



Dream of Weaving:

Study & Documentation of Banaras Sarees and Brocades



Sponsored under the project:
“Strategies & Preparedness for Trade & Globalisation in India”

A project of
**Ministry of Commerce & Industry
UNCTAD and DFID**

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Prepared by
Textiles Committee
Government of India, Mumbai
&
Human Welfare Association, Varanasi

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Textiles Committee, Mumbai
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CONTENTS

Preface	i
Chapter I: Origin and History of Brocade Weaving.....	1
1.1 Pre Mogul Period.....	1
1.2 Mogul Period.....	3
1.3 Post Mogul Period :.....	4
Chapter II: Geographical Location.....	7
Chapter III: Product Profile.....	11
3.1 Brocades	11
3.2 Sarees	13
3.3 Product Diversification:	19
Chapter IV: Production Process.....	23
4.1 Introduction	23
4.1.1 Procurement of Raw Materials	23
4.1.2 Twisting of the silk yarn.....	24
4.1.3 Preparatory activities	24
4.1.4 Weaving activity	28
4.2 Thematic presentation of the production process	34
Chapter V: Uniqueness	35
5.1 Making of Butis.....	35
5.2 Basic Characteristics of the Brocade and Saree	36
5.3 Principle of Naksha.....	36
5.4 Use of Specific Instruments like kandhis, etc.	41
5.5 Extra Warps and Wefts in the process of Brocade Making.....	41
5.6 Motifs	43
5.7 Making of ALFI	45
Chapter VI: Comparative Analysis	46
6.1 Northern Region.....	46
6.2 Southern Region	47
6.3 Kanchipuram Brocade vs Banaras Brocade.....	48
6.4 Banaras vs Chanderi	49
6.5 Dacca Jamdanivs TandaJamdani	50
Chapter VII: Weaver Community	52
7.1 The Weaving Community	52
7.2 Growth of Weaving Force	52
7.3 Concentration of Activity	52
7.4 Gender	53
7.5 Active weaver Force	53
7.6 Career Span	53

7.7	Skill Differences	53
7.8	Work Models	54
7.9	Wage Fixations and Relationship	54
7.10	Channels for Producer Weaver	55
7.11	Weaver: Preference and Aversion.....	55
7.12	Weaver Earnings.....	55
7.13	Continuance in Weaving Occupation.....	57
7.14	Work Culture	57
7.15	Weaver View	57
Chapter VIII: Socio Economic Profile		58
8.1	Support Structure	58
8.1.1	The Handloom Specific Government Agencies.....	58
8.1.2	Co-operative Societies	59
8.1.3	District Administration	59
8.1.4	Financial Institutions	60
8.2	Socio-Economic Status of the stakeholders	60
8.3	Constraints	67
8.3.1	City Economy and Demography	67
8.3.2	Absence of Ownership	67
8.3.3	Market Dynamics.....	67
8.3.4	Policy Environment.....	68
8.3.5	Practical Consequence	68
8.4	Statistical overview	68
Chapter IX: Impact of Globalisation.....		76
9.1	Migration to other cities / trades	78
Notes		79
References		80
Glossary		81
Annexure		83

PREFACE

The entrepreneurial history of handloom production in the country has been traced back to even as early as Rig Veda, when the hiranya (gold cloth) existed in the society. Village industries and handlooms were well integrated into the rural economy and the whole organisation was a part and parcel of socio-cultural fabric of the society. The social traditions, ethos and values were reflected in the handloom products. The handloom products, which have survived against the competition from machine made cloth, represent the rich artistic traditions of our country.

Globalised economy has contributed to the ever-increasing competition among the developing nations. Due to this, the traditional crafts of the country are under threat from the neighboring countries by way of replication of the traditional items. Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) as a part of agreement signed under the World Trade Organisation (WTO) show a way to safeguard the interest of the producers. As part of their endeavor this study has been carried out to register the Banarasi Sarees and Brocades under Geographical Indications Act.

The study has been arranged in nine chapters – the **Chapter 1** principally brings out the craft history and growth in ancient and medieval India. The **Chapter 2** identifies the geographical location wherein the craft exists at the district level. An in-depth profile of the products being produced in the centres is discussed in **Chapter 3**. **Chapter 4** discusses the production process involved in making the world famous Banarasi sarees. An attempt has been made to cover all parts of the production process and to provide the illustrations. The uniqueness of the product are detailed in **Chapter 5** along with the intricacies involved in making of motifs and preparation of the designs. The art of weaving in Banaras vis-à-vis other brocade weaving centres in the country are detailed in **Chapter 6**. The major stakeholders of the craft and the impact of globalisation are discussed in the remaining chapters. The concentration of the weaving activity and the weavers involved in the craft are detailed in **Chapter 7**, the working model prevailing in the centre, wage structure of the weavers and the work culture is also discussed. The stakeholders and the major cluster players are described in **Chapter 8**. The support structure of the cluster viz government bodies,

financial institutions etc are also detailed in this chapter. An attempt is made to emphasize the socio economic status of the weavers as well as the statistical overview of the cluster vis-à-vis the other handloom weaving centres of the state. The last chapter discusses the impact of globalisation on the handloom sector as a whole and Banarasi weaving centre in particular.

We hope this study and documentation work will form the basis for preparing an application for protection of the intellectual Property Rights of the weavers who have woven golden art for this country.



(Dr Rajiv Aggarwal)

Place : Mumbai
Date : 25.01.2007

Chapter I

Origin and History of Brocade Weaving

1.1 Pre Mogul Period:

Banaras is famous for its socio-economic and religious importance all over the world. The city is equally important as a brocade-weaving centre throughout the country. The weaving industry, which flourished during the Vedic period and touched its peak at the time of mogul period, explains how the act of weaving was a part and parcel of the life of the Banaras people. Whether it is the religious activity or earning of livelihood for the population, the weaving activity surpassed all other occupations. From the historical perspectives, the textile industry has found place from rig Vedic literature to post independent India.

Since the Rig Vedic times, we hear about several kinds of textiles among which figures out the cloth of gold¹ (the *Hiranya*) as a distinguished type, the god in their resplendent grandeur wear it, as they drive in their stately chariots. The *Hiranya* cloth has been usually interpreted as the earliest equivalent for the present day zari work or the *kimkhab* (brocades). We also find specific reference to the embroidery in the Vedic literature.²

The *Jataka* tales³ and other early *Pali* texts from main source of our information in that period of Indian history: we know about the weavers (*tantuvidyas*), their guilds⁴ and several interesting details about their technique. It is nothing strange that Banaras figures as an outstanding centre of textile manufacture in this very early stage of Indian Culture. Banaras and its surrounding area had great cotton-growing regions; probably this spurred the textile industry in the city, which during the early period, was the capital of an important province, or sometimes of a sovereign state. Banaras is known in the *pali*⁵ literature as a reputed centre of textile manufacture, famous for its *Kasikuttama* and *Kasiya*⁶. The *Majjhimanikaya*⁷ refers to *Varaaseyyaka*, known for its fine texture. The *Kasika Suchivastra*⁸ was probably some kind of embroidery.

Kasi (old name of Banaras) continued to flourish as a regional capital under the *Nandas*, the *Mauryas* and the *Sungas* and we can safely ascribe to it its unbroken tradition of textile industry during those glorious periods. *Patanjali*, the famous writer of 2nd century B.C. had clearly described about the *Kasika* textile in the *Sunga* periods. He

described that the textile of *Kasi* was more expensive and probably of better quality than the similar material of Mathura.

However, its old glory in the realm of textile manufacture is reaffirmed by the *Divyavadana*, a Buddhist Sanskrit text of the same period, which makes references to such fabrics known as *Kasika Vastra*, *Kasi Kasikamsu* and so on. (Textile art of India, Kokyo Hatanaka Collection Page No.359)

Varanasi, a religious city and a center of wearing flourished as the capital of the *Kasi* Kingdom in the days when Buddha was yet alive. In *Sutras*⁹, it is mentioned that when Prince Siddharth become a bonze, he took off luxurious silk clothes of courtly taste of *Kasi* and wore instead earth-cikiyred robe namely *kasayani vastrani*. Clothes permitted to bonze in those days were made of cloths woven of waste silk fibres from wild silkworms, what was called 'bark fibre' cloths then, and those of hemp. There is also a story in *Sutra* of a person who becomes to embrace Buddhist faith by making offering to Buddha of cloths interwoven with gold threads.

In "*Jataka*",¹⁰ the *Kasi* Kingdom is mentioned as a principal center of manufacturing cotton as well as those of silk in the 5th century or 6th century B. C. Cotton cloths of *Kasi* were exquisitely woven, smooth, bleached completely white, and their fibres were fine and soft. Tradition says that when Buddha died, his remains purified with balm were wrapped with brand new cotton cloths of *Kasi*. (Textile art of India, Kokyo Hatanaka Collection Page No.361). Richard Lanmoy in his book "Banaras seen from within" has mentioned that the Buddhist *jatakas* (3rd -2nd B.C) are a mine of information about life in ancient India. It has been mentioned that Banaras was a cotton growing region and famous for producing thread of a fine and soft texture. The city was equally reputed for its silk and wool.

It is believed that the patterns carved in relief on the saranath *stupa* were transferred from the textile designs of the *Gupta* period, as depicted in the *Ajanta* frescoes of the same date. It appears that these bold geometrical patterns, interspersed with birds and animals were the most favoured type of design in the ancient designs. A number of such motifs appearing on the *Dhamekh-Stupa* at Sarnath (Banaras) presuppose the transference of the textile designs on stone or a copy of some textiles, which originally wrapped such *stupas* (such textiles were called the *Devadushyas*). If this theory is admitted, we have an interesting archaeological evidence to show some of the designs, which Banaras weavers used in the *Gupta* period¹¹. The fabrics were calendared (hindi, kundi) according to the *Divyavadana*. The process was used for the

garments belonging to the people of high ranks and princess; *ahata* is Sanskritam term for the process. This process appears in the *Amarakosa*, the famous Sanskrit lexicon of the Gupta period, which distinguishes it from the term *andhata* (i.e., the un-calendared) cloth. It is curious to note that the same process continues to be used in the manufacture of Banaras down to the present day; a locality in Banaras is known as *Kundigar Zola*, a centre of such artisans, who earn their bread through this trade. *Damodara Gupta* (eight-ninth century A. D.) in his *Kuttanimatam*, describes Banaras in its full glory. A wealthy person is portrayed donning a lower garment, shot with gold thread (*kanakagarbhita*). This may suggest Banaras as one of the centers of zari manufacture in that period and the degree of popularity, which such fabrics enjoyed in the upper classes in Banaras.

Similarly, the “*Uktivyaktiprakarana*”¹² clearly states that the Banaras merchants were rich and prosperous; and made ample money through trade. Again, the *Uktivyaktiprakarana* specifically mentions the thriving textile industry of Banaras. But all such references are more or less focused on the cotton fabrics of the city, its manufacture and trade.

No doubt, Banaras remained a centre of weavers in the ancient period. The famous saint Kabir who belonged to weaver community is a burning example of it. However, it seems to be quite probable that the zari and brocades revived in the Sharki period as no earlier evidence refers to such textile manufacture in Banaras.

1.2 Mogul Period:

The historical evidence depicts that the Banaras weaving industry reached its peak during the mogul period due to the patronage of mogul emperor like *Akbar*. From the *Akbar* period onwards, we begin to get an uninterrupted account of the zari work and brocades through the *Mughal* and *Rajasthani* painting. It is significant to note that in the sixteenth century the old designs abruptly came to an end; we find from the contemporary paintings that wholesale-personalized motifs were introduced although modified to the Indian taste. More emphasis was given to floral designs. For example, the ancient animal and bird motifs were given up for good. There was an influx of Persian motifs due to the influence and importance of Persian masters in the court of emperor *Akbar*; *Ghias Naqshaband* being the greatest Persian master among them to the royal atelier of *Akbar*.

Some of the European visitors to India in the *Mughal* period visited Banaras and had also explained the textiles industry of the Banaras in their work. Ralph Fitch

(1583-91) in his work has described that Banaras was a thriving centre of cotton textile industry. However, he adds that Banaras manufactured turbans in great numbers for the *Mughals*. We know from the contemporary paintings that usually the *Mughals* used zari material for their turbans. Hence from his works, we come to know the thriving silk industry of Banaras.

Peter Mundy, another traveller to Banaras (1632 A. D.) records that in the *Viswanath* temple, he found a silk canopy hanging over the Siva-lingam. This might have been a work of Banaras zari or brocade.

Tavernier who visited Banaras in 1665 A. D. saw in Banaras the loftiest house in India, which shows the height of prosperity Banaras witnessed during the seventeenth century. He noticed a caravan *sarai* in Banaras where the weavers directly sold their manufactures to the clusters and there was no middleman in the trade. He mentions both cotton and silk textiles in the trade, which bore the quality grading and making in the form of imperial seals failing which the merchants were flogged. It generally believed, from the above account that Tavernier saw Banarasi zari and brocades in the Saris. However, describing the *Bindumadhava* temple of Banaras, Tavernier informs that over the holy platform he noticed brocades and other silks. Presumably they were of Banaras manufacture. In Shahjahan's time, Varanasi continued to be famous for the production of cummer bonds¹³, turbans and garments particularly for women (History of India as told by its own historians, vol. VII, p.36). Women's garments can easily be identified as odhinis or dupattas (veils or long scarves), which were the specialty of Varanasi, even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Manucci in his famous travel-book "Storia Do Mogor" (second half of the seventeenth century) records that Banaras exported to all over the world, its gold or silver zari textiles, which were "of the best quality"¹⁴.

The *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, work in 1720 A. D. describes two other types of Banarasi fabrics the "*Jhuna*" and the "*Mihrgula*" among others were of principal character. However, the author does not specify them.

1.3 Post-Mogul Period:

However the ancient and mogul period description about the Banaras silk industry is not complete and hence creates a doubt about the silk industry of the city. With regards to the Banaras zari and brocades, the first time well recorded description

was made by several British travelers to Banaras during British rule in India. *George viscount Valentia*, in his travel-account furnished some interesting information about Banaras textiles in early 19th century. *Valentia* held a Durbar in Banaras; some textile-traders also attended the Durbar and displayed some very good examples of zari and brocades. *Valentia* remarks that the brocades showed close patterns and were quite expensive, so that they were worn only on important occasions. *Valentia* rightly observed that the prosperity of the Banaras people mainly rested on its brocades and zari manufacture and trade as these textiles were popular items of export to Europe. The description of *Valentia* not only provided the historical existence of the silk industry of Banaras but also explained how the socio-economic aspect of the people is influenced by textiles industry during that period (Voyage and travels of Lord *Valentia* Part – I, London 1811). The historical evidence of the post Mogul period clearly proves the existence and importance of the Banaras silk industry in the contemporary history.

Soon after in his census report *Mr. Dweance*, the then collector of Banaras, recorded several types of artisans in Banaras. Among these, the report figures out the Muslim weavers (carpet weavers) and the *Rajput* (Muslim) weavers who produced several types of zari and brocades. The zari and brocade weavers seem to have been considerable in numbers as the number of their houses was about 580 at that time, which although a symbolic figure, may show their abundance.

Bishop Heber had described that “it had a very considerable silk, cotton and woolen manufacture of its own”. These included some expensive types and probably zari and brocades.

Mrs Colin Masckenzie, a traveler to Banaras in 1847 A. D. records some interesting information about the zari and brocade textiles. She described that an Indian prince who visited their party wore “wide trousers of cloth of gold” or brocade. This seems to be very popular among the gentry of Banaras, which is corroborated by her later account and also by the surviving examples of that period.

Most important proof of the origin of the Banaras Saree and brocade can be found in the district gazetteers of the united provinces of the Agra and Oudh in the volume-xxvi by Government press, Lucknow in 1922 and Uttar Pradesh district Gazetteers of the Varanasi published by Government of Uttar Pradesh in 1965. In page-58 & 59 of the Banaras district gazetteers on the United Province, there has been clear mention of the manufacture of the textile fabrics of Banaras. It is mentioned “the textiles weaving afford employment/support to the largest number of persons aggregating some thirteen thousand in the city and another ten thousand beyond the

municipal boundaries”.

The gazetteers also elaborated about the manufacturing of silk fabrics in the city by employing twelve thousand weavers. Even there was a clear mention about the source of the raw materials, quality, and type of fabrics, different articles produced, embroidery work, tie and dye, use of the silver and gold thread and the design (Annexure – 1).

In the post independence era, Uttar Pradesh district gazetteers, Varanasi published by the Government of the U P, Lucknow in 1965 also highlighted the importance of the silk fabrics and embroidery work of the Banaras. Para-1 & 2 of the Small Scale Industries (Page-144 & 145) has elaborated the production of silk products like dupattas, scarves, saris, silk dhotis (Pitamber) and brocades of different designs. The principal raw materials used for the weaving are silk, gold & silver threads, cotton yarn, etc. The source of the raw material required for weaving silk saree, brocade and other products are also found mentioned in the gazetteer (Annexure – 2).

Chapter II

Geographical Location

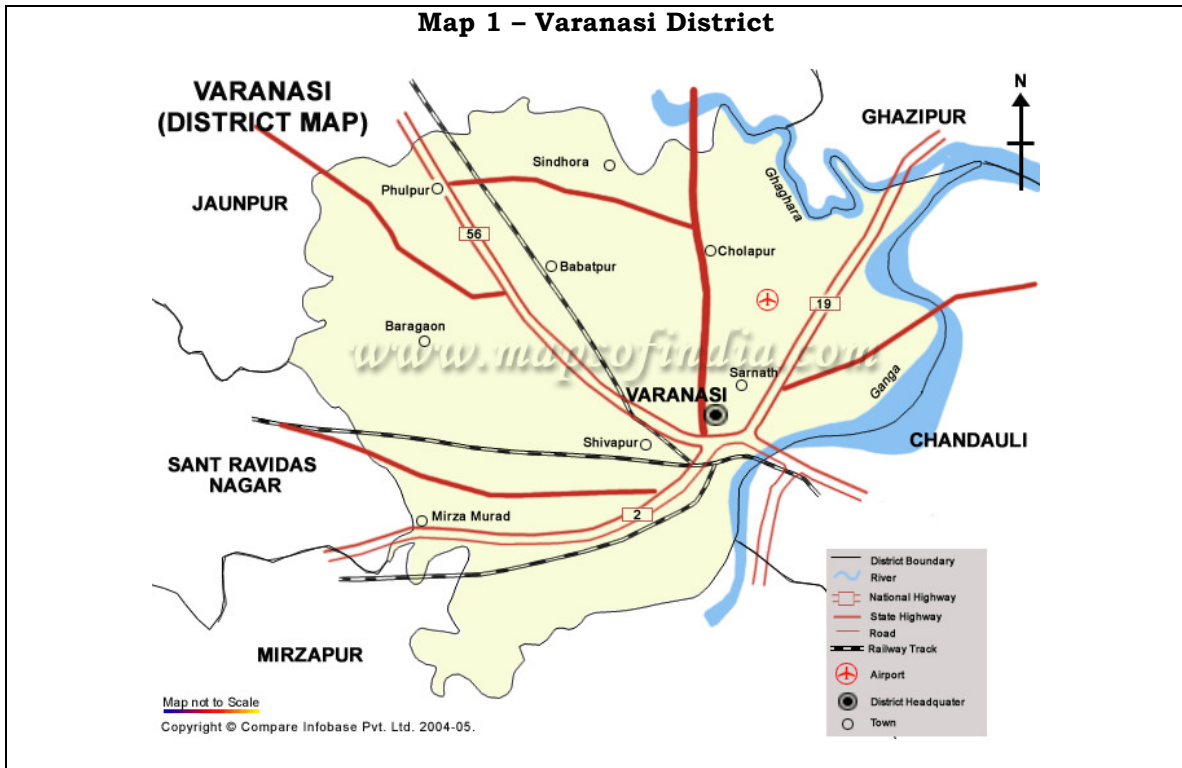
The brocade weaving of the Banaras is cluster based and scattered all over the Banaras district and some adjacent districts. The Banaras city is the main center of weaving. The maximum weavers of the product belong to the city only. Yet the other production centers of the districts cannot be overlooked so far as the production and the employment is concerned. The main centers of the brocade weavings are at Varanasi, Azamgarh, Mirzapur, Bhadohi (Sant Ravidas Nagar), Chandoli, Chunar and Chakia.

Among all, Varanasi city is the most important centre of brocade weaving and more than 80 percent weavers belong to the Varanasi city and its adjacent area only. Out of the different Mohallas (areas) of the Varanasi, Madanpura and Ahaipur are two most important areas of the brocade weaving. It is believed that the brocade weaving in the city initially started in these two areas and subsequently adopted by the other families.

A legend how Madanpura area came to fame as the origin point of Banaras brocade said that seven muslim families fled from central Asia of the western Iranian plateau and settled at Madanpura. They are later called Sat Gharav. They may have belonged to a group of Kazzaz weavers, who had migrated from west Asian weaving centres and were employed in the royal weaving workshops of the Sultanate King. It is believed that the weavers belonging to the seven families brought with a special silk weaving technique for Kazazi and nassaji fabrics from Khajistan in the western plateau of Iran. Similarly, some legendary texts also prove the importance Alaipura in the Brocade weaving world.

However so far the weaving pattern of traditional weaving areas is concerned, Madanpura weavers were known for their fine and delicate traditional work on *Kimkhab*, Alaipura weavers were renowned for experimenting with the new technique and designs; and implementing innovations which became necessary as they had to compete with the well settled traditional weavers of Madanpura, who already excelled in their craft. The other areas like Badi Bazar, Nati Imli, Lathapura, Philkhann, Chittanpura, Ram Nagar, Lohta, Chiragaon, Baburi, Baragam, Ashapur are equally

famous.

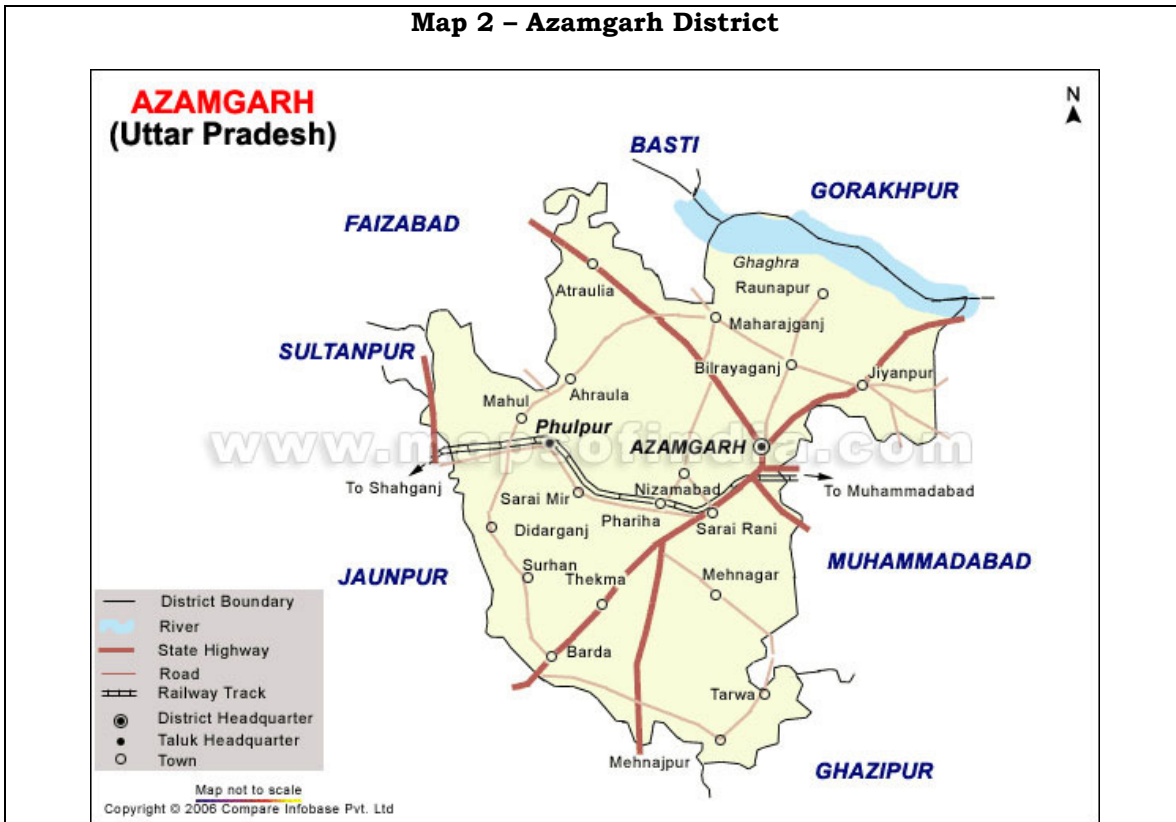


Both urban and rural folk of the area largely depend on the activities associated with the handloom weaving. The other places which are more or less associated with the handloom activities are as follows:

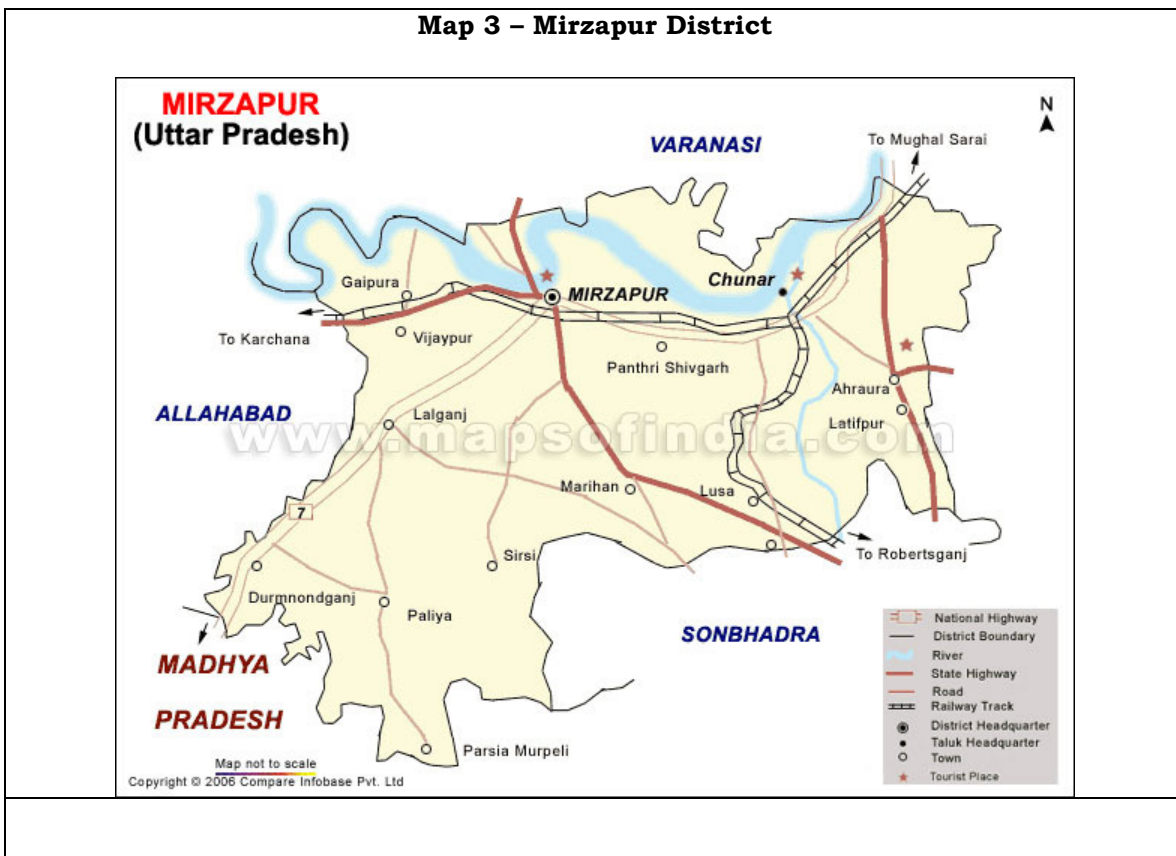
S. No.	District	Places
1	Azamgarh	Mubarakpur
2	Mirzapur	Rajgadh, Chetgunj, Narayanpur, Jamalpur, Seekhad, Majua
3	Sant Ravi Nagar	Gopigunj, Sewapuri
4	Chandauli	Sahabgunj, Chakiya, Barhani, Mugal Sarai, Sahupuri, Fatehpur, Chandauli, Shikargunj

The maps of these districts are given below:

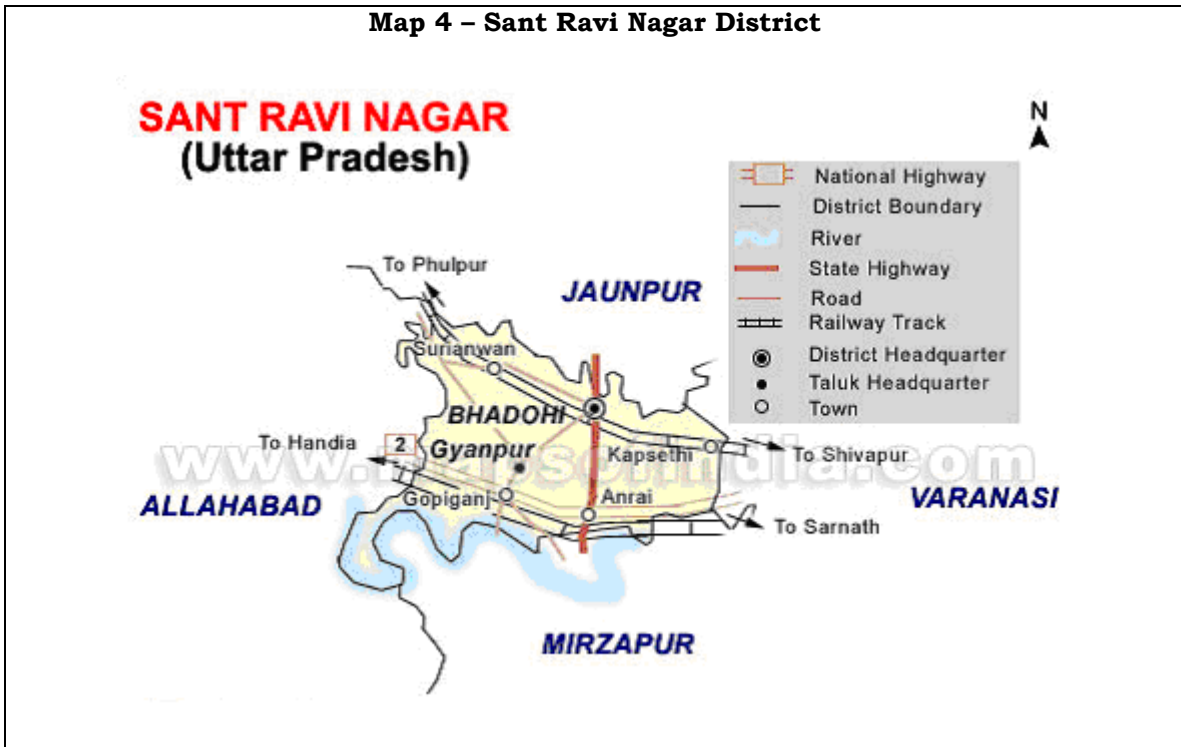
Map 2 – Azamgarh District



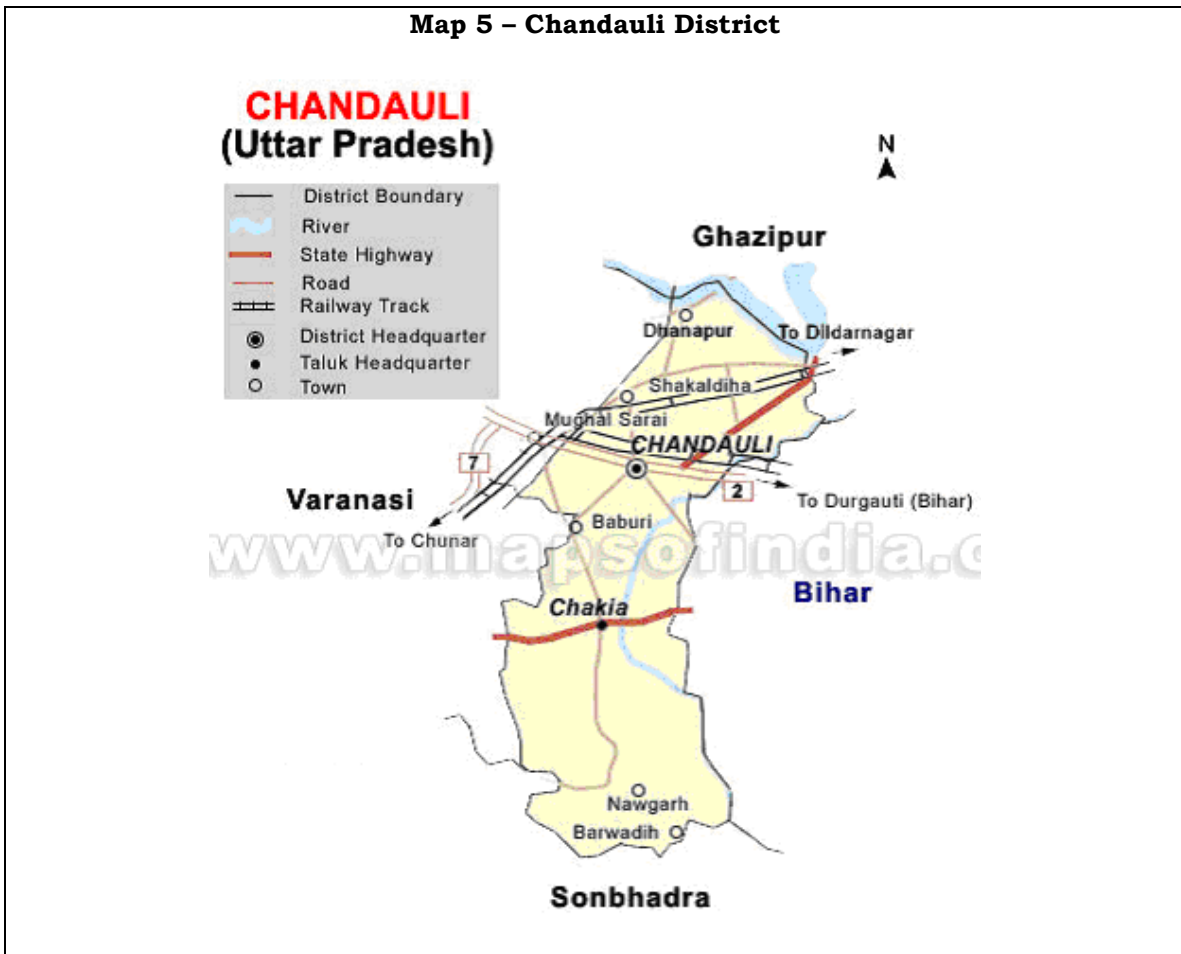
Map 3 – Mirzapur District



Map 4 – Sant Ravi Nagar District



Map 5 – Chandauli District



Chapter III

Product Profile

Banaras is one of the rich weaving craft centre of India, famous for Brocade Saris and dress material. One unique and intricate silk brocades and sarees of Banaras has made it world famous. Among the different varieties of sarees produced in the centres, some exclusive varieties of the sarees are Jangla, Tanchoi, Vaskat, Cutwork, Tissue and Butidar which are made of silk warp and silk weft, on plain/satin ground base, brocaded with extra weft patterns in different layouts introducing Buties, Bells, Creepers, Buttas in ground, border and anchal for getting glamorous appearance. With the change in time and consumer preference, the weavers of the cluster are also undertaking changes in the design and pattern of the product alongwith product diversification. In order to cater to the need of the overseas and domestic buyers, the weavers of the cluster are also producing home furnishing, silk dhotis, stole, scarf, muffler, mats, dress material, wall hanging, made ups like curtain, cushion cover, table cover, napkins, runners, etc. some of the items produced in the Banaras are presented below:

3.1 Brocade:



Brocade refers to those textiles where in patterns are created in weaving by transfixing or thrusting the pattern thread between the warp. In regular weaving the weft thread passes over and under the warp thread regularly. But when brocade designs in gold, silver silk or cotton threads are to be woven, special threads are transfixed in between skipping the passage of the regular weft over a

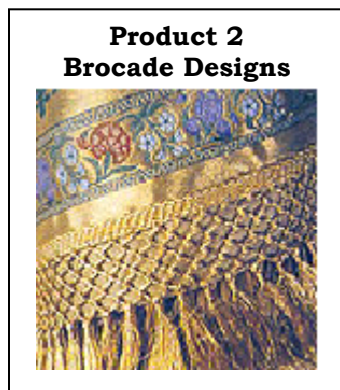
certain number of warp threads (depending upon the pattern) and by regularizing the skipping by means of pre-arranged heddles for each type of patterning. There may be several sets of heddles so arranged that on different occasions, they raise and depress irregular number of threads in turn, as required by the exigencies of the pattern.

Traditionally, the weaving was done with naksha draw looms; now jacquard equipment is used. Before proceeding with weaving, the design is drawn out, on paper by a special category or crafts persons called naqshaband. This design is then woven on a small wooden frame.

Though the zari figured silks of Banaras are called brocades, 'technically, they can be classified as both brocades (fabrics with discontinuous supplementary weft patterning) and lampas, figured silks (figured silks with at least two warps and/or two wefts), Supplementary thread designs, including dense border patterns, are almost always woven as discontinuous supplementary-weft with the highly decorated end-piece usually ending abruptly in a piece of unembellished cloth (15 to 50 cm).

Variations in the Brocades:

Traditional Banaras brocades can be broadly classified as (a) Zari Brocades (b) Amru Brocades and (c) Abrawans



(a) Zari Brocades: In which the patterning is in zari or gold/silver thread.

The kimkhab is heavy gilt brocade, in which more zari work than underlying silk visible. The zari comprises more than 50 percent of the surface. Often used as yardage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these are popular wedding saris nowadays. The bafta/pot-than/baft-hana is lighter in gilt brocades than the kimkhab, and more of the underlying silk is visible. The zari comprises less than 50 percent of the surface.

(b) Amru Brocades: In these brocades, the supplementary weft patterning is in silk and not in zari. Traditional Amru brocade is the tanchoi.



The tanchoi 'is a densely patterned, heavy fabric with no floats on the reverse - the "unused" threads are woven into the "foundation" at the back. Traditionally, the face of the fabric has a satin weave ground (warp threads) with small patterns made by the weft threads repeated over the entire surface'. It is believed that in the last half of the nineteenth century, three Parsi brothers by the name of Chhoi learnt the technique of weaving these brocades in China and introduced it in Surat (Gujarat in western India). A descendant of the brothers

continued to make tanchois in Bombay till the 1950s but was forced out of business by the less expensive versions of the Varanasi weavers. [tan = three; tan chhoi = three chhois].

(c) Arawans: Muslin Silk/Organza Base: In the third variety, the ground material is a transparent muslin silk or organza, with a zari and/or silk thread patterning. So this can be a zari brocade or an amru. The amount of zari visible can also vary, and can cover more or less than 50 percent of the base material.

- (i) A sub-category is the ‘cut-work brocade’ in which the ‘transparent silk fabric has supplementary-weft patterning woven in heavier, thicker fibres than the ground. Each motif is not separately woven in by hand as a discontinuous weft; instead the threads extend the entire width of the fabric, leaving floats at the back that are cut away by hand after weaving’.
- (ii) Another sub-category is the tarbana (woven water) in which the weft threads of the ground are zari, not silk, thus creating a metallic sheen. Several other weights and shades of supplementary-weft zari are used to create the patterning, creating an extremely rich textile.
- (iii) Some of the very exquisite weaves are accomplished with only gold threads, and without using silk. Designs are created with gold embellishments on a silver background. Such a style of using gold and silver threads together is locally called ganga-jamuna (after the two most sacred rivers in India, the Ganga and the Yamuna).

3.2 Sarees

Banaras weavers are also equally famous for the intricate and dedicated sarees.

Saree Streams: Yarn and Look

The saree segment typically consists of two sub segments.

- Satin-based work (largely Karnataka yarn)
- Organza type work (largely Chinese yarn)

The former is concentrated in North Varanasi, Badi Bazar, Alaypura, Pilikothi. The later is visible in South Varanasi e.g. Madanpura. Most of the output (90%) gets sold at Banaras. The incidence of contractor weavers and co-op societies selling directly to traders /others outside Banaras is very limited.

Some of the most famous sarees of the Banaras are (a) Banaras Silk Jamdani, (b) Jangla Saree, (c) Jamwar Tanchoi Saree (d) Tissue Saree, (e) Cutwork Saree and (f)

Butidar Saree.

(a) Banaras Silk Jamdani:



The silk Jamdani, a technical variety of brocade or the figured muslin, traditionally woven in Banaras may be considered to be one of the finest products to come out of the Banarasi loom. Here silk fabric is brocaded with cotton and rarely with zari threads. Jamdani is woven by transfixing the pattern thread between a varying

numbers of warp threads in proportion to the size of the design then throwing the shuttle to pass the regular weft. By repeating this process, where in the size and placing of the cut-thread is in accordance with the character of the pattern, the Jamdani weaver produces a range of intricate designs.

Some of the traditional motifs of Jamdani include Chameli (Jasmine), Panna hazar (Thousand emeralds), Genda buti (Marigold flower), Pan buti (Leaf form), tircha (diagonally striped) etc. The most attractive design feature of the Jamdani sari is Konia or a corner-motif having a floral mango buta.

(b) Jangla Saree

Brocade weavers of Banaras have often endeavored to add a sense of gaiety and



festivity by brocading patterns in colourful silk threads amidst the usual gold and silver motifs; of the brocade convention. The saree is an example in which munga motifs have been laid. Jangla wildly scrolling and spreading vegetation motif is among the eldest in Banaras brocades. This old rose sari is

embellished with beautifully contrasted gold creepers and silver flowers of the Jangla motif. The borders have brocaded running creepers in munga silk and gold and silver zari threads. The end panel is a combination of motifs of the borders and condensed Jangla of the field. Muga silk brocading enhances the beauty of the sari while reducing the cost. All over Jal Jangla design to get the stylish work of the sarees and also used meena work for the decoration of the fabrics. The exclusive design saree is time-consuming skilled work.

The detailed specification as taken from the publication of Calico Museum of Textiles No. 2492 are as given below.

Length X Width	5.14 metres X 1.16 metres
Ends per cm.	112
Picks per cm.	35.8 (silk body and border) 31.7 (silk pallav) 35.0 (extra-silver and gold threads – body and border) 31.0 (extra silver and gold threads – pallav) 34.4 5 strands each – silk extra
Count: Warp	2/15.4, 2/17.5 den (for different coloured threads)
Weft	2/17.4, 2/22.0 den (for different colours) 6.3 ^s (gold thread), 13.1 ^s (silver thread)
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin
Ground	The face and back are white in a satin weave
Border	The border is 11.7 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.7 cm. It consists of a central panel of 5 cms. flanked by stripes of a plain line, parallelogram blocks, one line, a decorative panel, one line, parallelogram blocks and two lines in order, on either side, on a mauve ground. There is an extra stripe of a leaf and dot pattern, projecting towards the body. The central panel has a pair of leaves and a flower repeating, the spaces in between being filled in with floral buties. One of the leaves and the inner petals of the flower are in extra-weft silver jari worked by the kardhwan technique and the rest in extra-weft gold jari woven by the fekwa technique. The extra weft weaves are twill, satin and floats.
Body	The pattern has similar motifs of pairs of leaves and a flower as in the border, but larger in size, repeating all over the white satin ground in a jangla pattern. One of the leaves and the inner petals of the flower are in extra weft silver jari and the rest in extra weft gold jari woven in the kardhwan technique.
Pallav	The cross border 10.2 cms. wide is in the same pattern as the border, except for the extra stripe of leaf and dot on a mauve satin ground. It is then followed by a mauve satin portion, 19 cms. wide, with gold jari lines, 0.5 cm. apart for 14 cms. alternately in a sequence of two and one.

(c) Jamwar tanchoi Saree



Using a technique similar to that of brocade, weavers of Banaras weave sarees using colourful extra weft silk yarn for patterning. This variety is known as Tanchoi. This maroon coloured saree on satin weave is brocaded with elaborate motifs from the jamawar shawl tradition from Kashmir,

the characteristic feature of which was paisley motif, often elaborated into a maze, which would look kaleidoscopic in character. The field has a densely spread minute diaper of jamawar style paisley. The end panel has large motifs of multiple paisley forms one growing out of the other. The border as well as the cross-borders of the end panel, has miniature paisley creepers.

The detailed specification as taken from the publication of Calico Museum of Textiles No. 2490 are as given below.

Length X Width	5.20 metres X 1.17 metres
Ends per cm.	103.8 (silk)
Picks per cm.	36.1 (silk body and border) 31.1 (silk pallav)
Count: Warp	2/21.9 den
Weft	2/31.4 den 2/13.1 den
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin, extra weft also binds the ground.
Ground	The face is white in a satin weave. The The back is pink in weft satin.
Border	The border is 6.5 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.5 cm. The border consists of a 3.7 cms. wide decorative central panel, flanked by two narrow stripes. An extra stripe of leaves and dots is placed at the inner edge. The central panel is in light green and pink, while the narrow stripes as well as the extra stripe are in light green.
Body	It consists of an all over design with floral sprays and pairs of small decorative kalghas, all in light green and pink. The pairs of kalghas are weft wise placed in two rows, in alternate order, while the floral sprays fill in the spaces between the kalghas.

Pallav

The cross border is of a similar pattern to that of the border, but slightly narrower, that is 5 cms. wide, the decorative stripes projecting outwards, followed by a white satin ground, 18 cms, in width.

(d) Tissue Saree:

The tissue sarees of Varanasi is unbelievably delicate, combining the use of gold and silver metallic threads. The renowned zari brocade weavers of Banaras have



evolved a technique of weaving tissue material, which looked like golden cloth. By running zari in weft a combination of zari and silk in extra-weft (pattern thread) and silk in warp, the weave of this saree has densely patterned with golden lotuses floating in a glimmering pond. The drops of water are created

by cutwork technique. The borders and the end panel have a diaper of diamond patterns enclosed by a border of running paisley motifs.

(e) Cutwork Saree:



This type of saree is prepared by cut work technique on plain ground texture after removing the floated thread which are not woven (design) during the weaving process which provide good transparent look.

Cutwork is the cheaper version of the

Jamdani variety. In cutwork the pattern is made to run from selvedge to selvedge

letting it hang loosely between two motifs and the extra thread is then cut manually, giving the effect of jamdani.

(f) Butidar Saree:



The most striking feature of this dark blue silken saree is that it is brocaded with pattern threads of gold, silver and silk. Due to darker shade of gold and lighter shade of silver this variety of patterning in brocade is conventionally known as Ganga-Jamuna, indicating the confluence of these two river whose waters are

believed to be dark and light respectively. The end panel has a row of arches, in each of which a bouquet of flowers is placed. A slightly smaller and variegated bouquet is diapered all over the field.

The butidar saree is a rich kind of the Banaras Saree in high traditional pattern motif of the design locally popularized such as *Angoor Bail*, *Gojar bail*, *Luttar Bail*, *Khulta Bail*, *Baluchar Bail*, *Mehrab Bail*, *Doller Butti*, *Ashraffi butti*, *latiffa butti*, *resham butti*, *jhummar bhutti*, *jhari butta*, *kalma butti*, *patti butti*, *lichhi butti*, *latiffa butta*, *kairy kalangathakka anchal*, *mehrab anchal* with the use of real gold and silver zari and katan silk in the weft.

The detailed specification as taken from the publication of Calico Museum of Textiles No. 2504 are as given below.

Length X Width	5.31 metres X 1.12 metres
Ends per cm.	47.4 (silk-body and pallav) 51.7 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	31.4 (silk – body and pallav) 27.6 (silk – pallav) 31.0 double (gold thread – extra – body & border) 31.0 (silk-different coloured threads – extra – body and border) 27.7 double (gold thread –extra-pallav) 27.3 (silk – different coloured threads – extra – pallav)
Count: Warp	2/21.7 den
Weft	2/21.0 den

2/50.8, 2/42.9 den extra
17.2^s gold thread

Ground Weave	Plain
Ground	The ground is deep mauve in a plain weave.
Border	<p>The border is 11.2 cms. wide including a selvedge 0.8 cm. Wide. It has a central panel 3.3 cms. wide flanked by a line, a stripe of arrows 0.3 cms. wide, a line, a stripe 1.3 cms. wide, a line, a stripe of arrows and a line, in sequence, on either side. Besides, there are two extra lines at the outer edge and an extra stripe on the inner edge.</p> <p>The central panel and the stripe have decorative flower-and-leaf motifs in blue with a pink outline on gold jari twill and pointed twill grounds respectively. The arrows are in the sequence of pink, gold jari and greenish blue colour. The lines are in gold jari. The extra stripe has floral motifs in gold jari with a pink dot at the centre of each, on the chocolate ground.</p>
Body	Small buties flower-and-leaf motifs of two different sizes, are spread all over the ground in a plain order. The larger buties are in jari gold with alternately pink and blue mina spots, at the centre. The smaller buties are entirely in gold jari.
Pallav	The pallav is 65.5 cms. wide including the plain portion. It consists of a wide central panel of kalghas in blue on a gold jari twill ground 22.8 cms. wide flanked by two cross-borders of pattern similar to that of the border on either stripe, except that the extra stripe is only at the inner edge of the pallav. The patterned portion is followed by a plain portion 15.5 cms. wide having gold jari lines.

Few more products are displayed at Annexure 3 and the products displayed in Calico Museum with their descriptions are annexed at Annexure 4.

3.3 Product Diversification:

With the increase in the domestic/consumer preference towards other diversified products like dress material, home furnishing etc, the weavers of the Banaras have also undertaken product diversification. The growing demand of the overseas buyers of non-conventional products is also another reason for product diversification. Even though the share of these products is negligible, to the total production of the cluster, still it is a good indication for future development of product diversification and growth. The sector, in the past, used to experience periodic downswings. The product diversification can put a brake to the periodic downswings that the cluster experienced many times.

The new diversified products of the cluster are *stole, scarf, muflar, mat, dress*

material, furnishing material, wall hanging, made ups like curtain, cushion cover, table cover, napkins, runners etc.

In recent time, the handloom weavers have diversified into the following.

Product 10
Stole



Dimension: 22" X 72"

Product 11
Scarf



- Dress material (Running)

The cluster has diversified itself to the changing needs of the youth in the country. The dress materials are woven along with the sarees. The brocaded dress materials have made its mark in the global fashion arena.

- Furnishing (Running)
- Wall Hanging (Various dimensions)
- Made ups like curtain, cushion cover, table cover, napkins, runners.

Product 12
Muflar



Dimension: 11" X 72". 10" X 60"

Product 13
Cushion Cover



**Product 14
Table Cover**



**Product 15
Table Cover**



Chapter IV

Production Process

4.1 Introduction

The weavers of the Banaras generally use old pit loom for weaving sarees, brocades and other products. The weavers generally use wooden loom of its own pattern having elaborate and crowded arrangements of cotton stings from top to bottom. In the absence of the rapid motion exactness in working and uniform punctuality in the sequence of the different operations, the weavers concentrate on simple human figures patiently and quietly sitting at it and swiftly passing or retorting the shuttle through the layers of the warps and then immediately purfling along the weft with gold thread or dyed silk by tucking its tubeless through the warp. It is the common view of weaving process of the most famous brocades of the world but within it lies the mystery of an intricate and elaborated process of weaving from selection and preparation of the yarn to the reproduction of the rich designs. The process starts with procurements of silk yarn and golden zari from the nearby markets and ends with pressing and folding of the final products. The following important steps are generally followed for the weaving a Banaras saree/brocades, which takes minimum 6 days depending upon the designs.

4.1.1 Procurement of Raw materials



Selection and acquisition of the selected raw materials and to make it fit for use are the most important first step. The process starts with the selection of the silk yarn, which is of various qualities and imported from various production centers. Now a days, the popular destinations of the raw material are Karnataka, Mandla in West Bengal, China, Kashmir and Japanese Silk. Raw silk is specially treated for brocades and the process requires considerable patience and labour. The cost of the raw material varies depending upon the source. The cost of Karnataka yarn is highest at Rs.1500 per kg and Chinese yarn is Rs.1200/- per kg. Similarly, the cost of zari varies from Rs.400/- per kg to Rs.10,000/- per kg. In case of real zari, the cost of Rs.18,000/- and in

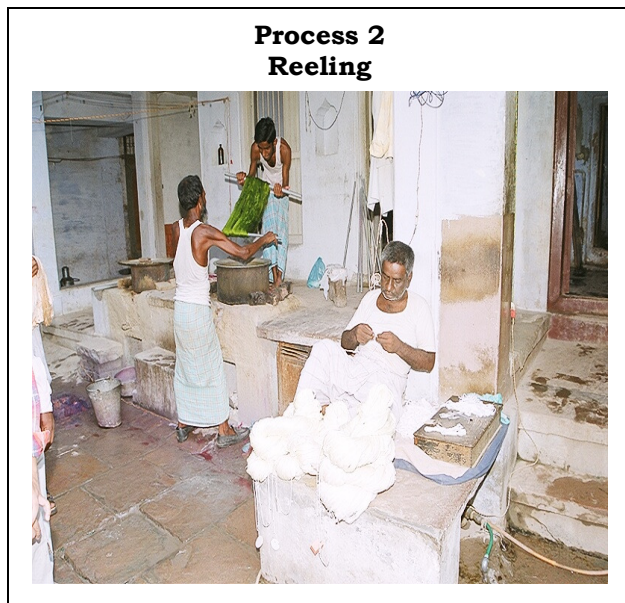
case of imitation and plastic, the cost varies from Rs.600/- to Rs.700/- per kg to Rs.400 per kg. The detail is given in **Table – 4.1**.

Table 4.1

Raw Material Price: Broad Indicators (2006)

Chinese Yarn	Rs. 1200/kg
Karnataka Yarn	Rs. 1500/kg
Art silk (for mina)	Rs. 250/kg
De-gumming of Yarn	2.5% loss
Twisting Cost	Rs. 200/kg
Zari	
Real	Rs. 10,000/kg
Powder	Rs. 1800/kg
Imitation	Rs. 600 to 700/kg
Plastic	Rs. 400/kg

4.1.2 Twisting of the silk yarn (some cases)



Some times the silk yarns are twisted on itself without undergoing the further process. It is called singles. When two or more than two yarns are twisted in an opposite direction, it is called thrown singles. The process of twisting silk yarn at this stage is called silk throwing. In Banaras, special artisans called “Bataia” undertake the work. The two principal kinds of compound threads used in the silk manufacture are trams and organzine.

4.1.3 Preparatory activities

The hanks of the threads as bought from the markets require reeling and checking of its uniformity in thickness and roundness for further operation. It is first mounted on a pareta, which is a large and simple cylindrical framework of the bamboo and then transferred to the reeling machine, which is a charkha similar to the common spinning wheel. The process requires greater experience and judgment and quick eyes

in the reeler.

Process 3 Pirn Winding



(i) **Natawa:** The thread from the reel is transferred to the natawa, which is a bamboo frame with a central axis. The natawa frame presents a series of four or eight planes enclosing a nearly cylindrical space (besides not being round, it is slightly narrow in the middle than at the upper and lower ends), round which the thread is wound. In this way the whole thread takes the shape of a

hank or skein, which is then transferred to an instrument called paretta. If the thread is required to be doubled, the thread from two paretas is taken together and laid on to a third paretta.

Process 4 Making pirns



(ii) **Paretta:** It consists of a central bar, made of slender bamboo, which forms the axis. Round its upper end is a framework of bamboo sticks, supported by spokes which sloping upwards, assemble together and form a cone. The cone rotates which the rotation of the axis. The whole thing appears as a long-handle and distended ladies' umbrella. The spokes, towards the cone are detachable.

After the hank has been slipped on the cone, the longer end of the axle is vertically attached in a socket of lump of clay on the ground to allow a free motion to it when the paretta rotates on account of impetus imparted by unwinding of the thread. This axis is not fixed upright but at a slight angle to the perpendicular.

(iii) **Khali:** This also is cylindrical framework of bamboos but of a different pattern. Round its central axis at short intervals are tied two or three cross-sticks. The ends of these carry four or six vertical axis. These rods form the framework on which the

thread is wound or from which it is unwound. This instrument is useful for intermediate steps between two processes such as twisting silk threads while it is transferred from the reel of the charkha on to a khali or retransferring from khali to the pareta.

(iv) Tagh: The silk in its passage from the pareta to the charkha only given a slight twist. Further twist is applied to warp threads by means of an apparatus Tagh. The threads taken out after reeling are wound round a khali from which they are again



unwound and each attached to a ring, which is connected with a rod. This rod is about 3 ft. from the ground. When each ring has been threaded in this manner, the threads are extended to a distance of about 40 yards. At short intervals from the first rod are 4-5 similar rods, which carry the same number of rings as the first through which again the thread is passed. The loose ends of the threads are allowed to hang down from the last rod of the series to about a foot from the ground. These ends are weighted with a small stick about six inches and carrying a clay dummy about 2 tolas (23.5 gms) in weight.

(v) Warp Thread: They are twisted before being transferred from pareta to the spindle of the charkha so arranged that on its way to the spindle the thread receives a sufficient amount of twist. Particles of

other material adhering to the thread are also knocked off at this stage. The wheel of the charkha is usually of the same shape as the ordinary Indian spinning wheel. The hanks and skeins are known by different names. The hanks are generally large, weighting about a one-eighth seer (117 gms) but the skeins are smaller and weigh about tolas (23.5 gms)

(vi) Chemical Treatments, Bleaching and Dyeing: The yarn after being duly processed in respect of throwing, coupling, twisting or the like undergoes further treatment. The silk-thread in its native state has a gum like substance (sericin) of a

yellowish colour in its composition. This substance has to be removed from bringing



sheen and softness to the yarn as also to enable penetration of the colouring matter or the dye in the yarn in the process of its dyeing. Therefore, this gum-like material (sericin) is removed by boiling the silk in soap-water of certain strength and for certain duration. This process requires considerable experience and great care: otherwise the delicate fibres would be badly damaged and weakened.

Formerly, a solution of Saiji (Carbonate of Soda) or Aritha (soap-nut) was employed and required some two to three hours of the boiling and continuous rubbing of the yarn between the palms of the hands. When the yarn becomes soft and bright, it is steeped and washed two or three times in tepid water. This operation is called nikhar or kharna (bleaching and degumming). Formerly, in Banaras there was a special class of bleachers called Lahera. Their process was cumbersome and slow. They also did the dyeing. But now the weavers themselves usually do the necessary bleaching and degumming according to their particular requirement and soap-chip or other products of similar action are employed for the purpose. The threads known as chinia, pat and katan are always bleached. If pure white thread for using undyed is desired the silk is further subjected to the action of fumes of sulphur.

If the thread is intended to be dyed, it is done after this degumming and bleaching process as otherwise the colouring matter will not penetrate the fibres of the thread and the colour from the fabric will always come off by moisture. The warp for saris is usually taken of 5-6 sari-lengths and each sari-length is dyed in a different colour for the sake of variety. After dyeing in accordance with the direction prescribed by the manufacturers' laboratory, the hanks or skeins of the silk thread are put to dry by hanging them up on a horizontal bar. Then a stick is passed through it and twisted by a workman to wring out the moisture and enable the skeins to dry and be ready for use in the short time.

(vii) Making the Warp: The warp or taana machine is used for this process. It is used to prepare the warp by rolling the threads on a wooden log in a particular sequence of colors depending on the design. This machine consists of two parts: one is

a hollow octagonal wooden frame on which the threads are wrapped before being wound around the warp roll; and the other is a big wooden vertical frame on which the rolls of threads of different colors are put from where they can be attached to the octagonal frame. This is a hand-driven machine and it provides the basic requirement for the loom, the warp roll. Normally, threads of three or four colours are used for preparing the taana or warp, depending on the design desired.

(viii) Kalabattun: The next essential material in order of importance is the kalabattun, the gold or silver thread. The kalabattun is still manufactured in Banaras, it is also imported in a large quantity from other manufacturing centers in India. Cheaper stuff, usually semblance of brocades are also manufactured by employing pale-yellow silk threads for Kalabattun for the contentment of the common people, and such work is mainly done in the suburbs of Banaras.



(ix) Naksha or the Design: the designer first works out the design of a fabric, destined to be reproduced, on paper. This work is called likhai. The nakshaband draws up designs to order, or invents new ones to the specification of his client according to his own ingenuity. This nakshaband himself is well acquainted with all the technicalities and manipulations of weaving and rendering

of a given design or pattern into a woven fabric. He has to foresee his artistic and technical aspects of reproduction and their affect, and to prescribe proper method and direction for it. This he does by means of cotton threads in the form of graph-work.

4.1.4 Weaving activity

This is the most important and complicated part of the whole process. The design is plotted on graph paper by plotters according to the dimensions desired. The plotted *nakshas* are taken to a technician who punches them on cardboards in the required sequence. These cards, linked in a chain as per the design, are then used by the jacquard machine to provide the exact sequence of the different colours of the threads that are required for the design. The jacquard machine (which runs by a weaver moving a pedal) has a rectangular block on which the chain of punch cards run. These

cards have different patterns of holes. When the block is struck against a set of needles, it pushes the requisite hooks backwards. The needles where the card is punched remain unaffected, while the other needles are pressed and the hooks associated are withdrawn, leaving the threads in the background. Thus, the threads in the hooks whose needle are not pressed by the cylinder due to the hole in the punch card come forward to be a part of the weft and the rest remain as they are, allowing for the complicated designs on the fabric.

In Banaras the weavers of expensive silk fabrics and brocades are called “karigar” (artist). A Banaras weaving-shed which contains a loom for weaving an expensive kimkhab is known as a karkhana. This is generally a small chamber and usually not well lighted.

The process of weaving simple silk fabrics and the tools employed therein are not generally very different from the process and tools employed in weaving other fabrics but the Banaras *kimkhab* and other gold-and-silver-thread fabrics, with a heavy body of silk, are woven with an indigenous device, quite special to Banaras.

In every loom the warp-threads are not stretched to their full length at once. This length depends upon the accommodation available in the room as also on the fact that the peg at the farthest end, called *agela*, and the *bhanjni*, to which the warp-threads are stretched, should not be too far from the tur at the weaver’s end. The

weaver himself sits on the ground, with his feet in a hollow dug underneath the loom, which is in a level with the ground. Generally the *bhanjni* should be at a distance of 2½ to 3 yards, and the *agela* at a distance of 4 to 4½ yards from the position of the weaver. The portion of the warp-threads that does not come between the *bhanjni* and the *tur* is gathered together and tied up to a



string hanging from the roof. They are connected with a rope, which, after being wound round *bhanjni* is carried backwards to the weaver through a pulley and fixed to a peg within his easy reach.

The *tur* is capable of being turned in a groove at each end. The fabric, as it is woven, is wound round this *tur* by simply turning it round and round and simultaneously loosening the rope so that the farther end of the warp approaches nearer and nearer to the weaver as the work proceeds, taking the place of the woven fabric. The *tur* contains holes in different directions through which sprags are let in to fix the beam and keep it in position while the weaver goes on weaving. Between the warp beam and the cloth beam are a set of *senthas* which keep the *croissance* of the warp threads intact. Nearer to the weaver is a set of *baisars*. Each *baisar* is merely an upright rectangular frame with threads running up and down parallel to each other. In each, there is an upper and a lower sticks of the frame. In the simplest looms there are two *baisars*. Every alternate warp thread is passed through the middle hole formed by the intertwining of a given set of upper and lower loops in one *baisar*, so that where there are two *baisars* the number of loops would be exactly half the number of threads in the warp. With more *baisars* the arrangement is complicated as it is with the object of raising sometimes one set of threads and sometimes another and these are not alternate ones.

There are so many articles hanging from the ceiling over the loom that a glance at their framework is necessary. The weaver sits facing the length of the loom. Along the length of both sides of the ceiling, that is, to his right and to his left as well, are fixed two strong bamboos, which are called *lapas ke bans*. Across them are a series of cross bamboos from which hang the various articles over the loom. These comprise: (i) *hatha*, (ii) *paghia*, (iii) *gathwa* or collective *baisars*, and (iv) *gulla*, all of which are hung from a complicated system of bamboos and levers.

The component bamboos of the complicated system are collectively called *gull eke bans*, and their planes cross each other at all angles. To hang all the *abisars* independently would not be possible without practicably impossible for textile purposes. They are, therefore, joined every two to a single pole by means of vertical ropes producing eight poles in all. These eight poles in their turn are united in pairs at an upper stage, reducing their number to four. These again unite in the third stage into two, which at the fourth stage become one. This one pole or bamboo is termed the *nachna* (dangler), while all the minor bamboos at the different stages, growing more numerous as they decent towards the loom, are called *nachni* (dallier). The name *nachni* (la petite danseuse) is in playful allusion to the swinging or dancing motion exhibited by these poles when the loom is in full operation. There is also a leverage apparatus of bamboos known by another series of names. The reason for having the planes of these *nachnis* at different angles is now obvious. If it were not so, the parts of this

complicated system would clash against each other and break the harmony of this crude but well-devised machinery.

The *baisars* collectively are called *gathwa*. They work with the treadles, which are in the hollow beneath. The weaver with his feet moves the treadles (*paosar*) by means of footboards and *paonris*. He alternately raises one of these and depresses the other by a motion of the foot. As the *baisars*, the treadles and the threads of warp are all synchronized with each alternate motion of the foot, a different set of warp threads is raised and depressed. Thus, a “shed” is formed through which the shuttle is smartly passed from side to side with the hand by the weaver.

In a simple fabric the crossing of the network of warp and weft threads is simple. The weft thread passes alternately under one warp thread and over another while on its return it traverses the former and undergoes the latter. But if a pattern has to be produced, the arrangement is not quite so simple. It may happen that the weft thread at a particular place has to be passed over two warp-threads at once, then under four warp threads at once and so on for a short space, or again there may be an ordinary weft-thread for the groundwork of the fabrics and a different coloured wool for the pattern, or again there may be the usual ground weft thread, a coloured silk thread for picking out little points on the pattern and gold and silver threads, at the same time, as wool for the *kalabattun* work. In such cases the arrangement for weaving is more complicated. There may be several sets of heddles so arranged that instead of all the alternate threads, on different occasions they raise and depress irregular number of threads in each turn as required by the exigencies of the pattern. To provide for this number of frames, called *pagia* are used.

The model of the design or *naksha* is usually hung up over the *pagia*, vertically at a short distance from the principal weaver, for, in a complex fabric there may be two or more weavers simultaneously working together. The ends of the cotton threads of the model are left hanging over and joined to the warp-threads. Over the model are strings that connect it with the ceiling in such a way that ordinarily this model hangs fairly easy between the ceiling and the loom. Over the loom, and part where the design is worked is placed a plank right across the stretch of the loom as an over bridge across the warps. On this plank is a boy, seated or standing and holding a forked instrument called the *mandha*. In order to produce the pattern on the fabric he picks up with it the help of the model. Sometimes he has to keep this number of threads raised for a few minutes together in order to allow the weaver to work up the minutiae of the pattern in gold or silver threads with the hand. For this purpose he inserts the pointed leg of an L-

shaped instrument called the *sua* which hangs from the ceiling, into the web so as to keep the particular warp threads raised as long as is necessary. All this elaborate arrangement for the production of the pattern is known as *pagia*.

Much of the complication has since been eliminated by the incorporation of the jacquard to the looms. Still the hereditary arrangement of unknown antiquity persists almost in its original form.

The shuttle, *nar* or *dharki*, is made of buffalo-horn with a smooth glazed surface, enabling it to slide rapidly. During the operation, the weft is pulled out of the pirn or bobbin (the *nar*) inside and thus unwound and ejected through a small hole in a corner of the shuttle. This is the weft thread. As the weft thread passes from side to side, now over one set of warp threads and under another and then under the first and over the other set, the network so formed produces the fabric. By means of a *hatha* or *kanghi* (a comb like instrument, the reed) the weaver beats the weft threads close to the fabrics as it proceeds, and from time to time tucks the woven fabric over the tur by turning it.

Three more implements used in connection with the warp, as arranged on the loom, require mention. One is the *kunch* or *kuncha*, which is a simple but substantial brush with a knob at the top for a handle. This is occasionally applied to the warp threads to clean and smooth them when stretched for preliminary process or for weaving at loom. Another is the *abgir*, a broom like instrument with which water is sprinkled now and then on the warp to maintain its elasticity, otherwise the thread would dry and break. The third is a pair of *panikh*. It is nothing more than two slender, flexible (spiny) bamboo sticks with iron-needle ends, and usually a few inches longer than the width of the fabric to admit contraction and relaxation to a given width. In the immediate vicinity of the weaver a pair of *panikhs* is stuck into the warp across the fabric from selvedge to selvedge, parallel to the weft, to keep the warp threads well spread in position all along the width of the fabric.

The series of silk thread stretched out for the warp are called collectively a *pai*. Ordinarily there is only one series of the stretched silk threads, that is, only one *pai* which forms the ground or *zamin* of the fabric, but in making patterns a second series of threads is stretched parallel to and below the first series. Thus, there become two *pais*. The threads composing the second *pai* are stretched, extended or contracted by the same kind of apparatus as for the first *pai*. There are then two *bhanjai* and two *agela* but with the difference that the cord connecting the *bhanjni* of this second *pai* is not taken and tied to a peg near the position of the weaver, to be loosened or tightened as he likes. Instead it is passed over a pulley, set up sufficiently high somewhere

between the *agela* and the weaver's position, and worked by means of a heavy pendulum (*langar*) of sufficient weight.

(i) Patterns: How Produced

It is by means of an increase in the number of *baisar* and *pai* that different flowers or varieties of patterns are made. The *pais* have to be increased only in complicated cases; otherwise an increase in the number of *baisar* generally serves the purpose. The number of *pais* or layers of warps also regulate the thickness of the fabrics.

(ii) Tana-Bana or Weft of Kalabattun

The *kalabattun* (gold and silver threads) intended to be used for the weft is not put into an ordinary shuttle or horn. If it were so treated the thin sheathing of the precious metal round the silk thread would come off in the process of unwinding from the bobbin and passing through the shuttle-hole. Therefore, a simple little stick of bamboo with conical ends and well polished is used for the purpose. It is called a *kandhi*. It is made of a very superior quality of bamboo imported from Bengal. The *karigar* has a number of such *kandhis* at his disposal as he may require several of them at a time in a complicated pattern.

(iii) Completion and Finishing of the Fabric: The weaving thus continues and the fabric is patiently and carefully completed. If the entire length of the warp is consumed and more pieces of the same pattern are not required, the entire arrangement of the *pagia*, *baisar* and others, along with the remaining tail ends of the warp (usually with reproduction of a small portion of the design also as specimen for future reference and guidance) is taken out. But if the same pattern has to be repeated, enough length of more warp threads are connected, one to each thread in a special manner and the work continued. If any obsolete pattern is required again and its arrangement made anew, the new warp-threads are joined on to the old and the old implements are simply slid back, with which, with the detachable implements put on and adjusted, provide again the old pattern.

The completion of the fabric is called *reja pujna*.

(iv) Than or Reja

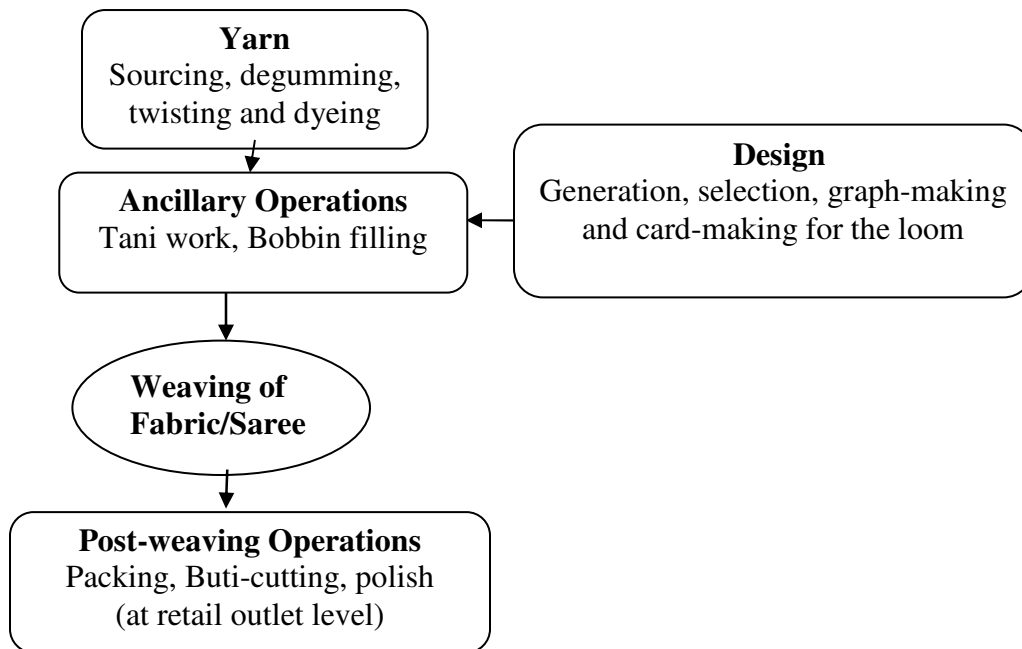
The woven fabric (*than* or *reja*), when taken off the loom is called a *kora than*, the pure fabric. After completion, the fabric is carefully pressed and folded for delivery.

Formerly, special workers called kundigar did the pressing and finishing. They washed the fabric in a specially prepared bath, then dried it, pressed, glazed and folded for delivery. But now the pressing is done by the machine-rollers and otherwise. The fabric, before undergoing this process, is treated with the sizing material. After mounting the fabric on the rollers of the machinery, the sizing solution is gently sprayed over it and the manipulation started. This finishing process is called polishing.

Usually, the local shopkeepers do not store polished fabrics. It is done free of charge only after the fabric being finally approved or booked by the customer. The price includes the finishing charge also, and the delivery could be made within a couple of days. But there being no such facility with the outstation dealers they have to keep the fabrics ready polished and finished.

4.2 Thematic presentation of the production process

The accompanying chart amplifies the production process.



Chapter V

Uniqueness

5.1 Making of Butis:

The Banaras Brocades and sarees which is known all over the world for gold patterns, known as Kimkwab which has been interpreted to mean no less than a dream generally carried patterns of Jhal, A Trellies enclosed stylized buta (traditional circular rounded designs) and other patterns. It is important to mention here that the patterns are hand woven on the fabrics. The butis are made by use of needles. Number of needles used depends on the number of butis and its size.

Kimkhabs are heavy fabrics of several layers of warp threads with an elaborate all over pattern of extra weft, which may be of silk, gold and/or silver threads, or their combinations. There may be three to seven layers of warp threads (tipara – three layers, champara – four layers etc. to satpara – seven layers). The width of the fabrics is about 75 cms. (30 inches) and they are woven generally in 3.60 metre (4 yds.) lengths. When the figure work is in silver threads with a background of gold threads it is called tashi kimkhab. A satin weave is very often used, resulting in a smooth ground for the fabric. The heavy fabric appears to be in layers, as the warp ends are crammed, drawing three, four and up to seven ends per dent for tipara, chaupara up to satpara kimkhabs respectively.

Very heavy kimkhab fabrics are used for hangings, upholstery etc. Medium and comparatively light ones are used for wearing apparel.

Fabrics similar in texture to kimkhabs, with as many as five layers, but normally without any gold or silver threads, are called amrus. These are cheaper. Sometimes gold thread patterns are added on a special order. However, some amrus have cotton warp and special quality cotton weft for figures almost like himru of the Deccan.

Pot-thans or baftas are lighter in texture than kimkhabs but closely woven in silk, and all or certain portions of the pattern are in gold or silver threads. These fabrics are mostly used for garments and saris. Very often a satin ground weave is used particularly for garment fabrics.

Abrawans are silk gauzes or muslins with certain portions designed in gold or

silver thread. The name denotes flowing water and the fabric is sometimes called pot.

5.2 Basic Characteristics of the Brocade and Saree:

The basic characteristics of the Banaras Brocades and Sarees distinguishes it from the other Brocades produced in the different clusters of the country like Kanchipuram, Chanderi, Kalashetra, Mysore, Gujarat and Gadwal of Andhra Pradesh. The following are considered to be in main characteristics of the brocade fabrics of Banaras.

1. Heavy gold work.
2. Compact weaving.
3. Figures have small details.
4. Metallic visual effect.
5. Pallavs – a wide middle portion with decorative motifs all over, with one cross border on the top and another at the bottom.
6. Border, usually with a decorative jhalar (inside edge).
7. Old Madanpura weaving (Madanpura is part of Banaras) has a delicate texture. Chatai (mat), khajuria (date leaf) weaving in the border, pallav and body and a kairee (kalgha) condia (a kalgha pallav placed in each corner of the rectangular layout of the pallav) are common.
8. Old Alaipura (Alaipura is a part of Banaras) weaving has a heavy texture, large designs, more karhwan and mina work. Small conias are sometimes used in the pallav. Kimkhabs especially for Nepal and Tibetan markets are woven.

5.3 Principle of Naksha:

The function of naksha is the same as that of a Jacquard machine in modern weaving. The naksha arrangement is, therefore, essentially an arrangement by which each warp thread of a unit or repeat of a design is controlled independently and can be selected as such for lifting on any pick, as necessary. The arrangement involves passing each warp thread of the repeat of a design, through a loop, then connecting each loop by some means to a lifting thread, selecting and grouping all such lifting threads to be lifted for each pick in order so as to lift the corresponding warp threads and lift the groups one by one again in order, till all the picks are laid for completing a repeat of the design.

For more that one repeat, an arrangement is made along the width of the fabric, in the same horizontal line to connect all the loops, through which are passed all the

warp threads in all the repeats, weaving similarly in order to the same lifting thread. The arrangement is done in the following way.

Taking a simple example, if the design is on 6 ends and 6 picks and repeats continuously along the width of the cloth, since there are 6 ends in the unit or repeat, 6 twines are tied one after another horizontally across and above the warp to a frame on either side of the loom. The first end is passed through a loop, which is connected, to the first horizontal twine. The second end is passed through another loop, which is connected to the second horizontal twine and so on till the sixth end is passed through a loop, and connected to the sixth horizontal twine. Again, since the design repeats continuously along the width of the cloth, the seventh end is passed through a loop which is connected to the first horizontal twine, the eighth end through a loop to the second horizontal twine and so on. Thus the first horizontal twine holds the ends nos. 1, 7, 13, 19 and so on the warp. The second horizontal twine holds the ends nos. 3, 9, 15, 21 and so on, the fourth holds the ends nos. 4, 10, 16, 22 and so on. The fifth holds the ends nos. 5, 11, 17, 23 and so on and the last, sixth, holds the ends nos. 6, 12, 18, 24 and so on. This is similar to a straight draft of a warp through six healds or six rows of eyes in a Jacquard machine. The six horizontal twines are connected, in order, to six vertical twines, which are together tied to a frame on the top of the loom.

It is clear that if the first vertical thread is lifted, the first end of each repeat, that is, ends 1, 7, 13, 19 and so on will be lifted, when the second vertical thread is lifted the second ends of each repeat, that is ends, 2, 8, 14, 20 and so on will be lifted and the same pattern continues. Taking the simple example on six ends and six picks and two repeats along the width, the ends 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11 are to be lifted for the first pick. This can be done if the vertical twines 1, 3 and 5 are grouped and pulled up together. Similarly the ends 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 and 11 required to be lifted for the second pick can be lifted by grouping the vertical twines 2, 4 and 6 and pulling them up together and so on. Since there are six picks in the repeat of the design there will be six groups of vertical twines in order. The way the vertical twines are grouped is shown in figure.

A close examination of the grouping of the vertical twines will show that the grouping pattern is the same as that of the design-lifting pattern on the graph. Therefore, grouping the vertical thread is nothing but transferring or weaving the pattern interlacements to two sets of twines, one set representing the vertical twines and the other grouping twines. The resultant interlaced twines which are a replica of the pattern itself, are then fixed on the loom, the set representing the vertical twines

being tied in a bunch on the top of the loom and in order, are looped and kept in place by passing a twine through the loops. A drawboy sits at the back of the loom on a platform over the warp and behind the pagia and naksha. The drawboy pulls sidewise the first grouping thread and pulls the vertical twines in the group by means of a wooden forked implement (mandha), when the corresponding warp threads for the first pick are lifted. The weaver then inserts the L-shaped instrument (sua) hanging from the ceiling below the lifting horizontal twines to keep the lifted warp threads up until he lays the pick. The draw boy, during this time, releases the mandha and finds the second grouping thread in order.

It is perhaps easy to have the vertical lines grouped, reading the design from a graph or draft which is painted after calculating the number of ends and picks per inch, the number of ends and picks to the unit of the design and the nature of interlacement depending upon the count of warp and weft, the size and texture of the design. The skill and craftsmanship of a naksha bandha (naksha-maker) lies in doing all these calculations and schemes in his mind from experience and making the lifting pattern of interlacement of vertical twines, grouping the threads and then fixing it on the loom only from the outline of the design. He only draws a few vertical and horizontal lines making sections on the outline design to help himself in his “mental” work. He proceeds to do the work of each section unit by unit. This helps him in getting the size, shape and texture in the lifting pattern as close as possible to the design.

The vertical twines are called “naksha” threads while the grouping twines are called “kheva” threads. The horizontal twines are called “pagia”. Kurup has ably described the various stages of naksha-making and duplicating the naksha for use in several looms at a time. The process of making naksha continues to be the same and is therefore reproduced here along with some photographs (Plates 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15).

(i) Winding the naksha string on a parita.

The naksha string is strong and multistranded usually made, locally. It is usually available in hanks and is known as ‘pindi’. The hank is opened out and separated for winding. This is done by placing it on what is called a swift (natai). From the swift it is transferred onto a swift of a different shape. This is called a parita.

(ii) Warping the naksha string.

From the parita the strings are arranged side by side. The parita is placed on the floor and the naksha-maker pulls out the string, winding it diagonally on two sticks driven into the ground at a distance of 40 to 42 inches. If the design requires 400 threads (which is calculated depending upon the size of the design and the type of yarn

used and the number of threads of yarn required per inch of the cloth) so much of threads is wound on these two sticks.

(iii) Putting a lease thread.

It is important that these threads should not entangle. It should be possible for one to take out these threads in successive order i.e. first one, second, third one, etc. For doing this, a lease thread is attached.

(iv) Trying up the naksha threads in the middle.

The naksha threads tied in the middle as shown in the photograph is simple to prevent the threads from becoming loose and giving way during the succeeding processes.

(v) The naksha is finally to be supported in a vertical form. Therefore, a bamboo stick is used to which all these naksha threads are tied individually, or sometimes in groups 4, 8 etc. The knotting arrangement is shown in the photograph. Two loops are taken so that the strings are fixed firmly. One person takes out each thread in succession and hands it over to the other man who ties the knot.

(vi) The naksha-making frame.

The frame is made in dimensions to suit different sizes of naksha. Generally the naksha-maker sits on the floor and does the work.

(vii) Fixing up the bamboo stick.

The bamboo stick, as mentioned in 5 above, has now all the naksha threads fixed with it. It is to be fixed to the naksha-making frame on to one side.

(viii) Arranging the naksha threads.

One end of all the naksha threads are fixed to the bamboo stick which in turn is fixed to the naksha-making frame. Now the other end remains. These are also fixed to the opposite side of the frame tightly by the naksha-maker. Here the threads will be in small groups at irregular intervals. If they are at irregular intervals, it would be difficult for the naksha-maker to pick up each thread to make the naksha. In order to arrange each thread at regular intervals a process called putting the “shivren” is adopted. This is simply twisting another thread round each of the naksha threads in such a way that all the naksha threads are laid side by side at regular intervals. This is done at both sides of the frame so that the spaces between each thread of the nakshas are the same at both ends.

(ix) Tying up of kheva threads.

The kheva threads are tied on to another thread by the side of the naksha threads in groups. These are tied in groups so that the naksha-maker can pick up each thread conveniently rather than taking one thread individually at every time. These threads, since they are in groups, are liable to get themselves entangled. So a lease is put for these threads also, which is shown in photographs, 11a and 11b. Photograph 12 shows how the lease thread of the kheva is also fixed to the side of the frame.

(x) For starting the design, a traced design is placed in front. This traced design is divided into a definite number of parts longitudinally. The naksha threads are also divided into exactly the same number of divisions, this being demarked by colouring the naksha threads at intervals. For example, if the original design is divided into 20 parts there should be 20 coloured threads in the naksha which divides the whole group of naksha threads into 20 equal divisions. The traced design will also be divided vertically into definite numbers of parts. For each vertical division a definite number of kheva threads are also put. It is clear that in each division of the traced design there will be only a part of the design. This part of the design is transferred into the corresponding division of the naksha-thread by the naksha-maker by using his needle. By mere practice he knows that for a particular line or for a small square or for a dot how many threads are to be lifted or lowered in the naksha threads. Different weaves like twills and satins are also introduced by the naksha-maker, to bring out the design and to bind the threads to give a firm texture. This process continues till the whole design is completed.

(xi) Looping the kheva

The loop is to be made in every kheva threads so that it may be supported by a string later on.

(xii) Introducing a separate thread (nathia).

A separate thread is introduced through every kheva thread.

(xiii) Setting up the naksha on the loom.

The loom is first to be set up by tying the pagia thread or horizontal threads as shown in the photograph and lettered 'P'. There will be as many pagia threads as there are naksha threads. Each naksha thread and end is tied to a corresponding pagia thread. Two people are generally required for this work. When all the naksha threads are tied to the pagia thread the loom is ready for starting the work.

(xiv) When there are a number of nakshas with a weaver he usually stores it by affixing a tag.

(xv) Duplicating the nakshas.

When a number of looms have to be worked on the same design it is not necessary that for each loom a separate naksha be made. When one naksha is made it can be duplicated. The process is shown in the photograph. The original one is tied in a vertical way and attached to horizontal threads of equal number. The interlacing arrangements of the vertical threads are transferred on to the horizontal threads by lifting the vertical threads by taking out the kheva. Any number of nakshas can be duplicated from one original.

The specimens of traditional designs were previously made with steel pens on mica (abrak). They were permanent records kept with expert naksha bandhas. This practice is not usually followed at present. The designs are made on paper. The nakshas of different designs are stored and whenever a particular design is to be produced again, the required naksha is taken out of the store.

5.4 Use of Specific Instruments like kandhis, etc.

For the ground weave in which the silk weft is laid from one end to the other, narrow horn shuttles with small silk pirns or bobbins are used. These can be thrown by hand through the low warp shed. For metallic threads like gold and silver, shuttles are not used, as the flattened metallic wire around the core silk thread will come off in unwinding from the bobbin passing through the eye of the shuttle. The metallic weft threads are wound on small polished bamboo sticks or spools, very often pointed at both ends called kandhis, sirkies, tillies, etc. Also for extra weft silk threads, which are inserted in the patterned portion, and for bringing out coloured spots in jari figures, which is called enamel work (minadari), the kandhis are used. The bamboo of which kandhis are made is of superior quality and is obtained from Purneah in Bihar. The weaver (karigar) keeps a number of kandhis beside him and also uses a number of them simultaneously in figures, which spread over the entire width of the fabric.

5.5 Extra Warps and Wefts in the process of Brocade Making

The brocade designs, as mentioned earlier, are made with extra threads other than the ground threads. These extra threads are usually weft threads. When these extra threads are picked from one border of the fabric to the other, the threads appear on the face of the fabric in the design portion and float on the back of the fabric in the remaining portion. (it may be noted that in a fabric, where the weft goes under a large number of ends for each pick according to the design, the fabric is woven face down and the naksha is made accordingly, to reduce the load on the lifting mechanism). If the fabric is comparatively thick, the floats on the back of the fabric are allowed to remain

in the fabric and technically the design is called “fekwa”. Sometimes a number of coloured wefts are used which form the figures as well as the weave with the ground without floating at the back of the cloth. If however the fabric is comparatively fine and the spaces between the figures are required to appear transparent, the floats at the back of the fabric in such spaces are cut off. In these fabrics, care is taken to see that the extra figuring threads are properly bound (interlaced) with the ground warp near the edges of the figures, so that when the floats at the back of the fabric are cut off, the remaining portion of the threads forming figures do not become loose. The design is



technically called a katrawan design. In the fabric in which figures are brought out by extra weft by means of tillies (spools), each of which work only on the restricted warp threads in the corresponding place, manipulated from one side to the other, no float appears at the back of the cloth between figures. The design is technically called karhwan design. The fabric in which solid borders are woven by using three shuttles, is

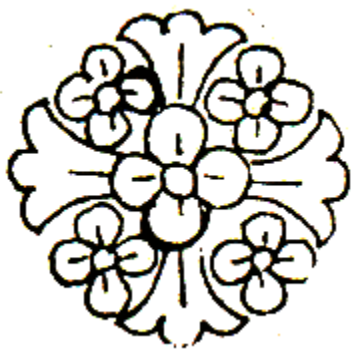
called kardhial. The border weft of one side, which is of the same colour as that of the border warp, is interlocked or looped with the body weft. The body weft and the body warp are of the same colour but different from the colour of the border weft. The body weft is again looped with the border weft on the other side which is of the same colour as the border warp. Thus, a fabric of the body in one colour and the border in another colour usually contrasting with that of the body, is produced. Sometimes kardhwa designs are woven with paper weave with treadles is termed dampach. The designs are woven with fairly adequate bindings (nus), so that the floats do not fray easily.

5.6 Motifs:

Banaras weavers always gave serious consideration to the proper utilization of the space between patterns. To maintain harmony and correlation between motifs, certain geometrical patterns were used – the most common being khanjari (chevron), charkhana (checks), ari doria (straight or diagonal lines), mothra (a double line containing a simple or running pattern inside), and so forth. Mothra is mainly used as a border, or to mark the division between different portions of a complex pattern. The floral forms are called buti or buta, according to their size. The buti is a single flower or figure made individually. Different forms and flowers give their names to these butas. Some popular examples are pan (betel), fardi (the effect is produced by dots), carrie (mango), tara (star), ashrafi (circular,



coin-shaped), and so forth. The butis, which are given the names of flowers, are called phul (flower) butis, such as chameli (jasmine), champa, guldaudi (chrysanthemum), genda (marigold), gulab (rose) and parijat. The number of petals used in a buti also give it its name, like tinpatia (three-petalled), panchpatia (five-petalled), satpatia (seven-petalled). If these butis are woven in a bel (creeper pattern), it is called genda bel, guldaudi bel, gulab bel and so forth. The most important motifs used by the



weavers of Banaras are:

Doriya pattern in longitudinal stripes.

Salaidar pattern in transverse stripes (along the width of the fabric).

Ada doriya pattern in diagonal stripes.

Khanjari or laharua pattern in wavy or angular lines.



Charkhana pattern in check (square or rectangular).

Ilayecha pattern in small lozenge-shaped figures.

Bulbul chashm pattern in small lozenge-shaped figures with dots at the centers.

Mothra pattern in double lines containing a simple or running pattern inside. Used as borders or divisions between different portions of a complex pattern.

Phulwar running pattern of leaves and flowers all over the

groundwork.

Jhardar pattern of sprays.

Patridar pattern of leaves.

Waskat phulwar design as above, but raised above the ground work and of the same colour as that of the ground.

Tamami stripes of double gold threads and a similar small number of red silk threads.

Buti a small single flower, or figure not joined to a running pattern.

Buta a large single flower, or figure not joined to a running pattern.

Bel a running floral pattern repeated over and over again in a scroll.

Adi bel as above, the scroll running diagonally or obliquely.

Chanda a circular figure with floral or geometrical designs inside it, placed in the center of fabric.

Turanj a decorated mango-shaped buti.

Kalghi Turanj buti with the pointed end turned around the further decorated.

Kalgha or kalanga a turanj, but large in size (buta). It is supposed to have been designed as an imitation of Juniporus (sars), an evergreen coniferous tree of pyramidal structure. The top being slender, usually bends with the wind and becomes erect again at ease. This design was also used in Paisley shawls. The designs which are unique to the Banaras weaving tradition are annexed at Annexure 6.



5.7 Making of ALFI:

The process of weaving ALFI by the Banaras Weavers is also unique. It is a kind of patterned zari brocade used as dress material particularly for long coat, sherwani. The fabrics are quite expensive and used on special occasions like ceremonial outfits. In the production process the gold or silver zari butis are outlined with single or double coloured thread and the pattern, which is called meenakari (enamelling). In Alfi, only the outline pattern is made with coloured silk, the inner work is always either in silver or gold thread. The weavers of Varanasi only produce the double colour combinations of these products.

Chapter VI

Comparative Analysis

Handloom weaving in India is an age-old tradition. Though the product being manufactured in the handloom clusters in India are same by their appearance and name, the activities and uniqueness of each of the clusters vary from one another. The same is the case with the brocade weaving tradition in India. The comparative analysis of the brocade weaving centres vis-à-vis Banaras is dealt in this chapter. Region wise techniques being adopted in brocade weaving are given in the following tables.

6.1 Northern Region

Techniques adopted in important centers of northern region are given in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1
Brocade Weaving Techniques in Northern Region

Centres	Techniques Adopted															
	Fekwa	Kardhwan	Katrawan	Cotton	Silk	Rayon	Wool	Staple	Jari	Jari Manufacture	Treadles & Healds	Adai	Jala	Jungu	Jacquard Machine	Dobby Machine
Banaras	●	●	●		●				●	●	●		●		●	
Chanderi	●	●		●	●				●		●		●		●	●
Tanda	●	●		●							●					
Surat	●	●			●	●		●	●	●	●		●		●	
Aurangabad	●	●		●				●			●		●			

6.2 Southern Region

Techniques adopted in important centers of southern region are given in Table 6.1.

Centres	Techniques Adopted											
	Fekwa	Kardhwan	Katrawan	Cotton	Silk	Rayon	Wool	Staple	Jari	Jari Manufacture	Treadles & Healds	Adai
Kanchipuram	●	●			●				●		●	●
Arni	●	●			●				●		●	●
Kumbhakonam	●	●			●						●	●
Tanjore	●	●			●						●	
Tiruchirapalli	●	●		●							●	
Madura	●	●		●		●			●		●	
Salem	●	●		●	●						●	
Coimbatore	●	●		●							●	
Madras (Kalakshetra)	●	●		●	●				●		●	●
Bangalore	●	●			●				●		●	
Molkalmur	●	●			●				●		●	
Venkatagiri	●	●		●					●		●	
Dharamavaram	●	●			●				●		●	
Hyderabad	●	●		●				●			●	
Gadwal	●	●		●	●				●		●	
Kothapalli	●	●		●	●						●	
Uppada	●	●		●	●						●	
Trivandrum (Balaramapuram)	●	●		●	●				●		●	

6.3 Kanchipuram Brocade vs Banaras Brocade

(i) The acclaim for Kanchipuram is purely for its special weaving technique that was three single threads of dyed silk yarn twisted together with zari (a silk thread twisted with a thin silver wire and gilded with pure gold) to create sarees which are usually stronger and more lustrous than its counter parts from Arani/Dharmavaram and Banaras.

On the other hand the Banaras saree are known for rich and intricately woven motifs of leaf, flowers, birds, etc. on a soft colour background. They are enriched with intricate borders and heavily decorated pallus. The centre is also known for its gauzi silver and gold tissues, which are ultra eight in weight and delicate. The kinkab of Banaras is legendary. It is a glittering weave of gold and silver threads. The pure silk with a touch of gold is called bafta and finely woven brocade of variegated silk is known as Amru.

(ii) The traditional motifs of the Kanchipuram sarees and brocades are depicting the south Indian temple designs and mythology. The patterns adopted from south Indian temple designs are often stylized religious symbols whose significance has gradually been lost down the ages. These include motifs like rudrakshye beads, vanki (amulet), chalangai (bells) or panner chembu (rose water pot) and petals. Even some motifs represents the themes based on traditional carnatic ragas like Thodi and Vasantha.

The motifs of Banaras are mostly influenced by the art and architecture of the mogul period. It may be due to the royal patronage received the products during the emperors of the Mogul period. Most brocade usually have strong Mogul influence in the design like on intricate intervening floral and soliate motifs, kaga and bell. Even Varanasi has woven for the past many years the varying requirements of different countries. Rich brocades with central Asian designs and even Tibetan character signifying happiness and long life known as gyasar.

(iii) The method of production adopted at Kanchipuram is somehow different to that of Banaras. While the technique of jala is used in the process of production at Varanasi.

The speciality of the Kanchipuram loom is in the adai for the evolution of the designs. In case of “adai” a graph paper design has to be prepared showing the interlacements of thread designs is transferred to the harness of adai with the help of trained assistant. But in Banaras loom “naksha” is prepared directly without this intermediate stage.

In adai the strings are horizontally arranged. The loops for lifting the threads as per pattern are on these horizontal strings. Whenever a new set of design is woven, the horizontal strings are united; the old loops removed and new loops tied on to it. In the Banaras looms, the horizontal threads or the pagias remain untouched and the naksha takes less time than the preparation of adai. Jacquard is not generally used in Kanchipuram loom, which is also an important feature of Banaras loom. In some cases, frames are used for the sley and there is frame attached for both dobby and jala. The method of selection and listing of the warp ends for the designs of Kanchipuram is also different to that of Banaras. The Kanchipuram sarees are generally made of pure silks (20 – 22 deniers), with different combinations of warp and weft ways in body and border.

(iv) Similarly the concepts of Katrawan is used by the weavers of Banaras. Where as the weavers of Kanchipuram do not use the process in the brocade making.

Even some weavers and other allied service providers use to manufacture zari at Varanasi for their own use and for catering the cluster demand in some extent but this is not the case at Kanchipuram.

(v) So far as the use of silk yarn is concerned, Kanchipuram does not use fine denier silk, preferring deniers of 18/20 and 30/35 filature or charaka silk for warp purposes and medium to coarse qualities of charaka silk yarn in twisted 2 ply form for weft purpose. The same hold good for weft as well. For weft purpose the deniere of 13/15, 16/18 upto 24/26 are not much preferred. Medium quality charana silk is used for making of sari and coarse variety of silk for brocade.

On the other hand, in case of Banaras, the finest variety of silk is used to produce brocades for which the cost of the brocade is higher than the Kanchipuram brocade.

6.4 Banaras vs Chanderi

These two important clusters of north India are famous for their unique products through out the country. Even due to the geographical closeness of these two clusters, the products produced also exhibits some similar features, but still there exists a lot of differences among the product ranges produced in the clusters. The following may be the most important distinctions of these two products.

(i) The chanderi fabrics known all over due to its transparency and sheer texture. The transparency is the consequence of single flature quality of yarn used. Even the non-degumming of the yarn by the weavers of the chanderi gives the product shinning and transparency, which is not practiced by any other part of the country.

On the other hand, the weavers of Banaras known all over for their intricate designs and beautiful floral motifs.

(ii) So far as the design of the product is concerned, the two centers was distinct methodology. At Chanderi, the designs are drawn both in cotton and silk fabrics, but in Varanasi designs are created in the silk.

(iii) While the chanderi weavers use 13/15 and 16/18 denier silk as warp and weft in the process of weaving, the weavers in Varanasi 20/22 denier silk in the weaving. At the same time, chanderi weaver can deftly manipulate 13/15 deniers silk and Varanasi weavers' 20/22 denier.

(iv) The chanderi muslin, which has been discontinued today, has a definite superiority over the Dacca Muslin due to its traditional sizing process. The chanderi muslins retain its softness after a good feel after through washing where as the Dacca Muslins are little rough after washing.

(v) Chanderi has been known for its strong construction and fast colours where as Banaras products are known for heaviness and deep colours.

6.5 Dacca Jamdani vs Tanda Jamdani

(i) Dacca produced in Dhaka, Bangladesh where as Tanda Jamdani produced in the grand old city of Uttar Pradesh i.e. Varanasi.

(ii) Bleached cotton, indigo and place dyed cotton, silver and gold zari and muga threads are extra weft for figured motifs in Dacca. Where as bleached cotton and gold zari are in vague in Tana as extra weft.

(iii) The weavers of Bengal count the warp yarns by means of the sharp end of the needle, while the Tanda weavers count the warp yarns with the help thumb and index finger placed near the fell of the cloth. Weavers then drew each tilli by means of a needle for Dacca Jamdani or sizki in case of Tanda Jamdani between as many threads of warp as may be equal to the width of the figure of the motif that is to be formed.

(iv) Hank sizing is in vogue for Dacca Jamadani, while street sizing is maintained in Tanda.

Apart from the above, the sizing activity being carried out in the above mentioned centres differ significantly. The details of the sizing activity in the cluster is discussed below.

Hank Sizing:

The yarn in hank form for warp are turned several times by hand so as to avoid entanglement during sizing. The hanks are subsequently kept immersed in fresh cold water for a period of three to four days. The object of this is to fill up the pores in the cells of fibres by water so as to enable the size mixture in colloidal form to enter into the pores. The yarn is then squeezed well. The sizing bath is set up with the required volume of waters. The total quantity of starch or khai is then added in it. The mixture is allowed then to boil for 15 to 20 minutes with constant stirring till a clear paste is obtained at about 60^oc. The paste is then cooled. The colloidal solution thus prepared is rubbed uniformly by hand on the well-squeezed hank in cold condition. The yarn is squeezed. One percent of oil (coconut or neem oil) is then added to the solution. The process of rubbing with starch, squeezing and releasing of yarn is repeated till only clear water issues when the yarn is finally squeezed. This ascertains the complete penetration of starch. The yarn in hank form is put on the charkha for winding. The winding of the yarn is done on “Hand-Latai”. The yarn is allowed to dry on “Hand-Latai” in the sun. 10 to 15% khai (perched rice) is generally used as starch for Dacca Jamadani.

Street Sizing:

In street sizing the warp is stretched horizontally in the sheet form in the street by inserting a stout bamboo through the loops at each end. These bamboos are secured by a rope passed over a trestle to a peg firmly fixed to the ground. Bamboo thread rods are inserted at regular intervals and the threads separated and placed at regular parallel lines. The sizing material is made from wheat (15 to 20%) and is spread evenly over the yarn several times in one direction alone, by means of a long heavy brush extending the width of the warp. The sheet is then reversed and the process of sizing continued. Then the warp is well dried and gingelly oil is spread evenly over it, brushed and allowed to dry. It is afterwards rolled into a coil, the lease band being carefully retained in position. The weft yarn is sized by the same method. This results in even and polished surface on the fabric. It also gives the cloth its slightly open gossamer texture.

Chapter VII

Weaver Community

7.1 The Weaving Community:

The weavers of Varanasi are called “*Karigars*” (artists) and the workshop is referred to as *Karkhana*. A group of skilful and experienced weavers collectively work under a powerful and well-organised management. A “bunker” is a single loom weaver. A *Karigar* may have ten or fifteen weavers under his control and a *girista* or *grihost* (the Sanskrit word meaning householder or head of the family) may have twenty or more *Karigars* working under him. A “*Kothdar*” is a wholesale dealer or stockist. The *grihost*, as the head of the organisation commands the highest respect as he is the most experienced person among them. Usually, *grihosts* are themselves skilled weavers and designers (also called *Nakshabands*). Their work however is to distribute yarn and other raw material to the weavers, supervision of designs and finally laying them out of the looms. They also oversee the marketing of the finished product.

While the *grihosts* in Varanasi are mostly Muslims, the weavers working under them are both Hindus and Muslims. It is estimated that about 70 percent of the weaving force belongs to Banaras city only. Out of which, 90 percent are Muslims. In villages backward communities dominate weaving and account for reportedly 70 percent of weaver force, the remaining are largely Muslims.

7.2 Growth of Weaving Force:

It is estimated that about 1-lakh weavers are earning their livelihood by weaving brocades, saree and other diversified products in Varanasi and its adjacent districts. The handloom census 1995 had reported the total weavers population is 1,24,832. Even though the empirical date is not available about the growth of weaving population during the past two decades but it is expected that the population preferring weaving as their occupation have increased to some extent. While other handloom clusters in the country are declining at fast space, the vibrancy of Varanasi has astonished many.

7.3 Concentration of Activity:

A study on the working of the Banaras artisans also provides us an interesting picture of the working style. Most of the *Mohallas* are specialised on specific activities of the entire production chain and there is a specialisation of activities on the basis of

area. For example, the weavers of Madanpura area are specialised in silk and silk cotton kora silk mainly Chinese yarn, low-end work, whereas the weavers in Chandauli area specialised in high-end work. The areas may be classified as follows:

Madanpura and other Area	Silk and silk-cotton kora silk, mainly Chinese yarn. Low-end work
Lohata	Silk-Nylon, Polyester-nylon, Polyester-viscose. Lower-end and middle-end work. Largely crepe and work on it
Badibazar and Pilikothi	Middle-end Traditional Work. Satin-based Work. Mainly Karnataka Yarn
Rampur	Higher end work
Chandoli	Higher end work

7.4 Gender:

Weaving is a male centred occupation and women weavers rarely work for the main activities. However, there is reeling and bobbin-filling work which is generally done by women. The implicit workload is generally played down. Such work amounts to 6% to 8% of weaving work in terms of time. Its labour cost gets masked included under wage payment, which a weaver receives.

7.5 Active Weaver Force:

In a discussion on weaver force, the concept of active weaver force, sometimes, gets relegated to background. A broad estimate of such workforce is 40,000. The power loom weavers have largely moved from handloom sector and this, sometimes, is responsible for fuzziness in numbers.

7.6 Career Span:

While a weaver carries on the work till late age, depending on his eyesight and health, he is most productive in 18-45 age groups. Subsequently, productivity and hence earnings decline.

7.7 Skill Differences:

At a fundamental level, the skill differences across weavers are not significant. The skill range intrinsically is not as wide as, say, in case of carving. However, weavers develop an orientation based on the nature of work they do. Thus, a weaver working on a high-end product cultivates an eye for errors and acquires patience and precision. The trade, in its own context, highlights these traits and trends, sometimes, to present these as basic differences in skill.

7.8 Work Models:

A weaver works either as a mere wage earner or as a producer or on a mixed pattern. Under wage earning pattern, he receives dyed yarn and returns a hand woven product made according to the design provided by Contractor weaver, Grihista and Gaddedar (CGG) combined.

As a producer, he sources yarn; gets its twisted, dyed; either selects the design or receives it from CGG and produces a hand woven product, either in anticipation of demand or against a prior order. A weaver who follows the producer model, generally, has at least two looms. 95% of weavers are now wage receivers and hence producer model is of limited interest.

7.9 Wage Fixations and Relationship

The wage-fixation process, apparently, is well negotiated. A weaver first weaves a saree according to the sample, figures out the workload and then negotiates the weaving charge. However, he generally works for one or two CGG and the negotiation occurs in the framework of his relationship; personal circumstance and market knowledge. The market for weaving charge is not exactly perfect in so far as relationship (may be, temporary) is an overriding factor.

A weaver remains loyal to the wage-giver. He does not weave design given by one wage-giver, if another wage-giver asks him to weave it. He may change the wage-giver every few years. The discontent over weaving charge, inadequacy of work, delayed payment; deduction from committed payment and such other reasons culminate into a change. It is a dynamic, human relationship. The wage-giver often revises downward the committed weaving charge on the ground that the market conditions and hence sale price realization is poor. There are penalties for defective work.

The wage-givers also give an advance of Rs. 10,000/- to the weaver, early in the relationship. If the weaver moves to another CGG, he or the CGG must settle the advance. This is a wide scale, though not universal practice. The value of advance in relation to annual earning (50%) imparts to the arrangement an element of disguisedly mild bonded labour.

The wage giver-weaver relationship has some paternalistic element. In times of business slump, wages giver gives farm work to weavers under his fold to support subsistence living for them. But then, a weaver is expected to be grateful and understanding and accept less attractive wage from this CGG in times of business peak/weaver shortage. It is a nuance relationship with built in ingredients to delay or avoid the split between the two.

7.10 Channels for Producer Weaver:

A producer weaver, by and large, sells to local *satti/grihastha/gaddedar*. The incidence of his bypassing these local tracks and reaching out to non-local traders or local retail outlets is negligible.

7.11 Weaver: Preference and Aversion

Some CGG maintain that weavers have a penchant for simple work and aversion to high-end work. This appears to be half-truth. A high-end saree may entail two months of weaving; forcing weaver to haggle with CGG about the amount of wage payment receivable against work in progress. Simple work gets finished in a few days and payment becomes due; ensuring quick cash flow. The risk in terms of

- Amount involved
- Delayed payment,
- Penalties for defective work
- Non-payment

It is also low in case of simple work. It is the poor economic strength of the weaver, which forces him to prefer an average-but-frequent-and-low-risk-cash flow to above average-infrequent-high-risk cash flow.

7.12 Weaver Earnings:

The weaver earnings vary from Rs. 18000 to Rs. 30000 per annum (**Box-A**). The average is likely to be in Rs. 20000 to 24000 range. It is inappropriate to ascribe this fully to the current slump. If market conditions improve vastly, the worker earnings are likely to improve marginally because the weaver force-active and passive-is so large.

There has been absolute decline in earnings @ at least 30% to 40% over last 10 years. A weaver who was getting Rs. 100 per day in mid -1990's gets Rs.60 per day now. If we factor in inflation, the decline is sharper.

The following illustrates range of decline in absolute earning over last 10 years.

Chaudari Saree : 50% decline.

Organza Saree : 30% decline

Box - A
Weaver Earning

Annual: Rs.18000 to Rs.30,000; the average being somewhere in between.

Over Time

Absolute decline of at least 30% to 40% over last 10 years. a weaver who was getting Rs. 100 per day in mid-1990's gets Rs.60 per day now. If we factor in inflation, the decline is sharper. The following illustrates range of decline in absolute earning over last 10 years.

Chaudari Saree : 50% decline.

Organza Saree : 30% decline

The wage earnings from *Tankha* saree have gone up over last 23 years. By just 25%!

The traders and master-weavers emphasise the convenience of working at home for a weaver. This is true but the discussion masks the fact that it helps traders/master weavers avoid on investment in production space and often in looms. The discussion focuses solely on return on labour – which everyone acknowledges is a pittance; but bypasses completely the fact that a weaver also deserves return on space/equipment. The prevailing market value of space for two looms is a few lakh rupees.

The earning reported includes, besides wage payment for weaving work, the following.

- Reeling/bobbin filling work put in by the women in the family
- The economic or notional rental for loom-area provided by the weaver (the convenience of working form home is stressed to the exclusion of fact that the weaver provides space for production facility; his family bears the loom noise. The discussion typically emphasizes weaver advantage and blanks out rent-saving benefit to CGG.
- National interest on investment in looms and depreciation thereon (in some cases CGG invests in looms).

If we factor in return on above-cited three components, it seems that the return on weaving labour on average, is in Rs. 40 to 45 ranges. A weaver, typically, works on a few designs (single digit) in a year. He is required to spend four to five days for readjusting the loom and related tasks for changing over from one design to another. This is not paid for. The receipt of a fresh order itself is considered enough compensation. If the order quantities turn out to be small and hence change over frequent, the weaver earnings- other things remaining equal-will be hurt.

7.13 Continuance in Weaving Occupation:

Despite this, the weavers continue in this occupation because

- Alternative occupational opportunities are very meager
- Alternative occupations- largely unskilled labour-do not seem to promise better income security and income level
- Alternative occupations deprive a worker of the convenience of working from home
- Alternative occupations entail strenuous physical labour under harsh conditions and loss of dignity

In personal discussion, most stakeholders (weavers themselves included) present the negative features of alternative occupations as the advantages of weaving occupation; watering down in the process the key problem of meager return on weaving work.

7.14 Work Culture:

We must also clarify that work culture is satisfactory. The weavers are willing to put in long hours and sacrifice holidays, if work is there and wage are decent.

7.15 Weaver View:

The weaver generally blames market conditions for his plight. The resentment over his share in the cake is rather low-key. In fact, he points out the supposed tightrope walking which CGG are doing and does not voice any explicit dissatisfaction about their role or responsibility.

Chapter VIII

Socio Economic Profile

Banaras, the most important and oldest city of the northern India is known all over the world for its religious affinity and an important handmade textiles center. The hand woven textiles of the Banaras is famous for its intricate designs and beautiful motifs from time immemorial. Banaras generally weaves silk brocades, saree, jamadani saree and dress materials. With the change in consumer preference, the weavers are also practicing product diversification.

The handloom cluster is a ground for all type of players of the industry, everyone from raw material traders to exporters have their presence. Being a historical place, Banaras is well connected to other parts of the country. Apart from road/rail/air connectivity, the cluster houses lot of government bodies, financial institutions, training institutes etc, which supports the handloom industry. The details of the support structure are discussed below.

8.1 Support Structure

This consists of the following.

- Handloom specific government agencies
- Handloom co-op societies
- District administration
- Financial institutions/banks

8.1.1 The Handloom Specific Government Agencies

The handloom specific government agencies active in the cluster are

- Directorate of Handloom (DOH)
- Weaver Service Center (WSC)
- Institute of Handloom Weaving Technology
- Textiles Committee

Directorate of Handloom registers and assists co-operative societies and monitors their work. It manages rebate schemes, if any, on handloom sale and organizes handloom exposition; (sale-cum-exhibition). DOH manages schemes of assistance for

handloom weavers. These include loom upgradation, work shed-cum-housing, design development, skill upgradation, publicity, market development assistance, support for export, group insurance, health package, etc.

The WSC focuses on field training as well on-campus training of weavers and dyers. It does some amount of product development work. It develops designs and issues identity cards to weavers.

The Institute of Handloom Weaving Technology offers a three years diploma in weaving. The entrants to the college and graduates from it, for practical purpose, do not have any link with Banaras handloom sector. The diploma holders go out and employ themselves, as there is no organized activity leading to employment of diploma graduates.

Textiles Committee does a series of activities starting from quality improvement to export promotion, training, testing of material and providing knowledge on trade both domestic and global.

8.1.2 Co-operative Societies

There are 385 handloom weaver societies. These societies, by and large, are private enterprises in spirit. There is generally a single individual driving force – he may have worked as a weaver earlier. He organises work in a manner a weaving contractor does and engages with the trade channels in an identical way. The weaver members are focussed on wage payment. A society may make an occasional direct sale effort but the divorce between market/financial operations and weaver – role is complete. The society organiser leverages on developmental and welfare schemes for the handloom sector and the extent of benefits percolating to weavers depends on organiser orientation. It has become an organisational apparatus to enable a private entrepreneur avail of official incentives rather than to promote co-operation among weavers for collective well-being. The public sector banks shy away from the societies. The state-government guarantees for assistance to the societies arrive almost at year-end; leaving little time for productive utilisation of assistance. There are some who lament the irregularities plaguing many of these societies and clamour for a probe.

8.1.3 District Administration

Within district administration, there are District Industries Center, Joint Director of Industries and District Rural Development Agency. The first two reported that given existence of DOH, they do not engage in handloom-promotion work. DRDA

has not promoted any self-help groups of weavers.

8.1.4 Financial Institutions

Union Bank of India is the lead bank. The RBI format for reporting credit targets and performance stipulates handloom as a clear, separate sector and lead banks in most cases, follow this format. The banks at Varanasi, however, combine handloom with small industries, making it impossible to ascertain credit to handloom sector. Thus, there are neither targets nor performance marks in respect of handloom, as stipulated by RBI, though it is the mainstay of local economy.

In personal discussion, bank officials state that credit to handloom sector is virtually non-existent. Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) has not extended any credit or promotional support to handloom sector.

National Agriculture Bank for Rural Development (NABARD) has supported a women self-help group engaged in buying of cocoons at an auction and reeling it. The work has just begun and it is premature to judge performance. The sector-sources and sericulture specialists rule out potential for large-scale organization of such reeling work.

8.2 Socio-Economic Status of the stakeholders

The assessment of the socio-economic status of the weaving community is quite complicated as the sector itself is highly unorganised and complex in nature. The pattern of work practiced in the handloom sector is complicated and difficult to analyse. However the interaction with the weavers indicated that the weaver's community could be segregated into two strata on the basis of the working patterns followed. They are

- (i) Weavers working as job worker receiving dyed yarn and designs, handing over the woven fabrics to the contractors/ *mahajans* for whom they weave.
- (ii) Weavers running their own account enterprises by own family or with hired workers and family members (Non-Directorities Enterprises/ Directorities Enterprises). These weavers are businessman of their own right.

In first instance, the weavers are just job workers. About 95% of the weavers of the cluster belong to this category. These weavers generally run two/three looms, which are also sometimes supplied by the contractor weaver/traders. The job workers/weavers generally receives raw material (yarn, dye, zari, etc.) from the contractor and supplies the final product to the respective contractor. In exchange the weavers receive wages at a pre-determined rate.

The second category of weavers is generally businessman and is often called “master weavers” at Banaras. A master weaver generally means an experienced and gifted weaver, who guides other weavers in terms of design, quality for enhancing the quantity of the product, but here these traits are incidental or non-exit. Hence these weavers can be other wise called as contractor weavers. A contractor weaver may operate few looms under his own tutelage and enter into a wage payment relationship with some other weaver.

Besides the weavers, other intermediaries called *sattiwalas*, *grihasthas* and *gaddedars* also control the value chain of the handloom industry. A *sattiwala* is a broker who intermediates between the seller and the buyers and in exchange gets 3% commission from seller. A *sattiwala* generally does not engage in weaving or outsourcing of the weaving work. On the other hand, the *grihasthas* buy from weaver contractor or weaver or *sattiwalas* and sell to *gaddedars* the external traders. They take the risk of the market condition and hence the profit margin varies. The *gaddedars* are the large businessman of the value chain and even some of them are the owner of the retail and wholesale outlets. They also practice setting of Banaras hand woven products like brocades, saree, dress materials etc. outside of the Banaras city. They not only sell hand-woven products of within and outside of the cluster but also supply raw materials to the manufacturers. Thus the above mentioned three actors of the supply value chain also plays pivotal role in the cluster.

**Table 8.1
Loom Ownership**

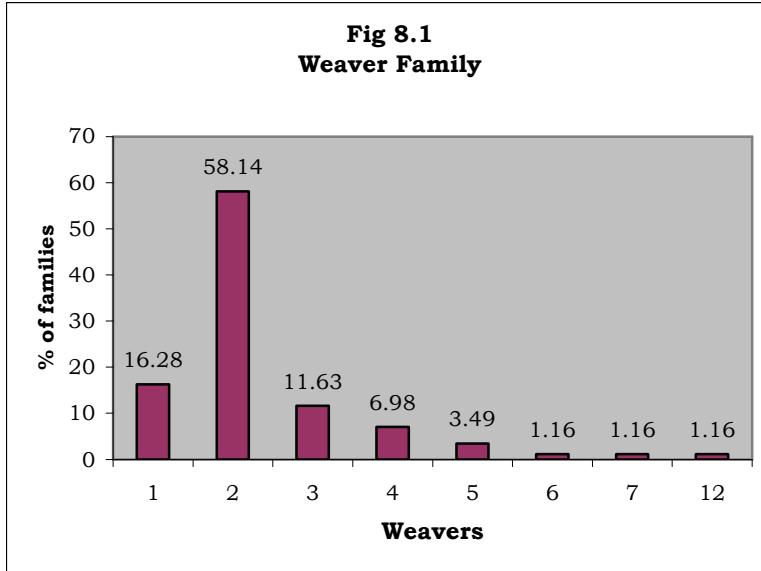
No. of Looms	Working Looms	Looms provided by others	Looms folded stacked put away
0	3.41	98.86	48.86
1	12.50	0.00	30.68
2	57.95	1.14	15.91
3	14.77	0.00	1.14
4	11.36	0.00	1.14
>5	0.00	0.00	2.27
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

To understand the working, business operations and problems, an extensive focus group discussion with the stakeholders of the industry was organized. The details of the focus group discussion is as given below:

The weavers in Banaras, possess at least 2 looms at their disposal for their livelihood (58%). Around 26 percent of the weaver households

possess more than 2 looms and around 13 percent of the weaver households possess only one loom. Though the role of master weaver is not ruled out, these people control almost 99 percent of the weaver household by providing them job work as well as the loom. One most important concern of the industry is that almost 50 percent of the looms are folded and stacked away due to less work orders and low marketability of

their products. In other words, on an average a weaver household possess 2.4 looms and each weaver family, on average, has folded and put away 0.64 looms. In other



words, one out of every five looms is folded and stacked away.

There are on an average 2.42 weavers (family members) per family. Around 58 percent of the weaver households have 2 weavers and around 24 percent of the weaver households have more than 3 working

weavers in their family.

**Table 8.2
Family Particulars**

	Male	Female	Total
Adult Working	43.07	32.70	37.84
Adult Not Working	11.30	11.95	11.63
Children	45.63	55.35	50.53
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

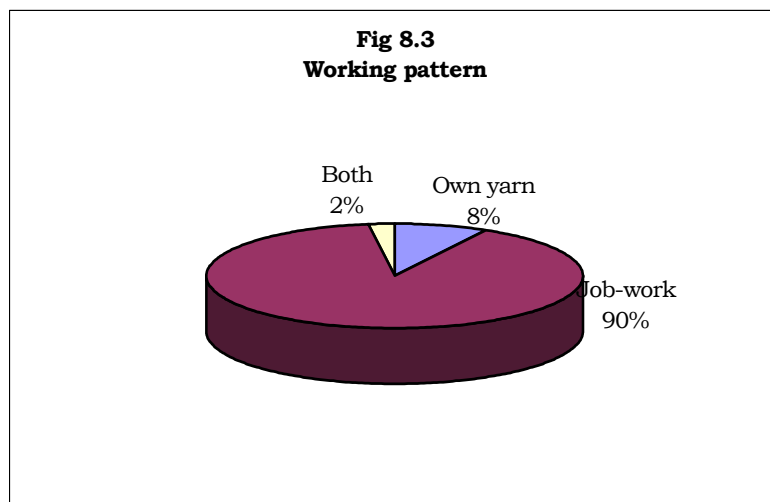
38 percent of the family members of the weavers' family are actively engaged in the weaving activity directly or indirectly. This comprises of 43 percent male weavers and 33 percent female workers. Around 12 percent of the family members of the weaver are away

from the weaving activities of the family and rest are the children. The details of the working and non-working members are given in the table 8.3.



On an average a weaver family hires 0.43 workers. As large as 65 percent of families don't use the hired labour and about 28 percent use only 1 hired labour. While about 6 percent of the households use 2 hired

labours on an average, households hiring 3 labours are as small as 1.16 percent. The recourse to hired workers, thus, is limited- just one hired worker for six working family members.



As the master weaver controls all the production activities in Banaras, around 90 percent of the weavers depend on job work and only 8 percent of the weavers weave their own products whereas around 2 percent of the weavers are engaged in both of

these activities.

**Table 8.3
Yarn Consumption in last 3 years**

Yarn Consumption (in KGs)	Silk	Art Silk	Zari	Other
1 to 5	0.00	0.00	0.00	63.75
5 to 10	10.98	26.83	21.95	30.00
11 to 20	45.12	52.44	50.00	5.00
21 to 30	32.93	12.20	18.29	0.00
31 to 40	7.32	4.88	7.32	1.25
> 40	3.66	3.66	2.44	0.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

As far as the consumption of raw material is concerned, on an average the weaver-families consume around 8 kgs of silk, 6 kgs of art silk, 6 kgs of zari and 2 kgs of other type of yarns in a year.

It is also observed that, around 45 percent of the weaver families consume the silk yarn in the range of 11 to 20 kgs and around 44 percent of the weaver households consume more than 20 kgs of silk yarn in a period of 3 years. The finding highlights an annual average consumption of 20.2 kgs per family or 8.78 kgs per working loom. It shows that the share of silk in total consumption is 34 percent only. The fibrewise consumption details are as given in Table 8.3.

It is learnt from the focus group discussion that, on an average the weaver families are able to produce around 25 sarees in a year. On the other hand the production of dress material is very much limited and on an average around 5 metres of dress material is produced in a year. Majority of the weavers (95%) are engaged in weaving sarees and only 5 percent of the weavers are producing dress materials. Item wise production details are given in Table 8.4 and 8.5.

It is to be mentioned here that due to the intricate designs involved in the saree and brocades, the productivity level in terms of number is very low. This

Table 8.5
Dress material Production during last 3 years

Dress Material	Weaver Family
Nil	89.53
100 - 200 mtrs	4.65
201-300 mtrs	1.16
301-400 mtrs	1.16
401-500 mtrs	3.49
Total	100.00

Table 8.6 (a)
Voluntary Closure during the year

Loom days	Weaver Family
30-60 days	29.07
61-90 days	48.84
91-120 days	12.79
121-150 days	5.81
151-180 days	3.49
Total	100.00

Sometimes they were forced to remain closed for about 14 percent of time. In other words, a loom was voluntarily stopped working for 32.5 days; it was forced-presumably for lack of work-for-50 days; implying that it worked for 283 days in a year.

The earnings of the weavers were also discussed and tabulated. This information is collected for the job workers and also for the weavers who procured yarn for weaving, though these types of weavers are less.

The weavers who buy their own yarn and pursue weaving as a business reported an annual turnover of Rs 16 lakhs. We estimate their net income to be around Rs.

Table 8.4
Saree Production during last 3 years

No. of Pieces	Weaver Family
None	4.65
1 to 25	2.33
26 to 50	25.58
51 to 75	19.77
76 to 100	40.70
101 to 125	4.65
> 125	2.33
Total	100.00

is the reason for the low

production in the centres and applicable to both sarees and dress materials.

The working pattern of the weaver

Table 8.6 (b)
Food Closure during the year

Loom days	Weaver Family
Nil	62.79
30-120 days	18.60
121-210 days	1.16
211-300 days	0.00
391-730 days	8.14
>1000 days	5.81
Total	100.00

57000 to 5 lakh per family.

Table 8.7 (a)
Earning during last one year - own yarn work

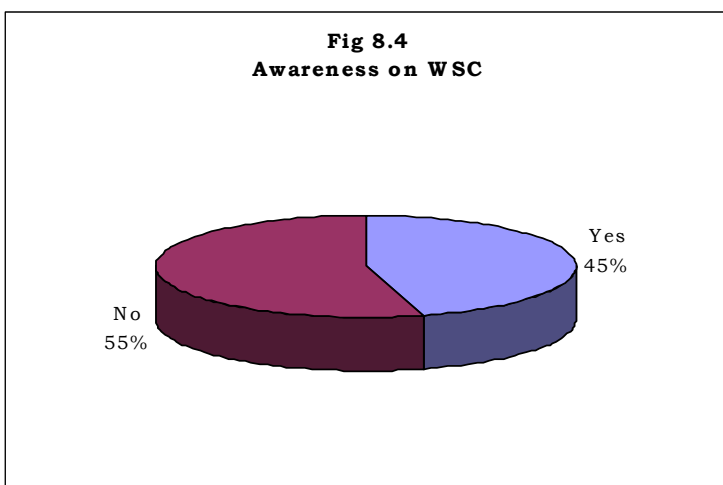
Sale Proceeds (in Rs)	Weaver Family
Nil	89.53
60000-75000	2.33
75001-100000	1.16
100001-180000	3.49
> 250000	3.49
Total	100.00

Though the number of weavers engaged in weaving their own yarn is very less, they tend to earn more from the production activities as compared to their counterparts who does only job work for their livelihood. During the last financial year, around 50 percent of the weavers were unable to sell the produce and the rest were able to sell their products. Around 10 percent of the weaver families sold the goods worth Rs 1 lakh and more and remaining less than that.

Table 8.7 (b)
Earning during last one year - Job work

Sale Proceeds (in Rs)	Weaver Family
Nil	9.41
Upto 24000	15.29
24001-48000	43.53
48001-72000	29.41
72001-96000	1.18
>125000	1.18
Total	100.00

As mentioned earlier, about 95 percent of the weaver families are engaged in job work, their reported earning was in the range of Rs. 41714 to Rs. 32.12 lakh or per family/year. As discussed earlier, there are 2.4 weavers per family, which implies an annual job work earning of Rs. 17380 per weaver per year. This shows the quantum of work being given to these weavers. On an average the weaver gets Rs 70/- per day. As a outcome of the FGD, it is found that around 10 percent of the weavers were unable to work due to less working orders with the master weavers and around 60 percent of the weaver families could earn around Rs 50000/- per annum and rest 30 percent more than Rs 50000. The most important fact in this context is around 2.5 percent weavers have shifted from weaving activities to other part time jobs.



The FGD was also had some queries regarding the benefits from the government schemes. The participants were of the opinion that they have not received any benefit under the government schemes, barring 2 percent of weavers acknowledging the health and insurance benefit.

One interesting finding of the FGD was that only 45% of weavers are aware of the

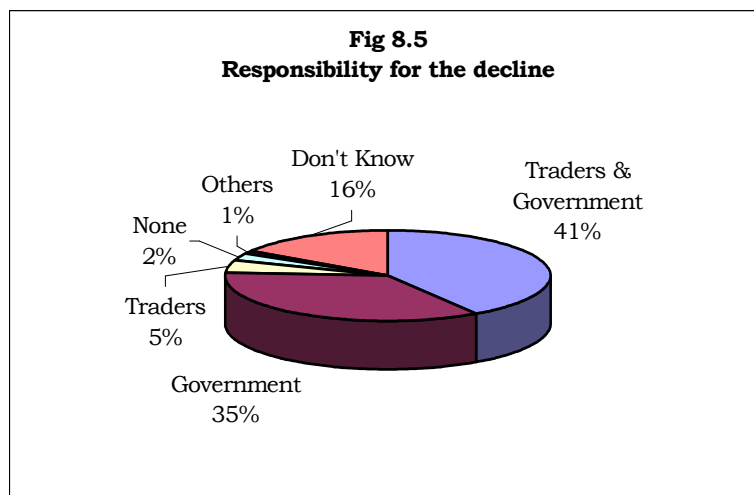
existence of Weaver Service Centre others are not. Out of this, around 8 percent of the weavers have received some support in designing of their products and rest has not derived any benefit from the Weavers Service Centre.

**Table 8.8
Future of HL**

Bright	29.55
Bleak	43.18
Don't know	27.27

occupations.

It is found during the discussions that around 43% of weavers opined that the future of weaving occupation bleak, while 30% believe the opposite, rest belong to “do not know” category. However, around 3% of weavers plan to move to other



the traders for the decline.

The weavers, around 50 percent, have attributed the decline in the market share of Banarasi products to the traders and the government and 43 percent of the weavers blame the government alone for the said decline. Around 6 percent blame

Major concerns raised by the weavers are as follows:

- Power looms are affecting handlooms
- No option available for shifting to any other occupation
- Knowledge on market is poor
- Aggressive marketing strategy missing
- No active consortium to liase the stakeholders
- No timely payment of wages
- Govt. should make efforts to improve marketing of products and condition of weavers

8.3 Constraints

8.3.1 City Economy and Demography

Handloom weaving at Varanasi has become a forced occupation, pursued by too many weavers because they were born into this occupation; the local economy does not offer other viable occupations and the weavers do not have capacity to perceive and pursue limited other opportunities.

8.3.2 Absence of Ownership

There is virtual absence of ownership (stake) of handloom weaving sector at Varanasi. Those who possess managerial and financial resources contractor weavers, *grihasthdedar*, *gaddedars* are in textile (power loom, handloom, non-weaving embellishment) rather than handloom business. The government support touches upon a small fraction of the problem through a sub-optimal delivery system. The real owner or stakeholder-weaver is an owner out of compulsion rather than choice; he is too divorced from market, too poor and too unorganized to make an impact. The owners of handloom/power loom business allocate resources based on the shape of market-and power loom form time to time.

Admittedly, these owners do not have resources, orientation or collective organization to influence market dynamics decisively.

8.3.3 Market Dynamics

The market conditions and dynamics have undergone a change. There is an all India decline in the demand for Sarees. Within the expensive Saree band, the significance of embroidery and such other valued-added work has grown. This has seriously dented the appeal of weave in the aesthetic consciousness of Indian customer. This, in turn, has vastly diluted the brand equity of Banaras weave. The traditional Banarasi Saree, consequently, has suffered in the market place.

8.3.4 Policy Environment

We have not been able to dissect the anatomy of policy set but there is reason to believe that the policy environment and its ground level implementation in terms of taxes and duties on domestic silk industry, foreign yarn, foreign fabric, entry-exit for power loom and product reservation for handloom, in conjunction with market dynamics, have come in the way of Varanasi handloom sector recovering ground.

8.3.5 Practical Consequence

On a practical plane, there are issues of

- Brand equity
- Product development
- Product improvement
- Market promotion
- Technology problem-solving

We also provide the macro picture of the varanasi saree and brocade cluster vis-à-vis other clusters of the state in the following section.

8.4 Statistical overview:

The database regarding the handlooms in our country is very old. The latest information on the status of the handloom sector is the census of 1987-88. According to the handloom census of 1987-88, there are around 39 lakh handlooms in the country, out of which 84 percent of these are in the rural parts of the country. As far as the status of these looms is concerned, around 93 percent of the looms are in working condition and the remaining are idle and productivity of these looms is around 5.15 metres per day. Majority of the handlooms i.e. 14 lakh, are in Assam, though the handlooms are more in the state, the productivity is very less as compared to the national average of 5.12 metres per day. Most of the handlooms in Assam are used to produce the fabrics for own use and the share of the commercial looms is very less. The same is the case with almost all the northeastern states of the country. Majority of the handlooms used for the commercial purpose are located in Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka etc. There are 2.6 lakh handlooms in Uttar Pradesh next only to Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. The productivity in Uttar Pradesh is high as compared to the national average. The state wise distribution of the number of handlooms are given in the following table:

Table No. 8.9

State wise Distribution of Handlooms and Per Loom Productivity

State/Union Territory	Number of Looms (In thousand)			Number of Looms (In Thousand)			Productivity per loom per Day (In Mtrs)
	Urban	Rural	Total	Working	Idle	Total	
Andhra Pradesh	57	163	220	213	7	220	4.91
Arunachal Pradesh	Neg	46	46	46	Neg	46	1.26
Assam	65	1344	1409	1299	110	1409	0.63
Bihar	12	71	83	73	10	83	11.79
Delhi	7	2	9	8	1	9	14.20
Goa	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	Neg	6.97
Gujarat	5	18	23	21	2	23	11.95

State/Union Territory	Number of Looms (In thousand)			Number of Looms (In Thousand)			Productivity per loom per Day (In Mtrs)
	Urban	Rural	Total	Working	Idle	Total	
Haryana	14	6	20	17	3	20	11.72
Himachal Pradesh	1	30	31	31	Neg	31	2.36
Jammu & Kashmir	5	20	25	25	Neg	25	5.60
Karnataka	37	45	82	77	5	82	5.93
Kerala	5	47	52	42	10	52	6.04
Madhya Pradesh	16	31	47	31	16	47	12.06
Maharashtra	51	17	68	66	2	68	8.33
Manipur	42	228	270	267	3	270	1.86
Meghalaya	Neg	8	8	8	Neg	8	1.50
Mizoram	21	83	104	94	10	104	0.22
Nagaland	11	67	78	72	6	78	1.21
Orissa	6	113	119	92	27	119	7.56
Punjab	4	8	12	11	1	12	12.58
Rajasthan	8	25	33	32	1	33	8.14
Tamil Nadu	122	307	429	402	27	429	4.77
Tripura	Neg	119	119	117	2	119	2.30
Uttar Pradesh	100	161	261	244	17	261	11.31
West Bengal	37	301	338	319	19	338	10.17
Pondichery	4	1	5	5	Neg	5	3.78
Grand Total	630	3261	3891	3612	279	3891	5.12
Percentage	16.19	83.81	100.00	92.83	7.17	100.00	-

Source: - Census of Handlooms (1987-88)

Textile sector in India is the largest employment generator after agriculture, handlooms in particular strengthens the rural folk by providing them part time employment along with agriculture. There are around 6 million people depending on the handlooms directly or indirectly. Out of this around 4 million people are directly engaged in weaving activity others are carrying out the preparatory activities like winding, warping etc. in Uttar Pradesh there are around 6.5 lakh people are engaged in handloom activities. Out of this 3.19 lakh are weavers and rest are engaged in preparatory activities. The state-wise details of weaving and preparatory activity is as given in the following table.

Table No. 8.10

State-Wise Labour Engaged In Handloom Weaving (In Thousand)

State/Union Territory	Weaving		Preparatory Work		Total
	Full - time	Full-time	Full-time	Part-time	
Andhra Pradesh	219.10	33.00	148.40	52.40	452.90
Arunachal Pradesh	0.50	44.60	0.20	1.80	47.10
Assam	384.30	1332.20	62.60	217.70	1996.80
Bihar	76.30	27.30	43.00	92.90	239.50
Delhi	7.70		3.40	0.60	11.70
Gujarat	23.00	5.50	25.50	13.70	67.70
Haryana	17.40	0.90	5.20	1.40	24.90
Himachal Pradesh	6.10	34.90	1.00	12.10	54.10

State/Union Territory	Weaving		Preparatory Work		Total
	Full - time	Full-time	Full-time	Part-time	
Jammu & Kashmir	20.50	11.90	8.70	12.10	53.20
Karnataka	83.40	7.60	76.30	13.60	180.90
Kerala	46.20	1.20	13.30	4.50	65.20
Madhya Pradesh	29.90	7.10	20.40	19.30	76.70
Maharashtra	66.20	0.90	36.50	30.70	134.30
Manipur	107.20	177.10	13.60	36.80	334.70
Meghalaya	0.50	8.80	0.10	4.40	13.80
Mizoram	2.10	97.70	0.10	28.90	128.80
Nagaland	26.90	75.20	13.80	31.70	147.60
Orissa	88.40	28.40	76.50	50.40	243.70
Punjab	10.10	1.60	3.50	7.50	22.70
Rajasthan	31.90	6.40	24.60	14.70	77.60
Tamil Nadu	398.60	22.40	169.70	72.60	663.30
Tripura	17.20	98.00	5.40	16.60	137.20
Uttar Pradesh	270.20	48.40	148.40	173.60	640.60
West Bengal	304.80	61.70	194.60	150.50	711.60
Pondichery	4.40	0.10	0.70	1.40	6.60
Grand Total	2242.90	2132.90	1095.50	1061.90	6533.20

Source: Census of Handlooms (1987-88)

(i) Status of Handloom Sector of U. P:

Handlooms play a vital role in the up-liftment of the rural folk in Uttar Pradesh. There are 2.86 lakh handlooms in Uttar Pradesh providing employment to around 6.5 lakh people in the state. The traditional items like sarees are produced in the state, Banarasi saree is the most famous product of the state. Varanasi is the largest handloom district with around 87 thousand looms. Apart from Varanasi, other districts wherein the handloom weaving is practiced actively are Mau, Moradabad, Lucknow, Meerut etc. Almost all the clusters in Uttar Pradesh use Pit looms for the production of handloom fabrics. The district-wise details of the number of looms is as given below.

Table No. 8.11

District wise no of Handlooms in U. P.

Sr. No.	District	No. of handlooms
1.	Varanasi	86,438
2.	Mau	55,845
3.	Gorakhpur	13,000
4.	Faizabad	3,581
5.	Lacknow	22,756
6.	Kanpur	10,143
7.	Aligarh	8,258
8.	Bareilly	3,930
9.	Moradabad	47,550
10.	Meerut	17,829
11.	Etawah	2,000
12.	Jhansi	15,000
	Total	2,86,330

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

To strengthen the efforts of individual weaver co-operative societies have been emerged in the country. These societies will provide the required raw material and financial assistance to its members. In Uttar Pradesh there are around 3300 weaver co-operative societies out of which only 51 percent are active. One interesting fact is that all the societies in Lucknow are active, and in Varanasi around 75 percent of the weavers societies are active. The cluster wise details of active and total weaver co-operative societies are as given below.

Table No. 8.12

No. of Weaver Co-operative Societies (Active / Total)

Sr. No.	Cluster	Active	Total
1.	Varanasi	473	635*
2.	Mau	221	221
3.	Gorakhpur	72	599
4.	Faizabad	71	71
5.	Lacknow	176	176
6.	Kanpur	47	423
7.	Aligarh	39	238
8.	Bareilly	65	99
9.	Moradabad	294	603
10.	Meerut	53	472
11.	Etawah	99	249
12.	Jhansi	62	121
	Total	1672	3272

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

The name and address of the societies is given in Annexure-7

The number of weavers working under co-operative fold is around 1.6 lakh out of which 81 percent are male and rest are female. The cluster wise details of the weavers in co-operative fold are given in the following table.

Table No. 8.13 (a)

Number of handloom weavers in Co-operative fold

Sr. No.	Cluster	Male	Female	Total
1.	Varanasi	32,366	2,815	35,181
2.	Mau	31,500	3,500	35,000
3.	Gorakhpur	15,200	6,826	22,026
4.	Faizabad	2,865	716	3,581
5.	Lacknow	10,674	7358	18,032
6.	Kanpur	8,233	910	9,143
7.	Aligarh	6,493	2783	9,276
8.	Bareilly	3771	1020	4791
9.	Meerut	5040	1260	6300
10.	Etawah	2140	660	2800
11.	Jhansi	12000	3000	15000
	Total	130,282	30,848	161,130

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

The number of weavers working under non co-operative fold is around 8 lakh out of

which 88 percent are male and rest are female. The cluster wise details of the weavers in co-operative fold are given in the following table.

Table No. 8.13 (b)

Number of handloom weavers in Non Co-operative fold

Sr. No.	Cluster	Male	Female	Total
1.	Varanasi	92270	20254	112524
2.	Mau	60885	6800	67685
3.	Gorakhpur	900	482	1382
4.	Faizabad	3284	1407	4691
5.	Lacknow	56933	23450	80383
6.	Kanpur	880	120	1000
7.	Aligarh	9994	2783	12777
8.	Bareilly	2240	610	2850
9.	Muradbad	424122	15878	440000
10.	Meerut	39350	16150	55500
11.	Etawah	1200	600	1800
12.	Jhansi	8000	2000	10000
	Total	700058	90534	790592

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

The entire state of Uttar Pradesh was engaged in production of traditional items like sarees, dhotis etc. The major items being produced in the state are sarees, dress material, gamcha, lungi, shirting, bed cover, towel, etc. High valued items are produced in Varanasi and Mau and the low cost items are produced in Meerut, Lucknow, Faizabad etc. As far usage of raw materials is concerned, Varanasi and Mau uses silk and zari apart from other fibres like nylon, polyester and viscose. All other clusters are basically using cotton as the main fibre. The details regarding item of production, yarn used and price range are as given below.

Table No. 8.14

Items of production for domestic market, currently

Cluster	Sr. No.	Item of Production	Fibre / Yarn Used	Place of Production	Price per mtr Approx
Varanasi	1.	Stole	Silk /Jari /Nylon/ Polyester/Viscose	Varanasi	Rs 400-800per saree Rs2000-6000per saree
	2.	Brocade / dress material	-do-	do	Rs 250-750 per mtr
Mau	1	Saree	-do-	Mubarakpur	Rs250-600per mtr. Rs1200-3000meter
	2.	Dress material	-do-	-do-	Rs 200-500 per Mtr
Gorakhpur	1	Bed cover	Cotton / Viscose	Gorakhpur	Rs 100-200 per piece
	2.	Towel	- do-	-do-	Rs 50-150 per piece
Faizabad	1	Gamcha	- do-	Faizabad	Rs 25-40 per piece
	2	Lungi	-do-	-do-	Rs 30-60 per piece
	3	Shirting	-do-	-do-	Rs 20-30 per mtr
Luknow	1	Gamcha	Cotton	Lukhnow	Rs25-40 per mtr.

Cluster	Sr. No.	Item of Production	Fibre / Yarn Used	Place of Production	Price per mtr Approx
	2	Daree	Cotton / wool	Sitapur	Rs 100-250per pc
	3	Lungi	Cotton/ Viscose	Barabaki	Rs 30-60 per pc
Kanpur	1	Daree	Cotton	Kanpur	Rs100-250per pc
Meerut	1	Bed sheet	Cotton	Meerut	Rs 25-60 per mts
	2	Furnishing	-do-	Muradabad	-do-
	3	Khes	-do-	J. P. Nagar	-do-
	4	Ganchha	-do-	Baghpat	-do-
	5	Towel	Cotton	Etawah	-do-
	6	Towel/ Gamchha	Tericot	Gaziabad, Bijnor, Jhansi	-do-

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

As far as export market is concerned, the above clusters are producing the products like stole, scarves, gasser, dress material, furnishing material, bed sheets etc. The major exporting cluster in the state is Varanasi. The details regarding the item of production, yarn and the condition of production is described in the following table.

Table No. 8.15

Items of production for export market

Cluster	Sr. No.	Item of Production	Fibre / Yarn Used	Place of Production	Whether the no of looms increasing /stable/ decreasing
Varanasi	1.	Stole	Silk / Art Silk/Polyester / Jari	Varanasi	Stable
	2.	Scarves	-do-	do	-do-
	3.	Gasser	-do-	do	-do-
	4.	Dress Material	-do-	do	-do-
	5.	Cut work	Cotton / Silk	-do-	Do
	6.	Furnishing	Silk / Art Silk/Polyester / Jari	-do-	Do
Luknow	1.	Stole	Silk / Art Silk/Polyester / Jari	Barabanki	Stable
	2.	Haj Rumal	-do-	do	-do-
	3.	Daree	Cotton / wool fancy yarn	Sitapur	-do-
Kanpur	1.	Door Mats	Cotton	Kanpur	Decreasing
Meerut	1.	Furnishing	Cotton	Khekra	Stable
	2.	Parda cloth used for insulation	-do-	Nowgaon Sadat Etawa	Increasing Stable
	3.	Bedsheet & furnishing	Cotton & Fancy yarn	Moradabad	Decreasing

Source: Weavers Service Centre, Varanasi

Table No. 8.16

Region wise handloom and power loom data

Region	District	No. of Handloom Weavers	No of Handlooms	No of Powerloom Weavers	No of Powerlooms
Luknow	Lucknow	731	250	114	95
	Sitapur	56446	8716	152	107
	Raibareily	992	249	43	36
	Lakhimpur Kheri	1074	337	Nil	Nil
	Barabanki	36879	10440	200	77
	Hardoi	11301	2764	23	47
	Total	107423	22756	532	362
Kanpur	Kanpur Na.	3365	1666	796	955
	Kanpur De	960	337	3	2
	Unnao	5893	1705	94	25
	Total	10218	3708	893	982
Etawah	Etawah	5766	1445	3105	1651
	Mainpuri	274	115	Nil	Nil
	Farrukhabad	699	426	18	18
	Firozabad	502	177	4	2
	Total	7241	2173	3127	1671
Aligarh	Aligarh	14786	4447	94	98
	Etah	3918	2359	472	415
	Agra	7437	2486	Nil	Nil
	Mathura	3668	1415	102	103
	Total	29809	10707	668	616
Meerut	Meerut	21579	6368	13308	12006
	Ghaziabad	7794	2878	4819	3154
	Saharanpur	2714	1252	308	34
	Muzaffarnagar	13653	5178	645	396
	Bulandshahar	9760	2353	188	114
	Hardwar	2035	660	Nil	
	Total	57535	18689	19268	15704
Jhansi	Jhansi	12253	2158	4099	1293
	Hamirpur	1286	579	Nil	Nil
	Jalone	1515	712	415	193
	Lalitpur	642	307	27	28
	Mahoba	2481	581	Nil	Nil
	Total	18207	4640	4541	1514
Muradabad	Muradabad	41852	9043	117	33
	Rampur	30998	3689	12	4
	Bijnour	88326	11306	1305	630
	Total	161176	24038	1434	675
Allahabad	Pratapgarh	2091	717	169	141
	Allahabad	660	541	1706	3006
	Banda	380	128	14	14
	Fatehpur	221	258	12	21
	Total	3352	1644	1901	3182
Faizabad	Faizabad	69	5	Nil	-
	Ambedkar Nagar	762	392	22883	12778
	Sultanpur	3431	1004	Nil	-
	Gonad	337	50	Nil	-

Region	District	No. of Handloom Weavers	No of Handlooms	No of Powerloom Weavers	No of Powerlooms
	Bahraich	268	26	Nil	-
	Total	4868	1557	22883	12778
Mau	Azamgarh	53139	20004	2219	1926
	Mau	10169	4326	47804	26481
	Ballia	2859	703	61	33
	Gajipur	17560	4435	2131	577
	Total	83727	29468	52215	29017
Varanasi	Varanasi	124832	75313	2645	1758
	Bhadohi	748	82	-	-
	Jaunpur	2816	814	17	8
	Sonabhadra	426	175	-	-
	Mirzapur	18873	10054	-	-
	Total	147695	86438	2662	1766
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	6237	7906	1607	1180
	Basti	13413	5575	4047	1283
	Sidharth Nagar	3266	1864	-	-
	Deavaria	143	327	-	-
	Maharajganj	219	161	-	-
	Padrauna	130	115	-	-
	Total	23408	15948	5654	2463
Barailly	Barailly	6511	1271	18	22
	Shahjahanpur	132	82	-	-
	Badaun	2560	387	50	38
	Peelybhet	1486	504	11	12
	Total	10689	2244	79	72
	G/Total	664348	224010	115857	70802

Source: Handloom And Power Loom Census Data Year 1995 - 96

Chapter IX

Impact of Globalisation

The demand of finished sarees has gone down over the years. Since the 1990s' the labour wages have declined to about half of what they were earlier. The saree quality has gone up, compared to what they were those days. Also, in earlier days, the sarees used to be of 5 metres, but now they are 6 metres, while wages have not shown any commensurate increase. Also, the power looms are snatching the work from the laps of the weavers. Middlemen and Gaddidars are living like parasites on their earnings.

Shopkeepers on the one hand give difficult designs to weavers and on the other claim that there are no buyers for the finished products. Such excuses using the vulnerability of weavers are often used to further tighten the noose on the necks of the weavers, as any cutbacks in number of orders has a crippling effect on their already precarious economic status. Thus weavers assume a greater onus of getting the work. Also they have additional tasks these days, such as cutting of jacquard cardboard designs, which was earlier, not their responsibility.

A weaver sits from 8:00 AM till 6:00 PM for 10 to 12 days and earns approximately Rs. 350/- on one saree, which gets produced in this much time. During this period, he takes help for all the Nari, Dharki and Anta filling needed for the job, from his family - primarily the womenfolk in the household, thus reducing them to the status of unpaid workers. Though important, these tasks are not given the status and value that they deserve, and are usually not included when the pricing of the saree / labour wage fixing is done. According to activist and thinker Ms. Muniza Khan of the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, "*The plight of women is such that even if they earn Rs.10/- they do not have the right to spend it. They work, trapped in dark hovels like chicken. Their contribution does not have the kind of recognition that it deserves. Their contribution is not accounted for while the product pricing is done. There has been no work done with women, and for any change to happen in the sector, their education, organisation and struggle for their rights will need utmost priority.*"

The story of the raw material is no better. As regards the availability of raw silk, it appears that the industry is going through a phase of crisis. There is often an artificial scarcity of raw material created by traders. If a small weaver was to go to the market to buy silk, then it would be difficult for him/her to buy in larger quantities, by way of buying a gathia (bundle)- which normally has 5-6 kilograms of raw silk. The

smaller weavers cannot buy in such huge quantities, because they do not have the purchasing power and because they do not have enough business in which the raw silk, if purchased could be used. This indicates that the interventions by the government co-operatives or community cooperatives in helping the weavers to gain easy access to the most important raw material i.e. silk, has been not of much positive consequence, as the small and marginal weavers are left out in the bargain. They also do not have enough money at their disposal to block it by way of purchase of raw silk at the so-called subsidised rates offered by the cooperative. It is apparent that, the whole structure of the co-operatives is to allow the bigger weavers to take the advantage of the subsidy offered.

Bangalore silk is good but expensive. Earlier it was an important raw material, as it used to be available in abundance, and that too at cheap prices. Prior to 1990, the cost of this silk used to be Rs. 100/- per kg. Now it is available at over Rs 1500/- per kg. The entry of the multinationals is doing harm to the sector. Imported Chinese silk is cheaper. Chinese silk, brought in from Nepal, is available at Rs. 1100/- per kg, and hence it has become the choice of most artisans. While multinational players are being given a free hand to operate, potentially weaver friendly institutions such as cooperatives are being allowed to decay, at the cost of the marginalised weaver.

Surat produces artificial silk thread, which is available at a much lower cost. Also, the Banarasi saree designs are being copied and duplicate Banarasi sarees are being produced, using artificial material. Entry of artificial silk has hurt the sector in terms of reduced business. This puts pressure to reduce the cost of the finished Banarasi saree in the market. As the middlemen and shopkeepers do not forsake their profits, the weakest link, i.e. the saree weaver has to bear the brunt, in terms of reduced wages.

The low economic status of the weavers is due to a number of factors. When the product is substandard or the product loses its demand in the market, the weaver has to sell it at a price that may not even cover his labour cost. In the weaving industry, imitation is not valued. The product with a unique design, pattern and texture commands a high price. As soon as the design is copied, the product gets devalued. The weaver has to bear this loss. Change of product invariably involves substantial investment that affects the weavers adversely. Power operated looms also compound the problem, as an electricity connection is not easy to come by. Moreover, continued declared and undeclared power cuts add to the agony.

9.1 Migration to other cities / trades

The exploitation in the sector has reached such serious proportions, the many skilled artisans have left weaving and begun to do other work, such as pulling rickshaws, making incense sticks, peeling and selling green chanas (seasonal work), and the women have begun to do domestic labour in the homes of middle class families in their neighbourhood. In addition, weavers are leaving Varanasi and migrating to Surat. This is due to the better status of weavers in that city, which has a better demand for their products and provides better wages for their work. In fact in Surat, many weavers are ironically joining the 'duplicate' Banarasi saree manufacturing process, as it is becoming increasingly economically viable to do that. Influx of thousands of 'unskilled' workers into weaving from the rural hinterland due to exigencies in their areas coupled with the abandoning of the sector by rare skilled crafts persons, if left unchecked can sound the death knell of the sector itself, thus depriving humankind of one of its finest traditions.

1. Rig Veda, wherein Maruts appear wearing such cloths
2. Dr. Motichandra – Prachina Bharatiya Vesa Bhusha (Hindi, 1950)
3. Ratilal Shah – Pre-Buddhist India (Bombay 1939)
4. Ancient form of unity of artisans/workers
5. Pali
6. The silk cloth
7. Majjhimanikaya:
8. The embroidered fabric
9. Sutras
10. A collection of Buddhist tales
11. Gupta's ruled a major part of India in the period of 320 AD – 476 AD
12. The compilation of a legend in mediaeval Indian history called Gahadvala.
13. The waist band used during the period of Moguls
14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 83

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volume-xxvi by Government press, Lucknow in 1922 and Uttar Pradesh district Gazetteers of the Varanasi published by Government of Uttar Pradesh in 1965. In page-58 & 59 of the Banaras district gazetteers on the United Province,

Uttar Pradesh district gazetteers, Varanasi published by the Government of the U P, Lucknow in 1965

Amru: Designs on silk without any use of gold or silver thread

bafta/pot-than/baft-hana: A silk and zari work brocade of lighter material and less heavy ornamentation.

Baisar: An upright rectangular frame with threads running up and down parallel to each other.

Bataia: The artisan who does the work of twisting silk yarn.

CGG: Combination of Contractor weaver, Giristha and Gaddedar

Devadushyas: Textile designs on stone or copy of such textiles

Dhamekh-Stupa: Buddhist temple in Sarnath near Varanasi

Divyavadana: Buddhist Sanskrit text of the Gupta period

Hiranya: The cloth of gold

Jamawar: The glory and colours of nature captured skilfully on cloth characterise the famous Jamawars of Kashmir. “Jama” means robe and “war” is yard. King and nobles bought the woven fabric by the yard, wearing it as a gown or using it as a wrap or shawl

Jangla: Running pattern of leaves and flowers all over the ground work and complex floral patterns consists of *bel* and *buti* and combinations thereof.

Jataka: A collection of Buddhist tales

Kalabattun: The gold or silver thread

Kanakagarbhita: A lower garment shot with gold thread

Kandhi: A little stick of bamboo with conical ends, and well polished which is used to insert the weft yarn to make intricate designs.

Karigars: The artisans/weavers

kasayani vastrani: Luxurious silk clothes during the Buddhist era

Kasika Suchivastra: The silk cloth with some kind of embroidery

Kasiya: The silk cloth

Khali: Is a large and simple cylindrical framework of bamboo used for winding of the yarn.

Kimkhab : Persian word for Brocades

Kothdar

Kundigar Zola: A centre of artisans who earn their bread through the processes such as calendaring

Meena work: Enamelling or Meena kari can be described as the art of colouring and ornamenting the surface of metals by fusing over it brilliant colours that are patterned in an intricate design

Nakshabands: *The designer*

Natawa: Is a large and simple cylindrical framework of bamboo used for winding of the yarn.

Pai: The series of silk threads stretched out for the warp are collectively called *Pai*

Pali : Ancient language of India

Pallav: Border of the saree

Pareta: Is a large and simple cylindrical framework of bamboo used for winding of the yarn.

Patanjali:

Sharki: The period of 8th century AD

Sutras: One of the famous Gilgit texts

Tagh: *Twisting apparatus*

Tantuvayas: Sanskrit word for weavers

Tantuidyas: Art of weaving

Tarbana: Weft thread, gold or silver

Uktivyaktiprakarana : The compilation of a legend in mediaeval Indian history called Gahadvala.

Varanaseyyaka: The finest texture of the cloth

Final Products: Traditional items
Brocaded saree



Brocaded fabrics



Cutwork saree



Jamdani saree



Butidar Saree



Jangla Saree



Tanchoi Saree



Tissue Saree



Final Products: Diversified items
Cushion cover



Muflar



Scarf



Table cover



Brocaded table cover



Plate 36: Satan buti saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles No.2488.

Width	1.12 metres Length: 5.17 metres
Ends per cm.	110
Picks per cm.	30.5 (ground-silk) 30.5 (ground-gold thread) 40.8 (border and pallav) 30.2 (extra-silver thread)
Count: Warp	35.0 den (ground)
Weft	38.3 den (ground weft) 21.4 ^s (gold thread) 44.7 den (pallav-ground) 9.8 ^s (extra silver)
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin
Ground	The face is white in a satin weave.
Border	The border is 8 cms. wide including a selvedge of 1 cm. Consists of two stripes on either side of a decorative jari panel of 3 cms. in width. Each stripe consists of gold jari diamonds with red dots (0.9 cms.) flanked by two narrow stripes of gold jari-painted twill. The centre panel has kalghas in gold jari and red, and marigold motifs in white jari and red encircled by small floral motifs and a decorative silver jari figure. The marigold motif and the decorative silver jari figure alternate.
Body	The body has an all over pattern of a decorative pendant motif within an oblong figure pointed at both ends, which is again laid inside a flowing diamond pattern made up of small decorative motifs of a mango and a flower. The pendant motif is in silver jari and red outline, in gold jari and red outline. The ground is white in a satin weave.
Pallav	It consists of a cross border of 7 cms. in which followed by a white satin plain ground. The cross border is of the same style as that of the lateral border. However, instead of two narrow plain stripes it has two decorative stripes, on either side of it. In the cross border, the silver weft is laid in the fekwon technique. In other portions of the cloth the silver thread is laid in the kardhwan technique, while the gold thread is laid in the fekwon technique. The order of a placement of the gold or silver weft threads and the red weft threads and the red weft threads is one and one.

Plate 37: Satan buti saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles No.2489.

Width	1.16 metres Length: 5.30 metres
Ends per cm.	103.7 (body and pallav) 112.2 (border)
Picks per cm.	34.5 (silk and gold thread-body and border) 41.5 (silk in pallav)
Count: Warp Weft	2/18.8 den 2/18.5, 2/21.7 den 24.1 ^s (gold thread)
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin, extra weft also binds the ground.
Ground	The face is in black and gold in a satin weave. The design motifs are placed weft-way. The back is in red and gold.
Border	The border is 7 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.5 cm. It consists of a 4.6 cms. wide creeper with a kalgha and three leaves placed alternately on either side of the stem flanked by two narrow stripes. The inner edge of the border is decorated with another stripe of leaves. The leaves are in gold twill and have a red outline on one side; the kalghas are made with gold circles with red dots at the centre. The narrow stripes are in gold circles with red dots at the centre, flanked by two gold lines. The decorative stripe is in gold and gold circles with red dots in between the leaves.
Body	Two butis formed in gold circles and red dots are spread all over on a black and gold satin ground. The buties are placed in alternate rows weftwise in half-drop plain order. One buti is composed of a kalgha and two leaves. The other is a decorative floral spray. The weaves of the figures are twill and small florals.
Pallav	The pattern of the cross border is the same as in the regular border except that the decorative stripes on either side project outwards. The cross broder is 7 cms. wide followed by a plain blue satin ground, 16 cms. wide.

Plate 38: Silk Tanchoi saree, Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles No.2490.

Width:	1.17 metres Length: 5.20 metres
Ends per cm.	103.8 (silk)
Picks per cm.	36.1 (silk body and border) 31.1 (silk pallav)
Count: Warp Weft	2/21.9 den 2/31.4 den 2/13.1 den

Ground Weave	5 end warp satin, extra weft also binds the ground.
Ground	The face is white in a satin weave. The back is pink in weft satin.
Border	The border is 6.5 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.5 cm. The border consists of a 3.7 cms. wide decorative central panel, flanked by two narrow stripes. An extra stripe of leaves and dots is placed at the inner edge. The central panel is in light green and pink, while the narrow stripes as well as the extra stripe are in light green.
Body	It consists of an all over design with floral sprays and pairs of small decorative kalghas, all in light green and pink. The pairs of kalghas are weft wise placed in two rows, in alternate order, while the floral sprays fill in the spaces between the kalghas.
Pallav	The cross border is of a similar pattern to that of the border, but slightly narrower, that is 5 cms. wide, the decorative stripes projecting outwards, followed by a white satin ground, 18 cms, in width.

Plate 39: Baluchar Badshah saree, (silk) Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles No.2491.

Width:	1.17 metres Length: 6.04 metres
Ends per cm.	49.3 (silk)
Picks per cm.	38.0 (rayon) 39.0 double (extra-gold thread) 39.0 double (extra-rayon border)
Count: Warp	2/22.5 den
Weft	57.9 den 11.5 ^s den, 72.7 den 166.6 den, and 203 den for different coloured extra threads.
Ground Weave	Plain.
Ground	The ground is deep mauve in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 13 cms. wide including a selvedge of 1 cm. It consists of a central panel of repeats of two blocks of figures and a kalgha. One block has a figure of a badshah (king) with flowers in his hand and the other has a female, probably representing a queen, also with flowers in her hand. The central panel is flanked by stripes of fine lines, and rectangular blocks and kalghas on either side. There is an extra stripe of kalghas and triangles projecting towards the body. The entire border is woven in extra weft, gold jari in the kardhwan technique. The jari woven figures and kalgha in the central panel are decorated with mina work in green, turquoise-blue, orange, violet and brown.

Body	Buties of diamonds, small mangoes and leaves and floral motifs are placed in plain order weft-way. The buties are woven in extra weft jari in the kardhwan technique, decorated by mina work in green, turquoise-blue, orange, violet and brown.
Pallav	The cross border in the pallav is 53 cms. wide, followed by 15.5 cms. of fabric with simple jari lines 0.6 cms. apart. The cross border is composed of a central panel of 9 large kalgha decorative butas flanked on either side by two cross panels similar to the border. Each kalgha has a female figure holding flowers. The extra panel is woven in gold jari, decorated by mina work in orange, violet, turquoise-blue, brown and green.

Plate 40: Jangla saree (silk) Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2492.

Width:	1.16 metres Length: 5.14 metres
Ends per cm.	112
Picks per cm.	35.8 (silk body and border) 31.7 (silk pallav) 35.0 (extra-silver and gold threads – body and border) 31.0 (extra silver and gold threads – pallav) 34.4 5 strands each – silk extra
Count: Warp	2/15.4, 2/17.5 den (for different coloured threads)
Weft	2/17.4, 2/22.0 den (for different colours) 6.3 ^s (gold thread), 13.1 ^s (silver thread)
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin
Ground	The face and back are white in a satin weave
Border	The border is 11.7 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.7 cm. It consists of a central panel of 5 cms. flanked by stripes of a plain line, parallelogram blocks, one line, a decorative panel, one line, parallelogram blocks and two lines in order, on either side, on a mauve ground. There is an extra stripe of a leaf and dot pattern, projecting towards the body. The central panel has a pair of leaves and a flower repeating, the spaces in between being filled in with floral buties. One of the leaves and the inner petals of the flower are in extra-weft silver jari worked by the kardhwan technique and the rest in extra-weft gold jari woven by the fekwa technique. The extra weft weaves are twill, satin and floats.
Body	The pattern has similar motifs of pairs of leaves and a flower as in the border, but larger in size, repeating all over the white satin ground in a jangla pattern. One of the leaves and the inner petals of the flower are in extra weft silver jari and the rest in extra weft gold jari woven in the kardhwan technique.
Pallav	The cross border 10.2 cms. wide is in the same pattern as the border, except for the extra stripe of leaf and dot on a mauve satin ground. It is then followed by a mauve satin portion, 19 cms. wide, with gold jari lines, 0.5 cm. apart for 14 cms. alternately in a sequence of two and one.

Plate 41: Minadar saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2493.

Width:	1.16 metres Length: 5.30 metres
Ends per cm.	47.1 (silk, body and pallav) 50.2 (silk, border)
Picks per cm.	32.4 (silk-body and border) 31.8 double (gold thread - extra) 33.1 double (cotton-extra)
Count: Warp	2/20.2 den
Weft	2/22.4 den 22.7 ^s (gold thread) 22.7 ^s , 76.5 ^s (cotton threads in different colours)
Ground Weave	Plain-mina weft threads are cut. (Katrawan technique)
Ground	The ground is pinkish mauve in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 11 cms. wide including a 0.8 cm. wide selvedge. It consists of a central panel flanked by one line, dots, two lines, parallelogram blocks and a line in order, on either side, on a mauve ground. The central panel has repeating decorative large circular motifs in gold jari and mina work, the spaces in between being filled in with decorative motifs of leaves and flowers in gold jari. The mina work is in orange and turquoise blue colour.
Body	It is an all over design in which large, decorative, circular motifs are laid in rows, the interspaces being filled in with small, decorative motifs of leaves and flowers. The large decorative circular motif is of 9.5 cm. Diameter. The inner area of 6.3 cms. diam. Is decorated with mina work in small floral motifs in turquoise-blue and orange with a central floral motif in jari. This inner area is circumscribed by three circles one of gold jari (0.4 cm. Wide), one of gold jari and mina floral design (0.5 cm. Wide) and one of gold jari (0.4 cm. Wide). The motifs of leaves and flowers in the interspaces are in gold jari and mina work in orange and turquoise blue. The gold jari weave is in extra weft which is also woven plain with ground warp.
Pallav	It is a simple pallav, 20 cms. wide, having gold jari lines, 0.5 cm. apart for 15 cms.

Plate 42: Silver buti saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2494.

Width:	1.14 metres Length: 5.17 metres
Ends per cm.	50 (silk)
Picks per cm.	36 (silk) 36 (silver thread - extra) 32.3/34.5 (double cotton-extra different coloured threads for mina work)

Count: Warp	2/18.2 den
Weft	61 den 12.7 ^s (extra-silver threads) 84.3 ^s , 87.0 ^s , 88.6 ^s (cotton different colours-extra)
Ground Weave	Plain
Ground	The ground is pink in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 14.5 cms. wide including a 0.7 cm. wide selvedge. It consists of a central panel 3.2 cms. wide, flanked by a line, dots, a line, a diamond decorative stripe 1.6 cms. wide, a line, dots, a line, a stripe of triangles 0.8 cm. wide a line, dots, a stripe of diagonal lines 0.5 cm. Wide, in order on either side. There are three extra lines on the outer edge and one extra stripe of small temple motifs at the inner edge. The central panel has a creeper with leaves and flowers, all in silver jari. Besides jari, the flowers have mina work in orange, green and turquoise-blue. The rest are in jari. The weaves are twill and floats.
Body	Kalgha buties are spread all over the pink ground. The buties are laid weft-way in plain order, all pointing in the same direction. The buties are in silver jari and mina work. The mina work is in one of the three colours namely, orange, green and turquoise-blue. The ground weave is plain, but twisted threads are used for a georgette feel.
Pallav	It consists of a cross border 15.2 cms. wide having the same pattern as in the border except that the stripes are slightly wider. The cross border is followed by a plain fabric 19 cms. wide with silver jari double lines 0.4 cm. apart. On the top of the cross border are placed 10 large kalghas in silver jari and mina work in orange, green and turquoise-blue.

Plate 43: Kimkhab dress material, Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2495.

Width:	0.92 metres Length: 6.00 metres
Ends per cm.	91 (silk)
Picks per cm.	37.3 double (silk) 37.3 gold (extra)
Count: Warp	2/15.8 den
Weft	2/25 den 29 ^s (gold thread)
Ground Weave	8 end warp satin, extra threads also weave with the ground. It is a fine kimkhab dress material, with a black satin ground. Kalgha motifs in different sizes and shapes and small decorative motifs worked in gold jari and mina work in red and turquoise-blue, fill almost the entire fabric, with a black ground showing up for contrast in the interspaces. The design is in extra weft in small floats of jari and mina, which also weaves with the ground black warp threads in a satin order.

Plate 44: Satan tanchoi saree, Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2496

Width	1.16 metres Length: 5.9 metres
Ends per cm.	107.4 (silk – body and pallav) 102.8 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	26.8 (silk – body and border) 29.6 (silk – pallav)
Count: Warp Weft	2/17.8 den 2/15.5, 2/12.3, 2/17.7 den – different coloured threads – extra threads weave also with the ground
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin
Ground	The face is blue in a satin weave
Border	The border is 11 cms. Wide including a selvedge of 0.9 cm. It consists of a central panel, 4 cms. Wide, flanked by one fine line, a line of rectangular spots, one fine line, a stripe, 1.5 cms. Wide, one fine and line rectangular spots in order, on either side. There is an extra decorative stripe 1.5 cms. Wide at the inner edge. The central panel as well as the stripes on either side have decorative flowers, leaves and buds motifs. The flowers are pink with blue dots, yellow star-shaped centres and yellow outlines while the leaves and buds are in green with a yellow outline. In between two repeats of such motifs in the central panel are two parrots sitting on a small flower symmetrically opposite each other. The parrots are in green and pink with a yellow outline and the small flower is pink with a yellow outline. The rectangular spots are in pink and yellow alternately. The fine lines are in yellow. The extra stripe is with buds and leaves in pink and green with a yellow outline. The ground is blue.
Body	It has sprays with pink flowers, green leaves and two parrots opposite each other, are laid in half-drop, plain order weft-way on a blue satin ground. The colours of the flowers, leaves and parrots are the same as in the border.
Pallav	It has a cross border 10.00 cms. Wide of the same pattern as the border, followed by a plain blue satin portion 16.5 cms. Wide.

Plate 45: Saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2497.

Width	1.11 metres Length: 5.82 metres
Ends per cm.	51.2 (silk – body and pallav) 151.6 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	38 (silk) 38 double gold thread – extra 38 silk and rayon – extra

Count: Warp	2/13.1 den (body) 2/17.3 den (body and pallav)
Weft	2/21.3 den (body) 2/23.0 den (border and pallav) 195.4 den rayon extra 162.0 den silk extra 22.7 ^s gold thread extra
Ground Weave	Plain (body) 7 end warp satin (border)
Ground	The ground is in natural tassar colour.
Border	It is 10.5 cms. Wide including a 0.7 cm wide selvedge. It consists of a central panel flanked by one fine line, a stripe of small parallelogram-shaped spots 0.4 cm. wide a fine line on either side and a stripe 1.5 cms. Wide, a fine line, a stripe of parallelogram-shaped spots 0.7 cm. wide and a fine line, in order, on the outer side. There is an extra stripe 1.2 cms.wide at the inner edge. The central panel is decorated with kalghas, flowers and leaves, small spots, etc. in gold jari with mina work in blue and red. The outer stripes are in decorative motifs, all in gold jari. The entire stripe of buds and dots is in gold jari. The ground is green in a satin weave. It is woven by three shuttles.
Body	Square blocks are spread all over the tassar-plain ground in plain order. The blocks have a jari border on all sides and a square, floral jari inlay in a red background colour, alternating with a similar block with inlay in a blue background. Butis are kardhwan.
Pallav	It has a cross border 13.7 cms. wide of a similar pattern to that of the border except that the central panel has two rows of figures, one with mina in blue and the other with mina in red and the extra stripe of buds and dots on either side. The cross border is followed by a plain green fabric 18.5 cms. wide with gold jari double lines 0.5 cm. apart and a green satin border.

Plate 46: Emboss tanchoi saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2498

Width	1.15 metres Length: 5.23 metres
Ends per cm.	51.7 (silk – body and pallav) 46.8 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	235.2 (silk) 35.4 (gold thread - extra) 35.4 double (silk-body and border extra)
Count: Warp	2/21.4 den
Weft	2/35 den 2/15.4 den extra 23 ^s (gold thread extra)
Ground Weave	Plain

Ground	The ground is violet blue in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 11.4 cms. Wide including a selvedge of 0.3 cm. It consists of a central panel, 3 cms. wide, flanked by two lines, a stripe of arrows, 0.3 cm. wide, two lines, one decorative stripe of small flowers and leaves, 1.3 cms. wide, two lines, a stripe of buds and dots at the inner edge, and two-more lines at the outer edge. The central panel is decorative with repeats of a floral motif with small decorative motifs all round. All floral motifs are in gold jari outline. The background is violet-blue. The stripes on either side of the central panel are also similar. The arrows in the stripes are alternately in gold jari and pink. The lines are in gold jari. In the extra stripe, the buds are in pink with a gold jari outline and the dots are in gold jari and pink outline.
Body	The ornamentation of the body is in the same pattern as that in the border, all over the blue body.
Pallav	The cross border 11.3 cms. wide is in the same pattern as that of the border, followed by a plain blue portion, 15 cms. wide, with double gold lines, 0.1 cm. apart. The other end of the saree has a similar plain portion with lines, 20 cms. wide.

Plate 47: Ada organza saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2499

Width	1.15 metres Length: 6.1 metres
Ends per cm.	48 (silk)
Picks per cm.	26 (rayon-body, border and plain pallav) 32.8 (rayon-figured pallav) 27.3 double (silk extra body and border) 32.8 double (gold thread extra pallav)
Count: Warp	22.8 den
Weft	2/33.5 den – rayon 12.9 ^s gold thread 2/19.6, 2/14.8 den extra
Ground Weave	Plain
Ground	The ground is green in a plain weave
Border	The border is 8.5 cm. Wide including a 0.5 cm. Wide selvedge. It consists of a central panel of flowers and leaves 2.5 cms. wide, flanked on either side, by a line, rectangular dots, a stripe of geometrical motifs, 0.9 cm. Wide, a line, rectangular dots and a line. There is on eextra stripe of leaf and dot at the inner edge and a thick line and two small lines at the outer edge. The extra border is in gold jari. Jari weaving is in separate shuttles. There is a full border on one side, while on the other side there is a plain green border of 241 cms. length and the remainder in gold jari, the plain portion being the portion tied around the waist.

Body	It has an arda (diagonal) pattern in two stripes all over the body. One is a creeper, with flowers and leaves in the light green, with a light blue outline on a bluish green ground and the other comprises two lines of small buties, having four petals at right angles in light blue, with light green outline on a green ground.
Pallav	It has a cross border 10.5 cms. wide in the same pattern as in the border, except that the extra stripe of leaf and dot is on either side, followed by a plain green portion, 14 cms. wide with repeats of double gold lines, two closely placed lines and one line alternately 0.5 cm. apart. All work is in gold jari. At the other end of the fabric also there is a plain portion, 10 cms. wide with gold lines as in the pallav.

Plate 48: Murti satin saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2500

Width	1.17 metres Length: 5.93 metres
Ends per cm.	103.8 (silk – body and pallav) 106.5 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	29 (silk – body and border) 36.7 (silk – plain pallav) 30.6 (silk figured pallav)
Count: Warp Weft	2.24.4 den 2/13.7, 2/14.7, 2/24.9 den - different coloured threads – extra threads weave also with the ground
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin
Ground	The face is yellow in a satin weave
Border	The border is 10.5 cms. wide including a selvedge 0.7 cm. It consists of a central panel of flowers and leaves 2.7 cms. wide, flanked by one line, stripe (0.2 cm) of diagonal lines, one line, a stripe (1.5 cms) of flowers and leaves, one line, a stripe of diagonal lines and a line on either side. Besides, there is an extra stripe of diagonal lines and a line on either side. Besides, there is an extra stripe of tumpal and pillar at the inner edges. The flowers in the central panel are in deep blue colour with a pink outline and the leaves in greenish blue colour with a pink outline on a yellow ground. The diagonal stripes are in a sequence of pink, deep blue and greenish blue colours. The floral stripes have flowers and buds in deep blue with a pink outline and in greenish blue with a pink outline, while the leaves are in greenish blue with a pink outline. The lines are pink. The extra stripe is pink.

Body Dancing female figures with flowers in hand are spread all over, weft-way in half-drop plain order on a yellow satin ground. In one row the lower costume is greenish blue, the body is in pink, decorated with greenish blue and deep blue spots and the eye is a deep blue dot; while in the other row, the lower costume is deep blue, the body is in pink, decorated with greenish blue and deep blue dots and the eye is a greenish blue dot. The flowers in the hand in the first row are in deep blue outlined in pink, while in the latter the flowers are in greenish blue colours outlines in pink.

Pallav It is 30.3 cms. wide and has a central panel, 9.3 cms, wide, of female figures in an artistic design with mirror in hand, arranging the coiffure (hair-style) flanked on either side by a plain yellow stripe, 1.7 cms. wide and a cross border of a similar pattern as that of the border on either side except the lines. The colours of all figures are deep blue and greenish-blue with a pink outline. A plain yellow satin portion, 15 cms. wide, follows the cross border.

Plate 49: Satan jari tanchoi saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2501

Width	1.15 metres Length: 5.32 metres
Ends per cm.	110.6 (silk – body and pallav) 106.4 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	28.4 (silk – body and pallav) 49.7 (silk – plain pallav)
Count: Warp	2/18.2 den
Weft	2/16.7, 2/13.3 den 10.2 ^s (gold thread)
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin Extra threads also weave with ground
Ground	The face is mauve in a satin weave
Border	The border is 11.5 cms. wide including a selvedge of 1 cm. It consists of a central panel, 2.9 cms. wide flanked by one line, a stripe of diamonds and dots 3 cms. wide, one line, a stripe of fish and flowers, 1.9 cms. wide, oen line, a stripe of diamonds and dots and a line on either side. Besides, there is an extra line at the outer edge and a stripe of flowers and small decorative motifs at the inner edge. The central panel has leaves and flowers of petals in gold jari and turquoise-blue with dark blue colour with a dark blue outline. The lines are in gold jari. The diamonds are in gold jari while the dots are in turquoise blue. The fish stripe has a repeat of pairs of fish motifs in gold jari and turquoise blue, facing a floral motif with leaves in gold jari with a blue outline and a turquoise-blue centre. Floral motifs in turquoise-blue and a dark blue outline fill the spaces between the repeats. The flowers in the extra stripe are in gold jari and a dark blue outline, the decorative motifs are turquoise-blue with a blue outline. The ground is mauve satin.

Body	The body has the overall pattern of diamonds, formed by fish with a floral spray at the centre of each diamond, laid weft-way. The colour scheme is the same as that for various motifs in the border.
Pallav	The cross border has an almost similar pattern as that of the border, but with slightly wider stripes, followed by a plain satin mauve coloured portion, 17.5 cms. wide.

Plate 50: Saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2502

Width	1.16 metres Length: 5.86 metres
Ends per cm.	118.8 (silk) 27.7 (silk – body and border) 43.5 (silk-plain pallav) 30.6 double (gold thread in figured pallav) 27.7 double (gold thread in body and border)
Count: Warp	2/17.8 den
Weft	2/10.6 den 2/18.8 den 20.5 ^s – gold thread.
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin. Some extra gold threads are cut and the others also weave with the ground.
Ground	The ground is of gold colour in a satin weave.
Border	The border is 12.7 cms. wide including a selvedge of 0.7 cm. It consists of a central panel of decorative figures 4.1 cms. wide, flanked by a line, a stripe of parallelograms 0.3 cm. wide, a line, a stripe of flowers and leaves 1.8 cms. wide, a line, a stripe of parallelograms and a line, in sequence on either side. Besides, there is an entire line at the outer edge and an extra stripe of floral motifs at the inner edge. The figures in the central panel are in gold jari, light pink and light blue on a white satin ground. The lines and parallelograms are in gold jari. The figures in the stripes are in light pink and light blue on a gold jari pointed twill and diamond ground. The extra stripe is in gold jari and in light pink and light blue on a white satin ground.
Body	The body has an all-over diamond pattern with a floral motif at the centre of each diamond. The remaining space in each diamond is filled in with a creeper, leaf and flower design all around the floral motif at the centre. The diamonds are formed by diagonal stripes 3 cms. wide of flowers and leaves in light blue and light pink colour on a gold jari twill ground. The floral motif at the centre of each diamond is in light blue and light pink on a gold jari ground. The creeper, leaf and flower design is in light pink and light blue colour. The edges of the diagonal stripes forming the diamond, as well as that of the ground of the floral motif at the centre, are woven plain, and the gold jari weft floats at the back are cut after the cloth is woven.

Pallav The designed portion of the pallav is 42 cms. wide, followed by a plain white satin portion, 14 cms. wide. The design portion consists of a central panel 16 cms. wide of the same pattern as that of the body, flanked by a cross border of a similar pattern to that of the border on either side.

A cross-sectional view of figure-weft interlacement is given separately.

Plate 51: Emboss saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2503

Width	1.12 metres Length: 5.33 metres
Ends per cm.	50 (silk)
Picks per cm.	31 (silk-body, border and figured pallav) 48.6 (Silk-plain pallav) 31.0 double (gold thread)
Count: Warp	2/19 den 2/50.7 den (extra)
Weft	2/21.5 den 2/52.4 den (extra) 2/44.7 den (extra) 21.7 ^s – gold thread (extra)
Ground Weave	Plain
Ground	The ground is turquoise – blue in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 14 cms. wide including a selvedge 1 cm. Wide. It consists of a stripe 3.8 cms. wide of khanjari pattern in gold jari flanked by a gold jari line, gold jari blocks with pink lines and a gold jari line on either side. Besides, there is one 8.1 cms. wide stripe in a diagonal pattern, a stripe 1.5 cms. wide made up of diamonds in gold jari and a line in gold jari at the inner edge.
Body	It has a flowing pattern of mango motis on a creeper, with leaves all in gold jari laid side by side all over the turquoise-blue body. The motifs are mauve in a twill weave. Each mango motif has a pink circular spot. The entire body looks like an embossed design on a turquoise blue ground. The pink floating weft is cut at the back.
Pallav	The pallav is 56 cms. wide, including the plain portion. It has a central panel 18.8 cms. wide of a small diamond pattern in gold jari, flanked on the inner side by a pattern similar to the entire border, and on the outer side by the khanjari stripe, similar to the khanjari stripe in the border, followed by a plain turquoise-blue portion, 19.5 cms. wide, with gold jari double lines alternating with a gold jari single line 0.3 cm. Apart. The other end of the saree has also a similar plain portion with gold jari lines.

Plate 52: Butidar minakari saree (silk), Banaras, 1973, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2504

Width	1.12 metres Length: 5.31 metres
Ends per cm.	47.4 (silk-body and pallav) 51.7 (silk – border)
Picks per cm.	31.4 (silk – body and pallav) 27.6 (silk – pallav) 31.0 double (gold thread – extra – body & border) 31.0 (silk-different coloured threads – extra – body and border) 27.7 double (gold thread –extra-pallav) 27.3 (silk – different coloured threads – extra – pallav)
Count: Warp	2/21.7 den
Weft	2/21.0 den 2/50.8, 2/42.9 den extra 17.2 ^s gold thread
Ground Weave	Plain
Ground	The ground is deep mauve in a plain weave.
Border	The border is 11.2 cms. wide including a selvedge 0.8 cm. Wide. It has a central panel 3.3 cms. wide flanked by a line, a stripe of arrows 0.3 cms. wide, a line, a stripe 1.3 cms. wide, a line, a stripe of arrows and a line, in sequence, on either side. Besides, there are two extra lines at the outer edge and an extra stripe on the inner edge. The central panel and the stripe have decorative flower-and-leaf motifs in blue with a pink outline on gold jari twill and pointed twill grounds respectively. The arrows are in the sequence of pink, gold jari and greenish blue colour. The lines are in gold jari. The extra stripe has floral motifs in gold jari with a pink dot at the centre of each, on the chocolate ground.
Body	Small buties flower-and-leaf motifs of two different sizes, are spread all over the ground in a plain order. The larger buties are in jari gold with alternately pink and blue mina spots, at the centre. The smaller buties are entirely in gold jari.
Pallav	The pallav is 65.5 cms. wide including the plain portion. It consists of a wide central panel of kalghas in blue on a gold jari twill ground 22.8 cms. wide flanked by two cross-borders of pattern similar to that of the border on either stripe, except that the extra stripe is only at the inner edge of the pallav. The patterned portion is followed by a plain portion 15.5 cms. wide having gold jari lines.

Plate 53: Kimkhab (gulab ful) dress material, (silk), Banaras, 1974, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2508

Width	0.74 metres Length: 5.40 metres
Ends per cm.	87.4 (silk)
Picks per cm.	21.7, 3 strands each (gold thread) 21.8 (silk different coloured threads – extra)
Count: Warp	2/20.9 den
Weft	20.4 ^s (gold thread) 153.6, 219.6, 279.7, 185.8 den – different coloured threads – extra.
Ground Weave	5 end warp satin.
Ground	The face is in gold colour in a twill weave.

The design consists of creeper motifs with leaves and flowers placed warp-way, parallel to each other on a gold jari twill ground. The creeper is in a dark green colour. Leaves are large and small in different shapes and colours. The large leaves are red, while the small leaves are dark green. Flowers and buds are in different shapes and colours. The flowers are decorative and are in a three-colour scheme namely (1) Petals in orange, red and dark green with gold-jari centre, (2) petals in maroon, red and dark green with gold-jari centre and (3) petals in pink, red and dark green with gold – jari centre. The buds are (1) in dark green and red and (2) red, dark green and gold-jari. The flowers, buds and leaves are so arranged that those of the same colour are in the same row.

The weave is in fekwa technique. Coloured and jari wefts are interwoven, interweave with the ground where necessary and float at the back in other places.

Plate 54: Kimkhab running material, Banaras, 1974, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2536

Width	0.68 metres Length: 6.9 metres
Ends per cm.	62.3 (silk)
Picks per cm.	16.1 (rayon) 16.2, 3 standards each (gold thread – extra)
Count: Warp	2/279.7 den (silk)
Weft	354.3, 3 den (rayon) 14.5 ^s (gold thread-extra)
Ground Weave	Weft faced 1 up 4 down twill.

It is a medium kimkhab running material. It is a weft-faced fabric with a yellow ground warp. The design consists of an all-over pattern in deep blue and light blue flmae-like motifs in Tibetan style on a gold background. The deep blue and light blue wefts form the motifs on the face where required, as well as weave with the ground warp threads at the back. The gold ground is made with extra weft gold threads, weaving with ground

warp threads on the face and floating at the back, where blue weft threads form the face. The cloth is woven in a 1 up 4 down weft-faced twill.

Plate 55: Kimkhab running material, Banaras, 1974, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2537

Width	0.61 metres Length: 7.65 metres
Ends per cm.	98 (silk)
Picks per cm.	23 (silk) 23 double (gold thread – extra) 22.8 double (gold thread – extra) 23.0 (silk – extra)
Count: Warp	2/23 den
Weft	3/179 den 127.2, 189.1, 199.8.3 den – different coloured threads –extra. 17.2 ^s – gold thread – extra 18.9 ^s – silver thread – extra
Ground Weave	8 end warp satin

It is a light kimkhab running material. The ground is deep blue in a warp satin weave. It has an over-all pattern composed of two wavy creepers, with leaves and buds running along the length of the cloth parallel to each other, the space between them being filled with large motifs of bouquets of flowers and leaves with stems. The leaves are olive-green, the buds and flowers are in varied combinations of red, pink, orange, buff, yellow, green, silver and gold. The figures are woven with extra weft threads which are two-ply untwisted. The extra weft is laid by the kardhwan technique with tillies (small spools).

Plate 56: Kimkhab running material (silk), Banaras, 1974, Calico Museum of Textiles, No.2549

Width	0.91 metres Length: 1.95 metres
Ends per cm.	116.2 (silk)
Picks per cm.	33.1 (silk) 26.3 (silk – different coloured figured threads) 32.4 double (gold thread)
Count: Warp	2/20.1 den
Weft	139.9 den 103.4, 154.5 den – different coloured figured threads 21.5 ^s – gold thread
Ground Weave	8 end warp satin – figure threads also weave with ground.

It is a light kimkhab cut-piece from a running material. The ground is black in a wrap satin weave. It has an all-over jal pattern with a decorative kalgha motif in each mesh.

The jal pattern is of gold thread with a white outline with small floral motifs in mina work in mauve, blue green and red colours at the intersections. The kalghas are also in gold thread with a spray and flower in mina work in the centre in mauve, blue, green and red colour. The kalgha has a small floral motif in mina work at its drooping tip. The colour of floral motifs in the centre of the kalgha is the same as that in the intersections of the jal pattern in the same row. Each weft thread, including the gold thread, extends from one end to the other, forming a figure on the face when necessary and forming a ground with black warp in a satin weave, where it does not form a figure on the face. The weft has been laid by the fekwa technique.

Pre Weaving Activities: Yarn Drawing & Dyeing



Pre-weaving activities Warping and winding





Pre-weaving activities: Beam Preparation



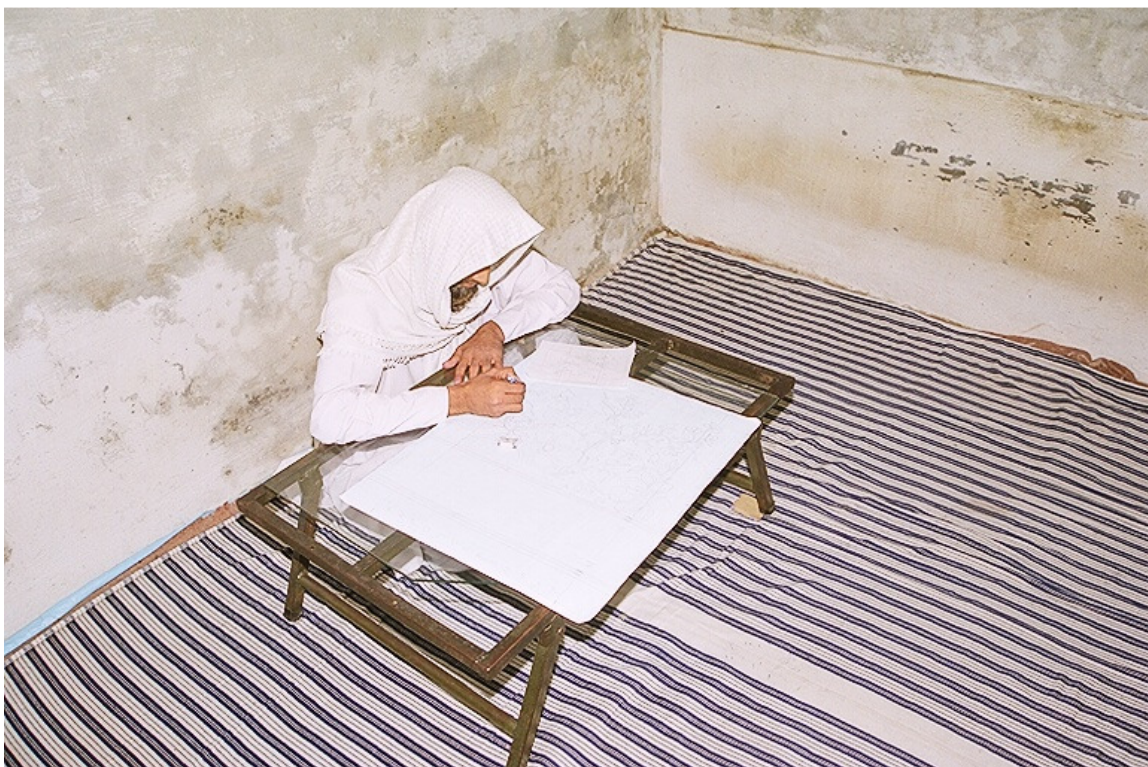


Dream of Weaving: Study and Documentation of Banaras Sarees & Brocades



Pre -weaving activities: Design Making





Pre-weaving activities: Cards punching



Cards on a loom





Dream of Weaving: Study and Documentation of Banaras Sarees & Brocades

Weaving activities





Dream of Weaving: Study and Documentation of Banaras Sarees & Brocades

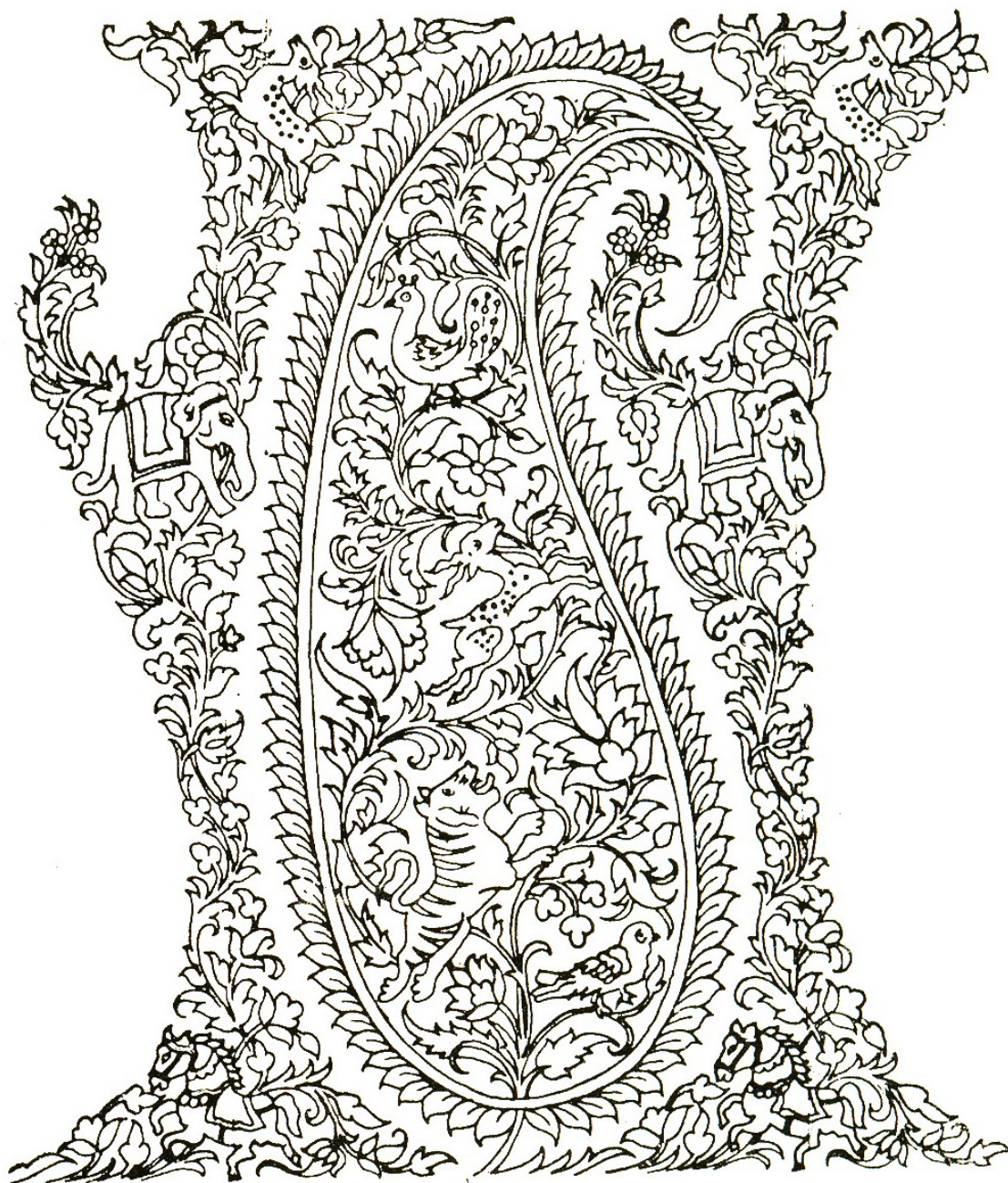


Dream of Weaving: Study and Documentation of Banaras Sarees & Brocades



Dream of Weaving: Study and Documentation of Banaras Sarees & Brocades

Traditional Designs of Varanasi Sarees and brocades
Jangla and Bel Banarasi with Sikargah anchal



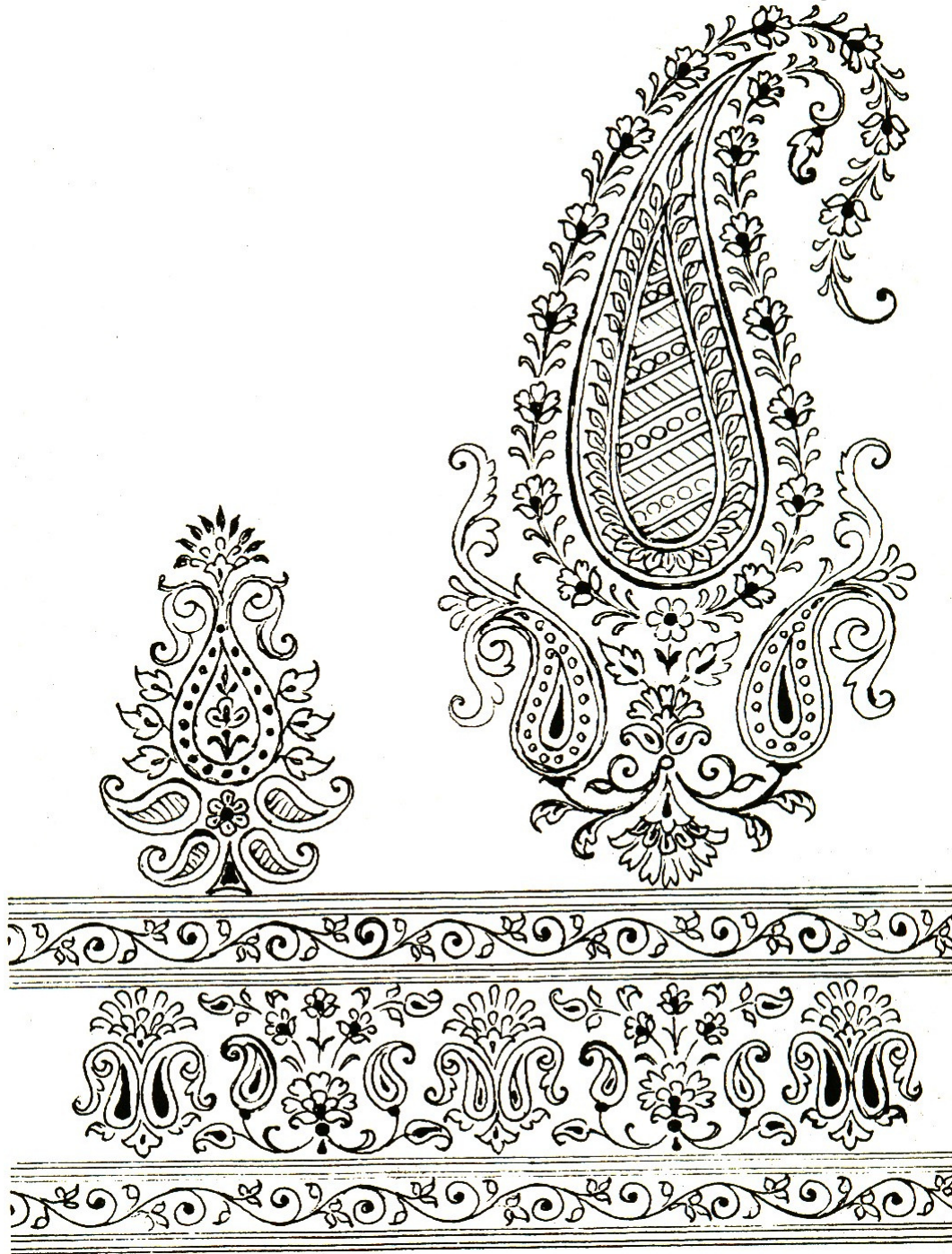
Anchal of Banarasi in Kashmiri pattern



Banarasi bel in Minakari, Anchal and butidar jangla



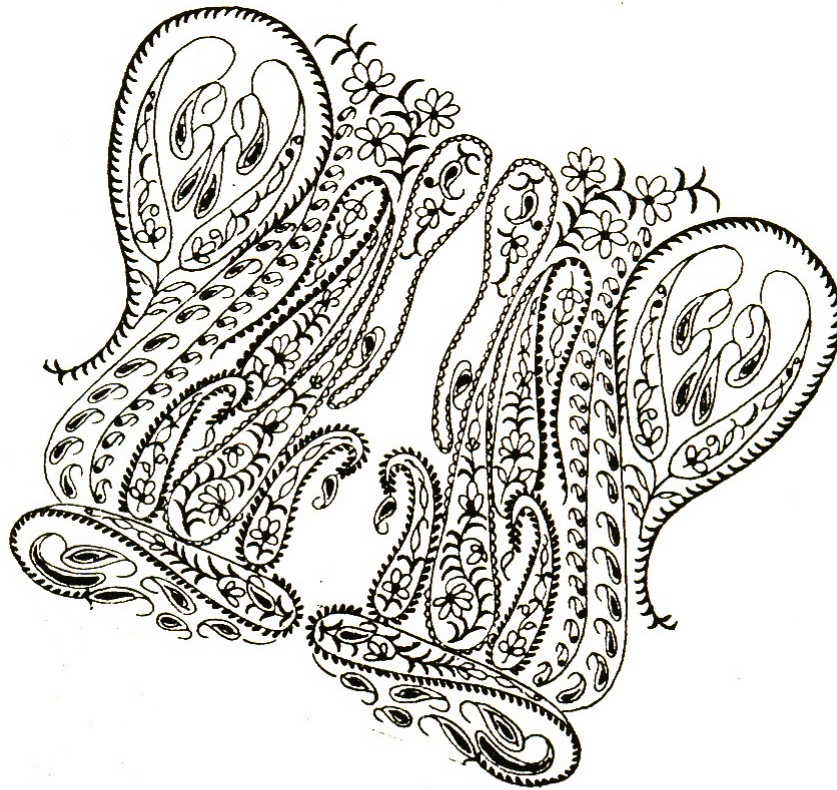
Banarasi bel buta anchal in traditional Minakari and Zari designs



Traditional type bel buti & anchal

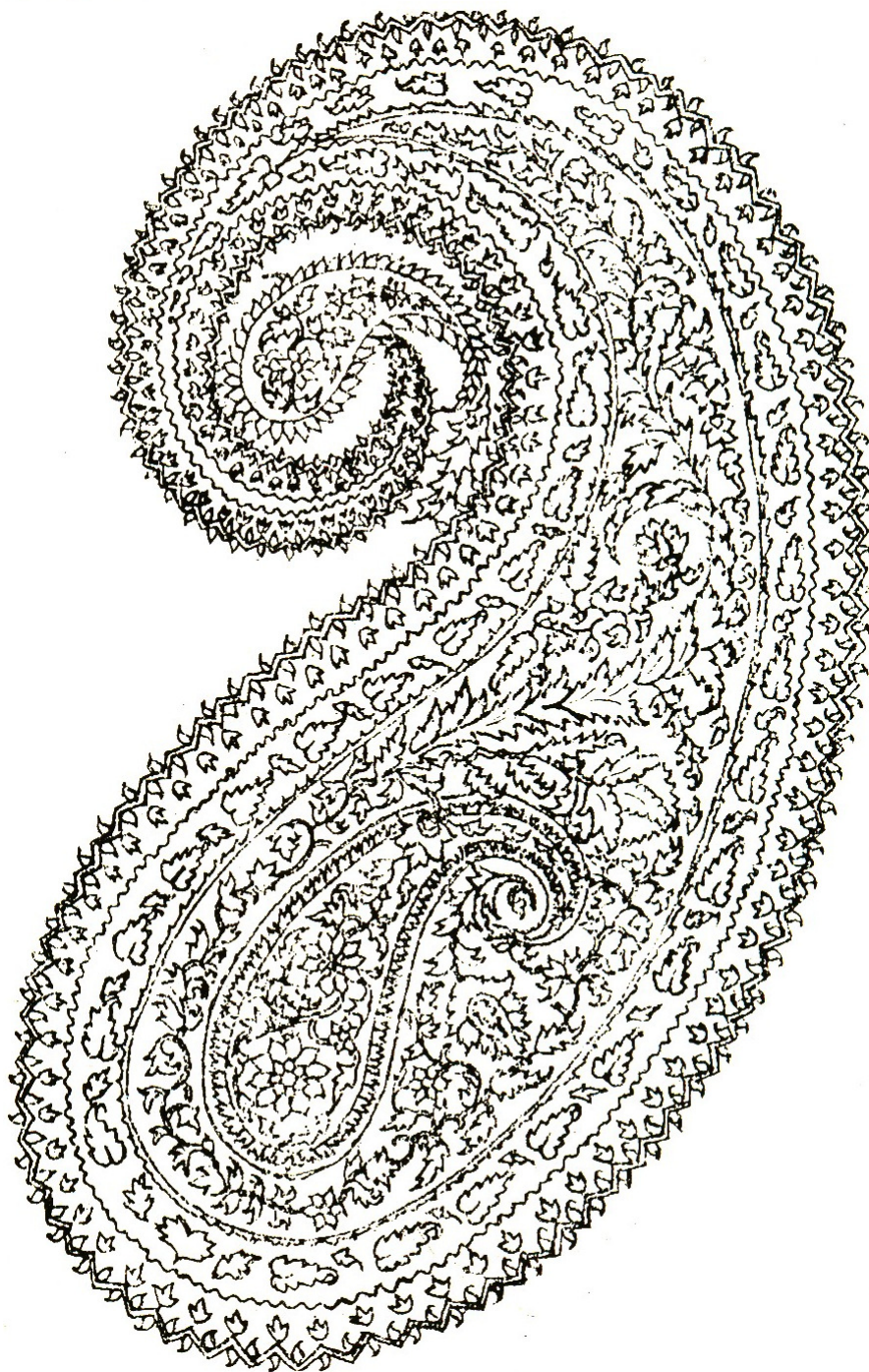


Traditional Banarasi anchal

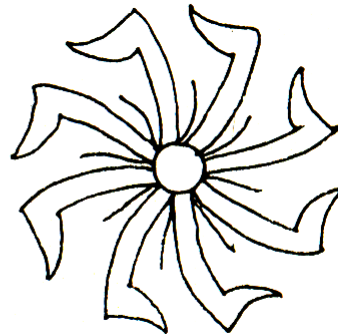
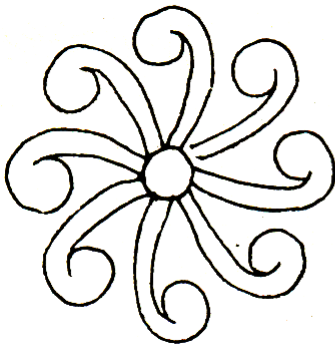
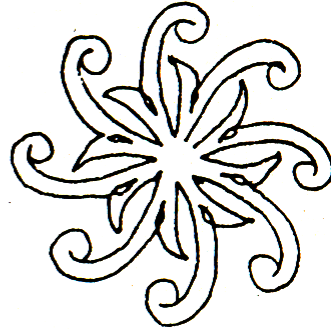
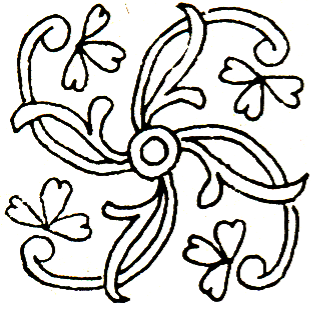


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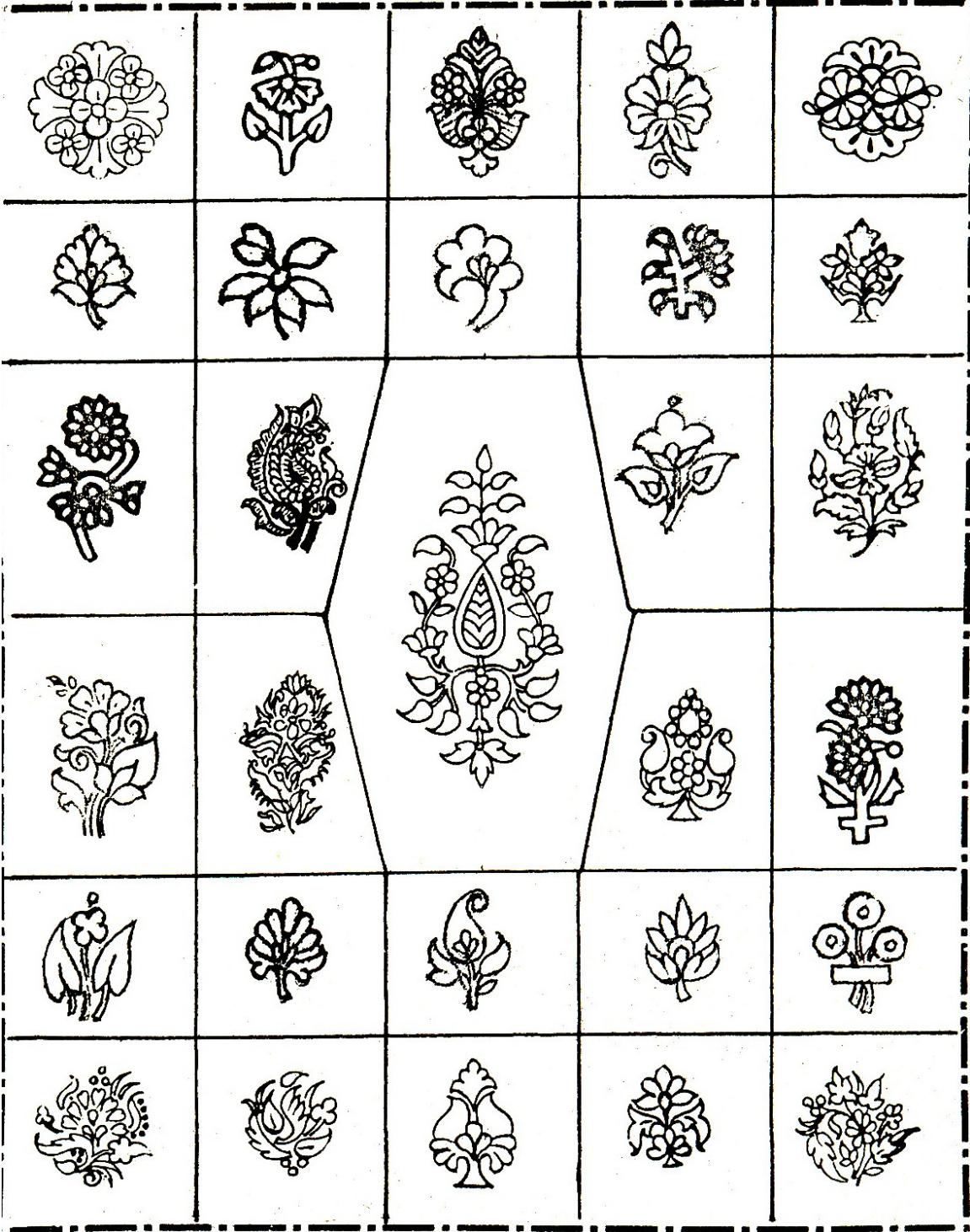
Banarasi style Paisley motif



Banarasi designs in length and round shapes



Different types of Buti designs



List of Co-operative Societies

1. Navrang Silk Handloom Producers Co-operative Society limited, J27/14, Jaitpura, Varanasi
2. Citizen Silk Handloom Development Centre Co-operative Society limited, Vishwanathpur, Varanasi
3. Destitute New Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khet Visunia, Pyalagadda, Varanasi
4. Destitute Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Dhairara, Bad Ki Bari, Varanasi
5. Over nice Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Neemtale Bakarabad Jaitpura, Varanasi
6. Adarsh Weavers Development Centre Co-operative Society limited, Aajgara (Kamana), Varanasi
7. Janata Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kukadha, Chiraigaon, Varanasi
8. Destitute Handloom Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Sarai, Mohana, Western Varanasi
9. Pawan Destitute Handloom Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Sarai, Mohana North, Post Sarai, Mohana, Varanasi
10. Gulshan Handloom Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, J-9/47, Oripura, Northern Jaitpura, Varanasi
11. Ideal Silk Fabrics Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Neemtale, Rasulpura Road, Weavers Market, Varanasi
12. Alok Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Rasulpura kachhi mahan, Post Jaitpura, varanasi
13. Handloom Development Co-operative Society Limited, Kolapur, Chowbepur, Varanasi
14. Handloom Development Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Dowraha, Varanasi
15. Varanasi Silk weavers Co-operative Society Limited, North Madanpura, Madanpura, Varanasi
16. Reliance Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Chowkdwara, Katehar, Vishweswargunj, Varanasi
17. Destitute Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Bhamoura, Varanasi
18. Imperial Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Lallapura Khurd, South Mata Kund, Varanasi
19. Nishaat Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, 19/160, Khanjari ki Badi, Lallapura matakund, Varanasi
20. Goodwill Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Lallapura Market, Mata Kund, Varanasi
21. Angika Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Golaghat, Ramnagar, Varanasi
22. Swaraj Destitute Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Harshsous, Deeh Post, Harsos, Varanasi
23. Delus Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Ganeshpur, Po: Benipur, varanasi
24. Royal Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Vishuniya Kachhibaug, Pilikothi, Varanasi
25. Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, sarangpur, Batua, Varanasi
26. United Villages Development Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, North Sarangpur, Varanasi
27. Regal Silk Handloom Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Lohata, Varanasi
28. Diamond Handloom Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Alaval, Lohata, Varanasi
29. Garib Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, New Colony, Alaval, Lohata, Varanasi
30. Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Ganjari, Varanasi
31. Destitute Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Harpur, Varanasi
32. Quality Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, J-27/28, Jaitpura, Varanasi
33. Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Maliyavala Ramnagar, Varanasi
34. Sangam Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Baligali Navapura Weavers market, Varanasi
35. Rasmika Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Lahangpur, Matakund, Varanasi
36. Loom Co-operative Society Limited, Lallapur(N), Matakund, Varanasi
37. Anamika Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Kunnadwar, Matakund, Varanasi

Annexure 7 Contd..

38. Diamond Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Lahangpura, Junubi Aurangabad, Varanasi
39. Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khanjaria ki wadi, Lallapura, Matakund, Varanasi
40. Vigar Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khajipura Khurd(S), Matakund, Varanasi
41. Prince Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Khajipura Khurd (W), Matakund, Varanasi
42. Kashi rural Handloom Development Centre Co-operative Society Limited, Harsows(S), Pura, Varanasi
43. Silk Industries Textiles Co-operative Society Limited, Sitco Dihawa, Mugal Sarai, Varanasi
44. United Villages Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Gowrai, Varanasi
45. Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Alaipur(S), Jaitpura, Varanasi
46. Handloom Development Centre Co-operative Society Limited, Pisour, Shivpur, Varanasi
47. Diamond Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Rasulpura(W), Jaitpura, Varanasi
48. Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Maliyavala Ramnagar, Varanasi
49. Sarvoday Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Ootkhana, Ramnagar, Varanasi
50. Weavers Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Karaili Ground, Jaitpur, Varanasi
51. Destitute Nelko Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Pyalgadda, Jaitpur, Varanasi
52. Destitute Lok Kalyan Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khanjour, Varanasi
53. Bright Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Pyalgadda, Jaitpura, Varanasi
54. Zari Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Balua Beer, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
55. Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Hasanpura, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
56. Aashirwad Silk Handloom Fabrics Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/82, Kaehar, Jaitpura, Varanasi
57. Fabrics Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Hasanpur, Vishweshwar(W), Varanasi
58. Handloom Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, J-33/47, Kachhi Mosque, Jaitpura, Varanasi
59. Cotton and Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, J-5/23, Amanullapura, Jaitpura(N), Varanasi
60. Roja Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Gour Mirja Murad, Varanasi
61. Vikas Silk Destitute Co-operative Society Limited, Rajoi, Varanasi
62. Handloom Silk Destitute Co-operative Society Limited, Gangapur, Varanasi
63. Mugal Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Katehar(W), Jaitpura, Varanasi
64. Adarsh Silk Harijan Co-operative Society Limited, Harsous, Varanasi
65. Destitute Weavers Silk Products Co-operative Society Limited, Chandapur, Varanasi
66. Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Beekapur, Jagatpura, Varanasi
67. Regent Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, A-31/73, Nayapura Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
68. New Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Nawapura, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
69. Ujala Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Alampura, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
70. Sanlika Powerloom Co-operative Society Limited, A39/237, Saraiya, Varanasi
71. Garib Nawaz Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Jamaluddinpur, Jaitpura(W), Varanasi
72. Amazon Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Nawapura Langar, Jaitpura, Varanasi
73. Haiswar Textiles Co-operative Society Limited, Salarpur, Jaitpur, Varanasi
74. Crown Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Weavers market, Badi bazaar, J-19/33, Jamaluddinpur, Varanasi
75. Commercial Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Pulkohana, Paigambarpur, Chiraigaon, Varanasi
76. Moonlight Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, J-16/50, Haji Gali, Nayapura Weavers Market, Varanasi
77. Star Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, K-51/99, Vasingali Street, Shaheed, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
78. Kohinoor Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Vrittakal(N), Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
79. Handloom Weavers Development Co-operative Society Limited, Azadnagar, Bazardiha, Varanasi
80. Lokhit Handloom Development Co-operative Society Limited, J-14/185, A-38, Kazi Shahadullapur Weavers Market, Varanasi

81. Famous Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Imli Tale, Chittanpur, Hanuman Phatak, Varanasi
82. Soni Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Chittanpura, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
83. Alhelal Destitute Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Katehar, Varanasi
84. Ideal Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Kachhibaug, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
85. Citizen Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Udaivpura Neemtale, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
86. Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Mangalpur(S), Varanasi
87. Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Bankat Newada, Varanasi
88. Naveen Handloom Development Co-operative Society Limited, Harpalpur, Varanasi
89. Handloom Development Centre Co-operative Society Limited, Vishnupur, Varanasi
90. Shama Silk Manufacturers Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, J-10/88, Bakarabad, Jaitpur(W), Varanasi
91. Sagar Silk Co-operative Society Limited, J-21/32, Rasulpura, Jaitpura, Varanasi
92. Handloom Art Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, New basti(N), J-11/38, Jaitpur, Varanasi
93. Silk Art Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Tithori Mahal, Jaitpura, Varanasi
94. Lucky Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Katehar, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
95. New Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Chittanpura(N), Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
96. Weavers Destitute Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Maheshpur, Cantt, Varanasi
97. Kashi rural Handloom Development Centre, Co-operative Society Limited, Chandapur, Varanasi
98. Destitute Weavers Handloom Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Koiriya Pathani Tola, Lohata Khas, Varanasi
99. Famous Destitute Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Mahmudpur Lohata, Varanasi
100. Destitute Royal Weavers Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Bhikaripur, Varanasi
101. Gems Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Ghoshipura J-15/91, Weavers market, Badi bazaar, Varanasi
102. Venus Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, J-15/6, Ghoshipura, Weavers market, Badi Bazaar, Varanasi
103. Sainik Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Tuhara Jaitpura, Varanasi
104. Adarsh Destitute Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Rasulaha Akota, Varanasi
105. Rainbow Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Bandhu Kachhibaug Jaitpura, Varanasi
106. Malati Handloom Manufacturing Industries Co-operative Society Limited, haisat Tale Jainubi 4/1, A.Z.Hetpur, Varanasi
107. Friendship Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Kachhibaug(W), Jaitpur, Varanasi
108. Humraz Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, J-41/82, H.K.Kachhi, Sahnallapura Badi Bazaar, Varanasi
109. Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Sadanand bazaar, Sadanand, Varanasi
110. Indian Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Rafi Nagar(N), B18/52-2-19E-1-A, Rathyatra, Varanasi
111. New Paradise Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Lohata, 21 Takia, Varanasi
112. Tixo Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Katani, Sahnallapur, Jaitpur, Varanasi
113. Artisans Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Kazi Sahadatpura badi bazaar, Varanasi
114. Destitute Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Rampur, Chandravati, Varanasi
115. Silking Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Badi Bazaar, Weavers market, Rasulpur, Varanasi
116. Textile Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Chohata Madanpura, Varanasi
117. Kashi Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Lallapura Khurd, Varanasi
118. Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Ghoshipura, Varanasi

119. Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Bakriya Kund, Varanasi
120. Silk Weavers Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Navapura, Varanasi
121. Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, J-31/30, Kachhibaug, Varanasi
122. Artex Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Katehar, Pilikothi, Varanasi
123. Resham Hastkala Udyog Co-operative Society Limited, A26/7, Hasanpura, Varanasi
124. Resham Udyog Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/123, Pilikothi, Varanasi
125. Modern Silk Manufacturers Industrial Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/105, Katehar, Varanasi
126. Silk Weavers Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Arudhrawa, Chittanpura, Varanasi
127. Silk weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Nawapura, Varanasi
128. Humdard Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, J-17/52, Ulaipura, Varanasi
129. Kalatmak Silk Producers Co-operative Society Limited, K-51/66A, Katehar, Varanasi
130. Super Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Ambiya Mandi, Varanasi
131. Destitute Banaras Silk Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Chittanpura, Varanasi
132. Ideal Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-32/50U, Pakki Masjid, Varanasi
133. Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, J21/7K, Rasulpura, Varanasi
134. Janata Silk Co-operative Society Limited, J-21/223, Rasulpura, Varanasi
135. Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-10/32, Bakarabad, Varanasi
136. Rajat Kala Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, J-21/238A, Rasulpura, Varanasi
137. Handloom Silk Manufacturers Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-21/281, Koripura, Rasulpura, Varanasi
138. Cotton Silk Industrial Manufacturers Co-operative Society Limited, Varanasi
139. A.N. Enterprises Destitute Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Jagjivanpura, Varanasi
140. Indian Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Salempur, Varanasi
141. Destitute Textile Co-operative Society Limited, Bhatpurwa, Kardhana, Varanasi
142. Ganga Destitute Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Kahragapur, Varanasi
143. Destitute Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Hariharpur, Varanasi
144. Welfare Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Kusumura, Varanasi
145. Jankalyan Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Chudibazaar, Varanasi
146. Premier Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Nayi Basti, Jaitpura, Varanasi
147. Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Tadiya, Varanasi
148. Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Varanasi
149. Kalyan Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Anantpur, Bankat Newada, Varanasi
150. Adarsh Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kotwa Hidwa, Varanasi
151. Bharatiya Silk Handloom Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Kalvariya Karchana, Varanasi
152. Modern Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Bazaar, Sadanand Sadar, Varanasi
153. National Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Harsos Pahi, Varanasi
154. Manav Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Purandarpur, Varanasi
155. Moon Star Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Mangalpur(Pokhari), Bankat Nawada, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi
156. Jankalyan Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Purani Basti, Kanahisarai, Harpalpur, Lohata, Varanasi
157. Ujala Weavers Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Murali, Cholapur, Varanasi
158. Minar Silk Destitute Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/26A, Katehsr(S), Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
159. Utkarsh Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Ajaav, Bathara Khurd, Varanasi
160. Vivek Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kador Kardhana, Sewapuri, Varanasi
161. Ambedkar Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Newada, Kamouli, Varanasi
162. Anisko Silk Handloom Industries Co-operative Society Limited, Laat Bhairo pakka Muhal, Saraia Koniya Varanasi

163. Jai Bheem Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Parana Patti Cholapur, Varanasi
164. Sahara Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Basani, Varanasi
165. Naveen Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Ramaipur, Pindra, Varanasi
166. Raj Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Rajpur, Varanasi
167. New Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Audar, Varanasi
168. Anurag Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Mohan Sarai, Varanasi
169. Prakash Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kashipur Sewali, Varanasi
170. Puja Handloom Silk Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Tatara, Varanasi
171. Prakash Handloom Weavers Benipur, Nawaz ka pura, Varanasi
172. Surya Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Deen das pur, Janata, Varanasi
173. Sahara Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Sultanpur kajari, Ramnagar, Varanasi
174. Jyoti Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Lohatadeeh, Varanasi
175. Handloom Silk Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Bhartara lohata, Varanasi
176. National Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Parajanpur, Arazi Line, Varanasi
177. Nice Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Sadar Cantt, Varanasi
178. Silk Weavers Manufacturing Co-operative Society Limited, Mahmudpur Khas, Lohata, Varanasi
179. Grameen Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Dallupur basin, Varanasi
180. Chandravati Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Chowkandi Hathi Bazaar, Varanasi
181. Shivam Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Anantpur(S), Bankat Newada, Varanasi
182. Azad Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kotwa, New basti, Varanasi
183. Ambedkar Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Panchva Rasewapuri, Varanasi
184. Gulshan Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Mugalpur Dafilan Bankat Newada, Varanasi
185. Adarsh Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Jeetapur Vabhaniyav, Varanasi
186. Zari Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Babiyav, Varanasi
187. Sangam Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Raghunathpur, Varanasi
188. Kargha Co-operative Society Limited, J-21/10B, Rasulpur Badibazaar, Varanasi
189. Indian Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Kajipura, matakund, Varanasi
190. Golden Silk Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Tad Tale Madanpura jangalwadi, Varanasi
191. adarsh Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, 02/26, Sahityanath Ramnagar, Varanasi
192. Fine Art Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Lohata, Varanasi
193. Grand Industries Co-operative Society Limited, A32/192 Chittanpura, Varanasi
194. Rainbow Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Jalalipura, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi
195. Harijan Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Rasulgadh(N), Varanasi
196. Swarnkala Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Jagdishpur, Cholapur, Varanasi
197. Adarsh Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Bhai Odar, Varanasi
198. Geetanjali Rural Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Pratappur, Mirzamurad, Varanasi
199. Adarsh Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Uparwar Sewapuri, Varanasi
200. Hind loom Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Khaliya Mawaiya, Sarnath, Varanasi
201. fancy loom Co-operative Society Limited, Dhamariya, Kohata, Varanasi
202. Nigar Silk Co-operative Society Limited, JalalipurI(E), Varanasi
203. Milap Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/168, Katehar, Varanasi
204. Banaras Handloom Silk Producers Co-operative Society Limited, K-55/81A, Rajapur, Vishweshwargunj, Varanasi

Annexure 7 Contd..

205. Om Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Chitrasenpur, Tatara, Chowmuhani, Varanasi
206. Banarasi Handloom Textiles Co-operative Society Limited, Bitko, B-18/1, DC Rewadi Talao, bhelupur, Varanasi
207. Navyug Handloom Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khatoura, Varanasi
208. Jaihind Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Pisoura, Dandiya, Varanasi
209. Janjagruti Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Pure Bariyar, Varanasi
210. Anmol Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Jatpurwa, Varanasi
211. ansar Weavers Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Pachai Jakhani Guruvi, Varanasi
212. Adarsh Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, J-26/186S-1, Kamalgadda, Jaitpur, Varanasi
213. Savera Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Sinhorava sajori, Varanasi
214. Pawan Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Pure Tatara, Varanasi
215. aman Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Shivrampur, Mirzamurad, Varanasi
216. Jyoti Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Gerai, Gopigunj, Bhadohi
217. Suraj Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Purebhagawantpur, Gopigunj, Bhadohi
218. Indian Rural Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Benipura, Maheshpatti, Varanasi
219. Chand Handloom Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Madanpura, Badagaon, Varanasi
220. Uttam Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Narpatpur, narayanpur, Varanasi
221. Arzoo Handloom Silk Co-operative Society Limited, Kudi(W), Varanasi
222. Janhit Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Kudipurva, Varanasi
223. Banaras Silk Handloom Co-operative Society Limited, Kerakatpur Lohata, Varanasi
224. Humble Silk Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, 15/22, Lallapura(W), Matakund, Varanasi
225. Global Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Sattanpur, Varanasi
226. Climax Silk Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, 15/41, Mohd. Sayeed Tulligaddi, Visweswargunj, Varanasi
227. Asar Handloom Weavers Producers Co-operative Society Limited, Dadupurwa, Varanasi
228. Handloom Craft Silk Industries Co-operative Society Limited, J-3/122A, Katehar, Visweswargunj, Varanasi
229. Nice Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Chittouni, Lohata, Varanasi
230. India Silk Co-operative Society Limited, A-32/17-1, Chittanpura, Visweswargunj, Varanasi
231. Muskan Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society Limited, Khemapura, Gerai, Varanasi
232. Dashashwamedh Co-operative Society Limited, D-31/228, Madanpura, Varanasi