Chapter II

APPLIQUE CRAFT TRADITION OF ORISSA : A BRIEF REVIEW

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Historical perspectives of the craft: spread and distribution

Puri is a maritime district, in the eastern Indian state of Orissa, renowned through the ages for its artistic monuments of superb architectural beauty. It has innumerable ancient religious shrines and at the same time has developed craft peculiar to this place and its traditions. The applique work and the stone carvings are the testimony of the religious traditions of India. The rich religious ideas and beliefs of the people are reflected and preserved in the temple traditions of Orissa. The different types of handicraft have lived through generations undaunted by time and have survived to offer a fair chance for revival. Chandua kamo (applique work), pathora khodei (stone carving), etc. are a few such cottage industries managed by the indigenous artisans putting in their own labour. A popular belief is that applique craft started or rather originated in a place called Pipili and today, is famous for applique craft and some itinerant craftsmen carried it to Puri.

Puri is one of the four "dhams" or important sacred Hindu centres in the religious map of India. The entire temple of Lord Jagannath of Puri is chiselled with exquisite figurines in stone. The characters in it are in a state of suspended animation-veritable poetry in stone. In the present century it has acquired the status of a holiday resort and a major attraction for its beach. Every year tourists from India and abroad pour in here to this religious centre of Orissa. The presence of applique in the craft arena is intimately linked with the existence of
A detailed study about the various sevas (rituals or rites) has been conducted by L. Panda (1952) who has collected information from various old records of the temple and published it in the Record of Rights - Shri Jagannath Temple Puri by the temple Administration under the Orissa Act-14 of 1952. Darji seva is one of the several sevas performed in the temple is included in the Record of Rights. The appointments of sevaks (servitors) are hereditary. Only male adults of the family well versed in tailoring craft work can be employed in the service of the deities. Incase of their negligence other sevaks could be engaged. (Panda, 1952:74-80)

As per the Gazetteer of India, Orissa (1977) Pipili was famous for applique work which happened to be the traditional craft of the local tailors. They used to prepare ceremonial umbrellas, cloth bags, purses, embroidered quilts, canopies and other applique work which had favourable local and national market. The area including Pipili was seized by Prince Khurram (later Shah Jahan, the Moghul Emperor) in 1621 A.D., when he had advanced from the Deccan to Cuttack and thence to Bengal. Hence the evidence of the presence of Muslims in this locality who even practiced this craft. Applique craft is the harmonious product of the intermingling of two diverse religions i.e. Hinduism and Islam. In the initial stage the craft might have had a different get-up. But with the advent of Islam the tone became more allur-
ing. And the most modern approach is the addition of sartorial accessories like sequins, minute mirrors and laces. This has wholly revolutionised the earlier or rather the ancient works. (Senapati Chief Editor, 1977:659).

According to the findings of Mohanty (1980) applique craft originated in Pipili from where some artisans were shifted to Puri. (Mohanty, 1980:5-6) Jagannath Culture is so replete with rites and rituals that it is not surprising that even a piece of hand embroidered material is included in the paraphernalia of Lord Jagannath, the presiding deity of Puri. Jagannath Cult has a predominant influence over the socio-religious life of the Orissan people. It is an admixture of tribal religion, Buddhism, Shaktism, Saivism, Brahmanical religion, Vaishnavism and tantricism. Applique craft is an integral part of Lord Jagannath's Car Festival and the Trinity in the sanctum sanctorum of the temple where the deities are installed all throughout the year is an applique work itself.

There is written evidence to show that applique craft was present in Puri, Jagannath temple way back in 1054 A.D. as sevaks were appointed by the king at that time as claimed by Mohanty (1980) " The development and continuance of applique work in Pipili and Puri have been due, to a great extent, to the proximity of the Jagannath temple at Puri appointed artisans as sevaks for the regular supply of articles required for the day-to-day sevas (rituals or rites) performed in the temple and also determined the quantity and rate at which the supply was made. Darji caste inhabitants of Puri were also appointed to
supply the requirements of tailored articles for Lord Jagannath, and for festivals. As per old documents available with Ganesh Mahapatra of Puri three of which are reproduced in plates 24, 25 and 26, Maharaja Birakishore appointed in the year 1054 A.D. Jagannath Mahapatra, Banamali Mahapatra, Rama Maharana and others for this purpose. Maharaja Mukunda Dev appointed Ganesh Mahapatra for the same purpose in the year 1280 A.D. A certificate was issued approximately in 1754-55 A.D. indicating that Padan Maharana, Narayan Maharana and then Loknath Maharana served as sevaks for the same purpose (Plate 24). Raja Mukund Dev (another king) authorised in the year 1920 A.D. Hadu Mahapatra to charge a fixed amount on all offerings of tailored materials for Lord Jagannath even though these were sewn by other tailors (Plate 25). A similar certificate was issued under the seal of Rani Suryamani Devi during the reign of Raja Dibyasingh (Plate 26). (Mohanty, 1980:5)

Pradhan in A Study of History of Orissa, (1988) mentions that the sacred rituals were carried out by the king under the canopy, of applique craft. In fact all the three cars of the Trinity are decorated by attractive applique work, during Car Festival, which is a hereditary profession of the Darji craftsmen. There are ample of evidences to suggest that applique items are a cohesive part of Lord Jagannath. Whether he is stationary or mobile (as during the annual Car Festival or Ratha Yatra) (Pradhan, 1988:89).
2.1.1. Legendary history of origin of applique craft:

There is a famous legend relating to the origin of applique craft in Pipili. It is believed that a Badshah (Muslim emperor) of Delhi (the people do not remember the name) had ordered a Si Pu Ti or present Darji (tailor) to prepare two pillows for him. While stitching the pillows, the products looked so pretty that the tailor thought it would have been better if it would had been made for Lord Jagannath of Puri, as things of such exotic beauty should only be owned by Him. The next morning when the artisan came to perform his duty, he was too surprised to find out that one of the pillow was missing. In fact overnight it had travelled from Delhi to Puri, which was a miracle of Lord Jagannath. When the emperor was informed about the missing pillow, he immediately imprisoned the Darji, thinking that he had stolen it. But in his dream he was told by Lord Jagannath that the Si Pu Ti was innocent and the miracle was performed by Him. The next day this man was released and resumed his work. After the completion of work the craftsman came to Pipili and taught his craft skill to the people of his caste and the art spread to wider areas. So, ultimately good artisans were selected and appointed to render service to Lord Jagannath at Puri. It was a common practice that the kings and rulers of India were patronising the traditional craft and skills. They used to select the renowned artists and talented people with extraordinary skills from various fields and house them in their respective capitals. At the same time, when temples, mosques and such other places of worships were constructed, these outstanding craft and skills
were also utilised in these premises to accord the religious approval. In course of time these craftsmen from different places housed in the temple/mosque precinct helped to preserve the autonomy and sanctity of religious traditions. Such could have also happened in case of applique craft artisans. It can be assumed that this glamorous craft might have been existing in Pipili earlier than Puri, from where the best craftpersons might have been selected and shifted to Puri. This can also be an assumption as opinions vary since they are not certain about their place of origin.

In the later age when Pipili was seized by Muslim rulers, some Muslims settled there. In course of time the Islam word Darji might have been incorporated with the Hindu caste Suchika or Si Pu Ti due to proximity.

As the marriage link slowly developed between the Suchika's of Puri and Pipili, the artisans were slowly influenced by the gorgeous work of the Muslims residing in and around Pipili. Subsequently these gorgeous items in craft were added to the native applique craft in order to make the craft more attractive and commercial. So initially the Suchikas engaged in applique craft were known as Si Pu Ti in later days. But due to the contact with the Muslims, they were known as Darjis more widely.

2.2 Social and cultural perspectives of the craft:

The Darjis are medium to short statured people. They possess medium sized head and their complexion is generally wheatish to dark. They exhibit the Mongolo-Dravidian type of
classification according to Sir Herbert Hope Risely (Sarkar, 1976: 105).

An old man was seen to have pierced one ear and wearing a nooli (a golden round shaped ear-ring), some aged men also wear kaala maali (neck-lace of black beads). They wear dhoti (a loin-cloth worn by Hindu men) and ganji (banyan) and normally they are bare footed. Men of the present generation do not pierce their ears, normally all wear ganji and lungi (a type of loin cloth worn by men) at home. Some of the young Darjis' formal clothing are shirts and pants. For them to put on slippers is a must during outings. Small boys wear shirts and half-pants/shorts. Elderly ladies are seen to wear kano phula (ear-ring), gunu (nose-ring) incase they are sadhaba(married), chudi (bangles) is a must along with sindur (vermilion). Married old ladies do wear coloured sarees but the widows only wear white sarees. Married middle aged and young ladies apply sindur on their hair parting and forehead. They even wear ear-rings, necklaces, rings, anklets and toe-rings. The symbol of married status is the presence of vermilion on their hair parting, glass bangles and toe-rings. Unmarried young girls are seen to wear sarees and in some cases they also put on salwar kamiz (ladies attire). Small girls wear frocks.

Krushna Mahapatra is the sardar (head among the Darjis of Puri) as well as the President of All Orissa Darji Association claims that the word Darji (tailor) has originated from Pali language. According to him Jaaharo Jati Taku Baado (he who is born into whichever caste, that caste happens to be the
highest). So one should think one’s caste to be the highest in the caste hierarchy and be proud of it. As per his saying since bana (flag) an article which is made by them flies at the pinnacle of the temple of Lord Jagannath, that speaks of their caste status in relation to other castes.

Culturally they place their caste in high esteem. At a day prior to Snana Purnima (annual bathing festival), a day prior to Rath Yatra (Car Festivals) and a day prior to Bahuda (return trip), Darjis and daitas (the descendants of Visvabasu, the then Savar Chief) are the only people allowed to go near the Trinity and offer their services. As during these ceremonies the sardar puts on maatha joda (a pair of dhoti and shawl of raw silk) supplied by the temple administration, previously by the Gajapati King, they used to claim a ritually higher status. This outfit is considered ritually pure and holy at the time of prayer and offerings. As per the belief of the people, when they offer prayer to God they should wear clean and freshly washed clothes. Cotton garments as sarees or dhoti should always be washed prior to use. Incase they wear maatha joda this washing does not become a must or a pre-requisite. Maatha washed or unwashed is considered to be ritually pure by the Hindus. The opportunity to serve the Trinity only in the presence of daitas is considered to be a great privilege compared to other services rendered to the Trinity of Puri.

So far as memory goes, there were only about 120 families of Darjis initially in Orissa. Out of these 120 families 50% or 60 families or sathiya gharo settled in Pipili while the rest...
60 families were distributed all over Orissa. And the number of people professing applique craft has gone up from 300 to 1508 at present in the whole of Orissa. When applique work is only meant for religious purpose, especially for Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra of Puri, the articles can only be stitched by the male members of a family who have undergone saree boondha (turban of saree is tied on the head of an artisan in the presence of the King of Puri). Only after the formal recognition ceremony a person is entitled to cater to the divine requirements of Jagannath temple. To-day regular maintenance of applique items and garments of the Trinity are prepared by Mr Krushna Mahapatra.

In ancient days not only applique craft but craft in general were given a honourable position. With the advent of the British its position declined. But with the passage of time and exposure in the present day, artifact creation is held in high esteem and respected all round the globe. During olden days the Darjis of Pipili used to travel from village to village mending umbrellas and kantha (quilt). Only during the monsoon when travelling was hampered they concentrated on applique work making bachhakani or phatae (a type of garment to cover the upper part of the male body). They presume that after seeing the bana (flag) of Jagannath temple the idea of applique craft dawned on the craftpersons which gradually took the shape of the present form. The articles made for divine use used to have no living being figurine on them, they are just a combination of cloth of different colours.
This craft was patronised by the temple authorities, maths (monastries) the rajas of Indian states and the pilgrims to the Puri temple, of which the first three encouraged the craft most. There being a number of maths (monastries) around Puri, they played an important role in patronising the craft. With the merger of the Indian feudatory states and the gradual deterioration in the financial position of the maths and the temples, the workers in the craft have lost most of their patronage.

The artisans performing this craft have their individual artistic style. Both ladies and gentlemen of this craft finish their household chores as punctually and fast as possible for devoting the rest of the day in pursuit of applique work. Nearly 8-12 hours a day is spent for this craft by both the genders. Darjis are not satisfied with the quality of work but the quantity of the items are increasing by leaps and bounds. This very much signifies the trend of demand for this craft in the present time. While preparing the various items whether for religious or commercial purposes there is no restriction in dietary habits, as the craftpersons are free to take vegetarian or non-vegetarian diets.

The basic procedure of all the craft are the same, but the designs and the raw materials differ. The skill of an artisan depends upon his intelligence and talent. Family is the first institution from where a person learns the basics and intricacies of the craft. This skill is modified according to the talent of a person.
In the past, joint family system was the order of the day. As these craftsmen have patriarchal form of family, the eldest male member was the head of the household, who used to command maximum respect and obedience. Gradually with the change in society and inflation, this joint family system gave way to nuclear family, which is the universal phenomena now.

Every year they organise a mela (fair) for two days during Baisakha Purnima (the full-moon day of the Oriya month Baisakha April-May). It is held at Kedargouri (one of the most popular Hindu temples of Bhubaneswar city). It is attended by all Darji caste members belonging to most parts of Orissa. Here any offences committed by the members in a year are decided. If the offence is minor the punishment is incurred in the form of fine. If the offence is major a person is ex-communicated from the caste for a stipulated period. They have a system of election to their caste council where only Darjis of Puri district can contest. There are no hard and fast rules for the tenure of office bearership. The importance of the caste council is slowly diminishing.

In order to spread the craft, Government has set up training centres irrespective of caste. The skill of commercial items is liberally taught to non-Darjis but the trade secret of the traditional items are very cleverly kept intact among the Darjis.

Last Tuesday of every month is a holiday for the business community in Pipili.
2.3 Household enterprise and the craft

The life of the Darjis of Pipili mainly revolve around applique craft. Children, right from their infancy are geared to learn the craft and when they grow up and attain perfection in the craft transmit it to their next generation. This marvellous craft is the centre of their very existence. From remote centuries this has been their prime means to earn their livelihood. Every house is the unit of this industry. Here all the family members participate in one form or another. So it is a product of joint venture. This craft is intricately woven into their lives. The family members not only learn the skill and the craft but also lead the life of a craftperson in the midst of poverty. Small gains and little earnings from this craft go to the maintenance of the household economy. Very parsimoniously they make use of their earnings. Whenever they are in need, they borrow and incur debts and are very much particular in repayment of the loan. In such money matters they maintain a high degree of ethics, for they are assured of the fact that their craft will pay them, which in fact acts as a psychological insurance against their economic hardship. Not only they pursue this craft occupation at the individual level, but they also adopt it as the main source of their sustenance and livelihood at the family level and nourish it too, collectively.

The applique craft since from the beginning was restricted among the Darjis, it was a hereditary profession, the motive behind the craft was purely ritualistic. The craftsmen
were so much psychologically and emotionally attached with the
craft that they were not thinking of monetary reward of the
craft. Hence even though they were poor and landless they were
not giving up this caste profession. Apart from the psychological,
social and the religious supports and above all the royal
patronage, were the main cause for the promotion and sustenance
of the craft.

When it was a household enterprise, all the members of
a family irrespective of their age and sex were contributing
their premium for the maintenance of the family craft. While
preparing any applique craft the craftsman pays utmost care even
for the smallest material required for the manufacturing of the
craft, in other words the smallest trait of the craft whatever
the size may be was contributing a meaning for the total craft.
Hence maximum precaution is still taken to make the craft mean-
ingful and at the same time beautiful to look at. The craftsmen
start their work after making usual offerings to Lord Jagannath
and prayer to God for the smooth completion of the project under-
taken. The skills and techniques used for the preparation of the
craft were highly praised by the public in general and kings in
particular, if the craft was beautiful and elegant. Hence the
status and position of good craftsmen were above their co-arti-
sans. Such good artisans were invited by the kings and zamindars
and were allowed to prepare different applique craft for the use
in the temples. Apart from the zamindars and the kings, the heads
of maths were also patronising and encouraging the craft and
craftsmen. Previously the craftsmen were depending on the raw
materials which were available in the locality and prepared by them. In a sense from the beginning the craft was an indigenous one, religious and sacred motifs attached to the craft were preserved in the dress and other articles which were used by the craftsmen. For instance the beads prepared out of tulsi stick (Ocimum sanctum) were used as necklaces and ear-rings by the male craftsmen, who wear the testimony to the effect even now. Tulsi is a sacred plant for the Hindus. All the parts of the plant are in a way or other attached to the cultural life of the Hindus. Even Lord Jagannath is worshipped through the tulsi plant. So wearing necklaces made out of parts of tulsi plant consecrates the ritualistic and artistic ties in the craft of the craftsmen. But with the passage of time and particularly after the independence of the Indian Union the network of communication facilities increased. The Darjis of different localities of Orissa are able to know each other. By coming in contact with the other people they try to switch over to another profession as the traditional applique craft was not rewarding from the monetary point of view. At the same time the pilgrims and tourists from different parts of India and abroad were attracted towards the traditional craft of Orissa. Besides this the government also propagates for the development of traditional craft through various agencies. It was primarily aimed at the development of economic conditions of the craftsmen. As a consequence the traditional motive and the meaning of the craft deteriorated, the basic instinct of the craft to be the pride of the craftsmen is no more. The intention of money, and economy gained the ground. The durability, quality and skills
attached to the craft lost their lustre. All these things together lead to the mechanisation of the craft. The basic concept "the higher the production the more the money" gained the ground. The skills and techniques become subservient to the monetary gains. It is not the good skilled persons who enjoyed high status in the society rather the economically well-off persons who would be able to multiply his craft through machines gained the advantage. The establishment of modern educational institutions and diversification of economic pursuits stimulated the craftsmen to send their ward for formal education, so that they could be employed in the government and private sectors and such employments are more remunerative compared to the traditional craft. The change in the dress pattern, food habit particularly among the young generation deteriorated the sanctity in the craft.

At present this applique craft is no more a family occupation of the Darjis only; the people of other caste groups are learning the skills of applique craft from the skilled applique craftsmen through the establishment of co-operative societies and training centres. It is seen in almost all the districts of Orissa there are registered co-operative societies for the promotion and acquisition of applique craft. The probationers get stipends from the government agencies to learn the craft. After completion of the training most of the trainees do not pursue the craft for the reasons beyond their control. These trainees come to the institution just for the sake of stipend and lack adequate devotion to the craft. Quite a meagre percentage of trainees who stick to the craft profession after training profess
it as a secondary occupation. They try to purchase raw materials available in the market for the preparation of the craft, at comparatively cheaper rates and try to sell the product with a bigger margin. This profit motive behind the manufacture of applique craft degraded the quality of the craft. The gradual loss of religious sentiment and devotion of the craftsmen decreased the durability and elegance of it but the addition of certain decorative items like small mirrors, sequins increased the lustre of the craft for a temporary period. Hence the craft which was a major source of household economy, exclusively of the Darjis in joint family forms, is at present practiced more at the individual nuclear family level than at the joint family level.

2.4 Regional and local status of the craft

Orissa is famous for housing highly artistic talents and has fifty-two craft to its credit. The Directorate of Handicraft and Cottage Industries, Government of Orissa, has grouped these craft into five categories according to their demand. They are:

1. Popular Craft
2. Special Craft
3. Rare Craft
4. Languishing Craft
5. Miscellaneous Work.

1. Popular Craft:- Craft of this category are widely circulated and are named so due to their commercial viability. There is good demand in the domestic as well as in the interna-
tional market. The craft like brass and bell metal, silver filigrée works, applique, stone carving etc. are included in this category. At about 83.04% of artisans of Orissa are practicing such occupation.

2-Special Craft: The craft of this category are restricted within specific localities of Orissa. Such craft are famous for their artistic style and lustre. The traditional heritage of Orissan culture is particularly preserved in this craft. This includes inter alia zari works, theatrical dress making, artistic foot wear, glass beads, coir products etc. Coir products are found in the localities of Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam districts of Orissa.

3-Rare Craft: The craft under this category are practised by a few artisans today. These include craft like the paddy craft, musical instruments, incense and perfumery, painted wooden wares etc. Due to the stiff competition and non-availability of adequate raw material this craft is not practised by a number of people. Even though there is inadequate marketability of these craft, it is restricted within a few artisans.

4-Languishing Craft: The craft like clay terra cotta, tin toys, unbreakable toys, tribal jewellery, etc. are included under this category. This category is so named because of the scintillating demand in the market. Most of the artisans engaged in this category have been professing some other profession apart from the traditional trait. The mechanisation of the products and meagre demand in the
market have contributed to the languishing of such craft.

5-Miscellaneous Work: The craft under this category are comparatively costlier among all the craft of Orissa. The craft like gold and silver articles, woollen carpet weaving, art textiles etc. are included in this category. Even though the craft is too expensive yet it has a potential marketability. The traditional demand for gold and silver articles of Orissan people has made the craft living. The craft like woollen carpet weaving is of recent addition and particularly it is undertaken by the people of Chandragiri region in Ganjam district of Orissa.

The following table reveals the number of artisans in different categories of craft.

Table No. 2.1.
The distribution of artisans in different craft categories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Craft</th>
<th>No. of Craft classified</th>
<th>No. of Craft present</th>
<th>No. of Artisans engaged</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22094</td>
<td>83.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>6.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rare</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>1.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languishing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1658</td>
<td>6.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>26606</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals the fact that the highest percentage of artisans that is 83.04% are engaged in the popular
craft category. As many as 21 craft are included under this rubric. It is followed by special craft category which contributes 6.94% to the total artisans in 8 different types of craft. The miscellaneous work category contributes 6.23% of the total, only in 3 types of craft are in this category. This speaks about the status of the craft. There is a negligible difference between the rare craft and languishing craft so far the number of artisans are concerned. The rare craft category which contribute only 1.97% just 0.17% more than the languishing craft through 14 different class of craft is the least encouraging craft category.

Applique craft is included under the popular craft category and occupies 5th position by contributing 6.82% to the artisans employed in that category.
Table No. 2.2.
Table showing the frequency of artisans employed in different occupations in popular craft category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Craft</th>
<th>No. of artisans</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brass and Bell metal</td>
<td>9173</td>
<td>41.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane and Bamboo</td>
<td>3492</td>
<td>15.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone Carving</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>8.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Grass</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>7.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applique</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver filigree Works</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artistic Mat</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood Carving</td>
<td>534</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhokra Casting</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horn Works</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattachitra</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Painted Toys</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacquer Wares</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay Toys</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Shell Works</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solapith Works</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper Machie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22094</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The artisans of brass and bell metal occupation have the highest contribution to the popular craft category, followed
by cane and bamboo artisans. While artisans employed in the stone carving category have contribution of 8.61% thus occupying the 3rd position. The artisans employed in applique work have a contribution of 6.82% thus occupying the 5th position in the total popular craft category in Orissa. It is preceded by the artisans employed in golden grass category.

The applique craft is survived through 57 co-operative societies in Orissa by 1438 craftsmen as members. A detailed picture of the applique craft societies and the craftsmen are given in the table.

Table No. 2.3.
Distribution districtwise of Applique Craft Societies and Workers in Orissa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the District</th>
<th>Name of Societies Functioning</th>
<th>Working Members</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolangir</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuttack</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>13.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganjam</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
<td>835</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>1438</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is revealed from the given table that more than half (58.06%) of the applique craft workers are found in Puri dis-
strict. They are working through 35 co-operative societies. It is followed by artisans of Cuttack district who contribute 13.49% to the total. It is interesting to note that Koraput which as a tribal district of Orissa contributes 10.08% of the total applique workers in Orissa.

Coming to Puri district where the applique craftsmen are widely concentrated, it can be said as the cradle of applique craft in Orissa. The craftsmen are mainly concentrated in two centres, one in Puri proper and the other one in Pipili. Puri being one of the major sacred centres of India the applique prepared and sold by the craftsmen of Puri have a religious significance. Previously there was a strong rule prevailing in Puri for restriction of marriage alliance among the applique craftsmen of Puri in order to protect the sanctity and unique character of applique craft of Puri centre. Most of the craftsmen were employed by the kings at the service of Lord Jagannath. Hence the applique works thus prepared were exclusively used for the Lord. There was a very negligible number of applique items which were sold in Puri proper itself.

Pipili, the other applique centre in Puri district is mainly famous for the commercialisation of the craft. In Pipili and its surrounding areas applique craft happens to be in the zenith from the point of absorbing too many craftpersons and its viability in the national and international market. Numerous articles are made, at the same time new ones are always added to its number. As per the findings there are 269 Darjis in this place where nearly all are practicing the craft except a few but
incase of people belonging to other castes and religions within a radius of about 20km, villagers are seen to perform this craft as a hobby if not as their profession. Unofficially applique seems to enclose in its fold maximum number of artisans in the state compared to other craft. Generally the skills of needle work whether trained or untrained is found among the ladies where applique works' simple design is just a variation which normally women or girls having interest in the field can pick up with the least effort. The complicated items are of course difficult, the trade secret of which till date they refrain to disclose but these articles do not have much commercial value. Incase of applique it encompassed people in terms of villages so no doubt this should rank in the top as far as its local status is considered.

2.5 Ritual traditions and the craft.

The Hindu religious tradition is replete with festivals. The religious texts prescribe different festivals round the year. Such festivals pave the way for the encounter and experience of devotional feelings. When Yatra or festivals are performed people from remote places of the country get the pleasure of a glimpse of the deities in a procession. Sometimes it is a life long desire of the devotees to witness the deities, as they are barred from access to the shrine due to old age, invalidity and disease. For the satisfaction of such people, who cannot witness the deities in the temple precinct festivals are observed. (Mishra, 1971:128) It can be stated that the performance of festivals in the temples removes fear of fire, famine,
flood and epidemic and saves the devotees from several other vagaries of nature.

The applique craft has a strong relationship with the religious traditions. It can be said as the two sides of the same coin. It is so much mingled with the religious traditions that one cannot think of any deity or temple without applique craft. The canopy and the flag are a must for every temple. In every village, at the time of Dola (to play with colours) festival where the images of Devi Radha and Lord Krishna are taken in procession, the divine chariots are covered with different applique work. Not only these, some other items like religious umbrella, trasa etc. are also carried before the deities. All these events mark the association of applique craft with the religious traditions of Hindus.

Lord Jagannath’s (Lord of the Universe) temple at Puri (the word Puri is perhaps a shortened name for Jagannath Puri which literally means the abode of the Lord of the Universe) observes many Yatra or festivals round the year. During these Yatras the archa (representative deities) images are often taken out in procession. The system of taking out the installed deities is called mulabera, which happens to be a speciality of this temple. The important festivals where applique items are required are given below.

1. Devasnana Purnima:- Deva (God), snana (bathing), Purnima (full-moon). This festival is celebrated on the Purnima of the month of Jyaistha (May-June), it is considered that Lord Jagannath was born during this Purnima. On this day the
Snana Yatra (bathing festival) is performed. Here the images of Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra along with Lord Sudarshana and Lord Madanmohan, are brought in procession to the snana vedi (bathing platform). The procession is called Pahandi or Poahandivijaya. On the snana vedi a canopy called Indragovinda chandua (Indra King of heaven, rain and thunder while Govinda means Lord Jagannath) is tied. This chandua is so named as it has minute pores and Lord Indra showers rain in such a manner which falls on this chandua tied on top of the Trinity, that it provides protection from rain and only allows the required amount of water to percolate. In other words water is sent from Indra to Govinda. A new canopy is made only after the old one is torn. Earlier the king used to provide the raw material (but now the temple administration gives), and the canopy is tied every year on this occasion. The vedi is decorated with pictures of jewel trees and flower gardens even flags, toran (the applique panel over the doorway is a sign of good omen) etc. are put up. All the images are decorated with beautiful flowers, at the same time dhupas (incense stick), and perfumes of many kinds are offered. This famous Pahandi of the deities take place accompanied by music and beating of various types of indigenous musical instruments, in the midst of thousands of people jostling to have a glimpse of them. A day prior to this festival 108 golden and copper pots are filled with water from the suna-kuan (golden well) and preserved on the bhoga mandap (offering platform). These vessels are brought to the snana vedi on the snana purnima day. This ritual is called Jaladhibasa. The deities are first
offered red powder and then taken to the snana vedi, at this time their bodies are covered with silk clothes. This is the only occasion when literally water is poured on the images while during other times water is actually poured on the copper mirror used by the deities. Along with the pouring of water, rituals are performed accompanied with the chanting of pavamana (a type of Sanskrit hymn). After the completion of the bathing ceremony, the deities are dressed as Ganesha (the God of learning and wealth). This is called Gajanana Vesa (Ganesha, Dress). It is said that a staunch devotee of God Ganesh and a profound South Indian scholar had come to Puri during Snana Yatra. The king invited him to witness the sacred bath which he refused on the pretext that he would not worship any God other than Ganesha. Somehow after a lot of coaxing he was brought to the snana vedi, where the Lord gave him darsan (appeared before) in the form of Ganesha to the surprise of all. For which during the Snana Yatra at the time of sacred bath the colour of the images are generally washed off, in order to cover up the discolouration they are dressed as Ganesha so as to keep the appropriate devotional attitude of the devotees. The images are dressed as Ganesha in such a way that the devotees hardly observe the discolouration resulting from the sacred bath.

For Lord Jagannath this is the first annual Yatra. Generally deity Ganesha is worshipped at the beginning of every religious rite and ritualistic worship. Due to this reason, the deities are decorated as Ganesha during this time.
Following the *Snana Yatra*, the images are kept on the *ratna vedi* (throne of the Trinity in the sanctum sanctorum of Lord Jagannath temple) for fifteen days, away from the public view without any proper daily worship. This period is called *Anabasara* (meaning improper time for worship). For these fifteen days the *daitas* (the descendants of Visvabasu, the Savar Chief) colour the images. The deities are painted with original colours, which were washed away by the bathing festival. Thus covering a period of a fortnight. On the 16th day the deities are taken out for worship after renovation. The festival of Lord Jagannath's first appearance to his devotees is called *Navayauvan* (new life). During *Anabasara* the deities are offered fruits and water mixed with cheese by the *daitas*. During this period they are considered to be ill and resting, for this they are treated by the *Raja Vaidya* the King's physician with a specific medicine. (Misra, 1971: 128-130)

2. *Rukmini Harana* :- *Rukumini* (wife of Lord Krishna) while *harana* (means abduction). It is celebrated on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of *Jyaistha* (May-June). There is a particular *sebayat* (servitor) who dresses as *Sisupal* (mythical king who was a suitor of Rukmini) while Madan Mohan sitting on a *rath* which is in the temple comes to fight with *Sisupal*. The entire *rath* is covered with applique craft. Modan Mohan wears *juddha posaka* (war attire) of zari. Ultimately *Sisupal* gets defeated and *Rukmini* elopes with Modan Mohan.
3. Rath Yatra or Car Festival: The world famous Car Festival of Lord Jagannath at Puri is held on Ashadha Sukla Dwitiya i.e (the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Ashadha (June-July) every year). It attracts people from all over the world.

A fascinating legend about the origin of rath (car) is found (Mishra,1973:130-133) as per this legend the car of the Lord was in heaven for a long time. It originated on earth from the battle which was fought between Indra and the demon Brutra-sura. During the battle Indra violently flung the weapon of lightning on the body of the demon, this weapon broke into four parts. The third part took the shape of the rath (car). Might be from that day the name of rath was heard on earth and gradually its construction was initiated. According to Hindu mythology Indra is considered to be the king of heaven, rain and thunder, As the rath is created by a portion of his weapon the Car Festival at the beginning of the rainy season is mythically justified.

It is a widely known fact that great religious importance is always attributed to the construction as well as the final consecration of the raths. The colour of the covering cloth of the raths (car) is similar to that of the colour of the dresses the deities wear. Jagannath is conceived by some as Lord Krishna who wears pitambara or yellow cloth. This covering cloth is of red and yellow colour made of applique where the design near the entrance is initially of rupa (silver). With the flow of time this silver work gave way to pitalo (brass) but
now it is done in zari. Here in front of the deity a canopy called **Uda Chandua** (canopy which flies) is tied displaying the technological feat of applique work of the Darjis. Lord Balabhadra's **rath** is covered with red and blue fabric of applique work. The blue colour represents Lord Balabhadra. He is also called as **nilambar** (clothed in blue). Devi Subhadra is conceived as **Sakti** (the red-robed Mother Goddess). The covering of the **rath** which is of applique is of red and black coloured fabric. Inside these cars are installed the deities decorated in golden garments which are prepared by the applique craftsmen.

After the deities are given a particular kind of **bhog** (offering), they are brought to the **rath** one by one. The **raths** are kept ready in front of the **singhadwar** (lion's gate) facing north a day prior to **Rath Yatra**. The cars are placed in a row, with the car of Lord Balabhadra being in the first position followed by Devi Subhadra and Lord Jagannath. Just before the deities are being carried from the temple to the **rath** they are adorned with floral crowns.

After the installation of the deities the cars do not start immediately. The **Raja** (king of Puri) who happens to be the descendant of the builders of the Jagannath temple comes in a palanquin, who has to pay homage to the deities and sweeps the platform of each car one by one. The process is called **chhera panhara** (sweeping of the floor of the raths). This is done after holy water mixed with sandle wood paste is sprinkled on the floor and swept by the help of a gilded broom stick.
Then follows the most auspicious moment, when thousands of people seize the ropes and begin to pull the cars. The motion should be slow along the Bada-danda (the main road) till their journey ends at Gundicha Mandir (Lord Jagannath’s garden house). Lord Balabhadra happens to be the eldest so his car moves first followed by Devi Subhadra and Lord Jagannath. If the cars do not move in slow, punctuated motion and if some parts of the car is damaged, it leads to disaster for the country and humanity in general it is said.

After their seventh day stay at Gundicha Mandir the deities make their return trip or Bahuda Yatra. On the ekadasi day (on the bright fortnight of Ashadha) the deities are ceremonially dressed which is called Suna Vesa (Golden, Dress).

4. Shayan Yatra: Shayan Yatra (sleeping festival), is celebrated on Ashadha Sukla Ekadasi (on the bright fortnight of the month of Ashadha (June-July)). The representative images (small golden images) of Laksminarayan, Anantabasudeva and Bhubaneswari representing Lord Jagannath, Lord Balabhadra and Devi Subhadra respectively on this occasion are taken into a well decorated sleeping chamber. Such chamber is manufactured in wood and decorated with different types of applique work as sejo (mattress three in number) and mandi (pillows twelve in number) are made by the Darjis in different colours. Even the dresses which the Lords wear at the time of going to bed are also prepared by the Darjis. Such items are supplied by the Darjis well in advance to the temple. This festival depicts the association of different applique items with the Lords. Then they are laid on
their respective cots till Kartika Sukla Ekadasi (till the bright fortnight of the month of Kartika (October-November)).

5. Jhulan Yatra: Jhulan (swing) Yatra (festival) is celebrated for seven days from Srabana (July-August) sukladashami (10th day of bright fortnight) up to purnima (full-moon) day in the month of Srabana within the precinct of the temple of Lord Jagannath. Here Madon Mohan, the representative image of Jagannath along with the Goddess Laxmi and Viswadhatri are placed in a beautiful ornamented swing on Muktimandap (platform for the learned brahmans) called Jhulanmandap. The Darjis have an important role in the Jhulan Yatra. They supply the decorated sarees with pleats for Goddess Laxmi and clothes with pleats and shawls for Lord Madan Mohan.

6. Krishna Janma: Krishna (God), Janma (birth) or in other words the birth day of Lord Krishna is celebrated on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Bhadra (August-September). The Lords put on new raiment like pleats and shawls made in different types of applique craft supplied by the Darjis. The Darjis prepare and submit these articles at least one week before the festival to the temple administration.

7. Saptapuri Amabasya: This happens to be on the new moon day of Bhadra (August-September). On this occasion the different items which are offered to the deities are placed on taato (offering tray made of bamboo). Keeping these items on the tray which is covered by a piece of applique cloth made by the Darjis.
8. **Radhastami** :- On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of *Bhadra* (August- September) the birthday of Goddess Radha (the fiancee of Lord Krishna) is celebrated with pomp and ceremony. The new apparel for Goddess Radha is supplied by the Darjis. This includes a small saree as pleat and shawl decorated in different colours of applique work. The different colour combination and the size of all items are narrated in different sacred texts of the temple as revealed by the Darjis.

9. **Sahasra Kumbha Abhisek** :- This festival is on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of *Aswina* (September-October) abhisek coronation of Goddess Durga is done. From this day onwards, *Shola Puja* (worship for sixteen days) of Goddess Bimala begins. A small canopy is made for this purpose by the Darjis.

10. **Kumar Purnima** :- This is on the full-moon day of *Aswina* (September-October). For this festival *luga* (covering for the lower part of the body) and *chador* (covering for the upper part of the body) and *khandua* (raw silk) are made for these deities. The colour of the attire of Lord Balabhadra is green, Lord Jagannath is yellow and Devi Subhadra is red. These garments are prepared by the Darjis and supplied to the temple administration much before the festival. On this occasion Goddess Lakshmi and Lord Vishnu play *jua* (gamble with cards).

11. **Odhanasasthi** :- This is on the 6th day of the bright fortnight of *Margasira* (November-December). From this day gho-dalagi (the Lords wear their winter garments) is observed as this festival is celebrated at the onset of winter, the deities are covered with winter clothes. These clothes are made of raw silk
called **chador** are prepared by the Darjis and supplied to the temple before the commencement of the festival. The size of **chador** of Lord Jagannath is 7mt., Lord Balabhadra 8mt., and Devi Subhadra is 6mt.

12. **Pushyaviseka** :- This is on the full-moon day in the month of **Pausa** (December-January). Rituals on the previous days work is termed as **adhivasa**. During this festival the same rites as **adhivasa** etc. are performed as in **Snana Yatra**. Pots filled with perfumed water are taken from **bhoga mandap** (offering, platform) to **ratna vedi** and sacred water is sprinkled for the well being of the deities. This **abhiseka** is performed for the respective deities like Lord Ram, Devi Sita and Lord Laksmana. That is why this festival is also called **Ramabhiseka**. On this occasion Lord Jagannath is worshipped as Lord Ramachandra, the epic hero of Ramayan along with his brother Laksmana and consort Sita. For this occasion **chhatis** and **ularo** (another variety of **chhati**) are made by the Darjis.

13. **Makara Sankranti** :- This is celebrated in the month of **Pausa** (December-January). Boiled rice mixed with candy and some fruit juice is offered to the Lords. For this purpose **makara taato** (it is the cloth covering on the tray meant for offering is made by the Darjis and the frame is of bamboo sheet) is prepared along with **makara chhati**.

14. **Dola Yatra** :- This is celebrated from 10th day of the bright fortnight of **Phalguna** (February-March) up to the full-moon day. The **arcaberas** (representative deities) are taken out to **Dola Vedi** (swinging pandal) and the swinging festival is
performed. Goddess Lakshmi and Lord Madan Mohan play holi (spraying of colours). For this purpose Dola Chandua is made.

The Beshas :- Besha means dress or adornment. Daily from the mangala arati (earliest performance in the morning) till ratri pahuda (to retire at night) the deities in the Ratna Vedi wear various types of dresses. Deities are decorated with cotton and silk fabrics, gold ornaments studded with precious stones, flowers of different varieties, tulsi (Occimum sanctum) leaves etc. While sandal wood paste, camphor and sometimes musk are used in the regular and periodical rituals.

Some important beshas would be dealt here.

1. Abakasha or Tadapa Uttari Besha :- Abakasha (means the brushing of teeth and bathing rituals of the deities). Tadapa (is the clothing for the lower part of the body while Uttari (is the clothing for the upper part of the deities). This besha is done every day after mangala arati (for the abakasha rituals). The clothes which are worn by the deities for this purpose are known as tadapa and uttariya.

2. Chandan Besha :- This besha is performed for 42 days starting from akshya trutiya day (3rd day of bright fortnight of Baisakha (April-May)). In this besha the deities as Lord Rama and Lord Krishna travel to the tank in a palaquin while Lord Madan Mohan, Devi Saraswati and Devi Lashmi travel on moni biman (divine vehicle), the covering of which is made new every year, it is of cloth and zari. They go for chapo (boating). This boat has chandan bento (sandle wood handle), 5 alatas are also made having bento (handle of silver). Here hati ghodo (covering of
elephant) is of zari work is also made use of. From this day onwards, construction of the raths of the deities for the Car Festival begins. The Chandan Yatra is celebrated for 42 days, divided into two periods of 21 days each. The 1st period is known as bahar chandan (outer chandan). During this period, the representative images of Rama, Krishna, Madan mohan, Lashmi and Bishwadhatri are taken in procession to Narendra tank. Also images of Siva from five Siva temples as Jameswar, Lokanath, Markundaeswar, Nilakantha and Kapalomochano go on five dimans, the five Sivas are known as Panchu pandavs (five brothers of Mahabharat), who accompany them in procession. The procession had chhati having chandra (moon) and surya (sun) which in earlier days was of silver then pitalo (brass) and now of cloth. Earlier the cloth was of makhamal and now of velvet. Chhati of Lord Balabhadra is of black colour, of Devi Subhadra red while Lord Jagannath’s ularo of white, alata of red, yellow and white are used, here all items should be plain. In the Narendra tank, the images play in well-decorated chapo (boat) and are worshipped. The second period of 21 days known as Bhitar Chandan (inner, chandan) is celebrated inside the temple. The rites observed on this period are not popularly enjoyed.

3. Suna Besha :- Suna (gold) besha (dress) this besha is also known as Raja besha (king’s dress). It is worn on the 11th day in the bright fortnight of Ashadha (June-July) when the deities are in their respective raths near the singhadwar (lion’s gate) of Jagannath temple. In this besha bahada (Terminalia bellerica) and padma (lotus) of gold are tagged in the
cloth of Goddess Subhadra. This work is done in *bhandaro gharo* (treasure room of the temple). The deities are adorned with many gold ornaments. Lord Balabhadra appears with hands and feet made of gold, while Lord Jagannath holds a gold *chakra* (disc) in his right hand and a silver conch in his left hand. Both Lord Balabhadra and Lord Jagannath hold a plough in their left hand and a gold mace in their right hand.

4. **Kaliyadalan Besha** :- This *besha* is worn on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Bhadra** (August-September), where Lord Jagannath is dressed like Lord Krishna for killing *kaliya* (a large serpent). For this *besha* cane and wood frame is required. The snake has got seven *phonas* (hoods), scales are made of cloth prepared by the Darjis to cover the snake. Legs and hands are of wooden frame and are coloured every year. Jagannath and Balabhadra wear *kiriti* (crown), here Jagannath as Krishna stands on the snake while Lord Balabhadra as Balaram stands crossed legged. They wear *luga*, *chador* and *kuncha* (pleat) all of silk made by the Darjis. Lord Jagannath or Krishna wears an attire of yellow colour, Balaram of blue and Subhadra of red.

5. **Pralambasura Badha Besha** :- This *besha* is on the 12th day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Bhadra** (August-September). The *besha* depicts Lord Balabhadra’s killing of **Pralambasura** (the demon). Lord Balabhadra is dressed as Balaram and Lord Jagannath as Krishna. Lord Jagannath’s hands and legs are of cane and covering of this is of applique.

6. **Krishna-Balaram Besha** :- This *besha* happens to be an important and attractive *besha* held on the 13th day of the dark
fortnight of the month of Bhadra (August-September) Lord Jagan-nath and Lord Balabhadra are dressed like Lord Krishna and his brother Lord Balaram. The posako (dress) which they wear are included in Darji seva (service). Every year new posako are made on this occasion. Previously one of the zamindars of Cuttack district used to give the necessary raw material for the preparation of the dresses of the Lords. But at present the temple administration provides the same.

7. Nagarjuna (Parsurama) Besha :- This besha is held in rare occasions. It is performed in the month of Kartika (October-November) when there is six days of Panchuka (fasting) in the place of normal five days. The Lords are dressed as warriors, with the handia (headwear) and dhanu (bow), this is worn by the Nagas, an Indian Tribe. They also wear their traditional dress like dhoti, lungi and chador.

8. Ghodalaai Besha :- This is observed between the 6th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Margasira (November-December) to the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Magha (January-February). The deities wear winter clothes and ghoda (covering). Every year new clothes are made for the Trinity and Sudarshan. Earlier the raw material was supplied by the king and now by the temple administration.

9. Jamalaai Besha :- It is observed on Basanta Panchami (5th day of the bright fortnight of Magha (January-February) and continues till Dola Purnima (full-moon day of Phalguna February-March). The Trinity wear new jama (shirt), kuncha (pleates) and chador (shawl or covering of the upper part of the body).
10. **Padma Besha** :- On any saturday or wednesday between the new moon day of the month of **Magha** (January-February) and **Basanta Panchami** the clothes worn by them are tagged with **Padma phula** (lotus) made of **solo** (cork), lace, zari and paper are supplied by **Bada Chhata Math** (a monastry in Puri).

From the above discussion it is clear that the Darjis and the applique craft have a major contribution towards the Jagannath Culture and have a religious relationship with the Jagannath temple. All the apparels starting from the daily use to the festive occasions are supplied by the Darjis. Apart from this the other applique works like canopy, **chhati** and **trasa** which are used in different festive occasions add to the ritualistic tradition of Jagannath temple.

2.6 **Craft and Ethnicity.**

From the time of inception of applique craft in the ritualistic paraphernalia of Jagannath temple, the practise of this was confined to the people belonging to the Darji caste. Initially this craft was only dedicated for the religious rituals, both in Puri and Pipili. In Puri renowned artisans were appointed by the king to serve in the temple. The various services as applique craft, **pattachitra**, etc. were allotted to the craftsmen of the respective caste. During the ancient times occupation of a particular caste was given utmost importance, a person was compelled to follow the occupation of the caste group in which he was born.
The Darjis of Pipili used to make applique items throughout the year. During the monsoon the artisans resorted to umbrella mending as it became a profitable venture. The craftpersons used to employ labourers who used to carry the articles during their sale expedition from village to village. As Pipili comes on the way to Puri, the pilgrims used to get attracted to the colourful applique craft and on their return they purchased chanduas and different applique items, for their household idols, as a divine offering.

This craft as a family trait was devotionally imparted to the next generation irrespective of gender. Incourse of time due to matrimonial alliances, it spread far and wide throughout the state, but the core of tradition refers to Pipili, where craft through the flow of generations has enriched its quality and reached its present magnificent form. This is the current standard of Darjis of Pipili. In Puri proper it is a different story. Instead of pursuing applique craft the said craftsmen are switching over to other avenues such as photography, mechanics, tailoring, readymade dress shop etc. In Puri the applique societies have more members from non-Darji caste. Applique craft society of Pipili has both Darjis and non-Darjis as members, earlier occupation was caste specific which no longer stands for the present era. Majority of young girls and ladies of villages within 20 kilometres radius of Pipili have turned to this craft. This helps them to earn their pocket money as they utilise their leisure for financial gain. It is peculiar to note that the Darjis are gradually becoming disinterested for applique craft,
as who adhere to traditional sanctity and quality of the product aspire for high reward for their product. Where as the other caste group members are professing it as a past time work, by which, they sell their own products with a marginal price, to attract the customers. Naturally these new members do not stick to the quality and ethnic designs of the product.

Gradually after 1970 government policies started encouraging cottage and handicraft industries to flourish as it would aid the down trodden populace for their upliftment, and especially the women. At the sametime to acquire more of foreign exchange by their export. So from 1970's onwards, co-operative societies started mushrooming within Orissa. In all these societies this craft is taught by mastercraftsmen from Pipili or the people came for training to Pipili. The craft which in the earlier days were only restricted as an occupation exclusively for the Darjis, remained no longer confined within them. It has also spread to people of other castes and religions.

In Pipili especially this craft has been acquired by people of all castes and religions. Here the population comprises of Hindus, Muslims and Christians residing in harmony. In the present study the Muslims have picked up applique business seriously only since two decades, even the three largest showrooms belong to them. They employ many artisans to supply the products made both by Muslims and Hindus alike. Recent studies state that altogether there are 625 applique masters in Orissa, out of this 450 craftsmen are from Pipili, where the total Darji population is about 269. (Rao, 1991:227) Here more than one thousand odd
workmen are working on contract basis in this craft. The main cause for the spread of applique craft throughout the state is the propagation of the government, as it is organising and sponsoring training institutes and workshops for the upliftment, of craftsmen. Acquiring the skill is not confined to any particular caste or rather has no caste or religion bar. At present due to the modernisation and encouragement of government for eradication of illiteracy, the children of Darji caste are coming to attend the schools. But before that they learn certain skills in applique craft in the homes from their parents. They also undertake some responsibilities in the product of the different items and help their family economy during their studentship.

As in the recent years government is giving impetus and encouraging handicraft globally, this craft is no more restricted to the Darji caste. Applique was not this popular even 20 years ago, as it is today. Due to its commercial viability of the craft the people irrespective of their caste, religion or gender have started acquiring the craft technique. So with the passage of time several other items are brought under the purview of applique like garments, saree border, table clothes and such other fashionable items. Generally the menfolk cut the various items and the girls and womenfolk stitch the different shapes, which happens to be a tedious job and needs a lot of patience. The prestige and status of the person now depends more on his economic position than on the proficiency in mastery of the craft. The people of lower caste groups while pursing the craft do not think in terms of caste occupation rather than just to generate
extra income. The Darjis who were selling their products through their own shops, without middleman, are selling today to the showroom owners, by which their status has reduced to that of a worker, than to be an owner of a shop which was a proud privilege. As a recent development the small shops which were previously owned by the Darjis, have been shut down by affluent businessmen.

2.7 Corporate life, Individualism and the craft.

Since the inception of applique craft for the service of Lord Jagannath of Puri way back in 1054 A.D., this craft has become the primary occupation of the Darjis. Every individual of this region born into this caste irrespective of gender is initiated to this craft right from the very childhood.

In the present time as education is a must for every child so also in those days teaching the craft to the young pupil was a family tradition. This from the crude form has become refined travelling through the generations. It has a norm or unwritten law for every individual to provide or contribute according to his or her capacity to the family's most sort after primary occupation that is applique craft. This craft is such that it can never be an individual affair rather it is a group venture. Expert person of the household cuts the cloth as per the requirement which are stitched according to various shapes and sizes by other members of the family including children, and the aged. While the assimilation of the items which require skill are again done by the expert who generally happens to be the head of the household is definitely a male member. This shows that every
individual has his or her share of the job to perform.

In the earlier days pilgrims used to buy the products from the houses of the artisans. While during rainy season these craftpersons travelled from village to village mending umbrellas. But in course of time one or two small shops came up owned by the Darjis. Gradually the number of shops started increasing which drew the attention of other religious populace as well as people of other castes. With the passage of time not only non-Darjis but as well as Muslims have picked up the craft from their neighbours. In course of time this craft rather flourished better in the hand of Muslims. They have better business ability as in recent ten years they have taken loan from the banks and have set up big showrooms. They have employed artisans to furnish their shop with applique articles and even Darji caste people supply their items to the big showrooms at 5% to 10% commission kept by the shop owner. When tourists visit this place (Pipili) they are attracted to the colourful and variety display of the showrooms.

With the evolution of applique craft to the present form its demand started increasing in leaps and bounds as its religious orientation changed to that of commercial importance. So to meet the growing demand individual effort did not prove to be enough and group venture was the call. To meet the requirement the first society in applique craft was set up in Pipili in 1957. Initially this society used to procure orders and accordingly supply the raw materials to the applique workers. This they distributed among themselves and made the articles as per the orders. At this level it was group work and back home was another
group (the family) to provide support. On the date of submission 
of the articles they are handed over to the society with head 
off ice in Bhubaneswar and channelised according to the demand. 
With the flow of time and popularity of the craft more and more 
societies came up, but now the members are non-Darjis and even 
the government started boosting the setting up of societies where 
the benefit was two-fold. It served to uplift the downtrodden 
people and women, at the sametime helped the country to earn more 
of foreign exchange. Applique craft which was confined to the 
Darjis caste people mainly of Pipili and Puri now has spread 
throughout Orissa that to practised by the people of all walks of 
life. Unity in diversity is the best motto.

In the distant past when the Darjis were mainly depending on their traditional craft which had a high religious value they were leading a community life in a way it can be said as they had a mechanical solidarity in them. Every household is related to the bada (group) through the headman of the family. The bada chief is responsible for the maintenance of peace and harmony and settlement of disputes in his bada. He enjoys certain privileges and was respected by all the members of his bada. At the time of any implementation of work order which generally comes from the king or other religious institutions, he seeks the help of his bada members for the completion of the project. Naturally the households of each bada are chained together for the greater cause of the craft and society. There is a spirit of completion guided by the purity and sanctity of craft among the fellow members which earns the prestige and pride not only to the
badas but to the village in general. Every household head contribute the maximum of his capability for the betterment of the craft.

The group solidarity is reflected in the applique craft. When the bada chief shoulders the responsibility of any project (any applique work) he informs all the household heads of this bada (group). He then selects the most suitable craftsmen of his bada and advices them to bring the requirement of the project from the party concerned. After taking the measurements, a rough design of the work is made with the assistance of other craftpersons. The selection of colour and type of craft as specified by the customer are also taken into account. After getting through a mutual contract between the bada chief and the customer they require certain amount as advance for the security of the project and to purchase the raw material to be used in the craft. Then a group of household heads are selected to carry on the responsibilities. The best craftsmen are generally selected to make the craft as magnificent as possible. Which not only earns prestige and pride to the craftsmen but also as a testimony for the future projects. Then the head of different households are given the task preparing the raw material such as clothes in different colours, flowers etc. there by decentralising the responsibility. This in a way helps all the households irrespective of their capabilities to participate in the project. After preparation of the coloured clothes and allied raw materials, the cutting of the different designs starts and after that they are individually stitched on which are elements of the larger com-
plex. Finally they are used at the proper places in the applique craft. Such work processes reflect the group life, and the corporate life of the Darjis.

But now-a-days with the spread of modernisation and development of allied service sector the people have become self-centric instead of group-centric. At present every individual selects the customer of his own and shoulders responsibility himself. Sometimes he also employs other craftsmen from among the Darjis or from the other castes by giving them certain remuneration. The relationship between the employer and employee is mainly economic. Since there is no security of repeated engagement of the labourers they do pay adequate attention for the quality of the craft. As a result the glorious glamour of the craft has become subservient to the money tradition. It is seen in the market that most of the Muslims own better shopping complex of applique craft at the road side which attracts the customers from far and wide. These shop owners sell off their products, thereby earn a huge margin. Their main motive is to enhance the sale which will fetch them good amount. Naturally they do not pay adequate attention to the craftsmen and the craft. It has become their motto to procure the articles at the lowest possible price and to sell them with a heavy margin. Naturally the craftsmen other than the Darjis are intruding into the profession with a view to getting some extra income where by the traditionally skilled Darjis are drifting away from the profession, since it is non-rewarding for them. This has vitiated the corporate life of the Darjis and craft as a whole.