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The Assimilation of European Designs into Twentieth Century Indian Saris

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THE ASSIMILATION OF EUROPEAN DESIGNS INTO TWENTIETH CENTURY INDIAN SARIS

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(1) *Tanzeb sari border, Ahmedabad mill for eastern Indian market, 1954. Collection: Shakuntala Singh.*

Introduction

Although so-called 'Indian' designs of seventeenth and eighteenth century chintzes¹ influenced Western European [Western]² textiles almost from their introduction, Western patterns did not impinge on indigenous Indian fabrics, such as saris,³ until the last half of the nineteenth century.

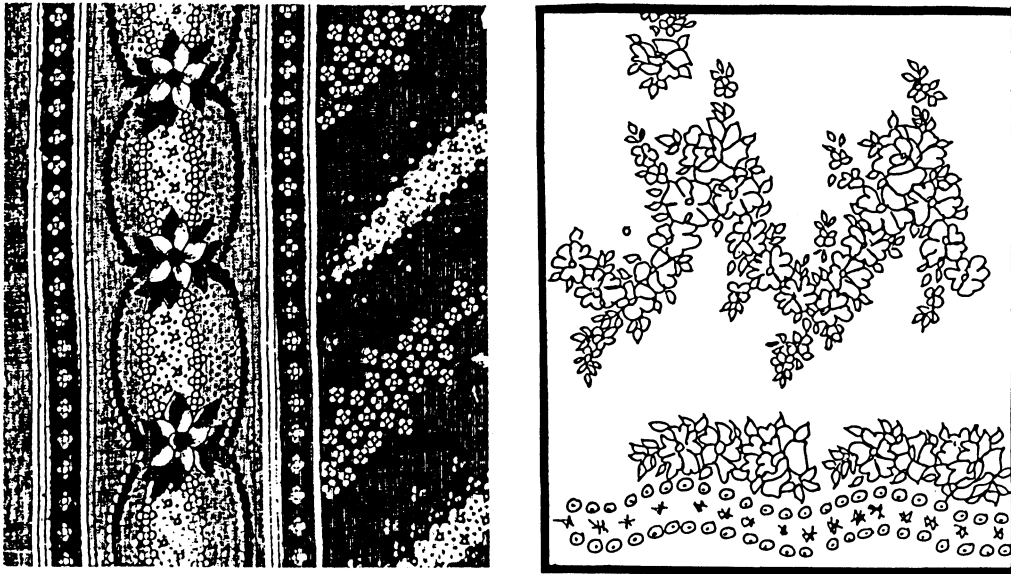
They were superimposed upon an already complex mix of textile ornamental styles, which can be briefly categorized as: (i) Mughal, (ii) Hindu and (iii) *adivasi* (aboriginal). The Mughal style consists of the elaborately patterned prints and brocades typical of western India. It shows strong Persian influences, such as the *kalga* (Paisley motif); intertwining floral vines (*bel*); and life-like depictions of entire plants, often with roots as well as leaves and flowers. [Fig. 12] The Hindu style, on the other hand, is commonly found throughout the Subcontinent and is a mix of geometric and stylized natural forms with an often refined use of space and line. Vines, flowers, animals, birds, insects, and humans are often depicted, but rarely have that sense of three-dimensionality as found in the Mughal tradition. [Fig. 13] *Adivasi* patterns go one step further, being purely geometric, although the motifs may be given names of objects seen in nature.

Western designs entered the sari ornamental repertoire in three ways: through (i) the printed patterns created in British, and later Indian, textile mills;⁴ (ii) non-textile Western design sources, such as wallpaper sample books; and (iii) depictions of what, from the Indian point of view, were the exotic technological products of the industrialized West.

The semiotics of wearing saris with Western designs evolved differently according to the section of Indian society using them, but I aim to show that for the majority of India's middle and working class women, not its elites or remote rural communities, man-made fiber saris with Western patterns are today actively used. For with the breakdown of traditional social roles in the face of changing social and economic environments, they impart messages that the wearer belongs to the modern world rather than the traditional, and they help disguise what may be perceived as low status personal backgrounds.

Cotton Mills and Textile Factories

The Industrial Revolution affected India from as early as the late eighteenth century,⁵ and by 1825 virtually all cotton yarn being woven (except remote rural areas) was imported mill-spun thread from England.⁶ Yet it is unclear how much English mill-woven cloth, as opposed to yarn, was being used for saris in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷ The research of indigenous textiles conducted by John Forbes-Watson from 1855 to 1879 indicates that no successful, large scale effort at Subcontinent-wide British textile marketing had yet taken place. As Reporter of Economic Production at the India Office in London, Forbes-Watson researched Indian tastes in textiles for clothing in order to help British mills create marketable cloth, and his findings began to be published in 1866.⁸



(2) Border and (3) field of two low-cost mill print (silkscreened) cotton saris commonly worn by poor rural and urban women in northern Bihar. Collection: Linda Singh.

By the 1880s, contemporary descriptions⁹ and photographs¹⁰ reveal that poorer and rural women in northern India were often wearing what appear to be mill-made and factory-printed fabrics. Some had renditions of obviously Indian designs, such as fake *bandhani* (tie-dye) spots, but most had 'all-over' floral patterning, floral borders or were simply plain-colored cloth.¹¹

Cotton mills owned and run by Indians began appearing in Bombay and Ahmedabad in the 1850s,¹² using machinery and dyes from Europe and America. The designers serving these factories were trained in British-run commercial art schools such as the Bombay School of Art, which opened in 1857.¹³ These schools almost exclusively taught European aesthetics, rarely Indian, which resulted in commercial Indian designers often having no serious knowledge of their own culture's artistic traditions.¹⁴

The commonest patterns appearing on printed mill cottons in both the West and India were based on Victorian naturalistic designs, such as floral garlands and bouquets, reflecting the late nineteenth century revival of older (late eighteenth/early nineteenth century) wallpaper and textile patterns.¹⁵ Western cotton prints with similar designs to the Indian ones are found in various public collections such as the Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design,¹⁶ and the Kamei Collection at the Kasumikaikan Institute.¹⁷ The predominant colors of the cotton prints for both markets included a great deal of red, and, to a lesser extent, brown. (In India, the color blue was not popular.)¹⁸

The British and Indian factories also created print designs that attempted to reproduce Indian patterns,¹⁹ although they usually were distinctly Western interpretations of what is Indian.²⁰ The printed cotton lining of a late nineteenth century brocade jacket in the collection at the Rhode Island School of Design²¹ is a typical example. [Fig. 11] It has very dense, small floral patterning based on the vegetal, net-like design found in many brocade saris known as *jal*, although truly Indian *jal* designs are much less crowded. That most of the flowers are non-Indian, such as the rose placed in the center of each lozenge, coupled with the dense 'packing in' of so many tiny naturalistic motifs, mark this as a Western interpretation of Indian patterning.²²

Today, similar naturalistic ornamentation, whether as visually crowded small floral prints or as trailing garlands, is still often used in saris made for the rural and urban poor.²³ [Figs. 2, 3] They may have additional *kalgas* and geometric structures, but the influence of late Victorian revivalist and naturalistic designs still shows. The greatest change is in their color. Such mixes of orange, olive green, magenta and royal blue reflect a distinctly Indian rather than Western aesthetic, and even subdued shades of pink, which are aesthetically more accessible to Western tastes are, in fact, traditional Indian hues.²⁴

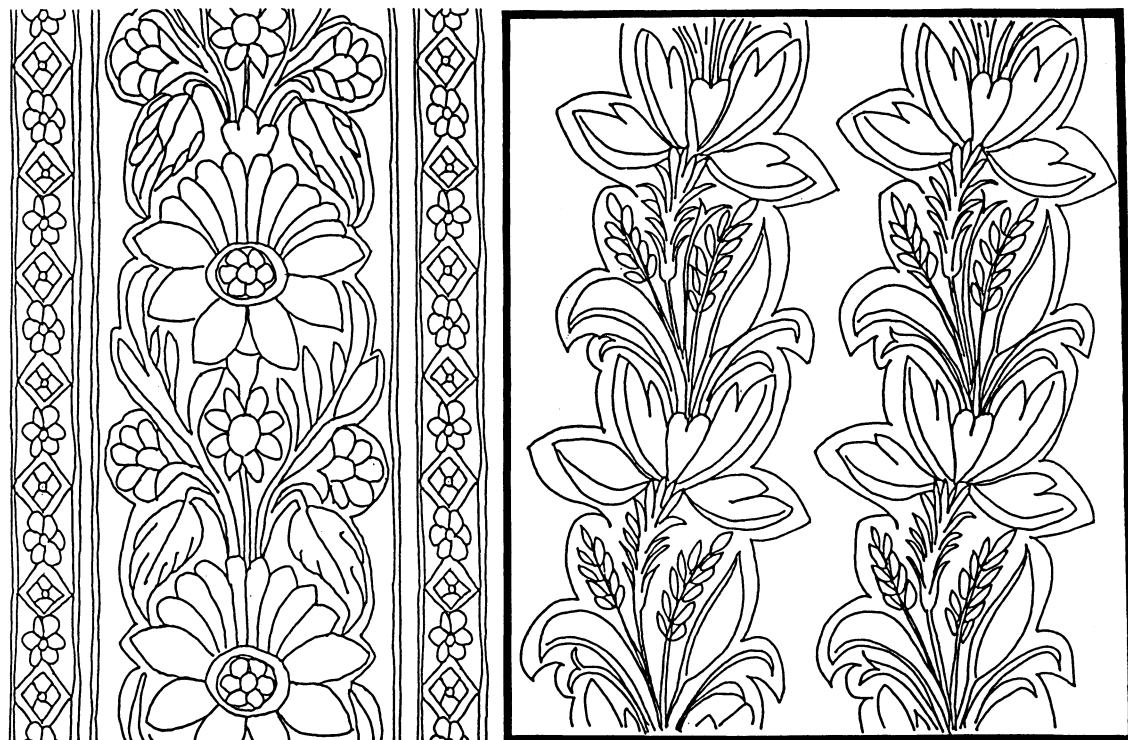
Western Wallpapers and Silk Brocades

In the late nineteenth and much of the early twentieth centuries, the designs of low-cost mill prints did not impinge on silk brocades and the more expensive cotton saris (*tanzeb*) produced in the northern half of India. During the early 1900s, India's silk brocade handloom weavers and designers had virtually no contact with the textile mills. They maintained their own apprentice system with skills usually passed down from father to son. Their sources of design inspiration were based on both (i) the traditional Mughal-style palette, and (ii) from such Western sources as wallpaper sample books and photographs.²⁵

George Watt, in his catalogue of the 1902-3 exhibition of Indian arts and crafts, *Indian Art at Delhi*, describes how a master weaver from Banaras visited London and returned with such sample books. He told Watt that his book was "...of great value..." because "... all his most successful designs had, for some years past, been taken [from it]..."²⁶ We do not know what patterns these sample books held, but Watt constantly laments their use, calling the sari designs of the day a "monstrous degeneration."²⁷ He adds that "...it is deplorable to think of fabrics woven at a cost of perhaps ten pounds sterling a yard being produced on the model of a wall paper sold very possibly at four pence the piece."²⁸

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a brocaded sari dated to the 1930s but of possibly earlier origin, features bow-tied ribbons, English baskets and garlands of flowers woven in gold thread (*zari*) upon a red silk ground.²⁹ Such garlands and ribbons were popular wallpaper patterns in middle class English homes during and after World War I (c. 1910-20). [Fig. 6] The two-dimensional-looking Mughal-style *kalga* and *bel* vines also woven into this sari are a typical late nineteenth century style that died out during the 1930s. [Fig. 13]

One of the characteristics of many of these north Indian silk brocade saris containing Western patterns is the free-ranging mix of motifs and styles, suggesting that the designer or master weaver (often the same person) had no formal education in Western design traditions. For instance, a *zari* brocaded silk sari probably woven in Banaras during the 1950s,³⁰ has borders with a pattern reminiscent of damask wallpapers, a style popular in eighteenth century England³¹ that witnessed a major revival between 1880 and 1910.³² [Fig. 4]



(4) Border and (5) endpiece designs in a *zari* brocade sari; Banaras, 1950s. Collection: Linda Singh.

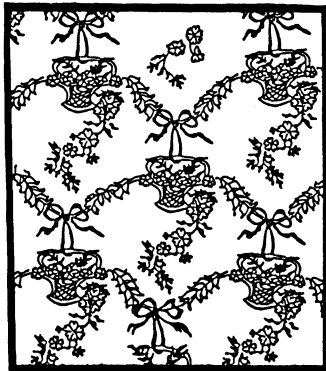
The endpiece decoration of this sari looks more like a sample of British Arts and Crafts work³³ with its irises and wheat against a net-like background. [Fig. 5] Irises are an English, not Indian, flower³⁴ and were a recurring motif throughout the Arts and Crafts period (c. 1880-1916).³⁵ Similarly, wheat has never been depicted in indigenous Indian textiles, even though it has been grown in western India since neolithic times.³⁶ The use of wheat, and all other types of grasses, is a Western patterning characteristic, where it has long had Christian and harvest associations. Depictions of wheat regularly appeared in wallpapers and textiles throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁷

By the 1940s, however, a more sophisticated use of Western designs appear in some Banaras brocades, suggesting that this city's designers were becoming more formally educated about Western styles. Art Deco patterns started appearing in saris woven in the 1940s and '50s,³⁸ revealing that designers were creating their own versions and interpretations of a style, rather than slavishly copying someone else's work. [Fig. 7]

Since at least 1950, hand-woven cotton saris made for (and often in) local rural markets also featured simplified Western patterns. (They may have been woven earlier, but few people thought to save or collect such textiles). For instance, a recently woven eight-meter sari made for poor Tamil and tribal women features a repeat pattern of acanthus-like leaves similar to a 1900's cotton print border in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum.³⁹

At the other end of the social scale, fine quality *tanzeb* saris with jacquard loom-woven borders show distinct Art and Crafts designs. They contain such un-Indian motifs as swans, peonies, garlands, trailing vines with tendrils⁴⁰ and crescent moons. The swan is not native to India, although its cousin, the goose (*hansa*) has an ancient iconographic and literary history.⁴¹ The peacock, on the other hand, is a well known Indian bird, although Indian depictions have traditionally been stylized and somewhat static. This contrasts with the birds created in the Arts and Crafts model, which features peacocks with large lush flowing tails.⁴² [Figs. 1, 10]

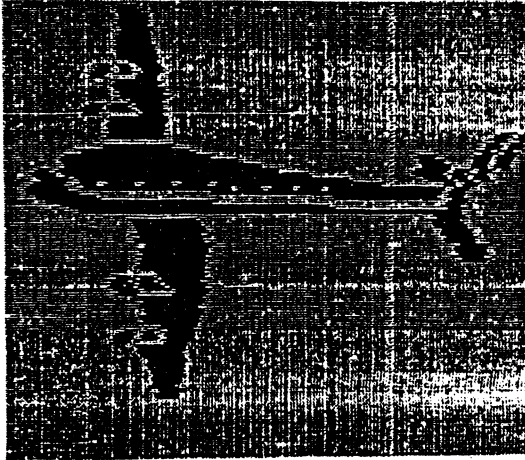
Banaras Brocades: (6) c.1930, Metropolitan Museum of Art, CI43.13.27; (7) c.1940. Collection: P. Gould



The Indian Depiction of Western Artifacts

The third way in which Western designs entered India's saris in the late nineteenth century was through the direct copying of Western industrial artifacts. To again quote the ever-scandalized Watt, who this time talks about a locally-procured textile from Madras Presidency, "... a piece of cloth intended for female attire..." had "...rows of bicycles ... depicted in alternation with trees"⁴³ In another example, Edgar Thursdon, Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum, noted how an Indian subordinate wore a jacket with "no less than six individual and distinct [textile] trademarks" of different British manufacturers displayed.⁴⁴

This grass roots fascination with Western objects has continued to be expressed in ethnic textiles through to today. In the 1930s, *telia rumals* made in Andhra Pradesh, primarily for the Arabian market but also for local use by poor men (as *lungis*), featured gramophone records, clocks and aeroplanes. During the late 1970s, Orissan master weavers created the so-called landscape saris which featured panoramic views of local scenic spots containing such untraditional motifs as aeroplanes.⁴⁵ [Fig. 8] The Orissan hills where the saris originate are not popular tourist havens among Indians or Westerners, and these saris appear to have been made almost solely for the local market.⁴⁶



(8) Aeroplane depicted in ikat landscape sari; Orissa, 1977. Collection: Virginia Davis.
(9) Khadi silk sari, silkscreen print; Gaya, Bihar, 1980. Collection: Desire Koslin.



Backlash Against the British and Industrialization: The Swadeshi Movement

In the 1940s and '50s, this 'naive' style, if we could call it that, was picked up by another, very different section of India's textile world, the politically charged arena of the Gandhian *khadi gram udyog* (village cooperative). In 1872, there arose the concept of *swadeshi*-- Indian-made products.⁴⁷ By the 1890s, the *swadeshi* movement became a strike against British textiles in favor of Indian mill cloth, and in 1921 Gandhi had allied it with non-industrial indigenous textile production: equating hand-spun, hand-woven cloth (*khaddar*, colloquially called *khadi*) with the independence movement. Yet *khadi* never became the fabric of the masses due to its high cost, and even today it is usually only worn by intellectuals, politicians and the upper middle classes. *Khadi* is essentially a twentieth century textile,⁴⁸ and many of the designs worked on it are equally modern. *Khadi* silks are invariably printed with motifs depicted in the naive style discussed above, with such folksy elements as bullock carts and bird houses, or else they carry Western abstract patterns. [Fig. 9]

Rise of Ethnic Designs and Designer Saris

As if reflecting the nationalistic spirit of the *swadeshi* movement, there has been a backlash against Western designs in India's more expensive 'fashion' saris (including *zari* brocades) since the late 1970s.⁴⁹ Traditional ethnic patterns are now more popular than Western styles. This change in aesthetic focus at the high end of the market probably reflects (i) the success of the Indian government's support of traditional handloom weaving industries and (ii) the increased self confidence of its college-trained designers (and consumers) to value indigenous designs. However, like *khadi*, these saris are expensive luxuries beyond the means of most Indian women.⁵⁰

India's middle and working class women increasingly wear printed mill-made saris, whether of cotton, cotton blend,⁵¹ rayon, nylon⁵² or that newly discovered sari textile, polyester.⁵³ These printed saris invariably have designs based upon Western mass market floral patterns derived from the naturalistic styles of a century ago. In addition, abstract and floral patterns on saris without borders or endpieces are now popular, especially on synthetic fabrics that have been roller printed rather than silkscreened. Roller printing is not commonly used on Indian saris because the technology cannot create the traditionally essential endpiece. The only type of sari that has consistently broken this sari design rule (of having a border and endpiece) is the one that is undoubtedly the most modern: the polyester sari.

Traditional Indian designs are also created on synthetic-fiber saris, but they are usually somewhat generic and Westernized. It is primarily in the lowliest segment of the cotton mill-print sari market that copies of traditional indigenous designs peculiar to specific regions are found.⁵⁴ They are usually worn by poor women who cannot afford the traditional handwoven versions. It must be noted that on a daily level, traditional sari designs specific to a particular region still play a significant role in rural and small town India, which is why these 'low-end' printed saris with traditional regional patterns have a ready market.

Nevertheless, this still leaves the fact that the designs of most printed mill-made saris worn by middle and working class women today are recognizably Western. Why?

Why Have Most Western Designs Proved So Long-Lasting?

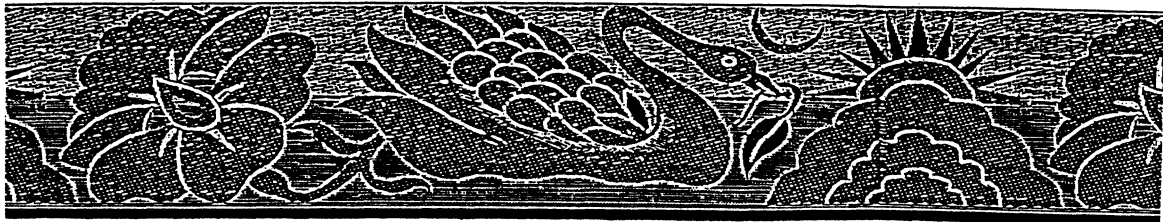
In India, ignorance of traditional ornamentation is not a valid argument as virtually every woman is aware of her locality's sari design heritage. Although commercial mill textile designers may arguably be more ignorant of such regional designs than the average woman on the street, the acceptance of Western patterns by most Indian women cannot be credited to a blind passivity. The force of consumer demand works just as thoroughly in Indian villages and towns as in the industrialized West.

The maid of a cousin living in Bombay expressed what are probably the main reasons for the continued success of Western styles. Born into a low caste, poor rural family in a village in central Maharashtra, she rejected the traditional way of life and moved to the city where she has worked as a servant in increasingly better homes, as well as moved 'up' in Bombay's hierarchy of so-called slums. She only wears man-made fiber saris with Western patterns because she feels the traditional Maharashtran saris of her home are "old fashioned" and that "where I come from is nobody's business."

In India today there are genuine opportunities for upward financial and social mobility even for poor single women living alone. However, although the caste system is legally abolished, both it and India's powerful class structure are still very much alive. Traditional sari designs have always contained potent social messages, which, if one is from a low-status background, are probably not semiotically desirable when entering the theoretically merit-based, modern world of cities like Bombay. Synthetic saris with Western designs have no natural place in traditional Indian societies. Consequently, many Indian women probably wear such saris to show they are part of the modern, nontraditional world; and for the ambitious they have the added attraction of being socially anonymous: No one can tell where you come from.

* * *

Note: The black and white high contrast photographs featured in this paper are reprinted with permission from Thames & Hudson, London, who are publishing Linda Lynton's book, *The Sari* in 1995. Photographs by Sanjay K. Singh. Line drawings by Linda Lynton Singh.



(10) *Tanzeb sari border, Ahmedabad mill for eastern Indian market, 1954. Collection: Shakuntala Singh.*

Endnotes

1. Most seventeenth and eighteenth century chintz designs are based on those of Chinese export porcelain and European etchings. See Brett, 1957; Gittinger, 1982, pp. 179, 183, 187.
2. American, British and French textiles, wallpapers and designs are included. The Indian mill textile industry was involved with America from its inception -- exporting cotton yarn and cloth to the USA during the Civil War, as well as importing US factory equipment. Little is known about the French textiles, however. In 1900, "saris called *Fraasisi* or of French manufacture (of fine cloths, with stamps fine and beautiful) are now going out of fashion; 'only old women like it'." (Crooke, 1989, no. 758)
3. In 1990, saris accounted for an estimated 25.5 percent of India's total textile production, according to C.V. Radhakrishna, secretary-general of the Indian Cotton Mills Federation.
4. The term 'mill' is used here to describe two types of automated textile production: (1) factories that create continuous lengths of cloth which are usually overdyed, either through roller printing or by silkscreening. (2) Factories which use powerlooms with dobby or jacquard attachments to create woven borders. Contrasting colored weft stripes are often woven at regular intervals, e.g., every five meters, in order to create the sari endpiece. Such endpieces are usually of this simpler type; the more complex designs being created on handlooms or powerlooms worked by independent weavers outside the factory setting.
5. According to Irwin and Hall (1971, p. 154) the East India Company started introducing machines for printing textiles in the late 18th century. This resulted in a petition made by the cotton importers and printers of London to the House of Commons on March 14, 1782, requesting suspension of the export to India of any such equipment. Apparently, it was impossible to distinguish between English and Indian mechanically printed textiles.
6. Bean, 1989, p. 361.
7. In 1849, British exports of cotton cloth to India were valued at about two million pounds, by 1889, they had reached 27 million pounds.
8. The book was The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India. After this, he published 18 volumes containing 700 textile samples, as well as other works on the subject.
9. The work of such ethnographic and linguistic chroniclers as William Crooke (eastern Uttar Pradesh), George Grierson (Bihar), and Edgar Thursdon (Madras Presidency) have proved invaluable in researching Indian textiles and costume during the late 19th century.
10. See Table D.
11. Poorer women were the ones who usually wore imported mill textiles. Crooke's Indian correspondent, R.G. Chaube, in 1900 wrote a long description of the dress of rural women in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Describing inexpensive *ek-ranga* (one-color) saris, he said they consisted of "A red cloth... women make saris (six-yards) to go to bathing in sacred stream or *mela*... the women who use *ek-ranga* saris are low caste..." (Crooke, no. 739) Although of 'one color,' it is unclear whether these saris, which were called *saalu* (fine cloth) in neighboring Bihar (Grierson, no. 742), were completely plain; they may have had a small printed border. But their description, being cut from a bolt of cloth, suggests that the fabric was factory woven.
12. Calico Mills brochure, 1952, pp. 1-10.
13. Tarapor, 1980, p. 61.
14. *ibid.* pp. 60-73. The poor level of teaching in these schools is indicated by a speech given by the Prince of Wales to the Birmingham Society of Arts in 1879, shortly after he returned from a visit to India: "While we are met here in Birmingham to further the spread of education in art, Englishmen in India are, in their short-sightedness, actively destroying the very sources of that education." (quoted in Tarapor, p. 71).
15. Nylander, 1992, pp. 144-45, 209-11.
16. See Table A.
17. Kamei Onkokan, nos: 169-92, 215-7, 222-29, 279-82.
18. The color blue was regarded as an inauspicious color, being worn only by older women or low caste people. Those in power ignored the fact that many people of 'low' social origin (including major *adivasi* groups such as the Bhil) regarded blue cloth as good protection against the evil eye.
19. In the 1890s, the studio of Joseph Waterhouse in Altrincham, near Manchester, specialized in designing British export textiles, hiring freelancers who specialized in particular countries.
20. Meller and Elferts (1991), pp. 374-5, nos. 1-6.
21. RISD accession no. 85.048.
22. The pattern of the RISD print is very similar to that shown on pl. 2, in Meller and Efferts (1991, p. 374).
23. Such mill-made, silkscreened cotton saris are the cheapest on the market, costing Rs 45-65 in 1991.
24. Low-cost mill saris of dull rose pink were a popular color among Santhali and other poor women in the Singhbhum District, Bihar, during spring 1994. The use of muted reds and white is traditional to the saris of this region.
25. Ali (1901, p. 57) reports that photographs of Queen Victoria were copied using gold thread upon silk.

26. Watt, 1903, p. 336. Krishna and Krishna (1966, p. 44) states that this master weaver was Subhan Miyan, who attended Queen Victoria's Silver Jubilee in 1897. Also, Ali (p.57) states that brocade designers Tajammul and Muhammad Husain visited London in 1895-6, and returned with "new designs."
27. We must remember, however, that the Western intellectual and artistic elites of the time decried virtually all wallpaper designs. Oscar Wilde's famous comment, made in 1900, "The wallpaper is killing me; one of us must go," is typical. Watt's attitude may have been no different.
28. Watt, p. 336.
29. MMA accession no. CI 43.13.27.
30. Purchased in Bhagalpur, 1960 by Sarojini Singh.
31. See table B.
32. Nylander, 1992, p. 144.
33. Linda Parry's definition of the Arts and Crafts Movement is used here. It includes the major artistic styles developed from 1880 to 1916. The British Aesthetic and Continental Art Nouveau styles were, respectively, a precursor of and development from this movement. (Parry, 1988, p.7.)
34. Irises appear on a few Mughal court brocades, they are probably derived from Persian designs.
35. See Table A.
36. Allchin, 1988, p.191.
37. For instance, textiles created for Queen Victoria's coronation (1838) used wheat in the pattern; and a pair of Bishop's gloves embroidered by May Morris in 1899 also features this grain.
38. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Philip Gould. Table C.
39. See Table C, Lynton Singh.
40. Wood, pl. 55.
41. The goose (Sk, *hamsa*) was an important symbol in early buddhist iconography that continued to be depicted through to the mid-second millennium AD. Because of the goose's less than ideal image in the West, many Victorian scholars translated the Sanskrit *hamsa* to "swan" as they felt it was less derogatory. (Note: the Hindi term is *hansa*).
42. See Tables A, B.
43. Watt, p. 252. It is interesting to note that five years after Watt's comments, Edgar Thursdon (1908, p. 520) complains about exactly the same design.
44. Quoted in Cohn, 1987.
45. See Table C.
46. de Bone, 1984, p. 37.
47. The term *swadeshi* was first used during a public lecture given by Justice Ranadi, an early nationalist. For him, it meant "perfering the goods produced in one's own country even though they may prove to be dearer or less satisfactory than finer foreign products." See Bean, 1989, p. 363.
48. Many *adivasi* and remote rural saris have technically always been *khadi*, but they were never included in the equation created by Gandhi and his followers.
49. It is interesting to note that Western designs were popular in 'high-end' saris when the struggle for India's independence from the British was at its strongest.
50. For example, prices of different types of cotton saris woven or printed in the *jamdani* style bought in Jamshedpur, Bihar, and Calcutta, West Bengal, in 1994 were as follows:

Low-cost mill print:	Rs 60
<i>Tanti</i> sari:	75
'Middle class' sari:	250-500
'High end' sari:	1,000 and up
51. One of the most popular yarns is polyvastra, a cotton/polyester blend that is now even used by the *khadi* industry.
52. The use of cotton blends and synthetic fiber textiles in India has dramatically increased over the past ten years, as the following facts from the Indian Cotton Manufacturer's Federation show:

Textile Consumption by Household Income 1984-88:
 Cotton: decreased in all sectors.
 Non-cotton: increased consumption among upper income households (Rs 20,000 +), use stable in mid income range (Rs 10,000-19,999), declined among poorest.
 Cotton/man-made blends: increased consumption among all groups.

<u>Production of man-made fiber fabrics</u>	
1976--	989 million meters
1981--	1.5 billion meters
1987--	2.2 billion meters
53. Although Indian mills began creating polyester over 25 years ago, the fabric only became a noticeable part of its sari repertoire in the 1980s. The rise in production has been marked:

1974-5	8.7	thousand tonnes
1979-0	28.6	
1985-6	51.7	
1989-0	100.8	
54. Japanese polyester saris, which are sold in stores outside India also feature ethnic designs, but they are 'high-end' synthetic saris that are bought by wealthy women who can afford the luxury saris being created by India's designers.

TABLES OF COLLECTIONS WITH RELEVANT DESIGNS

Abbreviations:

CHM - Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, New York, NY.
 FIT - The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, NY.
 HAG - Henry Art Gallery, Seattle, WA.
 MMA - Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.
 RISD - Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Providence, RI.
 SH - F. Schumacher & Co. Archives, New York, NY.
 SM - National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.



(11) Western print pattern made for Indian market. RISD, 85.048

TABLE A: COMPARABLE WESTERN DESIGNS:
TEXTILES (late 19th/early 20th century)

Type of Design	Collection/Accession No.	Description
<u>Naturalistic</u>		
	CHM. 1948-59-4 (1850-99)	small floral pattern.
	CHM. 1938-51-3 (1850-99)	small floral pattern.
	CHM. 1941-84-1J (1850-99)	small floral pattern.
	CHM. 1935-5-1 (1850-99)	"floral whimsy" roller print.
	CHM. 1948-65-20A (1850-99)	"floral whimsy"
	CHM. 1916-33-64D (1850-99)	floral print.
	CHM. 1931-4-76 (1850-99)	"lush florals."
	CHM. 1973-51-127 (1790s)	"printed border" floral.
	CHM. 1941-77-2 (1790s)	"printed border" floral.
	CHM. 1916-33-44 (1900)	"printed border" acanthus.
	CHM. 1978-167-2 (1897)	"printed fabric"
	FIT. P-DC-1880-90 (1880s)	print. trailing floral pattern.
	FIT. P-DC-1890-1900 (1890s)	print. floral sprays.
	FIT. P-DC-1890-1900 (1890s)	print. flowers and grass.
	FIT. P-DC-1900 (1900)	print. floral garlands.
	FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)	print. floral.
	FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)	print. floral.
	FIT. P-DC-81.26.1 (1900-10)	print. floral.
	SH. 62.S.H.P. (no date)	print. floral border.
	SH. 12693 (no date)	print. floral border.
	SH. 20268 (no date)	print. floral border.
<u>'Damask' style</u>		
	SH. 121.S.W. patt. 395.	(before 1905).
	SH. 144.S.H.W. (no date).	
	SH. 404.S.W. (no date).	
	SH. 569.S.W. patt. 454.	(c.1905).
<u>Naturalistic. Wheat</u>		
	FIT. C-WH.1850-60 (1850s)	print. ribbon.
	FIT. C-WH.1890-1900 (1890s)	print. ribbon.
	FIT. C-WH.1900-10 (1900-10).	
	SH. 72.S.H.P. (no date)	floral with wheat.
<u>Arts & Crafts. Floral</u>		
	CHM. 1916.33.70 (1890s)	roller print. grapes.
	FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)	creseent moon.
	FIT. P-DC-1900-10 (1900-10)	print. Irises.
<u>A&C. Peacock</u>		
	CHM. 1911.7.3 (1850-99)	roller print. with fruit.
	FIT. C-A-Bi (1900-10)	print.
	FIT. C-A-Bi (1910-20)	woven design.
	FIT. C-A-Bi (1910-20)	woven design.
	FIT. C-A-Bi (1900-20)	seven other peacock swatches. <u>A&C.</u>
<u>Swan</u>		
	CHM. 1953.55.2 (1870s)	roller print. swan and flowers.
	CHM. 1975.60.13 (1870s)	roller print. swans on lake.
	FIT. C-A-Bi 1900-10	silk damask. swan.
	FIT. C-A-Bi	no date. cotton print.

TABLE B: COMPARABLE WESTERN DESIGNS:
WALLPAPERS (late 19th/early 20th century)

Type of Design	Collection/Accession No.	Description
<u>Naturalistic</u>		
	CHM. 1968.111.69	1905-25. floral garlands
	CHM. 1968.111.686	1905-25. floral garlands
	CHM. 1968.111.168	1900-25. floral border
	CHM. 1947.72.4	1905-25. floral garlands
	CHM. 1942.84.1B	1830. floral border
	CHM. 1907.5.37	1830. floral border
	CHM. 1955.12.7	1853. border, nasturtiums. France
	CHM. 1972.42.129	1835-60. floral border
	SH. 11.W.P.	no date. Waverly
	SH. 39.W.P.	no date. Waverly, hollyhocks
	SH. 64.W.P.	no date. floral border
	CHM. 1907.5.7	1890. floral border
	CHM. 1907.5.6	1890. floral border
<u>'Damask' style</u>		
	CHM. 1946.53.1	1880-90. flock wallpaper.
	CHM. 1941.107.12	1885. flock wallpaper.
<u>Arts & Crafts. Wheat</u>		
	CHM. 1953.31.7	1894. USA.
<u>A&C. Peacock</u>		
	CHM. 1957.127.1	1908.
	CHM. 1938.62.56	1890.

TABLE C: SARIS WITH WESTERN DESIGNS IN
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

Collection - Accession No./Description
HAG - 77.7-237 (telia rumal)
MMA - CI 43.13.27; CI 55.32.9 (brocades)
RISD - 85.048; 45.007; 59.1246 (various prints)
SM - E406129 (swadeshi); E399607-11,40-1 (mill prints)
Neelu Chopra - Banaras brocades, mill prints
Virginia Davis - Orissan pictorial
Desire Koslin - Khadi
Dr. Philip Gould - Banaras brocades
Archana Sinha - Banaras brocades, khadi, mill prints
Shakuntala Singh - Banaras brocades, tanzeb, mill prints
L. Lynton Singh - Banaras brocades, khadi, mill prints

TABLE D: ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPHS from British Library/India Office Collection, London.

- (i) 447/1 (17a) Bhil Tribal woman with what looks like a mill printed *odhni*. Photo by W.W. Hooper, 1880s.
- (ii) 41/2 (70) Paradi caste woman. Mill printed *odhni* with floral pattern throughout field.
- (iii) 41/2 (81) Sonar caste woman. Mill printed *odhni* with floral pattern in field and imitation *bandhani* spots.
- (iv) 1901 Ghosi caste woman with mill printed *odhni*, floral field, Mughal-style border with *kalga*.

GLOSSARY

Unless otherwise mentioned, all words listed are Hindi.

Adivasi "First inhabitants." Preferred name for India's large aboriginal population; includes such tribes as the Bhil, Gond, Munda and Santhal.

Bel "Creeping vine." Commonly occurring design in Mughal-style textiles, although it is of much older, possibly pre-Buddhist (c. 500 BCE) origins in India.

Ethnic Communities that are usually Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Buddhist; but are minorities who maintain cultural differences from the 'mainstream' societies of their region. Unlike the adivasis, they are not completely culturally separate.

Gram Udyog "Village cooperative." The Gandhian system developed to encourage village industries, primarily the production of khaddar.

Jal "Net." Net-like pattern of lozenges in brocades.

Jamdani Bengali muslin sari containing angular, stylized and abstract discontinuous supplementary weft patterning.

Kalga "Paisley motif." Name derived from Urdu *qalb* (hook).

Khaddar Home spun cloth developed by Gandhi that was used as a symbol in the swadeshi and independence movement. Colloquially called **khadi**.

Lungi Sarong-like wrap worn by men.

Mughal Persianized Muslim dynasty that ruled India from 1526-1765.

Odhni Half-sari worn as veil in western India.

Santhal Austro-Asiatic-speaking tribe of southern West Bengal and Bihar.

Sari Traditional South Asian female dress, made of uncut cloth, 3-8 meters (4-9 yards) long.

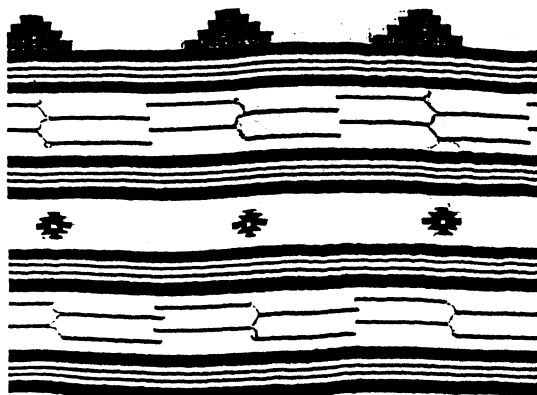
Swadeshi "Products of the Land." Locally made goods.

Tanti "Weaver." Bengali name for colorful, low-cost, low-count handwoven muslin sari of the jamdani type; usually worn by poorer women in Bengal region.

Tanzeb Fine cotton cloth, described by Chaube (Crooke, no. 730) as "chief of the fine clothes that are used by the [Indian] gentry.... It's width is large and becoming; its threads very fine and smooth... durable."

Telia Rumal Large square cloths patterned through ikat dyeing made in Andhra Pradesh, for Arabian market, where they were sold as male head coverings.

Zari Silk or cotton thread that was traditionally wrapped with a gold-covered, flat silver wire. Today non-gold substitutes are most commonly used.



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(12) Hindu-style: angular patterning of jamdani sari, Bengal.

(13) Mughal-style: kalga depicted in style popular in early twentieth century.