very serious problems. To revive its financial condition the government is organising co-operative societies. An artisan of this earns better than one engaged in other craft.

D.N.Saraf (1982) in chapter three of Indian Crafts Development & Potential corroborates that applique is an old folk art of Orissa which originated in Pipili and to some extent this craft is found in Puri, Barapali, Khallikote, Kanchana and Chikiti in Ganjam district. Traditionally four basic colours as red, black, white and yellow were used but green has been introduced recently. Originally it was for religious purpose but gradually it has become commercial in nature. Old items of bygone days have been reoriented to meet the need of modern tastes. This craft has become a growing industry.

Hrusikesh Panda (1984) in "Textiles" of Arts and Crafts of Ganjam District Orissa, India says that the applique craft of Ganjam district is 500 years old. The artists are located in village Kanchana, Pustapur (in Khallikote Block), Barapalli, Gobara (near Bhanjanagar), Purushottampur and Aska. In Ganjam district the applique works like all other handicraft can be traced back to rituals. The history of applique
is commensurable with operas, festivals and processions. During operas and festivals as Dolapurnima, folk dances like Ghoda Nacha, processions and in processions where kings were going out etc. the images of birds, animals, and semi-human creatures are required to be represented, where the face of the animals as tiger or lion is made of mask and the body of applique work.

Canopies and umbrellas which are the largest items sold now, used to constitute only a part of the applique products, about a century ago. The other products were: small fans, wall hangings, table cloths, garden umbrellas, ladies hand bags, cushion covers, small fancy hand bags, sofa covers etc.

"The following are the characteristic differences between the applique work of Pipili and that of Ganjam district.

(1) In Pipili, predominant animal motifs like elephant, peacocks, parrot, duck etc., are cut from a single piece of cloth and attached to the main body of the applique work. This is perhaps the influence of temple motifs of Puri district. In Ganjam the predominant motifs are generally geometric patterns. When however, animal motif is used, invariably it is itself a stitch-up of more than one piece of cloth.

(2) Glass beads and aluminium / brass articles are used in large numbers in Ganjam works.

(3) In Ganjam the tiny mirrors are fixed to the main body with thread-work. In Pipili they have started using plastic beads / circles for fixing mirrors. Most of the stitches are done with sewing machine now. In Ganjam most of the craftsmen still stitch
Because of the predominance of geometrical patterns in the applique works of Ganjam district, the overall symmetry in Ganjam is somewhat conspicuous."

G.S. Das (1984) happens to be a professor of Economics in the Department of Analytical and Applied Economics of Utkal University. In his book *A Study of the Financial Problems of the Applique Artisans of Pipili Town in Puri District* he gives an analysis of the financial problems affecting the development process of applique industry, as well as the socio-economic conditions of applique workers of Pipili.

H.K. Mahatab (1984) was the ex-chief minister of Orissa and the chief editor of *Glimpses of Orissa Art and Culture*, a journal, where he gives a description of applique craft of Orissa in a chapter under the heading "Handicrafts of Orissa An Overview." Where he states that the root of applique craft is intertwined with the rituals and tradition of Lord Jagannath. The items of this craft are mainly used during processions of the deities in various religious outings. During *Rath Yatra* (Car Festival) the chariot covering of the three deities are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>Name of the chariot</th>
<th>Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lord Balabhadra</td>
<td>Taladhwaja</td>
<td>Bright green and red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Subhadra</td>
<td>Padamadhwja</td>
<td>Bright red and black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lord Jagannath</td>
<td>Nandighosha</td>
<td>Bright red &amp; yellow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The basic designs of all three are similar being a combination of narrow and wide stripes while on the four sides above the openings, there are applique mythical motifs like rahu, chandra (moon) as well as motifs from nature like flower. It is this colourful bright applique work which helps the pilgrims to identify the respective chariots. The traditional items are giving way to new varieties.

Chattopadhyay (1985) has written eighteen chapters in Handicrafts of India where in the fifteenth chapter "Textiles" comprises a bit about applique in Orissa. Where she says that, Puri in Orissa is famous for its applique work which happens to be the hereditary craft of the tailors. Originally this craft was built up around the temple and its festivals, where highly decorated umbrellas, tents and pavilions were made. Now these items are used as beach and garden umbrellas, smaller sizes as lamp-shades, canopies for parties and tents for public gatherings. Here pieces of cloth of various sizes and shapes are cut and stitched on a plain material to form different patterns.

Jayanta Mahapatra (1987) in Orissa while projecting a clear picture about Orissa, focuses a little light on the applique work of Pipili. He explains that applique is a simple folk tradition of sewing vivid patches of red, green and black cloth on to the deity's umbrella which has expanded considerably through the years. These days many articles of day to day living ranging from handbags to large garden umbrellas are being fashioned by these traditional craftsmen. They can be seen engrossed
in their work perched by the road side shops, sweat trickling down their dark, wiry bodies, their nimble fingers moving with startling alacrity.

Ramesh Mahapatra (1991) has written an article " Pari-bartan Sutra Ray Pipili Chandua " (Applique in the process of development) published in an Oriya daily The Pragatibadi. As per his representation the people those who have familial involvement in this work are called Darjis. From the flag which flies at the pinnacle of Lord Jagannath’s temple and the applique items in the chariot of the Car Festival as chhati (umbrella used in religious functions and processions), trasa (heart-shaped banner mounted on a staff), etc. are their handiwork.

The applique work is generally done in Puri and Pipili. In Pipili now about fifty families with around two hundred and fifty people are involved in this work. Apart from Pipili Darjis are also found in Balanga, Banamalipur, Sakhigopal, Kadua, Raja-sa, Khurda, Ranapur and Bhubaneswar.

There is historical proof that applique originated from Pipili, as these Darjis were one of the sevaka (servitors) of Lord Jagannath according to the Record of Rights. The artisans of Pipili had presented to the king of Puri a batua (cloth bags of semi-circular shape) which was much appreciated and he in return had given a Patitapabana (Lord Jagannath) idol and Lord Jagannath’s daru (log). The idol is still seen in a temple located in the Darji sahi (locality or lane where the Darjis live). The applique items are exhibited during the Rath Yatra. Since age old days the applique work of high calibre were being prac-
tised and circulated by the artisans of Pipili as chhati, trasa, chandua (canopy), batua, adheni, (banner in red), bana (flag), ghodakana (applique cover for the dummy horse), etc. About 40-50 years ago these artisans only used to perform these works for 2-4 months and then they earned their livelihood by mending umbrellas and torn clothes in the neighbouring villages. In the present time this classical art has taken the shape of commercial art. Now a days the whole family of the craftpersons are involved in the work and quality of the work has deteriorated. During the last ten years a sea change is seen in the applique craft. Since 1981 it has become more professional and competitive. According to self-employed businessmen there are two reasons for the change.

1- Customers utility interest and 2- Professional attitude of these artisans. Being involved with Jagannath Cult its use was only limited but now a days after being separated from religion and culture it has become commercial in nature. Modernity is the first outcome of commercialisation. This has only been possible due to change, so this art has become an industry. The Darjis want to maintain the traditional method but are forced to change with time. Mr. Jabbar Khan says the customers are more responsible for the change than these artisans. Some items whose utility has changed are: chandua to wall hanging, batua to velvet purse etc.

The customers also were in want of cheap and beautiful articles. Their enthusiasm was not much for classical art. So according to their selections change occurred for chhati in which
cloth of five colours were needed where as for garden umbrellas only two different colours are used. By this the customers are pleased and the businessman is also profited. Business is done as per the choice of the customers, it becomes the main cause of the change. The other cause is imitation. Whenever an artisan does an item according to the choice of a customer it is immediately imitated by other craftpersons, for which constant change in the designs of this craft is seen. Applique craft of Pipili only is sustaining due to the tourists, as 95% of the customers are from out of Orissa. They are mainly interested in T.V. covers, cushion covers, ladies umbrellas, lamp-shades, wall hangings, garden umbrellas, letter bags, table mats and wall decoration. As a result the businessmen are asking these artisans to prepare the above said articles.

Customers within the nation are keen in utility items where as foreign tourists are interested in the classical art and pay exhorbitant rates when necessary. The place of traditional chandua is being replaced by tent houses with decorative items. Though they know the manufacturing skill of 80 ft by 120 ft chandua they are compelled to prepare 3ft. by 3ft. chandua and garden umbrellas. This work is no more restricted to the Darjis but has spread within a radius of 20 k.m. with about 5,000 Hindu and Muslim families. It has become the livelihood of unmarried daughters and daughters-in-laws. They earn around Rs 15 to 20 per day on contract basis. The previous colour scheme has ceased and modern mill cloths are used for which more and more people are being employed. The actual workers of this craft are not benefit-
ed. The bank loans are only beneficial for the showroom owners but not for the artisans. Due to lack of capital they are unable to get work from the society or own a shop. Like earlier days they are depending on contract work. As the small shops do not have variety, customers are attracted to the big shops as a result of which small shop owners are discouraged. In order to have more customers the roads are to be widened and cleared to enable the tourists to park their vehicles and buy the articles.

Nagesh Rao (1991) has presented an article "Pipili Poverty and Beauty" in Business India a business journal. Where he states that, applique craft has its roots in the 12th century when decorative applique canopies were made for Lord Jagannath. The Ratna (jewel) Chandua (canopy), or chandua which means applique in Oriya, was purely for decorative purpose. In the present days from religious importance the products have become commercial in nature.

Pipili is home for world famous applique work. Of the 625 applique craftsmen in Orissa, 450 hail from Pipili. The artisans and their families comprise about 5,000 all who labour intensively on these gorgeous craft to make both ends meet. At an average the artisans income is between Rs 12 to 25 per day. For quick return of cash, machines have been introduced. Of the nine co-operative societies only one is functioning. Two Muslims own big shops which are running profitably. They employ artisans on contract basis. Businessmen from out of the state purchase the products in bulk and sell at high profit in national as well in inter-national market.
Annual turnover of the craft is Rs 15 lakhs. With the growing demand of the product the craftpersons are refraining from pursuing the craft as the middlemen are profiting at their cost.

Siris Patel (1991) has written an article "Pipiliro chandua aharo bunakaro" (Applique work of Pipili and its artisans) in an Oriya daily The Samaj. Here the writer relates that Pipili is the connecting link between the Sun temple of Konark and Jagannath temple of Puri. This is renowned for its applique work in which triangular and circular shapes of cloth as well as motifs of animals and flowers are stitched together on a basic material to give a bright colourful piece of handicraft. This craft has become a cottage industry where people of two diverse communities i.e. Hindu and Muslim have a peaceful co-existence practicing the work in harmony, exhibiting the unique Indian characteristic feature, "unity in diversity".

Abhya Kumar and A. K. Tripathy (1992) had published an article "40% of applique workers below poverty line" in The Sun Times. Orissa's premier English morning daily. They had taken a sample of 237 applique workers among whom 48 had their own shops, in villages around Pipili. Their findings reveal that about forty percent of the nimble fingered world famous applique workers of Pipili in Orissa are languishing below the poverty line. About ninetyfive percent of the workers do not earn the minimum government wage fixed at Rs 25 per day. This happens as the rate of payment is on piece rate basis and the work is time consuming and monotonous.
As per this survey 66.67 percent of these workers earn less than Rs 300/- per month, 28.57 percent between Rs 300 to Rs 500, 3.6 percent earn Rs 750 per month while none had income more than this. In an average family of six the income in a month was roughly Rs 633 and expenditure Rs 809 resulting in indebtedness.

The articles produced are the colourful chanduas, bags, umbrellas, wall hangings, etc. generally purchased by the tourists. It was found in this study that generally all shop owners accept it as their primary occupation. Majority of the workers were literate. It is seen that nearly half of the workers do not have agricultural land.

**Indebtedness** :- As per this study 61.91 percent of the workers borrowed from money lenders, 28.58 percent from friends and relatives while 9.51 percent had taken loan from banks. It is also seen that 57.14 percent of the applique workers were engaged in this craft round the year, 28.57 percent during monsoon while 14.27 percent mostly women in their leisure time after the completion of their household chores. Applique work was initially practiced only by the Darjis but now due to considerable occupational mobility it is no longer confined to any particular caste or community. About three thousand families in and around Pipili are engaged in the work.

**Marketing Problem**:- The shop owners say that the margin of profit in selling applique works was about ten percent if they sell their products through government agencies like the co-operative societies or "Utkalika", a state government establishment for marketing Orissan handicraft products. But when sold
directly to the customers the profit margin ranged from 15 to 25 percent. The demand remains high during festivals and tourist season (November to April). The business transactions were less during the rainy season. Most of the work is done by younger generation as it requires swiftness of fingers.

The craftpersons have two options for marketing their final products through the local shop owners where their payment happens to be immediate and co-operatives mainly during off seasons as the pay here is irregular, as expressed by 64 percent of the respondents.

No outside help:- The survey under study revealed that nearly 94 percent of the respondents met their requirements for fixed capital from their own savings or borrowing against hypothecation of their landed property while about six percent had availed from the District Industries Center (DIC) which was created to meet the financial needs of the artisans and small entrepreneurs. The co-operative societies meant for designing, marketing and banks etc. for financial assistance are seen to have failed in serving their purpose.

Rabindranath Sahu (1992) has written an article "Prachine Hastasilpara Parampara" (Tradition of Ancient Handicraft) in an Oriya daily The Samaj. Where he says that the first artisans during the pre-historic age expressed their meagre artistic talent by a - pictograph, b- engraving, c- drawing and d- construction. In the Stone Age the basic human needs were 1-food, 2- shelter, 3- defence. At this time stone implements
were made for killing their prey (animals and birds) and for defence purpose. The art of making these implements which are got from the various layers of the earth may be said to be the first handicraft of man. Gradually required handicraft took its form. During 18th century in England, Industrial Revolution started and the progress of handicraft became restricted. Since India was then dependent Industrial Revolution could not take place and the condition of handicraft deteriorated, only the name sake survived in the remote villages. Revival of Orissan handicraft started in 1955 and became world famous, got adopted by many artisans, as sculpture, palm leaf scratching, coconut fiber work, dhokra work, terracotta etc. are seen in plenty.

Jagannath Pattanayak (1993) a historian has written *Itihasa Prusthara Pipili* (Pipili in the page of history) in Orissa. True to its name this book /work deals with the historical past and recent developments of this region Pipili. This book comprises of nine chapters. The first chapter tells why Pipili is named thus, its location, area, geographical features and population composition. The second, third, fourth and fifth chapters deal with the history of this area from the days of the Afghans, Moghals, Marathas and the British rule till independence and post-independence era. The sixth chapter discusses about the economic scenario. While the seventh chapter projects the picture of the cultural events under going here. In the eighth chapter the writer deals about the past glory of the different religious monuments as churches, mosques, temples, forts etc. situated in the region of Pipili. The last chapter speaks with pride about
Pranati Pattnayak (1993) has published an article "Pipili: the colourful home of traditional applique work" in Women’s Era, an English magazine and states the following. The eastern Indian state of Orissa—better known as the land of Jagannath—is a veritable museum full of monuments and articles of architectural and sculptural grandeur, where art and craft depict the enriched heritage of this land.

Pattnayak relates that the art of applique is as old as the Jagannath temple. This work which originally was meant for religious purpose now decorates the drawing rooms aboard. The striking characteristic of the said art is that cloth figure of Lord Jagannath, Konark wheel, elephants, horses, peacocks etc., in bright colours are attached to cloth in nine contrasting colours. In the past vegetable colours were used to dye the cloth and the stitching was by hand unlike the present time as mill spun cloth of various chemical colours are available and machine sewing is practised. The delicate part of the work like the preparation of the animal figures, the figure of Lord Jagannath etc. are done by women folk and the machine stitching by men. The artists used to prepare chanduas (canopies), banas (flags), batuas, chhatis etc. Two decades ago only limited coloured materials were available they were red, yellow, black and white.

It is said in the 11th century when Lord Jagannath’s temple was constructed the deities were placed beneath a canopy of Pipili applique work. This magnificent relic still persists till date in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. The chhati and
trasa are used while paying obeisance to Lord Jagannath. The 18ft. long flag which adorns the 65 metres high Jagannath temple is made by applique artists so also the chariot covers of the Trinity for the Car Festival. During Jhulan Yatra (Jhulan means swing and Yatra means festival) Lord Krishna is decorated with applique cloth and taken to the door step of every village home, while chhatis and trasa are used on this occasion. Since time immemorial applique makers used to move on foot from village to village, two months prior to this Yatra to sell these items. In present day Pipili, the scene is quite different, it is decorated with numerous applique works, which the people come here to purchase. "The kings of the erstwhile princely states used to buy huge chanduas to cover the Rajsabhas." The chhatis were used to cover the thrones of kings and trasa to make the king feel comfortable on his throne. These artists at times used to visit royal places to decorate the palinkis (palanquins) with applique work.

In the recent time with the temple and royal patronage gone, the artists have started commercialising their art form. But now the art forms are according to the choice of the tourists.

"The traditional form of chandua has been metamorphosed into bedcovers, the chhati in to garden umbrellas, the trasa to wall hangings and the batua to sling bags and ladies purses. More modern items such as parasols, canopies, lamp-shades, pillow-covers, cushion covers and ghagras (long skirts) are also prepared to cater to the demands of modern society."
From young to old all are seen practicing this craft, roughly numbering around 5,000 artisans involved in it. The economy of this area is dependent on this craft as they get orders from within as well as from out of the country. The Orissa Handicraft Development Corporation has been very beneficial for the various artisans of Orissa. They help the young craftpersons by conducting training, providing bank loans and marketing the products through state emporium "Utkalika". The labour charge is low which can be overcome and "Commercialisation" could help the art to survive, but intelligent marketing and proper management are needed to place this tiny remote village with this traditional craft on the world art map.

1.4 Methodology :- From the day I decided to register myself for the doctoral work, the glamorous applique craft drew my attention. During this time I was serving in Xavier Institute of Management Bhubaneswar, where craft survey was in progress. As luck would have it the society survey of applique work in Pipili and Tusura were entrusted to me, by which, my interest was all the more enhanced. After its completion I met my guide Professor P.K. Nayak who encouraged me to work on the topic "Applique Craft Tradition of Orissa and Change: A Holistic Study."

My first year of research consisted of intensive library work. During this time I collected relevant literature and historical records available in the different libraries of Orissa
and Calcutta. After gaining some basic idea about applique craft from the materials available in the libraries my synopsis for the doctoral degree was prepared. After filling up the form for registration to the Ph.D degree I started visiting my field time and again.

Luck favoured me here, as the first home which I selected for my visit has very hospitable and amiable occupants who welcomed me with open arms. This house had two applique teachers, the father-in-law who teaches this craft in State Handicraft Centre and son-in-law in State Design Centre, Kalanagar in Khandagiri, Bhubaneswar. They being teachers themselves could understand the importance of education, so explaining my purpose of visit to them was not a problem at all. This house was a second home to me. Here lived three brothers and a sister, all of whom are married, along with their old father. They are very frank about whatever questions I put to them and answered without any hesitation. This is the first family which I saw in this place where all brothers and sister are living under one roof but have separate hearths. The grown-ups of this family irrespective of gender are well versed in this craft. The girls and boys in their teens are excellent craftpersons. Small children are dutifully sent to school which happens to be quite close to their dwelling. Here male and female children are being provided equal opportunity in all fields. During leisure hours the young school going children are seen helping their elders in the craft. But the only draw back with this family was that whenever I spoke about visiting other people’s house of their caste in their locality, they
became very possessive. Time and again they told me that whatever
I wanted to know about the craft they had already discussed and
so why should I go to other peoples homes. In fact I witnessed
reluctance on their part to introduce me to other members of
their caste. They even tried to dissuade me by telling that other
people of their locality were not sociable so why should I insist
on visiting them. My repeated visits to this house proved to be
very fruitful from where I gained the basics of this craft. They
performed the craft freely in front of me without any inhibition.
In course of time I started being treated as one of their family
members and they came forward to discuss with me their family
matters, especially the women folk.

Then came my next phase, where my primary work was
census collection. Little did I realise then that the most diffi­
cult period in my research had started. After many people of
Pipili got acquainted with me in my first house of visit that of
Sri Ucchab Mahapatra’s residence, I ventured to go to their very
next neighbour. When I went their door was open but since I was a
new comer to this locality, my unannounced entrance to the house
would not be appreciated. In order to be polite in my approach I
first knocked on the open door. Where after a long wait a man
came to the door to whom I introduced myself and was informing
him about the purpose of my visit, when the most unexpected
incident which no one can imagine happened. He shut the door on
my face. I was nearly on the verge of tears but controlled myself
and came back to my first house and related my experience. Here
the ladies were very sympathetic and explained to me that since
From that afternoon onwards with renewed spirit I started going from house to house. My experience was traumatic as people could be so rude I had no idea. In rude and insolent manner they just would somehow manage to give their census but would not like to talk a single word more. This type of behaviour continued for months together, in fact they were outright hostile. At times I even used to visit the shops and sit there thinking gradually the men folk would open up but instead in many occasions, they openly detested my presence there. The only question which all would ask me was from which department I had come? And no one believed that I was just a student and my interest was purely academic. My earlier research works were in tribal areas where the people happened to be simple and helpful and I had never earlier encountered such horrible circumstances. Initially I thought that the people were ill-mannered in this locale or there was some deep-rooted cause for their resentment.

Then finally one day a person asked me whether I was from the income tax department. My prompt answer was no. But why were everybody interested to know to which department I belonged, whether in fact I was only a student? He informed me that a month prior to my appearance in Pipili there was an income tax raid and so the people were under the impression that income tax department people had sent me to this place as their informer.

In this way I passed a year. One day I was at home thinking about my field and felt remorse. Right then a friend of mine had come to our residence, being a very close friend of mine
she took the liberty to ask me the cause of my misery. To her probing questions I frankly answered about all the events in Pipili. After giving me a patient hearing she solved one of the greatest problem of my academic life. She promised me to talk about my difficulties to her family friend, who happened to be a resident of Pipili. He is a helpful political activist and his father, a retired police officer. This gentleman who is a political activist took me from house to house introducing me as his first cousin and requested the artisans to co-operate with me.

This introduction was God sent, as after this the reaction of the people became altogether reverse. All of a sudden they became cordial and supplied me the data which I asked and rapport building was superb. Here onwards my research work progressed in leaps and bounds. I could interview people of all age groups and selected the key informants for deeper study and further interview. Then I went deeper and deeper into the matter and carried out intensive fieldwork. Genealogies were traced, case studies recorded and keen observation was maintained throughout the study. This was my fieldwork which started in 1989 and continued till 1996.