DHOKRA METAL CRAFT AND COMMUNITIES: TRADITION FROM CHHATTISGARH

A thesis submitted during 2019
to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of

Doctor of Philosophy
In
Centre for Folk Culture Studies

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(Reg. No: 12SFPH01)
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December 2019



DECLARATION

I, **Aditi Patel**, hereby declare that this thesis entitled **"*Dhokra* Metal Craft and Communities: Tradition from Chhattisgarh"** submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr. Joly Puthussery** is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET.

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A. Paper published in the following research journal:

1. "Transformation of Indigenous *Dhokra* Craft Technique through Oral Narratives", Volume 9, Issue 6, June-2019. pp.-300-307 (ISSN No.- 2394-2886, Certificate ID: SPJMR/1059), Publication Link- `http://spjmr.com/VOL-9-ISSUE-6-2019/`
2. "*Dhokra* Metal Craft Maker Communities of Chhattisgarh", Volume 3. No. -12 Oct–Dec. 2016, pp.45-50, (ISSN:- 2348-6228, Current Jourrnal, Registration No. 206)

B. Papers presented in the following Conferences:

1. "*Dhokra* metal craft and craft maker: through the changing times", International Seminar on "ways of Dwelling: Crisis Craft Creativity", 13th SIEF Congress in collaboration with University of Göttingen, Germany, March 26th to 30th 2017, `http://nomadit.co.uk/sief/sief2017/panels.php5#4990`

2. "*Dhokra* Metal Craft: Transformations and Strategies of Livelihood", National Seminar on "Institutions, Livelihoods and Changing Practices: Issues of Tribal Identity and Sustainability", organized by the Department of Anthropology, University of Hyderabad, held during 5th -6th March, 2019

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfilment of coursework requirements for PhD:

Course Code	Course Title	Credit	Pass/Fail
FC801	Introduction to Folk Culture Studies	4	pass
FC802	Theories of Folklore	4	pass
FC803	Folk Life and Cultural Performances	4	pass
FC804	Folklore-Field Methods	4	pass

Research Supervisor **Head of Centre**

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I sincerely thank my thesis supervisor **Dr. Joly Puthssery** sir. Being an extremely approachable person he always catered to even the smallest of my queries. As PhD is not just about academics, while moving in emotional and social roller coaster Dr Puthssery has been tremendously supportive throughout this journey. I do not have enough words to express my gratitude for him, his guidance, right from the preparatory phase, till the final submission has been very crucial. It has been an honour to be his student.

I would also like to thank **Prof. Dr. Sudhakar Reddy** sir & **Prof. Dr. Kanka Durga** Ma'am for their valuable guidance. My deep gratitude goes to **Dr. Naveen Kumar** sir, who have always supported and encouraged me like an elder brother. My sincere thanks to Doctoral Committee members **Dr. Gerorge Tarakan** sir.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to **Prof. Shanthi Swaroopini** Ma'am, who encouraged me to enrol in PhD course. Since the beginning she has been source of encouragement and inspiration.

The completion of the thesis wouldn't have been possible without the contributions from various individuals, especially **every *Dhokra* artisans** about whom I have written in the thesis. Most of them managed to spare time from their busy schedules to have meetings, share their knowledge and images of their craftwork. They were very kind and humble, along with their time; they also offered shelter and food during the fieldwork. I can never repay their kindness with words. Similarly, I would like to thank all institutions, **Anthropological Museum Jagdalpur, City Museum Raipur, Tribal Museum Raipur, CGHSVB-Raipur, Raigarh, Jagdalpur, Kondgaon, Saathi Samaj Sansthan Kondagaon** and **TRIFED Jagdalpur**, who extended their support by sharing documents, images, catalogues, books and granting permissions for image and document usage.

The material and inputs provided by these individuals and organizations have immensely helped in the structuring and expansion of the thesis.

I would also like to thank the **University Grant Commission** for providing the financial assistance in the form of **Junior Research** and **Senior Research Fellowship**, without economic support this work could not have been possible.

I owe greatly to the **Centre of Folk Culture Studies**, School of Social Sciences. It has been the place where I came to as a student from a background of **Fine Arts (Sculpture)**, but in no time, became comfortable with the new subject I was desirous of learning. The Centre has a lot to offer, apart from the lectures, and the formal training, to me it has been a second home. Further, it is here that the teachers showed confidence in me to undertake a multi-disciplinary subject for my doctoral thesis.

I would like to thank the staff at the office of CFCS **Ms. Dhanlaxmi** and **Laxman**, staff at the **IGM library** and **Administration of the University of Hyderabad, Pandit Ravishankar University Raipur, Bastar University Jagdalpur** and **City library Jagdalpur** for granting to me to access books.

I would like to thank **Justin Salveraj, Sukka Karuna, Somaiah Kancharla, Kaushik Koch, Sapha Wangam Apanthoi, Hemant Phukon, Sivannarayana, Vahini, Vijaya Durga, Geeti Karmakar, Amphu, Pavani, Santhwana, Sree rag** and all my colleagues in the CFCS, who have always supported and time to time provided research reference and materials.

I would like to thank my friends **Dr. Sachhidanand Chaurasia, Ms. Poornima Njvnl & Ms. Sonali Laha** for their unconditional friendship. I thank **Rajesh Painkra, Kalpana Painkra** and **Sikandar Khan** for helping me during field works. I also thank my fellow research scholars, my Right-wing & Left-wing extremist friends who have been part of this journey, they helped me become a better person by making me more socially, politically and historically aware.

Further, I would like to thank my fellow hosteller friends **Dr. Kalpna Negi, Dr. Sabita Kumari, Dr. Kalpna Pant, Dr. Priyam Sharma, Dr. Malathi Bheri** and **Dr. Safiya Begum**, who made this journey beautiful by over showering with love, care and support. I don't have enough word to express my love for

them. I feel privilege to find a lifelong sisterhood with these brilliant, strong and gorgeous girls. Finally, to my eternal source of support. With all my heart I thank my creator, my mother **Smt. Dhankunvar** & father **Shri Hariram Patel** for their unconditional love. I thank my elder Sister **Dr. Tankeshwary Patel**, who always stood by me, supported and protected me like steel shield, she has been an idol, she is one of most kind and humble person I have ever known, my brother **Atul Kumar** and Brother-in-law **Puspraj Naik** for their support and care. There are uncountable people who have supported me helped me throughout my life and during PhD. I may not be able to name the every person but I thank them for being part of this journey.

Thank you all for love, care & support.

Ms. Aditi Dhankunvar Patel

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Glossary

Aama Paan:- Mango leaf

Aama Tihar:- A festival to celebrate the new crop

Adha Darjan:- Equal to six (Traditional method of counting)

Amakali:- Mango slice

Arti-diya:- Small lighting bowl for worship

Baari:- House kitchen garden

Babool Lasha:- Gum or glue collected from Babool tree

Bagh Nakha:- Tiger's claw

Bahnta:- A type of armlet

Bahri:- Broom

Baiga:- A tribal community/ Tribal priest who practices totemic or animism

Baila:- Bull

Bajni pairi:- Anklet with bells

Bali :- Ear ring

Ban Bhainsa:- Wild Buffalo

Banuriya:- Thick bangle made for woman

Bar Ruk:- Banyan tree

Barha:- Pig

Barhsinghar:- Elk

Basi Bhat:- Leftover rice of night kept in water, often eaten the next day

Batakh:- Duck

Kalounji:- A type fry pan used for making curry

Kanghi:- Comb

Kanta Jhula:- Throne swing made for goddess

Kanwa Ankhi:- Crow eyes

Karela Phool:- Flower of bitter guard)

Karma Nacha:- A dance performed during the Karamseni

Karnaphool:- A type of big earrings made for woman

Khaprail:- Terracotta tile (the fired clay)

Kharsana:- Long wooden stick

Khatiya:- Wooden cot

Khilwan:- A type of earring or stud

Kholna:- Sharp long iron stick

Khunt Diya:- A type of lighting bowl used for marriage

Kirtan Mandali:- A group of people who sings religious songs

Kori:- Equal to twenty (traditional method of counting)

Kosa:- A variety of silk thread

Koudi:- Beads

Koyla:- Coal

Koyla Ghor:- Coal powder

Kudharu:- Fine sand

Kukadi:- Hen

GLOSSARY

Bati:- Cotton thread used for Lighting along with Oil
Batki:- Utensil
Bazaar:- Market
Bela :- A type ladle
Benisut:- Braid hair pattern
Benkcha:- Frog
Ber and Jon:- Sun and Moon
Bhagh Nakh:- Tiger's nail
Bhando:- Name of month, Second month of rainy season
Bhatti:- Kiln/furnace
Bhaunri jal:- Ringed pattern
Bhusra:- Paddy husk
Bhuthiyar:- Daily wage labor
Bhutthi:- Furnish for firing
Bhutwa:- Ghost
Bichiyan:- Ring for feet fingers
Bokra:- Goat
Buda:- Old man
Budi :- Old lady
Bundi:- Tiny Dot
Bundia:- Dots
Bundia Dharu:- Circle with a dot in the center
Bundia Dhuri:- Circle with axle
Chanda- Suraj:- Sun and Moon
Char Phokla:- A design made in the shape of char fruits' cover
Char/Chironji:- Type of jungle fruits and Seed is dray fruits
Chari:- Spiral
Chatu:- A big spoon
Chhapai Mundi:- Finger ring mad with coins
Chhatra:- Umbrella for god and goddess
Chhena Rakh:- Dry cow dung's ashes
Chheni:- Chisel
Chher Chhera:- A harvesting festival of the state, to celebrate the new Kharif crop
Kukra:- Cock
Kuldevi:- Clan/Family-Goddess
Kuldevta:- Clan/Family-God
Kursibal:- To melt bronze
Lakri Rakh:- Wood ashes
Lali Mati:- Red clay
Laman Diya:- Hanging lamp
Landa:- Local alcohol made from Rice
Layka:- Child
Louki:- Bottle Guard
Luhar:- Blacksmith
Macchali Kanta:- Fish bone
Macchari:- Fish (also Gotra/clan name of "Induvar")
Madhu Chhatta:- Nest of honey bee
Madhu Mom:- Bee wax
Madhumakkhi Ghar:- Honey bee
Mahal:- Palace
Mahaprabhu:- Greater God
Mahua:- A tree, the flowers of the tree is used for the preparation of liquor.
Main:- Bee wax
Maina Chirai Ankhi:- Eyes of bird name Maina
Makri:- Spider
Mala:- Necklace
Mandai Mela:- Annual village festivals
Mandi:- Market
Manta:- A wish
Manuk:- Man
Maoli Panja:- Feet of Maoli goddess
Mashan:- Pair of Ghost
Mata:- Mother
Mayle:- Woman
Mayur:- Peacock
Mesna:- Floor mat made of date leafs or Grasses or cloths

Chhot Gehun Dana:- Small wheat grain
Chikkan Mati:- Soft and Fine Clay
Chimta:- Pincher or plier

Chipkan:- Hairpin
Churi:- Bangle
Chutki:- Ring for feet fingers
Darjan:- Equal to twelve (traditional method of counting)
Darpan:- Mirror
Dawaka:- Man also referred for husband
Dawaki:- Woman also referred for wife
Dengru:- Clay house made by ant but usually believed that its snake house
Dev Thangri:- A stick of gods-goddess
Devi:- Goddess
Devta:- Male god
Dhaan:- Paddy

Dhan Bhusa:- Paddy husk

Dhangra:- Young man
Dhangri:- Young woman
Dhoop:- Gum collected from Sal (Shorea Robusta) tree, used as Incense powder.
Dimak Mitti:- Termite house clay
Do Soot:- Double threaded
Dokra:- Old Man

Dokri:- Old lady
Doli Mati:- Clay from field
Dona-Pattar:- Eating Plate and bowl made from leaves
Dori:- Fruits of Mahua tree
Dori Tel:- Oil made from seed of Mahua'
Dubi:- A kind Grass leaf used during worshipping
Dukan:- Shops
Duma:- Spirit or soul of dead person

Duru:- Globule or ball like pattern

Mian Tigal:- Wax thread
Mittu/Tota:- Parrot
Mohri:- A musical instrument used during worship
Mun Mati:- Clay from the field
Mundi:- Finger ring
Mutki:- Air blower
Nacha:- Dance

Nachkar:- Dancer
Nag:- Snake
Nagmori:- Armlet
Nari:- Iron pipe to pass the air

Nariya Kudhuru:- Fine sand from river side
Narza:- Weighting scale
Nathni:- Nose ring
Ninda Aithai:- A thick solid bangle made for woman
Ninda Khadu:- A type of bangle made for man and woman
Paan:- Leaf or betel leaf
Pairi:- Anklet
Palki:- Palanquin

Pani-nahay:- Bathing after death ritual
Parat:- Brass plate
Pasiya:- Extra water skimmed while cooking rice
Paymundi:- Ring for feet fingers
Peetal/Peetar:- Brass or Bronze
Pej:- Cooked rice (Once rice is cooked, double of water is added again)
Phool-Pati:- Flowers & Leaf
Phuli:- Nose tops
Pichaki/Farni:- An equipment or hand machine used to make wax wire
Pikad Pan:- Diamond shaped chain pattern
Pipar Paan:- Leaf of Pipal or Ficus religiosa)
Polka Khadu:- A type of bangle made for woman

GLOSSARY

Duva:- Big spoon

Gahna-Gutha:- Jewellery/ ornaments
Gamccha:- Towel
Garu Gobar:- Cow dung

Garuwa Kotha:- Place where cows are kept.

Gehun Dana:- Wheat grain
Ghar Duwar:- House

Ghati:- Bells used for worshipping
Ghoda:- Horse

Ghotul:- Cultural institution for teenage tribal boys and girls.
Ghoukna:- Air blower

Ghunghuru:- Bell
Gobar:- Cow dung

God-Lena:- Taking Adaptations
Godna:- Body Tattoo
Gond:- The major Tribal community of state
Gorsi:- Clay pot, used for cinder (to keep wax warm)
Goth:- Talking
Gotiya:- Head of the village

Gotra:- Clan name
Gudi:- Temple
Guniya:- A man who does the treatment of sick through black magic
Haana:- Proverb
Haat:- Village market
Hansa Pai:- Claw of swan
Hareli Tihar:- A harvesting festival of state, celebrated in the starting of Khrif crop
Hathi:- Elephant
Hathodi:- Hammer
Hiran:- Deer

Putka:- Saree worn by women the length & width is smaller than normal Saree
Putri:- Doll
Rami Kajal:- Eyes of bird name Maina
Ranjami Mariya:- Only busts are made with horn on head, decorated necklace a earring

Rauwat Nacha:- A dance performed by members of Rauwat community
Rui Mati:- Fine smooth clay
Rup Chimni:- A kind of oil candle for lighting
Saag:- Curry made with green leaves
Salfi:- A tree that provides liquid that is used for making wine or liquor
Sanpaghara Mati:- Termite clay

Sarai Gond:- Resin from Shorea Robusta tree
Sarkari:- Government official
Sarpanch:- Elected head of village Panchayat
Sataru Oandar:- Nest of honeybee
Sem Paan:- Bean leaf
Shahrati:- Urban person

Shauriya Nacha:- A dance from of state

Sindur:- Vermilion
Sirha:- A person who gets possessed by the spirit or God-Goddess
Soot:- Thread
Suar:- Pig
Supa:- An instrument used by women to clean cereals like paddy, rice lentils etc
Suta:- A type of necklace
Tamba:- Copper
Tandav:- Dance perform by Lord Shiva
Tangiya:- Axe

Tar Bursh:- Wire brush
Tariya:- Pond or lake
Tel:- Oil

Imli:- Tamarind

Jaat- Gadhun:- Community bathing
Jaat-Bhat:- Community feast
Januwala:- Riddle
Jewar:- Jewellery
Jhhad Funk:- A way of black magic treatment
Jhhap:- A waistband with bells worn by man and woman during dance.
Jhhula Diya:- Swing bowl of lighting for worship
Jond:- Moon
Kaan:- Ears
Kacchuwa:- Tortoise
Kainchi:- Shears

Kalash:- A small pot used during worship

Tendu Patta:- Tendu leaf used for making Bidis (cigarette)
Thar:- A type of earring
Tihar:- Festival
Toda:- A type of anklet
Todi:- Local drink made from Palm tree
Tori:- A musical instrument used only during the procession of gods-goddess
Trai Mati:- Clay from pond or lake

Tura:- Boy

Turhi:- One kind of musical instrument
Turi:- Girl
Ualwa/Ullu:- Owl
Yagya Kund:- Holy fire pit made for worshipping
Yagya Shala:- A place where Yagya is organized

Chapter 1

Introduction

Bronze sculpture has thousands of year's history, as old as human civilization. India is one among such places, where evidence of early human civilization is found. The subcontinent is one of the homelands of early civilization, popularly known as Indus valley civilization[1]. Stone sculpture, terracotta, seal, pottery, metal ornaments and bronze artefacts found from Indus-valley sites showcase the evidence of a well-developed civilization, which has the richness of culture and tradition in abundance. As the country is diverse so is the culture, whether it is a tangible or intangible tradition and culture like religions, belief system, rituals, customs, languages, foods, clothing, ornaments, arts and crafts etc. Indian handloom and handicraft items are worldwide renowned for their skillful excellence, and metal craft is one among them. There are varieties of metal crafts practiced all over the country including sand casting, lost wax casting, solid casting, welding, moulding or sheet metal forming, heating-beating, engraving, embossing, jail cutting, and metal etching (Mukherjee, 1978). Among all the techniques of metal crafts, the lost wax casting is believed to be the oldest known technique dated back to ancient times.[2] The method is still prevalent in sub-continent and used for making verities of bronze artefacts.

1.1 A brief history of metal casting in India

In ancient India, metal artefacts were mostly made in Bronze, which is an alloy of tin and copper. It is believed that technology was known to the people of Indus-valley civilization.

[1]Also known as Harappan civilization, it flourished around 2,500 BC, in the western part of South Asia, in contemporary Pakistan and Western India. The Indus Valley was home to the largest of the four ancient urban civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India and China.

[2]Lost wax casting technique is also known as "cire perdue"

1. INTRODUCTION

"A small bronze statuette of a dancing girl found in the buried city of Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh shows that the process of lost-wax solid casting was known to India, which is one of the classic examples of indigenous skill and artistry. Dancing girl in *Tribhanga* posture is perhaps the first known bronze sculpture in the world"[1] (Singh, 2009). Other bronze sculptures like Buffalo with the uplifted head from Mohenjo-Daro, Copper dog and bird found from Lothal, Chariot from Daimabad, and the bronze figure of a bull from Kalibangan suggest that bronze sculpture was a popular art form in ancient times. It also indicates that it was wide-spread, and artisans were well versed with technique. There is plenty of evidence of antique metal casting in India. According to bronze and copper pins unearthed at the archaeological sites of Chanhudaro, Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were also probably produced by the lost-wax solid casting process. These artefacts as well date back to 2500 to 1500 BCE (Singh, 2009).

During the Vedic Period, any tangible or visual evidence made with lost-wax casting has not been found. But there are literary pieces of evidence available in many ancient texts like *Rig-Veda*[2], *Brahmana*[3],*Upaveda*[4], *Ramayana*[5], and *Mahabharata*[6] History of metal casting process has an age-old craft tradition in ancient literature as early as the *Rig-Veda*. The lost-wax

[1]The form of Dancing Girl, The limbs and torso of this female figurine are simplified in the tubular structure, this Bronze sculpture is dated back to 2500 BC.

[2]The *Rigveda* is an ancient Indian collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns along with associated commentaries on liturgy, ritual and mystical exegesis. It is one of the four sacred canonical texts (Shruti) of Hinduism known as the Vedas. "*Ayas*" word is frequently used in Rig-Veda for copper and Bronze.

[3]*Aitareya Brahmana-* The word Shilpa occurs in *Aitareya Brahmana*. The term in this context meant objects like the elephant, goblet, etc. Verses also describe that the use of bricks is not limited to sun-dried bricks but also use of well-burnt bricks (for further details on Aitareya Brahmana have a look "*Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda: The Sacred Books of the Hindus*" by Martin Haug, 1922).

[4]The Up-Vedas are the texts on the auxillary themes of the Vedas. The *Upveda* of *RigVeda*, *YajurVeda*, *SamaVeda* and *Atharv Veda* are Economics, Military Science, Music and Dance and Medical Sciences respectively. There are five *Upveda* that can be traced in some meaningful form, they are as follows:-*Ayurveda, Dhanurveda: Gandharva Veda, Shilpa Veda (Sthapatya Ved)* and *Artha Veda*. *Shilpa Veda* deals with architecture and various arts, according to *Shukra-niti* there are a number of arts but sixty four are considered to be more prominent.

[5]The epic, traditionally ascribed to the Rishi Valmiki, narrates the life of Rama, the legendary prince of the Kosala Kingdom, presently in Ayodhya district, Uttar Pradesh. The gold sculpture of *Sita* is a well-known example of metal craft during Vedic periods. The golden image of Sita is made for worship. Suggest the metal-work during Vedic periods.

[6]The epic narrates the struggle between two groups of cousins in the Kurukshetra war and the fates of the Kaurava and the Pandava princes and their succession. Traditionally, the authorship of the *Mahabharata* is attributed to *Vyasa*. The oldest preserved parts of the text are thought to be not much older than around 400 BC, though the origins of the epic probably fall between the 8th and 9th centuries B. In the episode of Dhritarashtra's embracing an iron replica of Bhīma gives evidence of metal sculpture, In *Shanti Parva* of the Mahabharata (the twelfth of eighteen books of the Indian Epic Mahabharata), the duties of a king concerning artisans are mentioned, and their guilds are enumerated.

process has been described in Sanskrit as "*Madhuachhistdhanam*" (lost wax process). In the *Rig-Veda*, there is a brief reference to the hollow casting of the sculpture. In the *Yajurveda* which is a later collection, instructions are given for many metals like tin, lead and silver etc., with which decorative bowls were manufactured. *Shilpveda* describes various art and craft forms (Martin, 1922).

After the Vedic age, the plenty of written references and artefacts are found with regards to the lost-wax metal technique from the *Mauryan* to the early medieval period, before the arrival of Turk and Mughals. Ancient texts like Panini's "*Mahabhashya*"[1], Koutliya's "*Arth Shastra*"[2], "*Puranas*"[3], "*Agamas*"[4], "*Brhat Samhita*"[5] and "*Shilp Shastra treatises*"[6] this includes *Mansoullash*[7], *Shilpratnam*[8] and *Mansaara*[9]. These books discuss the detail of the

[1]In the second century BC Patanjali in his *Mahabhasya*, which is an exposition of Panini's and Katyana's work, gives us a vivid picture of the artisan communities in the villages. Panini writes about the court artisan and goldsmith, who manufactured gold and silver coins with punch-marked design and executed various metal ornaments, which were in demand at that time.

[2]It is a document of not later than 1st Century B.C. It is considered to be compiled by the disciples of Kautilya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. It also gives reference of metal, metal smithy and Metal technique.

[3]*Purana* is a vast genre of Indian literature about a wide range of topics, particularly myths, legends and other traditional lore. Among all Puraṇas, Agni Puraṇa's has the most extensive details on the architecture and sculpture. Sixteen chapters of this Puraṇa have devoted to the various art forms. These chapters deal with town planning, residential buildings, palaces, temples and sculpture. Treatment of sculptures is unique and is the most exhaustive of all the accounts given in the *Puraṇa* (Gangadharan, 1985). *Bhaviṣya Puraṇa* is another Purana; three of its chapters are devoted to the detailing of sculptures and also comprises descriptions of temples. Third *Purana* is *Matsya Purana*. It has eight comprehensive chapters dealing in detail with architecture and sculpture.

[4]*Agama* is generally believed that the collection of the spoken word of Siva. Through the *Agama* Siva revealed his doctrine. Probably in between 2nd or 3rd century AD earliest *Agama* were compiled and the writing of *Agamas* continued till the 14th century. Out of the twenty eight Agamas, five Agama deal with the art forms; they are more technical than *Puraṇa* in the matter of architectural and sculpture presentations.

[5]*Bṛhat Saṃhita* is a treatise, in which five chapters deal with architecture and sculpture.

[6]It is an ancient umbrella term for numerous Hindu texts that describe arts, crafts, and their design rules, principles and standards. In the context of temple design, *Shilpa Shastras* were manuals for sculpture and Hindu iconography prescribing among other things, the proportions of a sculptured figure, composition, principles, meaning, as well as rules of architecture.

[7]*Mansollash* is also known as *Abhilash Chinthamani*. This text is believed to be written during the 12th century by Raja Bulokkamal Someshwar. From verse number seventy eight to ninety seven metal casting processes has been mentioned (for details on the *Shilp-Shastra* see the "tradition of Indian craftsmen" by Stella Kramrisch).

[8]This text is believed to be written in the 16th century AD by a Malayali Brahman naming Sri Kumar. In the second chapter, lost wax casting has been described.

[9]The book has seventy chapters and 10,000 lines in Sanskrit. It goes into great details about all the aspects of architecture, town planning and iconography including casting of images in metals. The original work might have been composed during the Gupta period AD 320-525. The extant, redacted version, work probably belongs to 11th to 15th centuries AD.

metal sculpture-making process. According to these books, there are four significant steps in the process of metal sculpture making they are; (a) *Vartna/modelling*[1], (b) *Sanchanirman/moulding* and *investment*[2], (c) *Thalai/casting*[3], and (d) *Parimarjan/finishing*[4].

"*Shilp Shatras*"[5] are considered to be written during the *Gupta* period. The traditional artisans followed the principles prescribed in the *Shilp Shastra*. Even today Tamil and Malayalam version of the treatise is being used, as a technical manual by the bronze icon makers of Tamilnadu and Kerala. In the *Shilp Shastra*, elaborate and strict rules insist regarding the auspicious times, initiation of the work, the composition of different parts of the human anatomy, details of the body parts and their relative proportions, details of the different stages of casting work, its various postures, and inclinations of the figure etc. (Kramrisch, 1994).

From the second century to sixteenth century AD plenty of bronze artefacts are found from the different parts of the country. That includes sculpture, coins, utensils and ornaments. The primary themes of ancient artefacts have the socio-religious significances, which majorly influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.

After Indus valley, bronze artefacts were found are from second and third century AD. Belong to the *Kushana, Satvahana* and *Ikshavaku* Dynasty. Art of that period was heavily influenced by The Jainism and Buddhism. Several Jain Tirthankaras and Buddha bronze sculpture were made during this period (Mode & Chandra, 1985)[6].

[1]It is the process of making the mould for particular sculpture. Here the sculptor uses his/her creative imagination to make the craft attractive. Usually, the sculpture is made out of wax.

[2]After the wax modelling, moulding of the figurine is done with white clay paste along with coconut busy and rise husk. While moulding few small round holes are made for metal to pass till the wax, during casting.

[3]Casting is divided into many steps. According to the weight of wax used for modelling, metal pieces are melted. Many varieties of metals are used for casting. The first step is to remove wax from the mould. The wax inside the mould is removed with the help of heat produced in the furnace. After vaporization of wax, it drains to create the shape of the object. Removal of the wax creates a narrow gap, and the already molten metal is poured into the small hole of the mould. After transferring molten metal, mould us kept into the water for a considerable time until it solidifies. The 7th Shaloka of the text *Mansoullash* discusses on sculpture making process. The anatomy of the figures has been written. The number should be made with Navtal, and the parts and symptoms of the figure should be made appropriate, and that should be attractive and pleasant. The God and the Goddess should be made along with their respective ornaments and weapons. According to stanza number eighty, the wax sculpture is attached with another piece of wax which is shaped like "*Kasa*" flower or *Hema* flower and metal is poured in the mould.

[4]At this phase, the sculptor gives the finishing touch to the craft. Here he/she scrubs it to shape it and gives a proper colouring to make it more beautiful.

[5]A book for the anatomy of sculpture making, book has detail descriptions of sculpture-making process, the anatomy based on the character of sculpture-like *Devi-Deota* (God-Goddess), *Yaksha-Yakshni*, *Asur* (devil), vehicle of God-Goddess, animal, human, king-queen, musician, singer, public etc.

[6]These are (a) Jain *Tirthankaras, Kushan* period from Chausa, Bihar. 2nd-3rd century CE (b)*Parsavbanatha*,

During the *Gupta* and Post-*Gupta* period abundant of Bronze Sculpture were made. *Gupta* period is considered as "Golden age of Indian sculpture" and a classical period for art and culture of the Northen part of the subcontinent. Rulers like Chandra Gupta I, Samudra Gupta, and Chandra Gupta II are the known patrons of the *Gupta* period's art (Mehta, 1971). Several standing Buddha sculpture was found in the Northern region of the country. Popularly known for its *Abhaya Mudra*[1] (right hand in the upward position signifies that deity is in blessing posture), dates back to fifth century AD to seventh century AD[2]. Similar Buddha statues are also found from the western and southern region of the country. Those sculptures were believed to be time period of *Vakataka* dynasty, which was contemporary to the *Gupta*[3]. Bronze sculptures made during the *Gupta* and *Vakataka* were also smaller in the size as those were mostly carried by Buddhist monks. The outstanding example of Sarnath-style bronzes is "the Buddha image at Sultanganj, Bihar. A monumental bronze figure and the typically refined style of these bronzes is the hallmark of the classical quality. As the *Gupta* and *Vakataka* bronzes were portable, and thus monks carried them from place to place to be installed in Buddhist Viharas or for individual worship. Due to portability, the technique of creation of Bronze Sculpture spread to different parts of India and Asian countries overseas"(Singh, 2009). Including the Himalayan region of the country, that is known as Ladakh, Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. The Bronze sculpture from those regions mostly belongs to late *Gupta* period date back to late 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th century AD. Other than Buddhist sculptures, the Hindu deities are also found from those regions[4]. In the eastern region during *Pala* dynasty, Bihar and Bengal became the popular

Chausa, Bihar. Late *Kushan* period from 3rd century CE (c) Elephant with four Riders, Brahmapuri, Maharstra, *Satvahana* period, 2nd century CE Kolhapur Museum. (d) Repousse Plaque of Mythical lion and Metal ring surrounded with Heads from Brahmapuri, *Satvahana* period, 2nd century CE. (e) Buddha, from Amravati, Late *Satvahna* period, 3rd century CE (f) Prince with Bow, *Nagarjunakonda, Ikshavaku* period, 3rd century CE (for detail of *Gupta* bronze sculpture have a look - Mathur, A., & Singh, S. (1988). *Indian Bronze Masterpieces: The Great Tradition)*

[1]Standing Buddha in *Abhaya Mudra* (gesture of fearlessness, the gesture of reassurance and safety) are found from Sultanganj, Mirpur Khas, Sind, Uttar Pradesh, Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Nepal etc. Belongs to Gupta period, 5th-7th century (Thapar, 1961).

[2]Buddha from Dhanesar Khera, Uttar Pradesh, Gupta period, mid-5th century CE, in this typical Bronze Buddha Sculpture, inscription provides essential documentation on the local Gupta dynasty. *Rishbhnatha Jinabhadra*, Vachnacharya, Jivantasvami from Akota are found. These sculptures belongs to *Gupta* period sixth century CE, *Tirthankara* from Valabhi belongs to Early Gupta or Maitraka period 6th century CE.

[3]Several Standing Buddha sculpture from Phophnar and Ramtek, Maharasta are found. These sculptures belong to Vakataka, 5th century CE (Agrawala, 1977).

[4]The *Mahishasuramardini Durga* (Goddess Durga, shown as saving the world from the demon *Mahishasura*) and *Narasimha* avatar (Vishnu, shown in the form of a part lion and part man) images of Himachal Pradesh are among the very dynamic bronze sculpture from that region. A significant development is the growth of different

centres for bronze sculpture. Renowned Buddhist centres like Nalanda emerged during the 9th century AD[1] (Kara, 1952).

Other than above-mentioned regions, Southern regions of the country are other important centres of bronze sculpture. In the south region during third century AD, *Pallavas* emerged as a powerful dynasty, who ruled till 9th century AD. *Pallava* school of art is popular for its architecture and sculpture. Bronze Sculptures from *Pallava* Periods showcases the height of classical art. Several traditional icons were made in bronze with the lost wax technique. Icons of *Shiva* from Tanjore district are fine examples of *Pallava* bronze sculptures[2]. During the late *Pallava* period, the bronze sculpture reached heights of glory. In later centuries the tradition of bronze sculpture continued. Under the *Chola* ruler during the 10th- 12th century AD in Tamil Nadu, Bronze sculpture showcase the most renowned form of sculpture. The tradition of such bronze sculpture still continues in the southern region of the country, especially in Tamilnadu and Kerala. The lost-wax process of bronze sculpture making was popular during the medieval age. It was mostly used by artisans of court art and temple art. Many well-known sculptures were made during this period[3]. "*Natraj*" sculpture is a famous example of *Chola* period's bronze sculpture (Krishnan, 1976).

After *Chola*, the Bronze Sculpture from the Vijayanagar Kingdom is known for its stylistic postures and features. During the Vijayanagar Period from Andhra Desham in sixteenth-century AD, the sculptors experimented with portrait sculpture[4]. The bronze sculpture of *Shiva-Parvati* from Vijayanagar is such an example of this period. Bronze sculptures from

types of the iconography of Vishnu images since four-headed Vishnu. Also known as *Chaturanana* or *Vaikuntha Vishnu* was worshipped in these regions; Central face represents *Vasudeva*, the other two faces are that of *Narasimha* and *Varaha*.

[1]During the *Pala* dynasty Worship of female Goddesses was adopted, which is part of the growth of the Vajrayana phase in Buddhism. The images of Tara (female Bodhisattva in Mahayana Buddhism who appears as a female Buddha in Vajrayana Buddhism) became very popular who was shown as seated on a throne. A growing curvilinear lotus stalk accompanies her, and her right hand is in the Abhaya mudra.

[2](a)Vishpaharana, kilappudanur, Tanjore, early pallva period, 7th century CE (the icon of *Shiva* seated in ardhaparyanka asana (one leg kept dangling) (Paryanka "denotes" cross-legged) in which the right hand is in the achamana mudra gesture, suggesting that he is about to drink poison). (b) Trivkrama, Early pallava period, 7th century CE (C) Somaskanada. Tanjore, Pallava-Rajasimha phas. 7th century CE, Natraja Nallur, Tanjore, Pallva-Nandi phase 750 CE etc. (for detail see the Agrawala, P. K. (1977). *Early Indian Bronzes*).

[3](a)Kaliya Krishna, Chatura Tandva Siva, Uma, Urdhva Tandava Natraja and Sivakami from Tanjore, early *Chola* period, 10th century CE (b) Adippuram amman, Thirubaruru, Tanjore. Early *Chola* period (c) Vrsha Vahana Siva, Tndantottam, Tanjore, Early *Chola* period, 19th century CE. Natraja, Tanjore, early *Chola* period, 10th century, etc.

[4]Life-size standing portrait depicting Krishnadevaraya with his two queens Chinnadevi and Tirumalamba in which the face and its expression are predominant in these sculptures.

Vijynagra kingdom are considered as refine example of Post-*Chola* sculptures. In the southern region, Kerala Bronze sculpture also showcase the refinement of bronze casting and mastery of sculptors. Devarapala and Vallabaha Ganpathi from 17th century AD are such examples of that period. The utilitarian object like *Charkku*[1] and bronze lamp[2] from that period were found in abundance. These religious artefacts as well were made through the lost wax technique (Dehejia, 2007).

From the late 14th century AD to early 18th century AD most of the subcontinent was ruled by the Islamic rulers like *Mamulak, Khaliji, Tughlaq, Bahmani, Mughal, Nizam and Nawab* etc. Due to their religious belief and prohibition of idol worship, the sculpture could not flourish but they did patronize utilitarian and decorative artefacts made of metals like *Naqaashi*[3] of Jammu Kashmir, *Khudai*[4] of Uttar Pradesh, *Bidri*[5] of Hyderabad etc. Even though the brass artefacts made by local artisans got patronized by the various chieftains and rulers[6] at different parts of the country, but these craft practices could not flourish like in case of previous dynasties such as *Guptas, Vakatakas, Pallavas* and *Cholas* etc.(Kara, 1952). So this shows the presences of minor metal craft traditions at different parts of the country from the medieval periods itself.

These sculptures and artefacts are proofs which indicate that the Indian metal caster had achieved high technical skill, creative aesthetic, and perfection as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Above mentioned bronze sculptures provide an overview of bronze sculpture making tradition in the country. And literary works as well offers the details of bronze crafting tradition. These bronze sculptures made through the lost-wax casting technique. This technique is still continued by tribal artisans, popularly known as *Dhokra*. Tribal artisans follow the

[1]Used for cooking and serving feasts at religious festivals and marriages.

[2]These lamps are glowed in the central shrine of a temple, has a shape of a two-story wooden temple, raised from the wick and oil container by two pairs of horses and hanging from chains of continuous links cast in a single mould.

[3]It is engraved traditional household articles made out of iron and brass. Intricate floral and calligraphic patterns are embossed, which makes the design to stand out from the background.

[4]It is engraved brass artefact. A wide range of household items like pots, trays, bowls and decorative pieces are made here and are decorated with intricate etching.

[5]Bidriware is a metal handicraft developed in the 14th century C.E. during the rule of the Bahamani Sultans. In Aurangabad, the Bidri art was introduced by the Nizam of Hyderabad as it was a part of Nizam's empire then. Bidri ware uses zinc and copper as raw material. It also employs the intricate workmanship of pure silver, brocaded, overlaid or inlaid on the metal surface. In the beginning, Bidri ware items were used as hookahs or paan daans, but now they are more often sold as souvenirs.

[6]From Assam (Ahom 1228–1826 AD and Koch dynasty1515-1949 AD), Himachal Pradesh (Gorkha 1559-1768 AD and Rajput dynasty 11th- 1849 AD), Orissa (Gajapati 1434-1541AD), Madhya Pradesh (Malawa 1392–1562 AD), and Tamilnadu (Nayakar 1529-1736 AD and Sethupathis 1671-1710 AD) etc.(Kara, 1952).

similar metal casting technique but not the iconology. *Dhokra* artisans do not follow *Navtala* (from *Shilp Shastra*), but they do have their specific way of figure making. So far, any written documents regarding the anatomy of *Dhokra* sculpture are not found. The knowledge of technique and anatomy has been passed to them in oral form, from one generation to another. This transformation of knowledge and technique make *Dhokra* metal craft unique tradition to continue the legacy of Indian metal crafting tradition.

1.2 *Dhokra* metal craft

Indian bronze sculpture has always attracted the attention of scholars. The abundant amount of research work has been done on it from various aspects like iconography, technique, medium, style, and so on. However, scholars have mostly focused on court art and temple art. There is no pertinent written material in reference to folk art and craft. Though, there are scholars like Bimal Bandyopadhyay, Ajit Mookherjee, Meera Mukherjee and K.C. Aryan who has written about the metal craft technique. Their works provide an overview of metal craft techniques from all over the country, including the *Dhokra* metal craft technique but other aspects like artisans communities and their folklore, visual structure and functions of artefacts etc. have been discarded. As mentioned above that *Dhokra* metal craft technique is one of the variations of "lost wax casting". Several tribal communities across the country are still continuing the lost-wax process of metal casting for their artistic expression.

In most of the regions of the country, metal artisans use the lost wax technique. Among those few specific regions are renowned for this craft technique. *Dhokra* metal craft technique is majorly used in the central, east and south part of the country. This includes states like Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Telangana. In all these states the *Dhokra* artisans do not only use a similar technique but also make artefacts, which are almost identical in function. The differences are in the structure of artefacts, like in the form, theme, design and motifs of craft. Every region and community has a distinct design and identity. For their form and design, artisans use motifs, which are inspired by their mythologies and folklore. Nowadays, *Dhokra* artefacts receive wide-spread attention and demand not only in India but in the international market as well. Simplicity and artistic elegance of *Dhokra* artefacts attract customers across the world.

As mentioned above, *Dhokra* craftwork is done in many states of the country. Many communities practice the *Dhokra* craft. These craft maker communities are scattered all over

India and are known with different names as per their regions[1] In Chhattisgarh in Sarguja district, they are known as Mala or Malar, in Raigarh Jhareka, Jhorka or Jhara. These communities are the groups of artisans who supply religious, sacred and utility artefacts made out of brass, and other metals to the villagers. Almost all these communities were nomads, and some were seasonal nomads. At present they all have permanent settlements, and few of them still follow the seasonal nomadic life.

Dhokra craft is mainly associated with the metal-rich region of India at present. The present research thesis focuses primarily on the *Dhokra* metal craft and craft makers of Chhattisgarh. This regional specificity provides a focus for the present thesis. Below is an overview of the importance of this particular research thesis.

1.3 Significance of the study

Dhokra craft has survived since ancient times. This is an important factor, which makes this as one among the age-old traditions in India. The thesis tries to analysis the reasons behind the continuity of this lost-wax process of metal casting.

Dhokra craft is now one among the popular artefacts of country, as the ancient heritage of tribal. In due course of time, *Dhokra* artisans have incorporated other community members into the craft and formed as an occupational based community. This transformation created hereditary artisans group to occupational artisans group. This research thesis explores the causes and ways, in which artisans have assimilated other community members into their craft arena.

Since the early civilization in India among the several crafting traditions few survived and few disappeared. The reason any particular tradition becomes extinct is their lack of adoption capability. *Dhokra* artisans were able to continue their crafting practice due to timely adaptation and incorporation of technologies, forms and designs. This research thesis identifies the changes, which occurred in the structure and function of *Dhokra* artefacts. An exploratory study describing the crafting processes in details that could explain the reasons behind the

[1]In Telangana's Adilabad district, in villages of Chinnedari, Jamdaan, Ushegaon and Chintalbari these artisans are known as Ojjis or Wojaris. In Odisha's Phoolbani, Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanjarea artisans are known as Sithuria Malaor Sithria, but metal smiths of Kalahandi, Rayagada, Malkangiri, Umarkot and Koraput are called Thetari and Ghasi. In Maharashtra's Jalgaonand Nasik area artisans are known as Sunar, in Ratnagiri as Bhareva Otari. In Chhattisgarh in Sarguja district, they are known as Mala or Malar, in Raigarh Jhareka, Jhorka or Jhara. In Madhya Pradesh's Mandla and Baitul district they are known as Bhareva, in Bundelkhand as Ajadhiaand Sunar. In West Bengal's districts Burdwan, Purulia, Bankura, Dariapur, Midnapore and Birbhum they are known as Dokra, Karmakar and Malhar. In Bihar and Jharkhand, they are known as Malhor(Mukherjee, 1978).

change and continuity of *Dhokra* craft, which is never done. The present thesis is an attempt in this regard.

1.4 Nature & scope

The present study has focused on the *Dhokra* metal craft and craft maker communities (Ghadwa & Jhareka) belong to the Chhattisgarh region. As production, distribution and consumption of artefacts play an important role in the life cycle of *Dhokra*, which also affects the aesthetics of artefact. This thesis looks into these stages. How artefacts are created? What is the influence of people and communities in craft? What ways did consumers help in the survival of craft tradition? And how consumer influence in the alteration and modification of artefacts' visual structure? These aspects make enormous possibilities to study artefacts through folkloric and visual semiotic perspective. Thus this research work focuses on the craft's relation with the folklore of artisan and consumer communities.

1.5 Area of study

As mentioned earlier research focuses on *Dhokra* metal craft of Chhattisgarh region. There are two major communities. One community is Ghadwa from Bastar/Jagdalpur[1] and Kondgaon district, they are also known as Ghasiya and Gadaba. Another community is Jhareka from Raigarh district; they are also known as Malar, Jhara and Jhora. Community members of both communities are scattered in another part of the state as well, in Bijapur, Sukma, Raipur, Sarguja, and Mahasmund though the density of members is on districts mentioned above (see the Figure 1.1 for map).

[1]Bastar is a small town and its district headquarter is in Jagdalpur city. Officially it is known as Bastar district but people also call it Jagdalpur District.

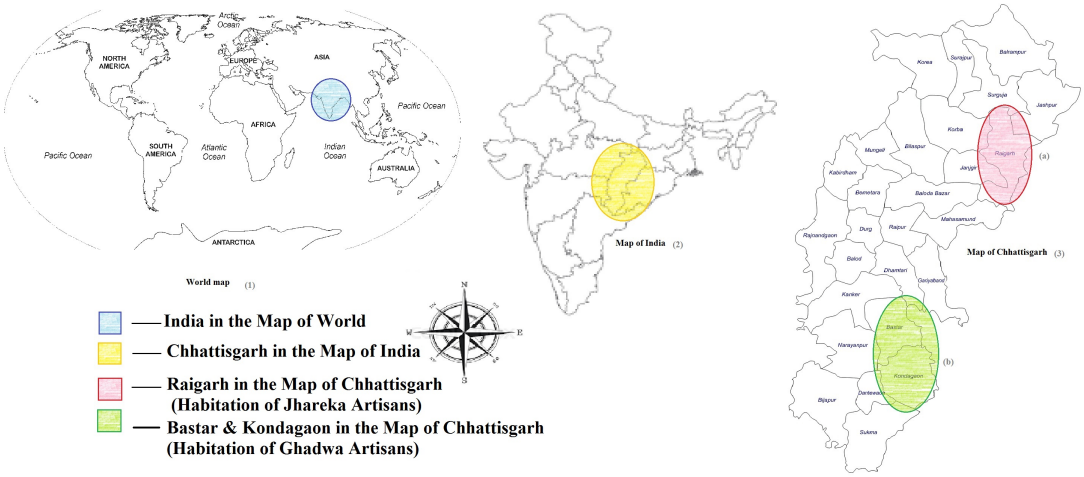

Figure 1.1: (1) Map of world, (2) Map of India, (3) Map of Chhattisgarh[1]. (a), District of Raigarh, (b) Bastar region. The circled area in the map of Chhattisgarh is the *Dhokra* artisan's dwelling regions.

For the collection of primary data, fieldwork has been done in the Chhattisgarh region: mainly in three districts, they are; Raigarh, Bastar/Jagdalpur and Kondagaon. Along with other centres of metal craft-work in the state like; Raipur, Mahansmund, Narayanpur and Sarguja, where few craft makers stay and work only for village household or to fulfil the particular request of patrons (see the Appendix-3 for the list of places visited during the fieldwork).

1.6 Review of literature

The review includes historical, systematic, methodological and theoretical works. This is to look at the research from many dimensions, for foundational knowledge about the research area, to locate the lacunae and create a theoretical frame for research thesis, and to have a thorough understanding of the craft and the craft maker communities. Books, research articles and research thesis from various disciplines have been taken like History, Art History, Anthropology, Folklore, Sociology and Economics. It also includes sources from governmental

[1]Political world maps [photographs]. (2009). Retrieved from `http://www.outline-world-map.com/political-world-maps`. India political map.(n.d.). Retrieved from `http://www.coachingindians.com/downloads/india-politicalmap.html`. Map Chhattisgarh boundaries, districts, names (white). (2007). Retrieved from `https://d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=8563&lang=en` Raigarh, (b) Bastar Region. The circled area in the map of Chhattisgarh is the *Dhokra* artisan's dwelling regions.

and non-governmental organizations like documents, archives and reports. It is categorized into the following board areas:

1. Theoretical works: Theories of Folklore, Craft, visual Art, Culture, Anthropology and Economics.

2. The works related to Arts-Crafts and Metal Crafts of India.

3. The works related to Chhattisgarh, Crafting communities and *Dhokra*.

1.6.1 Theoretical works

Vladimir Propp, "*Morphology of the Folktale*."[1] This book is foundational and essential work to understand the structuralist theory of folklore. Propp describes the underlying structure of fairy tale by identifying the dominant theme in a Russian fairy tale; the book is originally written in Russian during 1928 and in 1950 and was translated in English. The study is based on Aarne's tale collection from 300 to 749.in which Propp takes the dramatic personae according to their functions. The actions a character perform and how do they perform it, when and where do they appear in the tale etc. Propp analyzes the four primary things in the tales: the first thing is sequence; he says if the sequence is distorted, the narration will be meaningless. Second, a tale has its law and it is strictly uninformed. The third is the sequence of functions; it is always identical even if any function is absent. However, the absence of a specific function doesn't change the order in the rest of the tale. Fourth is that all fairytales have the same structural pattern. Firstly Propp made a list of compulsory dramatic personae along with their function and then the deviation of the function, the subfunction or can say the list of variables in the function and personae. Propp looked for the similarities of themes among the Russian fairytale, will be using this formula to make the classification of the subject and themes of *Dhokra* metal craft.

John Berger, "*Ways of Seeing*."[2] The book deals with two primary concerns. First is that how something is seen as the ways of looking at something from a small daily object to the artwork. The author claims that everything comes from culture; even one's perception is informed through culture and society. He says that seeing comes before it is spoken like a child recognizes the object before he knows the name of the object. Berger's second primary concern

[1]Propp, V. I. (1968). *Morphology of the Folktale: Second Edition*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

[2]Berger, J., Blomberg, S., Fox, C., Dibb, M., & Hollis, R. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*. London, England: Penguin Books.

is to analyze "how men and women are culturally represented and later, the result reflects in their behaviour as well." He claims that the "representation of men and women in visual culture tempts different gazes, different ways in which they are seen or looked." Men always tend to examine and analyzing women and women also do the same for women. He further discusses "how women's action and appearance make the indication of how she would like to be treated." It meant that her action shows the way she would like to be observed. He says that "men act and women appear, women look at them being viewed." He remarks that "who is surveying woman is the man and surveyed woman is a woman, by this he makes woman herself objectifies as a subject of a gaze." Berger's principal argument is that "there are different ways of seeing men and women." that comes from their cultural and social context.

Roland Barthes, "*Element of Semiology*."[1] The book was originally written in French in 1964 and later English translation was done in 1968. Barthes explains the theory of semiology in relation to the study of Images, Fashion, Food, Mass media and Electronics, majorly through Saussure's theory of linguistic semiotics. Barthes says "linguistics is not a part of the general science of signs, even a privileged part. It is semiology which is a part of linguistic: to be precise. It is that part covering that signifying unities of discourse." Thus for Barthes semiology is part of linguistics. Barthes proposed elements of semiology, which are groups "under four categories, they are: (1) *Language* and *Speech* (2) *Signified* and *Signifier* (3) *Syntagm* and *System* (4) *Denotation* and *Connotation*." Barthes says these groupings are done in "Dichotomy form" as in structural thoughts the binary classification of the concept is frequent. "Language and Speech" drawing from the Ferdinand de Saussure's *Langue/Parole*.[2] Barthes explains the semiotic system of speech and language, by citing examples from the garment industry (costume is language, and the way those are worn is Speech), food system (the food dishes are language, but the specialization of dishes as family, community and region is speech), car system and furniture (The structure and function of car and furniture are languages and the variation based on the model, size colours etc. are speech). "*Signified and Signifier*", according to Saussure "the signified was a representation of a concept, while the signifier was used to represent the sound image of that concept." For which Saussure used the term arbitrary and

[1] Barthes, R. (1968). *Elements of semiology*. Macmillan..

[2] *Langue* refers to language that Language is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it for himself; it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by members of the community. Such contract made by some formal rules like phonetics, grammar and logic, those can be studied and analyzed. And on the contrary, Parole refers to speech that speech is the executive side of language, belongs to the individual, it is actual, heterogeneous, unpredictable, and causes language to evolve like slang, jargons etc.

unmotived. Barthes says it is not arbitrary. The meaning should look through the relationship of signifier and signified, as he says "that the words in the field derive their meaning only from their opposition to one another (usually in pairs) and that is these oppositions are preserved, the meaning is unambiguous." Barthes explains that "once a sign takes on function, or the sign can lose its arbitrary nature and become motivated." "*Syntagm* and *System*"; Barthes defines this "syntagm as the combination of sign" means a meaningful combination of words within a phrase. And system he says is "association of the units which have something in common are associated in memory and thus form groups within which various relationship can be found." It can be explained with comparison to the system or association of one word to another as our brain associate particular words and its meaning in relations to other words. Barthes gives the example of education as "education can be associated, through its meaning to upbringing or training." "*Denotation* and *Connotation*"; Barthes gives these terms. To analyze the relationship between the above mentions groups of elements and their context. The denotation refers to the meaning of sign and connotations refer to the closest probable meaning of sign according to context for example, road sideboard sign of intersecting, if we see it, we immediately understand that its sign of the cross. But the same sign of the cross can be a symbol of Christianity as well in an appropriately given context. Barthes says the binary of this two is Denotation is always present and visible, but Connotation is absent and invisible. Barthes concludes by noting, "the aim of semiological research is to reconstitute the functioning of the system of significations other than the language in accordance with process typical of any structuralist activity, which is to build a simulacrum of the object under observation."

Rober S. McCarl, "*Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis.*"[1] The paper introduces the definition of occupational folklife, which includes not only the tales and stories related to the worker, but it also includes related to the technique and skill of work and worker. They bring out the issue with the collection and theorizing occupational folklife, as very little work has been done in this regards. The author provides the frame as occupational work includes all the genres of folklore, which can be seen in the workplace.

Richard M. Dorson, "*Folklore and Folklife.*"[2] The book is a collection of essay on folklore, contributed by the various scholars. Book is divided into two major parts, they are; (1) "Field of Folklore and Folklife Studies" The first part of books contains the essay on "Oral

[1]McCarl, R. S. (1978). Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis. Western Folklore, 37(3), 145. doi:10.2307/1498061

[2]Dorson, R. M. (1972). *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

literature, Social Folk Custom, Material Culture, and Folk Arts." The second part of the focuses on a series of essay on "Method of Folklife Study" Dorson writes that the book aims to give a comprehensive answer to the questions of "what is folklore?" and "What does a folklorist do?" As the book is a result of various scholars' work, it carries the variation of the concept, terms, methods and analysis. And having the agreement and disagreement one can see the different perspective of formal, contextual, analytical, theoretical and historical work of scholars.

Theo Van Leeuwen, "*Semiotics and Iconography*."[1] The book is a compilation of various visual analysis work, described in nine chapters. It contains the various visual analysis methods like- content analysis (item and text), iconography, semiotics, historical analysis, social semiotics approach, ethnomethodological approach etc. which can be applied in various field like visual arts, visual anthropology, culture, film studies, media and communication studies, health and psychology studies, philosophy, sociology and educations. This provides not only the theoretical frames but the importance of data in the form of visual, writing, audio and videos. Scholars have presented a wide range of data to support the theory, from newspapers, magazine, advertisement, illustrations, photography, fieldwork visuals, family photos, artworks, painting, drawing and sculpture.

Rudolf Arnheim, "*Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of Creative Eyes*."[2] The book presents the relationship between psychology and art. Arnheim's theory has roots in the Gestalt theory. Gestalt theory is about the perception of art and his main concern with senses of brains that goes through eyes. The book shows how the mind makes sense of the visual world. He gives many reasons to have a theory of art like the first reason he says there are many misconceptions as "visual things can't be conveyed by verbal language" though, for this warning, several words are used. Another prejudice, he says that "verbal analysis paralyzes intuitive creation and comprehension." Arnheim writes that the book proposes to "discuss some of the virtues of vision and thereby to help refresh and direct them." Arnheim writes on all the basic units of Art like balance, light, shape form etc. and how creativity starts and gets matured with practice. The author has done extensive study on different age group children drawings and analyzed them using Gestalt Theory of visual perception. The author gives vision not only to two-dimensional works but also to the three-dimensional works and how they are made by citing examples of prehistoric sculptures. He has also analyzed the initial form of sculptures and

[1] Leeuwen, T. V. (2001). Semiotics and Iconography. In T. V. Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *The Handbook of Visual Analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

[2] Arnheim, R. (2004). *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

the development of form and shape from drawing to sculpture. Collectively the book gives a holistic view of visual organization and visual creativity.

Christopher Tilley, "*Handbook of Material Culture*"[1] is the collection of different aspects of material culture studies, its relationship with people, communities, region, economy, politics and globalization etc. Emphasize the study of material and understanding of culture from the material. The book is divided into five major parts, under which different aspects are dealt with. First is "*Theoretical Perspective*," this parts presents the theoretical and conceptual understanding for material culture. The second part is "*The body, materiality and senses*," it presents the relationship of body and senses with material culture as most of the material culture is the result of human hands and consumed through the human body and senses. The third part is "*Subject and Object*," the parts deal with specific to clothing, art, landscape, interior designing and architecture. The chapter focuses on the subject and object of material culture and its relationship with commoditization and cultural memory. The fourth part of the book is "*Process and Transformation*" chapter focuses on the influence of technology, market and consumption and how these factors are changing the material culture. Fifth and last of the book is "*Presentation and politics*" this part discuss the representation, conservation, poetics of displaying and contemporary politics concerning material culture. Bookends with the conclusion that material culture is not a study about tangible culture or things; it is a marker of social status and the ethnic difference between the groups, society and individual. Material culture is part of every aspect of human culture from tangible to intangible.

Gillian Rose, "*Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Material*"[2] provides various methods for visual culture decoding and analyzing. Rose has written extensively about these methods they are: Semiology, audience studies, compositional interpretation, and analysis of content and psychoanalysis etc. rose to put the argument of three basic questions to examine the visual culture, "why is it important to consider visual image? Why is it important to be critical about those images? Why is it important to reflect on your critique?"

George Ritzer, "*McDonaldization of society*."[3] Introduces the effect globalization of in the world and domination of American culture in the name of Globalization by taking worldwide famous American fast food company "McDonald" Ritzer gives four significant forces

[1]Tilley, C., Keane, W., Kuechler, S., Rowlands, M., & Spyer, P. (2006). *Handbook of Material Culture*. SAGE.

[2]Rose, G. (2016). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE

[3]Ritzer, G. (2008). *The McDonaldization of Society 5*. Newbury Park, CA: Pine Forge Press.

of "*McDonaldization*" they are; "*efficiency, predictability, calculability* and *control*." Along with "*McDonald*" Ritzer also take the example of another company like IKEA, Starbucks, iPhone, and levies etc. and how these companies are changing the lifestyle around the world.

Howard Risatti, "*A Theory of Craft: Function and Aesthetic Expression*."[1] The book contains issues related to craft, craft as a work of art along with functionality. According to the author, craftwork poses a doubt for modern thinking about beauty and skills. Because of its beauty, it shows that craft has more than mere functionality, yet its functionality cannot be fine art. Risatti raises the question of what should craft makers do. Whether to claim their work to be a fine art and forget about functionality? Or remain loyal to functionality and face competition with machine-made products of industrial design? So it is evident that craft maker will tend to reject or give up the functionality of craft. Risatti says, "That is a mistake. Craft is not craft without functionality, bowls too large to lift have become the useless art of sculpture. The function is important because it implies a relation to the hands that make and use the work, guaranteeing human scale and meaning. How much fine art can you say is that? The real threat to craft is not assimilation to a fine art. The effect of industrial design and machine production is to divorce the way a thing looks from how it is made. Never it has so little of our artifactual environment been made by hand, and it's a loss, a loss of connection. A thing made by and for the hands have a sense that transcends our differences and when beautifully made is an eloquent reminder of where ingenuity ultimately comes from." He discussed problems by comparing artefact such as "ceramics, glass, metalwork, weaving, and furniture to painting, sculpture, photography and machine-made designs." He defines "what is a craft and how it different from fine art or design."

Daniel Chandler, "*Semiotics: The Basics*."[2] This is a guide for study on semiology, includes the work all the semiotics scholars, Saussure, Peirce, Lacan, Foucault, Umberto Eco, Derrida and Barthes. It gives the comprehensive method to do the semiotics analysis which can be applied on almost every subject, from visual arts, photography, fashion, music, literature, sociology, linguistics, folklore to psychology etc. by drawing from the work of various scholars. As Chandler says in the introduction of the book "this book demystifies this highly interdisciplinary subject and addresses question such as: What is a sign? Which codes do we

[1]Risatti, H. (2009). *A Theory of Craft: Function and Aesthetic Expression*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

[2]Chandler, D. (2017). *Semiotics: The Basics*. London, England: Routledge.

take for granted? What is a text? How can semiotics be used in textual analysis? Who are Saussure, Peirce, Barthes and Jakobson and why are they important?"

Lewis Binford, "*Archaeology as Anthropology*."[1] The paper written by Lewis Binford in 1962, the article is one of the highly acclaimed works of Binford, where he explains the relationship between archaeology and anthropology. Binford emphasizes that "material culture" can explain the structure of culture, which has been ignored by earlier scholars. And so far, "explanation of differences and similarities between certain classes of material culture are inappropriate and inadequate." He further says there is a need for a "Systematic and understandable picture of the total extinct cultural system." to have a significant and comprehensible understanding of material culture. Other than its association with mere technology, Binford presented three categories of material culture based on the function of artefacts they are: technomic, socio-technic and ideo-technic. According to Binford, these methods can help to formulate and explain the "structural relationship between major cultural subsystem, such as the social and ideological subsystem." Binford further elucidates each category of functions.

Further, Binford makes another category for those artefacts which does not fall specifically into above-mentioned categories. Binfords names "stylistic, formal attributes- these formal qualities are believed to have their primary functional context in providing a symbolically diverse yet pervasive artifactual environment promoting group solidarity and serving as a basis for group awareness and identity" for example, Chinese dragon motifs in wooden and ceramic artefacts. Binford takes the case of copper artefacts of North America and describes the above mention categories. He explains the relationship between archaeology and anthropology. Binford referred, to the archaeologist's materialistic scientific research methods of the artefact, and anthropological research method, to explain the cultural, functional aspect of the artefact.

Arjun Appadurai, "*Disjuncture and Differences in the Global Cultural Economy*."[2] Arjun Appadurai is a known scholar of sociology and anthropology; this particular paper of Appadurai is famous, highly acclaimed and discussed work. Appadurai gives another perspective of globalization. He starts the article by saying "the central problem of today's global interactions is the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization." Appadurai discusses the issue of globalization theories, its presentation as "*Americanization and commoditization*." He says, that one way of looking at globalization and ignoring the

[1]Binford, L. R. (1962). Archaeology as Anthropology. *American Antiquity*, 28(02), 217-225. doi:10.2307/278380

[2]Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, culture & society*, 7(2-3), 295-310.

fact that, "as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way." Appadurai says that fear of domination of one culture to another is not specific to Americanization alone. This exists among every culture, whenever such a situation arises when one culture dominates others. Korean to Japanese, Srilankan to Indian, Vietnamese to Cambodian etc. Appadurai argues that "the new global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models." Appadurai offers "five dimensions of *global flow*", on which added suffix "*scape*" these five are; "ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes." by the term "scape" Appadurai means that the nature of the frequent change of global flow. Appadurai says these "*scape*" often crosses and contrast to each other which he calls "*Disjuncture*". Appadurai says people, media, finance, technology and ideas are moving across the globe and influencing each other's the world which seems homogenous is more complex and heterogeneous.

1.6.2 Works related to arts-crafts and metal craft

Ajit Mookerjee, "*Folk Art of India*."[1] The author takes the most popular folk arts into account and begins with the social structure of Indian villages and the role of artisans in society. He interconnects the Indian economic status with the artisans. He gives a note on the background of art and craft as found in the prehistoric sites along with a brief introductory summary on each medium; most examples are from the Bengal- textile- embroidery, and the like. The second chapter deals with the background of primitive art of India and the author gives an introduction of design and form in the folk art of various shapes and sizes from ancient tradition to the present times. He writes about the technicality of primitive art, use of colour, brush and fingertips etc. He reasons out that, the drawing and painting made on a rock by prehistoric man is probably because, through pictures, they were able to control the animals. They were able to safeguard themselves and provide foods as well as.

He argues that the relationship between art and tradition, as it happens with most of the art forms, is related to the rituals, customs and beliefs. This is the primary reason due to which some art forms are still in use in the everyday life of the people. One can see many of the arts are in practice as votive offering toy or object and they are surviving from the centuries, especially in the art and craft of Adivasis. Mookherjee says "many of the art forms of the

[1]Mookerjee, A. (1986). *Folk art of India*. New Delhi: Clarion Books.

Adivasis are the result of a deep spiritual feeling the innate meaning of which cannot be clearly understood in terms of our aesthetic reactions". He mentions that in the Adivasi Art and Craft, most interesting crafts are textiles, metalwork, bamboo work, cane and woodwork etc. In the later chapters, Mookerjee describes the significant Arts and Crafts of India and provides a brief introduction about the traditional craftsmen, their geographical area and social status. Mukherjee has taken the dominant folk art form of the country but he somehow he left the *Dhokra* metal craft, though *Dhokra* art form is one of the oldest crafting traditions of the country.

Malati Mahajan, "*Development of Material Culture in India*."[1] As the title suggests the author discusses the development of material culture chronologically, from the 6th century BC to 320 AD. She divides into four historical periods, they are- (1) Pre-Maurya, (2) Maurya-Sunga, (3) Satavahana and (4) Kushana. Each chapter gives information on household objects, dress and ornaments, tools, food and drink, games and amusement, transport, roads etc.

Karl J. Khandalavala, "*Indian Bronze Masterpieces*."[2] The book contains a history of Indian bronze sculpture. The book is divided into ten chapters started from early prehistoric bronze. Further progress with discussion on Kushan bronzes from Chausa and Satavahana bronzes, The Golden Age of the *Guptas*, The Buddha in bronze: Phophnar and Ramtek, Jain bronze from Western India, Asoka, Vasantagadha and Valabhi, Bronzes from Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, Bronzes of Kashmir, Hill bronzes from the Chamba area, Eastern Indian bronzes: the Pala periods and South Indian bronzes. The book also contains the vast collection of picture plates of the bronze sculpture with the description of images and the features and style and location. The great tradition of Indian bronze sculpture stretches back from pre-history to the Indus Valley civilization. In the hands of the Indian artist, bronze was a very moving medium, capable of many expressions. For the first time, a single volume brings together masterpieces drawn from different areas and schools through the centuries, showing the astonishing range and versatility of the art and tradition. Ten eminent authors, each an authority in his field, unfold the glory of the Indian bronze tradition through different periods from 2500 BC to the seventeenth century AD. An overview is provided in the introduction by Karl Khandalavala, the eminent art historian and scholar. The photographs, many specially commissioned for the book, include hitherto-unpublished examples from Museums and temples.

[1]Mahajan, M. (1986). *Development of Material Culture in India*. Delhi: Sandeep Prakashan.

[2]Khandalavala, K. J., Mathur, A., & Singh, S. (Eds.). (1988). *Indian Bronze Masterpieces: The Great Tradition*. New Delhi: Specially published on behalf of the Festival of India by Brijbasi Printers.

K.C. Arayan, "*Indian Folk Bronzes*."[1] The book contains the history and origin of folk bronze and the images. The author gives descriptions of the pictures as well as a brief note on the casting process of bronze images. It takes the overall subject matter into account and makes a distinction between the different techniques of bronze making. A chapter with the title "*Folk Bronzes and Terra-Cottas*", the author gives a sufficient amount of evidence which brings both together in the single clan. The relationship between these two ancient artworks to understand the feature and style of bronze images throughout the time. In the later chapters of the book, the author writes about the court or royal bronze work as from the Mauryan, Gupta period etc. and also from the Kashmir temple images. The overall author has attempted to cover approximately all significant sectors of the Indian subcontinent.

Ilay Cooper & John Gillow, "*Arts and Crafts of India*."[2] The book represents vast cultural art and craft tradition of India. It contains necessary information about artefacts and traditional crafts, like earthen water jars, brightly-coloured wooden toys, and so on. The authors give a note on each medium, including techniques, places, significance etc. The book provides a holistic view of Indian craft but does not provide the details of each medium, and it also lacks the information on the variety of craft. The authors do not discuss the features, forms and styles of craft. Not even the changes in work and places. The last chapter, "*Collecting Indian Arts and Crafts*", gives the details about the availability and location of purchase of the craft-work in India. The work also traces the history of ancient crafts that are found even in today's global market. However, there must have been some changes in the craft that have to be looked into, if at all. These changes need to be kept chronologically to understand the style and features of these bronze crafts, including the details of the craftsmen who make the shift in the craft.

Soumhya Venkatesan, "*Craft Matters: Artisans, Development and the Indian Nation*."[3] Book deals with the craft and its development in contemporary India. The study of craft is mainly based on the ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 1997 and 2003 among the Muslim mat weaver community of Pattamadai town in South India. This book discusses the process and visibility of artisans. According to the scholar, "artisans possess the creativity to share a deep and meaningful relationship with the work. It is embedded in social relations within the community" For him, crafts are the objects which are predominantly hand made by the craftsmen through hereditary ownership. He emphasizes more on the relationship between

[1]Aryan, K. C. (1991). *Indian Folk Bronzes*. New Delhi: South Asia Books.

[2]Cooper, I., Gillow, J., & Dawson, B. (1996). *Arts and Crafts of India. London*, England: Thames & Hudson.

[3]Venkatesan, S. (2009). *Craft Matters: Artisans, Development and the Indian Nation*. Hyderabad: Publisher: Orient Blackswan Pvt Ltd.

the artisan and artefacts that can stand a status and which is playing a crucial role in social processes. The loss of traditional craft is the loss of the nation's and humankind's heritage.

1.6.3 Works related to Chhattisgarh, artisan communities & *Dhokra*

Meera Mukherjee, "*Metalcraftsmen of India*."[1] Mukherjee has written detail account of metal crafting technique of India, specifically from West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar (Undivided), Madhya Pradesh (Undivided), Andhra Pradesh (Undivided), Kerala, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. It contains the brief accounts of artisans' community and the product they create. The book includes the drawing of all the technique and major item made by artisans.

Dr H.L.Shukla, "*Social History of Chhattisgarh*."[2] Book gives a detailed history of the origin of Chhattisgarh. The social set-up of the Chhattisgarh during pre-independence and post-independence, the foundation of the state, rules of the different dynasties and so on. Many authors have published some political and dynastic histories of Chhattisgarh. But there is no comprehensive social history of the Chhattisgarhi speaking people, including that of the tribes inhabiting of this region. The book introduces the geographical structure of Chhattisgarh, how Chhattisgarh was found and developed, later at the end of the book a brief note is given about the geographical set-up, language, food, population, women, tribes, education, profession etc. This book offers historical and social studies of Chhattisgarh.

Michel Postel & Zarine Cooper, "*Bastar Folk Art: Shrines, Figurines and Memorials*."[3] The book contains documents on different cultural aspects of the district of Bastar. It looks at the lifestyle of several tribal communities, mainly Maria, Maria, Gonds and many other groups. Further research looks into the numerous temples like the Kakatiya and Kalchuri Dynasty and also the ruins of Bhongapal and GrahGobain. According to authors the art of this region shows "the reflections of Buddhist and Vaisnavism faiths. It influenced the socio, religious structure of the indigenous population, which reflected in the village rituals, customs and shrines". Book also contains the illustration of the most important places of worship like temple, hill and shrines. Authors also "explore the intersection of tribal tradition and the cultural interaction of the folk form." This shows the importance of history to understand the connection

[1]Mukherjee, M. (1978). *Metalcraftsmen of India*. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.

[2]Shukla, H. L. (1985). *Social History of Chhattisgarh*. New Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

[3]Postel, M., & Cooper, Z. (1999). *Bastar folk art: shrines, figurines and memorials*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

between art and culture. The author has defined Ghadwa brass caster as an idol maker of nature of the local belief system. Though artisans what makes is more or less similar to the other idol makers and most of the idol form has come from Hinduism. The latter part of the book deals with the process of metal casting, which follows with the chemical analyses of selected brasses, including the details on the use of scrap metal. At the end of the book, the author has discussed the commercialization and the growing demand for mass-production items.

Dr H.L. Shukla, "*Chhattisgarh ka Janjatya Itihash*."[1](Hindi) The book contains a detailed description of Chhattisgarh. It was earlier known as 'Mahakoushal'. The author has started with prehistoric period and evidence of time, rules of different dynasties, Maratha period, the colonial period and later founding of Congress party. The author has written one chapter on the revolution by the tribes and their social and economic structure has been disturbed by outsiders. The author has also highlighted different revolutionary movements about the tribal people of Bastar region. The book helped me to know about the social structure of Chhattisgarh. Especially about the tribal community on Bastar, different movements and revolution took a significant part in the history of Chhattisgarh. There are brief notes about the folk art of Chhattisgarh like ancient murals in Raigarh and Sarguja, about the folk songs, folk dances, folk performances, folk festivals and *Dhokra* metal craft. Though not in detail still, it gives an idea about the places where *Dhokra* metal craft is made in Raigarh, Sarguja and Bastar.

Verrier Elwin, "*The Beiga*."[2] The book is about the tribes of Central Parts of India, which is now known as Chhattisgarh. The tribal community is known as Baiga, one of the prominent tribes, which has a long tradition behind it and can be traced back to ancient times. The tribe is least affected by modern civilization. The book carries a detailed knowledge about the tribes. It includes their day to day life, social and economic life, life circle ceremonies, world view etc. They are known as a powerful magician by the neighbour communities who not only cure decease but also perform significant rituals of the village like a Brahmin priest. The book carries a comprehensive knowledge system about the tribe. It includes their day to day life, social and economic life, life circle ceremonies and world views. The ethnographic work done by the author is subsidiary for any researcher, who works on tribal community. Baiga stays in the central region, mainly in Bastar. The book was selected because one of the Dokra craft maker community also remains in the Bastar region. The book helps to understand the social

[1]Shukla, H. L. (2003). *Chhattisgarh ka Janjatiya Itihas*. Bhopal: Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Academy.
[2]Elwin, V. (1939). T*he Baiga*. AMS Press.

life of the Bastar tribes. The Bronze and silver ornament and utensils used by the Baiga tribe as seen in the book seems to be made by Ghadwa community, which show their relationship.

Niranjan Mahawar, "*BastarBronze- Tribal Religion and Art*."[1] The book is a "comprehensive study of the religion, myths, rituals and art of the Bastar tribes." The book primarily deals with the "Ghasia" community of Bastar, who practice this craft in Baster region. The author says that the "Ghasiya" community is a Dravidian Hindu caste and they have been migrated and traditionally engaged in metal casting work. Earlier, they were nomadic caste and during their journey, they found Bastar as a better place. Because Bastar is a forest-rich region, it is easy to get raw material for metal casting, mundane usage, social and religious needs. And "since migration was long ago, now they have become very well versed with local tribal myths, pantheon and various aspects of tribal religion and culture." He doesn't give details about the period of their migration. But it seems the author has assumed that they are "an ancient Indian caste living and working since Indus Valley civilization." According to the author, Ghasia artisans have created "idolatry icons, for the animistic abstract and unseen forces of nature." He gives examples of such figures which were already in existence and their association with the tribal priest. He has also mentioned about the historical text where lost wax casting has been described like "*Madhucchista Vidhanma, Shilp Shastra*" etc. Further, he discusses the Hindu iconography, metal images and the process of lost wax casting. The book follows with several craft images, illustration and appendix of regional words.

The book contains an exclusive amount of study on tribal religion and culture. The author has not discussed the community's relationship with their craftwork, their allied community and their customary law etc. Though the author had made a list of photographs of craft images, categorization of the craft object like to form, structure, style, motifs and theme etc. is lacked.

1.7 Lacunas in previous works

As per the previous studies and research works, the following lacunas have been found. The written materials on *Dhokra* crafting technique which has been found so far are few. The detailed description of *Dhokra* metal craft and any comprehensive study and proper documentation of all various techniques have not been traced. However, there are some works in the form of documentation and recording of the method of *Dhokra* casting. Whatever work has been done on *Dhokra* craft, all have ignored the craftsmen communities, though it is the

[1]Mahawar, N. (2011). *Bastar Bronzes: Tribal Religion and Art.* New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

traditional family occupation of these communities. Only community names are written without tracing their history and official records. There are no connections between the craft and belief system or culture or folklore of artisans. There is a requirement to look at *Dhokra* metal craft in relation to the community's folklore, which describes human creativity by giving step by step documentation of the craft. The present research aims to bridge this gap and take note to understand the craft in relation to these communities. Earlier works describe the themes and subject matters of craft like utilitarian, sacred and decorative items, but none of the works carries the analysis of those subject matters. The thesis gives a detailed analysis of themes and subject matters of *Dhokra* craft items. The research brings the analysis of visual structure and function of the craft.

1.8 Hypothesis

From the lacunae which are found in the previous studies, the following hypotheses have been formulated in connection with the topic and to bring objectives of the study.

It is the general notion that after a period of time, craft loses its traditional style and authenticity. But timely adaptation and appropriation of materials, technique and modification in the structure and function can make the craft and crafting survive, despite industrialization and advancement of technology as in the case of *Dhokra* craft.

Dhokra metal crafting continued by incorporating other members into traditional artisans group and making it an occupational artisans group as they continued crafting and sharing the knowledge and appropriate cultural practices of the artisan community.

Like many other crafting tradition liberalization and globalization escalated the speed of transformation in lives of artisans. It enhanced the competence of craft production and renewed the *Dhokra* craft to market-driven consumer commodity, which employed up-to-date marketing strategies to satisfy demand-supply logic.

1.9 Theoretical frame work

This research work sees the changes that occurred in the *Dhokra* craft, crafting process and artisans group. It has the synchronic and diachronic analysis of all the aspect of craft. It looks at the changes which occur in the artisans' community from an ethnic craft maker group

to occupational group.[1] The research also has critical analysis of the structure and function of the craft artefacts in relations to the folklore of artisans and consumer communities. It analyzes the effect of liberalization and globalization, changes in the market and consumer etc. Below is the detail of theories which have been used in this thesis.

Theory of occupational folklore

Occupational folklore is a branch of folk-life that deals with work-related lore. It consists of "lore" from the occupational spaces, like the Factory, School, College, Hospital, Studios, Labs, Courthouses, Offices, etc. It includes occupation and people connected to the profession. Occupational folklore takes account of beliefs, tales, legend and proverbs related to work and workplace, lores of name: for equipment and various objects (proper names and slang names), weather forecasting, auspicious or inauspicious hours, days or weeks etc. As several age-old traditional occupations are mostly based on oral tradition, and they also include the material cultures. Occupational folklore showcases that, how all the different genres of folklore are linked together like a web.

Dhokra artisan group has become from traditional craft maker group to occupational group with the involvement of many other communities member. The craft maker group, due to practicing the same occupation, has built their folklore. The theories help to understand the technical process, the aesthetical and world view of this group. Occupational folklore of *Dhokra* artisans has been discussed in the third chapter of the thesis.

Theories on Art & Creativity

To understand the art and creativity of the craftsmen and their craft analysis of *Dhokra* artefacts is done from the theories proposed by Margaret Boden, Rudolf Arnheim, John Berger and Gillian Rose. Margaret Boden, in her book "*Creativity and Art: Three Road to Surprise*" presents three particular ways to understand creativity like "combinational, exploratory, and transformational" (Boden, 2010). She remarks that creativity can be seen not only in art but also

[1]Since ethnic is always attached to the region, race and origin and this craft maker were once ethnic groups. The knowledge of the craft was shared only among the traditional craft maker group, but now that is not the case, the present scenario has changed. The knowledge of craft making is shared with other community members as well who have different origin and different race. There are many confusions arises when discussed the ethnic and folk group. Let me quote here Alan Dundes the term "folk" can refer to any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking element is, it could be common occupation language and religion. Folk is a much more flexible concept than an ethnic group. An ethnic group would only by one type of folk, but by no means the only kind. Earlier artisans belong to one type of community as it was hereditary, but now they belong to different communities. These traditional and newly learned artisans, they all come together and form a new group, based on the occupation of crafting.

in the craft. The creativity of craft can be seen from an exploratory way where artisans make the same object again and again by using the same process. It differs because it extemporizes and become better with improved skills. It explores the material as well as the appearance of the craft-work. The theory not only helped to understand the creativity of artisans but also to understand the skill of craftsman or his command over the technique and form. Their skill and practice have been discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis. John Berger's theory for perspective and viewing in "*Ways of seeing*" presents ways of looking at an image. This theory can be applied to craft as well that how people see artefacts, the concern and perception of people towards artefacts, and so on. While making the semiotic analysis of the *Dhokra* craft in the fourth chapter, this theory is been used.

Along with these theories, the work also looks at the myths, beliefs and stories associated with the objects which add people's perception and craft value, or matters associated with the artefacts. The crafts have been seen through the artisans' perspective, what aesthetical views of artisans are, and how artisans value their craft. In short, the communities' world view gets reflected in their craft.

Theory of Visual Semiotics

The Structural analysis of *Dhokra* craft is done based on visual elements like forms, designs, shapes and motifs of the craft item. The analysis has been done by looking at the semiotics and iconography of the item. The structure is "a system in which each element in a group can only be understood by its association or relation to another element as part of a larger structure." So to do a structural analysis of the *Dhokra* metal craft, the craft items have been classified into the motifs. These motifs have been analyzed and elaborated with below mentioned theoretical frames. They are the triadic theory of sign by Charles Sander Peirce and iconological analysis of visual art by Erwin Panofsky. It is worth setting out a small introduction to the study of the sign. Theory of semiotics had started in linguistics by Ferdinand de Saussure. His theory is known as the dyadic model of sign. The relation between the signifier (the physical object or form) and signified (the mental conception about the object or form) is a sign, and according to Saussure, this relationship is arbitrary. Pierce had extended this and said signs are not arbitrary, sign are interpreted by the way it has been represented. Peirce model is known as the triadic method of signs, and he made the classification of the sign, those are an icon, index and symbol. Panofsky's theory iconology follow Peirce's triadic model. For visual semiotic analysis of *Dhokra*, these scholar's theories have been followed. The Structural analysis has

been done in the first part of the fifth chapter.

Theory of artefact's functions

There are two approaches through that functional analysis of craft items have been done, first Lewis Binford's model of three functions of artefacts. Lewis Binford is known as one among the most influential scholars of the 20th century. He generated the three types for artefact based on the functions. First is "technomic" artefacts the kind of artefact which is directly related to technology or something which solve human issues such as tools or utilitarian objects (knife, the handle of the chisel, wick lamp, basket, pot etc.). The second type is "Socio-technic", artefacts which have social significance or has social meaning like jewellery or accessories, decorative items (a comb, Mangalsurtas, king's crown, bison horn of dancers etc.). The third is "Ideo technic", artefacts which have religious significance or ideological context for any social group like religious deities, totem and votive objects (religious idol, *Chhatras* of deities, votive animals, votive lamps etc.). According to Binford, one artefact can carry two or all three functions (Binford, 1962). For functional analysis of *Dhokra* artefact, the Binford's theoretical categorization is followed, which has been discussed in the second part of the fifth chapter.

Theory of Applied Folklore or Folklorism

Culture and traditions are dynamic, it keeps changing according to time and place, and folklore is one such example of changes. Advancement of technology and transportation has increased the speed of these changes and it has affected the folklore as well. Folklorists have tried to understand the changes and continuity of folklore. The way folklore is used and applied in a different context is termed folklorism or applied folklore. At present, the *Dhokra* craft has been modified for urban and global consumers. The craft elements are used along with other materials. For analysis of such changes theory of folklorism by Hans Moser, Herman Bausinger and Regina Bendix are employed. This has been discussed in the first part of the sixth chapter.

Theory of Globalization and Glocalization

Intensity and scale of Globalization are increasing day by day; the effect is everywhere, in every aspect of our society. The advancement in the communication technology, transportation and emergence of e-commerce are accelerating these changes day by day. To look at the effect in *Dhokra* craft and survival strategies of artisans, this research discusses the aspect of cultural globalization and emergence of Glocalization. The issue of "Homogeneity and Heterogeneity" in *Dhokra* craft has been addressed by taking the "McDonaldization" theory of George Ritzer and Arjun Appadurai's theory of "Global cultural flow", which has been discussed in the second part of the sixth chapter.

1.10 Aims & objectives

- The thesis takes the note on the relation of *Dhokra* craft with the artisan communities, the social-economic status of the hereditary *Dhokra* craft artisans is studied.
- Research focuses on the craft's relation with the folklore of craft maker and consumer communities.
- The research includes the synchronic and diachronic study of craft technique; it looks at the craft making process from different regions, within the state.
- The research has the critical analysis of the structure and function of the craft items.
- The research carries the analysis on changes that occurred in the craft market and consumers, due to the liberalization, globalization, glocalization and e-commerce.

1.11 Sources of the study

To achieve the above-mentioned aims and objective, data has been collected from different sources. The sources which are used for research are divided into two parts; these are primary and secondary sources.

Primary Data- The primary data includes first-hand information from the people who are involved in craft practice; the artisan communities are institutions. This consist of folklore of the artisan and regional consumer communities, the verbal and non-verbal expressions like myths, folktales, songs, proverbs, riddles, rituals, material culture, documentation of the techniques, interview of artisans, government officials, NGO workers, merchants and so on in the form of hand notes, photographs, sketches, videos and audios, along with survey of the consumer and seller.

Secondary Data-Secondary data include from various sources like books, journals, articles, exhibition pamphlet, catalogue and booklet by seller, museums, government and non-government organizers and such like; concerned Government records, documents, museums, culture departments, the written texts, already available video and pictures of artefacts and so on.

1.12 Methods for fieldwork

The researcher has followed the quantitative and qualitative research methods, to acquire primary data, to test hypothesis and achieve the aim and objective of the research. As mentioned above, primary data include first-hand information. Research has incorporated different tools of research methodologies to interpret the craft, crafting and communities. Below is the list of tools used for the collections of primary data.

Observation and Participant Observation Method

These methods are known as significant methods to collect the data in qualitative research. When the researcher enters into the concerned research field, it has to take a very close look at the surrounding to understand the fundamental nature of the communities and societies etc. Participant observation enables the researcher to understand the emic point of view of the community. The researcher has visited almost every village in the state where *Dhokra* artisans stay and practice the craft. This method helped in identifying all quantity of artisan and artisan families and their method of crafting.

Survey Method

The set of questions has been used for the survey; two sets of questionnaire were made, one for the craftsmen and community who make this craft and another for the consumer (who buy this craft from the artisan, craft exhibition, craft shops etc.) and marketing agency (government official, NGO worker, Middlemen and Businessmen etc.). This method helped in understanding the economic status of artisan, the degree in which external institutions are involved, the scale of marketing, and the interest of consumer and surface level of the background of consumers who buy these craft items.

Ethnography Method

Ethnography is "the study of any given cultures through close observation, reading, and interpretation" (Atkinson *et al.*, 2001). In other words study of the community from all perspective, which includes world views and ways of life of a particular community. The ethnography research requires the participation of fieldworker, either as observer or interviewer or participant-observer for the profound understanding of people's lives and their world views. Ethnographic research shows "how people's realities make sense to them and have meaning in their lived setting" (Atkinson *et al.*, 2007). This is accomplished by interviewing observing and recording people's lives and activities in their natural setting because the ethnographer is

expected to deliver a descriptive narrative; about the folk group's context and activities. Long-term longitudinal studies of events and activities are not unusual; these events and activities may be specific to a religious group of the family a political setting. The life of the participants in their natural setting and observations are made, recorded, analyzed and cited as a note. The researcher may also use content analysis to study various types of documents as well as cultural artefacts to grasp the historical context. By this method, the researcher has collected the data from the craft maker communities, their folklore like myths, tale, proverb, idioms, riddles, beliefs, rituals, customs, traditions and their crafting techniques etc.

Interview and Documentation

The interview is a meeting with the particular person or the group where a discussion or conversation or dialogue of question and answer take places. The interview is one of the significant methods of collecting data; this also helps to understand and put the perspective of community and culture. Individual interviews helped in collecting folklore like myths, folktales, proverb and riddles etc. Group interviews also helped in collecting folklore, and it also gave an idea about the context of folklore. It facilitates with an understanding of how different genres of folklore play parts in the everyday lives of artisans like the proverb, idioms and riddles.

Documentation is a medium which provides official information, record or evidence of something; this helps for visualization and to make the data more legitimate. Documentation of the craft technique has been done with the help of photography, video recording, notes and drawing etc. The large amount of visual production of *Dhokra* craft and crafting technique are used in the research to resort to visual methodologies. This helped the researcher to critically analyze the craft phenomena.

Visuality in cyber-sphere

There is a long tradition of using photographs and videos in ethnographic research. Digitization means taking photographs and video, storing them and sharing them has never been easier. So there is a proliferation of visual all over the media sphere, the digital world is not limited just for recording or storing; this is same in the case of *Dhokra* craft too. In the age of online marketing and shopping, the visuals of artefacts are more crucial than artefacts itself. The analysis includes visual methodological theories. In-order to unveil the changing world of marketing, and representation of artefacts in the virtual sphere. Now at the time of digital or virtual worlds, visual research must address the contribution and participation of cyber images in the creation and consumption of artefacts. The visual analysis has been done to see how the online portals display the images of the artefacts. What are the narratives they write about the

artefacts? How the virtual space is effecting in the production, marketing and consumption of *Dhokra* art in the virtual space etc.

1.13 Analysis of the data

The data has been analyzed by looking at the visual semiotics of craft in relation to the world view of the communities. Through the collected images of the artefacts, a theme and motif index has been created. This index gives details on how these motifs are used in the artefacts. This enables us to understand the custom, tradition, culture and folklore of the craft maker community. This also helps to study the changes that occurred in the motif and themes of the craft.

There are three major concerns while analyzing the data; these are technique (exploratory creativity), structure and function. Technique means technical goodness, system, proficiency, identity or uniqueness, creativity and exploration of technique. Structure means its form style design, motifs, display and presentation of the craft etc. function involves the utility aspect of the craft items.

The craft items have been collected through various sources. Collected images have been listed out according to the region and community and classified according to their feature, structure, functionality, and purpose. This provides a clear understanding of *Dhokra* metal craft's features and themes as per the region and community. Below is a brief abstract of each chapter of the thesis, this gives an overview of the content and discussion of thesis chapters.

1.14 Brief chapterization

Dhokra Metal Craft and Communities: Tradition from Chhattisgarh

Chapter I - Introduction

Chapter II - *Dhokra* Craft and Communities of Chhattisgarh

Chapter III - Folklore of *Dhokra* Craft

Chapter IV - Typology and Technology: *Dhokra* Craft through the Ages

Chapter V - Structural and Functional analysis of the *Dhokra* Craft

Chapter VI - *Dhokra* Craft as Commodity

Chapter VII - Conclusion

1.15 Chapter synopsis

Chapter I- Introduction

The chapter gives a brief introduction to metal craft and history of metal craft in India. This discusses the available written materials, from ancient text to contemporary works done by scholars. The chapter includes selected reviews of literature survey on the *Dhokra* metal craft, Chhattisgarh, handicraft and tribal of Chhattisgarh, art and craft, structural and post-structural theoretical works. Following topics have been discussed in this introductory chapter; they are, the significance of the study, the hypothesis of the research, aims and objective of the research, the theoretical frame of research, primary and secondary sources of study and methodology of the research. The chapter also includes the brief chapterization and synopsis of all chapters in the thesis.

Chapter II- *Dhokra* Artisan Communities of Chhattisgarh.

The chapter aims to identify the traditional *Dhokra* artisan communities of Chhattisgarh. It gives a brief note on a comprehensive background about the artisan community of the state. The chapter includes a brief geographical and historical introduction of Chhattisgarh. Further, it consists the growth, development and popularity of term *Dhokra*. There are two communities (Jhareka and Ghadwa) which are involved in making this craft. The chapter gives an account of these communities' dwelling, socio and economic status. The chapter discusses how the socio-economic status of artisans impacts in their crafting practice. Nowadays, Jhareka and Ghadwa communities' members are not the only artisans who practice this craft. The other community members have also started joining this craft, started as helper or trader in business and later involved in the making process as well. The chapter also addresses the transformation of hereditary artisans group to occupational artisans group. To achieve the above-said aims, historical documents, literature, and first-hand information from the field has been incorporated. The chapter provides a descriptive and ethnographic account of (Jhareka and Ghadwa) craft maker communities' life, craft and status. This chapter discusses the *Dhokra* artisan community of Chhattisgarh state. The thesis further discusses the lore of artisan and consumer communities, which influence in shaping craft.

Chapter III- Folklore of *Dhokra* Craft

The chapter aims to look into the folklore of *Dhokra* craft, which is associated with regional artisans and consumers. The chapter discusses the genre of folklore, and oral folklore which shapes the craft. Data has been collected from fieldwork and analyzed to understand

how narrative played a role in their practice and how this lore and lives helps them to conceive the idea of visuals and aesthetics of craft. To achieve this aim, the ethnographic description of folklore has been made. This includes oral narratives, myths, beliefs, customs, and festivals from regional communities. The chapter is constructed from the perspective of occupational based folklore in order to understand the role of folklore and folkloric elements in the *Dhokra* crafts practice. The chapter starts with a brief introductory note on folklore and occupational folklore. Proceeds with the notes on these folklores like myths, tales, beliefs, proverbs, riddles and idioms etc. Tale and myths have been organized based on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic method of narratives. Beliefs are seen in connection with crafting, dos and don'ts, the cause, effect and exceptions. Proverbs riddles and idioms are analyzed in the context of craft practice. This chapter discusses the folkloric perspective of *Dhokra* craft, which unveils the context for *Dhokra* artefacts. To understand the craft practice in details next chapter of the thesis has the descriptions of *Dhokra* craft techniques.

Chapter IV- Typology and Technology: *Dhokra* Craft through the Ages

The chapter aims to understand the typology and technique of *Dhokra* artefacts. To achieve this aim ethnographic data has been used, which includes the photographic documentation, interviews, observation and participation in the crafting process. The first part of the chapter has a chronological typology of *Dhokra* craft. The second part gives a comprehensive written and visual documentation of every aspect of *Dhokra* craft making the process including the techniques from both regions, Bastar & Raigarh. The chapter further carries the discussion of the transformation of the craft making process; the traditional and contemporary materials, equipment and processes. To understand the chronological typology of *Dhokra* artefacts, diachronic analysis of craft has been done. This includes the artefacts which were practiced and the artefacts which are practiced now. The analysis is based on the data collected from the artisans, museums, previous text and catalogues. The technique involves the ethnographic data collected from the field. This comprises not only the descriptive and thorough data but their 'folk-knowledge' and 'folk ideas' which reflects in their practice of craft making.

Chapter V- Structure & Function of *Dhokra* Craft

The chapter aims to analyze the structure and function of *Dhokra* craft items with special reference to "Core artefacts" of *Dhokra*. To analyse the visual structure of craft, a "visual semiotic" approach has been used. And for functions of craft items "artefact's functions" of Louis Binford has been used. To achieve this aim, both primary and secondary data has been used.

The chapter has been divided into two parts; the first part has a structural analysis of the Craft items. This is done by following Charles Sander Pierce's triadic theory of sign s and Erwin Panofsky's iconography theory. The second part of the chapter has a functional analysis of the Craft items. For the functional analysis, the researcher used Lewis Binford's three functions of artefact model (techno-function, socio-function and ideo-function). Over the period slowly structure and function of craft are changing. Thus, the next chapter of the thesis starts with the discussion over the folklorism of *Dhokra* craft items. Next chapter of the thesis addresses the current scenario, the changing status of artefacts into a marketing commodity.

Chapter VI- *Dhokra* Craft as Commodity

The chapter aims to look into the market and consumer aspects of the craft, what are the elements and institutions involved in the *Dhokra* craft. And how the modernity and globalization are affecting the crafts, craft markets and craft consumers. The chapter starts with a brief note on commodity and further proceeds with two essential aspects of commodity, "market and consumer".

The chapter has been divided into three major sections; First part discusses the folklorism and *Dhokra* craft. The second part discusses the markets and consumers of *Dhokra* craft, variations of the market like village market, regional market, national, international market and the digital market. Institutions and groups involved in marketing and popularizing *Dhokra* craft items. It proceeds to the definition of consumer, a variation of consumer, and how consumers are influencing craft and craft market. And the third part of the Chapter discusses the globalization, how globalization is changing the markets and consumers? The emergence of 'Glocalization' and cultural commodification, and how it affects craft and craftsmen?

Chapter VII- Conclusion

Dhokra artisans are sustaining their craft and means livelihood, by incorporating and adopting the changes. Artisans are not only updating their crafting techniques with technology and new materials but also their marketing skill. *Dhokra* is a reflection of the world and folklore of tribal, which gives them an extra edge in the urban and global market. Globalization and commodification of their culture and traditional crafting knowledge are creating space for artisans, with emerging trend of 'Glocalized product'. *Dhokra* is now an apt example of this "Glocalization". Thus *Dhokra* craft is not only continuing but flourishing and have started dominating other craft in the state. This chapter concludes the thesis with a summary of chapters along with the findings and observations. This consolidates with suggestions and possibilities for further research work.

Chapter 2

Dhokra Artisan Communities of Chhattisgarh

Every culture around the world primarily depends on geography. Geography dictates the things we produce and consume. It affects the food we eat, the cloth we wear, the houses we built, the language we speak, the form of entertainment we use as the music, art and craft, and the belief we built our faith, religion and custom etc. Every aspect of our lives depends on the kind of geography we live in. As production and consumption of goods are dependent on geography, it greatly affects the economy as well. Over the period of time culture gets mingled with other cultures due to several political and historical reasons, and a new form of culture emerges. But even then geography remains the primary source. Geography can cause the evolution, emergence and diffusion of culture and cultural elements. *Dhokra* is one such example of culture and it is heavily governed by the geography of the region. As mentioned in the previous chapter this research thesis focuses on the Chhattisgarh. Thus below is a very brief account of geographical of Chhattisgarh, which provides the overview for the social-economic status of artisans communities.

2.1 Chhattisgarh an introduction

Chhattisgarh is a central-east Indian state. It was a part of Madhya Pradesh and divided on 1st November 2000. It is the 10th largest state in the country, with an area of 135 194 km. Chhattisgarh is the 16th most populated state of India. It is surrounded by six states, shares its borders with “Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Telangana, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh

in North, North East, East, South, South West and West respectively" (Tripathi, 2010). The State is divided into three major divisions Raipur, Bilaspur and Bastar,[1] it consists of twenty-seven districts. The River Mahanadi is the biggest river in the state, which flows through the three divisions of the state. Hence the state is known as "*Mahanadi ka Kachhar*" means "the bank of the river". Chhattisgarh is also known as "*Dhan ka katora*" (the bowl of paddy) due to the abundant production of paddy (Laveesh, 2009).

From ancient time Chhattisgarh was known as Dhakshinkoushal or Mahakoushal and Dandakarnya. There are some stories behind the name of Chhattisgarh[2] (Shukla, 1985). After the establishment of Haihavanshi dynasty in Chhattisgarh, they built many forts. The Dynasty built a total of thirty-six forts including the main fortress in Raipur and Ratanpur. That is how it became "Chhattisgarh" which means thirty-six forts.

Chhattisgarh is popularly known as the tribal region as it shares the ten per cent of tribal population of the country and is inhabited by several tribes and sub-tribes. The majority of tribes reside in south and northeast area of the state. Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood of the people. The central part of the state is fertile plain and south and north parts are a hilly forest. Forty-four per cent of the region is covered with forest. Apart from agriculture, tea plantation and collection of forest produce are major occupations. Major festivals of the

[1]Bastar is located in the Southern part of Chhattisgarh and the district shares its border with the states of Telangana, Orissa and Maharashtra. Bastar was part of the princely state during the colonial period. After independence, like other states, the princely state of Bastar was also handed over to the Government of India. In 1999 the district was divided into three parts namely Bastar, Dantewada and Kanker. Bastar district and division headquarter in Jagadalpur. In May 2007 two more districts were created they are Bijapur and Narayanpur. In January 2012 another two districts were created they are Kondgaon and Sukma. Seventy per cent of the population of Bastar is tribal and the majority of tribal belong to the Gond community. Other than Gond community there are Abhuj Maria, Darda Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Munia Doria, Bhatra, Halba and Dhruva.

[2]There are many tales known regarding the name Chhattisgarh according to the JD Beglar the assistant anthropologist of Kanigham. According to him, during the period of Jrasandh King (a character of epic Mahabharata) thirty-six family of oil makers shifted to the south of the state. Their area was named as "Chhattisgarh" (*Chhattis* means thirty-six and *Ghar* means house) and due course of time it became Chhattisgarh. Chhattisgarh is in the south-east area of Madhya Pradesh earlier Chhattisgarh had only sixteen districts and now it has twenty-seven districts. The title Chhattisgarh is used for the first time in 1487 by Dalramrao. He was the court poet of Khairagarh ruled by Raja Laxminidhirai. After that in 1669 Ratanpur court poet, Gopalmishra used the term Chhattisgarh in one of his poems. He was the court poet in the court of King Raj Singh. Later, after one fifty years, the famous scholar Babu Revaram used the word Chhattisgarh in his book Vikramvilas. The term Chhattisgarh had been used officially in 1795 during the time of Maratha. It officially came in use, during Vedic period this complete area was known as Dakshin Kaushal as we find literal evidence from Puranas, Ramayana and Mahabharata. According to Ramayana, Ram started his journey for the south side, and he stayed in Ramgiri near to Dhakshin Koushala. In the folklore, festival and names of place and people, the influence of epic Ramayana can be seen.

state are harvesting festivals like *Hareli* (July-august) and *Pus Punni/Chher-Chhera* (January -February).

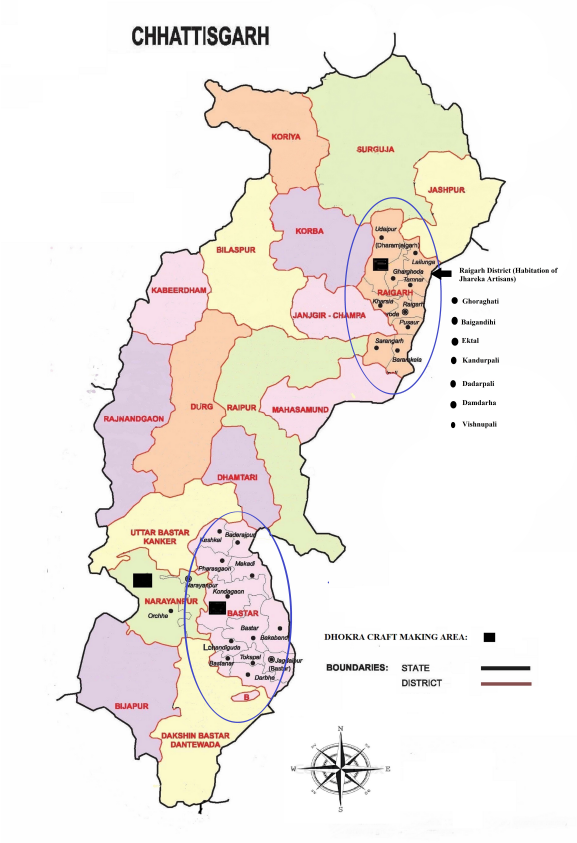

Figure 2.1: Map of Chhattisgarh[1]

As per census 2011, 79.80% people of the state identify themselves as Hindu. But the majority of tribal follow the animism though Hindu elements can be found but not entirely. It is mixed with animism and Hinduism. It is distinctly visible in their myths, belief, ritual, folktale, material culture, arts and crafts. And forest motifs are eternal parts of their myths, belief and folklores. The research thesis will discuss their folklore and how it reflects in their arts and crafts in the third chapter of the thesis. The subsequent headings will give a brief introduction to the major art and craft form of Chhattisgarh. It will further focus on *Dhokra* metal craft and the communities who practice this craft.

[1]District of India, Chhattisgarh. (2016). Retrieved from `https://www.districtsofindia.com/chhattisgarh/statedistrict.aspx`

This mineral-rich state of the country is also rich for its cultural heritage. Handicraft is one of the popular cultural heritages of the state. There are varieties of handicrafts produced in the state, like: *Bans Kala* (Bamboo art), *Dhokra* (brass metal craft), *Koudi Kala* (bead arts), *Mati Shilp* (Terracotta), *Tuma* (Dry bottle gourd craft), *Bhitthi Naksa* (wall painting), *Kastha Shilp* (wood carving) etc. Every craft has a different form, style and functions. Several religious, scared, utilitarian and decorative artefacts are made with these crafts mediums.[1] There are few craft items which are made in a variety of craft medium like votive objects, deities and utility objects. Though they differ in form, structure, style and design according to strength and limitation of material. As *Dhokra* craft of the state is the most popular craft of the state, structure and function of this craft dominates the other crafts.[2] *Dhokra* became an identity marker of state's handicraft. Thus before addressing the communities, will discuss the popularity of term *Dhokra*.

2.2 The term "*Dhokra*"

The term *Dhokra* is used for all the folk metal craft techniques of country, especially which is made with lost wax technique and wax threads for creating an artefact. It is also pronounced as "*Dokra*". Tracing the origin of the word for *Dhokra* leads us to the popular tales and explanations told by artisans for the term *Dhokra*. Tale of Bastar region that tells the story of *Dhokra* artisans, as per the tale-

"*Earlier tribal used to wear jewellery made by us (Ghadwa artisan); it was trendy among the people. The glory of Ghadwa jewels reached up to the royal court of Dantewada and it is believed that the queen and the courtiers were fond of Ghadwa jewels. Those days only old artisans were allowed to enter into the palace of the queen to take order or delivery order for jewellery. The queens called them Dokra, which means older man in Chhattisgarhi and Halbi*

[1]Medium means the base material used for craft. Many kinds of materials are used for making a craft, like cloths, beads, clay, metal, wood etc.

[2]For example, earlier terracotta artisans made few votive offering animals like Bulls, elephants and horses. However, nowadays they are making other votive animals like tortoises, fishes, snakes and Nandi bulls. The similarly wrought iron craft was made for utilitarian purposes, the deities or legends were not made in wrought iron. Nowadays, due to the influence of *Dhokra*, artisans are making tribal deities and legend in the wrought iron as well. *Dhokra* artisans as well have taken subject and themes from other craft for example; mural works from wooden craft, votive horses and elephants from terracotta craft, utility items like a big bowl and boxes from bamboo craft and decorative hanging object from Bottle guard craft etc. To describe the difference and similarities of Chhattisgarh handicrafts, it needs a detailed analysis. As the thesis focuses on one specific handicraft of the region, it will not venture to discuss other allied craft items of the state in details.

dialect. (In due course of time the word Dokra spelt in English as Dhokra) hence those days term Dokra was attributed to the person who made such jewellery; consequently, the craft we produced also is known as Dhokra craft."[1]

The artisans tell another popular tale of Raigarh region.[2] According to them, this craft is known *Dhokra* because of its age-old craft technique. As *Dhokra* means an older man in the Chhattisgarhi, this craft name also became *Dhokra*.[3]

There is another explanation as well for name *Dhokra* as told by a woman artisan Gomti Jhareka-

"*Our art is known as Dhokra because we constantly work while sitting near to Gorsi (coal cinder). We don't move even a little bit like older people, that's why it is known as Dhokra art*."[4]

Artisans commonly tell the above-mentioned narrative of the region. Any written document regarding the name *Dhokra* was not found in any earlier text of metal craft. As per the previous work on *Dhokra*, The word *Dhokra* derived from the Dokra and Dammar tribe from West Bengal. These tribes are traditionally employed as the lost-wax artisan in West Bengal and Orissa region, who have migrated from the central-east part of the regions (Postel & Cooper, 1999). It is also believed that they are craft maker communities from Chhota Nagpur area, also known as the Asur Birja tribal. These tribal craft makers have migrated and spread all over the central and east part of the country.[5] Artisans from Bastar and Raigarh region also claim that once their ancestor migrated from Chota Nagpur region to east part of the country. Though *Dhokra* artisans from the state say that earlier they had never termed this craft as *Dhokra* or any other name, they used to say "*Peetal Kaam*" or "*Pitar Dharna*" or with their community name

[1]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, October 26th, 2015, Kondagaon.

[2]Raigarh is one of the districts in Chhattisgarh and it is located as a border to the neighbour state Orissa. Raigarh region was formed by conjoining five princely states of the British raj, namely; Raigarh, Sarangarh, Dharamjaigarh (Udaipur) Sakti and Jashpur. After independence, this region again divided into three districts by separating Sakti and Jashpur from Raigarh. 1948 Shakti state merged with united India and became a separated district. Raigarh district is significant and known for the pre-historic places like Sighanpur, Ougana, hills of Karmagarh. Kabara hills of Raigarh and Pujaripali. In these places, prehistoric murals, painting, terracotta and rock sculpture have been found. Historical evaluation of these artistic productions dates back to ancient origin. Jashpur is in the north of Raigarh district, Mahasamund in the south, in North West Sarguja and Ambikapur, in central-west Korba and the south-west Janjgir-Champa district are attached.

[3]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, May 26th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

[4]Gomti Jhareka, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Baigandihi.

[5]According to mastercraftsman Govindram Jhareka, their ancestor was from the Chhota Nagpur region.

like "*Ghadwa Kala*" or "*Jhara Kala*". Artisan Sukta Ram recalls his encounter with the term *Dhokra* for this craft, as he says-

"*Once two official people came to our village, coincidently I was picking Mahuwa nearby our Para (colony). As they saw me, they stopped their scooter and asked me 'Dokra buta kartho ka?' means 'do you do the Dokra work?' I didn't understand properly; I thought they are asking about my grandfather. Because 'Dokra' means 'old man' also my grandfather was a popular man (as he could put his hands on boiling oil. Even Jagdalpur's Raja called him several times; Angrej/Britisher had called and took his photo. He was the first man in our village who had been photographed). So I replied he died some two-three year back. He understood that I did not understand the question. So he asked in his broken Gondi language what work we do? So I replied 'peetar dharthan' means 'we do brass casting' he then came to our house and spoke to my father. After one month they came again with train tickets, my father sent me along with them to Bhopal. There everybody called this craft Dhokra, so that is how I came to know that Shahrati/ Urban people call this craft as Dhokra craft*."[1]

Few members of Jhareka community as well say that government officials introduced the term. As Govind Ram Jhareka says-

"*I heard the name Dhokra when the first time we were called to Bhopal in 1983. There all Sarkari/ Government officials called it Dhokra, and they gave us certificates in that also it is written Dhokra. Now we have to use the same name because if we do not say 'Dhokra', urban people do not understand. They call this because it is an age-old craft technique. We always called it as Jhareka Kala because this is 'art' of our community and we have been making this, since prehistoric times*."[2]

Above given anecdote reflects that outsiders introduced the term *Dhokra*. The *Dhokra* for Brass metal craft of Chhattisgarh had become popular in the late 20th century. This metal craft was initially known as "*Ghadwa Kala*" ***(Chattopadhay, 1963). Meera Mukherjee visited the Bastar during 1965-66 and learned metal Craft from artisan Simran Ram Baghel from Kondagaon.[3] She received Senior Research Fellowships for two years from Anthropological Survey of India in 1967 to 69 and documented the metal craft technique. Mukherjee, in her research manuscript, referred to the lost wax casting technique of Bastar as *Dhokra* craft. As in West Bengal, folk artisans make metal craft with similar technology and those Artisans

[1]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Sirmud.

[2]Govindram Jhareka, personal interview, November 3rd, 2015, Ektal.

[3]Stree Shakti. (n.d.). Retrieved from `http://www.streeshakti.com/bookM.aspx?author=18`

community is known as *Dhokra*, so the craft is also known as *Dhokra* Craft (Kochhar, 2011). In 1972 All India Handicraft Board opened a branch office in Jagdalpur and instead of 'Ghadwa'; the name '*Dhokra* craft' became an official name. Meera Mukherjee's manuscript was published in 1978 "*Metal craftsmen of India*". Later authors and official followed with the same name for the similar metal craft from other regions of the country.

At present *Dhokra* is a general term used by the officials as well as artisans. *Dhokra* craft cannot be seen alone without including the artisan communities; specific communities have played an important role in giving a unique identity to this craft. The traditional artisan communities need to be given acknowledgement for their contribution. The chapter will further discuss the major communities from Chhattisgarh who practice the *Dhokra* crafting tradition.

2.3 *Dhokra* communities of Chhattisgarh

There are two traditional artisan communities in Chhattisgarh, who practice of *Dhokra* metal craft. One is Ghadwas from Bastar and Kondagaon they are also known as Ghasiya and Gadaba. Other is Jhareka from Raigarh. They are also known as Jhara, Jhorka, Jhora and Malar.

Both these communities are engaged in *Dhokra* metal craft, but their products have a lot of differences. Each community produces unique products in terms of its usage and style. They obtained the raw material from nearby forest and hills. Brass is collected from scrap brass/bronze metals, old and broken utensils usually from villagers and scrap sellers.

Earlier these communities were nomadic and now they gave up their nomadic lifestyle recently they settled. Ghadwa community members have settled since six-decade around the 1960s and 1970s. Jhareka community members have settled since three-four decades around the 1980s-1990s and few members of Jhareka community are still seasonal nomadic. Crafting is their traditional occupation; both communities claim that they have been making craft since ancient time. Both communities have tales regarding the origin of crafting, which they claim that 'tale' date backs to ancient time. Below is the tales of craft making origin from Ghadwa and Jhareka communities.

2.3.1 Oral narrative of craft making: origin & elements

Oral narratives are passed through generation; it is a genre of folklore which exist in every folk group be it a family or community or region. Narratives are told to inform the history, social laws, rules-regulations, traditions and customs etc. *Dhokra* crafting is also a tradition, a

practice of material culture which transfers from one generation to another. The knowledge of tradition passes orally. The folktales are one of the forms of oral folklore through which artisans teach the essential elements and process of technique to another generation. Both tales start to progress and end within the domain of the forest as Jhareka and Ghadwa both communities have their roots in the forest region. Artisans claim that their ancestors were forest dwellers. Even when they were nomadic, they lived mostly in the nearby villages of the forest region. As Govindram Jhareka says-

"*Our work and lifestyle depend on the forest. That's why though we have given up nomadic life we all settled nearby forest. City life does not suit us because we are the sons of Jungle Devi (forest Goddess).*"[1]

Above anecdote reflects their attachment to the forest. It is because the forest is a major source of raw materials; their livelihood depends on the forest. Naturally, they would consider the forest as their "Mother Goddess" because the forest is their lifeline. Below is the origin tale from Jhareka community told by Dhanmati Jhareka, as per the tale-

"*Once there was a farmer family in the small village, which had twelve sons. Their father brought up his sons according to his will. As they grew, everyone learned the skill of cultivation from their father. They all followed the path of the father, but the youngest boy was not interested in agriculture. He was not willing to join with his father and brothers in the field. Instead, he used to roam around the nearby forest and village. The family got worried about his future, so they compelled him to join with them. They tried to convince him of the importance of hardworking as there were not many options to earn one's livelihood. Though he felt guilty, he was not able to think of going into the agriculture field. He was disappointed and could not find a way to get out of this pressure. He went to the forest and due to the tension; he went deep into the forest and lost his way back home, so he started crying aloud. As he was crying, tears rolled out of his eyes and it fell down in the mud. The teardrops on the mud created some forms and he began to make that particular form with mud. Thus, with the help of water and clay, the boy created a beautiful artefact. Therefore he gradually learned the art of making sculpture. His brothers also appreciated and encouraged him.*

Later he realized that the sculpture he had made out of clay and water was easily breakable. So he needed something to make it a more solid one. He searched for material to make his work into a permanent medium. He was trying to get it from nature. One day when he was sitting near his field, he saw the Gum of Babool tree (Vachellia nilotica). Then he imagined

[1]Govindram Jhareka, personal interview, November 3rd, 2015, Ektal.

applying it on the surface of his sculpture. He applied the gum of Babool tree on his sculpture, but as the sunlight got hotter, the glue began to melt. He became restless and continued his search to find a solution. He used to make sculpture in the forest where Babool gum was easily available. He had stored all his sculpture in a tiny cave. One day a wildfire broke out in the jungle. Due to fire sculpture was burnt but the clay part was baked and Babool gum was melted in the fire. During a fire, some of the rocks slightly melted and fell into the sculpture. That melted rock stuck in the sculpture and took the space of Babool gum design. Next day after the fire cooled, the boy went to the forest where he saw the sculpture. Finally, with the help of his research for a solid and unbreakable product, he found out the technique of metal casting."[1]

Ghadwa community has a slightly different tale about how their ancestor learned the metal craft. Though, the tale of Ghadwa too has a similar structure; many master craftsmen tell this tale from Ghadwa community. As per the tale-

"*Once, in prehistoric time, one hunter went for hunting to the forest, he went into the jungle. After a while, he started feeling thirsty, so he started searching for water. While searching, he reached nearby one rocky hill. There he could see fire on some dry branches of a tree. As he observed, he saw the melted rock ejected from the crack of a rock. He wondered to see that and waited there for hours. And he saw that the melted rock gradually got cold and finally turned into a solid shining piece. He took the piece and brought it to his cave. He kept it in the corner of his cave and he was thrilled to watch it regularly. As it made him happy, he started searching for some shining object in the forest. He succeeded in his search. Out of curiosity, he sought the place and tried to find out the cause of this phenomenon. Thus he found out that the process of creating shining rock is the result of melted rock's passage through the clay of termite nest and beehive.*

He assumed that when the rock ejected the lava, it might get stick in the beehive and the termite clay. With this knowledge, he started to create a shining rock. He showed the shining object to his neighbours and they asked what that object was, so he introduced it as the Mother Goddess."[2]

It must be pointed out that though some of them say that the first object was mother Goddess. Some others suggested that it is Mawali Mata, Danteswary Mata and Budi Mata etc.

[1]Dhanmati Jhareka, personal interview, November 5th, 2015, Ektal. Similar tale was told by the several Jhareka artisans from different villages of Raigarh district as well.

[2]Suktaram soni, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Sirmud. Similar tale was told by many Ghadwa artisans from Kondagaon and Jagdalpur district, thus it is confirmed the tale is popularly known and told among the artisan community.

Even now, most of the master craftsmen of Ghadwa community teach their apprentice to make mother Goddess first. It is believed among the artisans that they have learned the craft by the grace of mother Goddess. So they are obliged to honour her because their mother Goddess was the first artefact made by their ancestor.

As mentioned earlier tales are told to pass the information. These both tales consists of the information on the crafting process. Artisans are passing these tales from one generation to another. Tale and stories are a known method of mnemonic.[1] Because mnemonics always follow the particular structure, thus it is easy to remember and less likely to get corrupted. To unveil the fundamental elements and structure of tales, the syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis of tales has been done.[2] Below is the table which gives the structure of the tale.

Community	**Journey**	**Twist**	**Findings**	**Curiosity**	**Developing a technique**
Jhareka	A Hunter goes to the forest	Went deep into the forest and felt thirsty, started searching for water	Found solid metal piece	Started looking for ways to create solid metal	Found bee wax, termite clay and fire
Ghadwa	A boy goes to the forest	Lost in the forest began crying	Found clay shapes while crying	Started looking for ways to make clay into a solid object	Found Resin, fire and metal

Table 2.1: Structure of origin tale

[1]"Aid for memory, many professions and academic specialities use mnemonics for teaching and remembering, and educators endorse them for classroom and other formal educational contexts. Some mnemonics, especially those in oral circulation, have currency as folklore. They may assume several forms that encourage the memorization of facts or procedures that are otherwise difficult to retain" (Clements, 1997, p.560).

[2]The structure of language can be segmented into two kinds of relationships, first the syntagmatic and second the paradigmatic structure. As per Saussure "Combinations supported by linearity are syntagms" (Chandler, 2007). Words become a sentence because they are chained together, so the syntagmatic relationship is the combinatorial or chain relationship. Syntagmatic is the linear or horizontal format of a sentence or story. The paradigmatic relationships are contrastive or choice relationships. Words that have something in common are associated in the memory, resulting in a group marked by diverse relations for example, the word we use by choice, for noun, action or event which can be substituted or have associations. Paradigmatic is vertical format in sentence or story (Chandler, 2007).

In Table 2.1, tales from both communities have been broken into five major parts. Both tales have similar elements and the format of the story. The table suggests that story start within the domain of forest, progress with a quest for accidentally discovered element and ends with the discovery of craft making technique. Both tales consist of some basic elements like Man and forest, clay and fire. The tales surround these Binaries,[1] this suggests that even though there are differences in the tales, the basic elements and structure remain the same. That is because the technique used by both communities for creating craft is similar. (Details of procedure will be discussed in the fourth chapters) Narratives do not only suggest the method but also their dwelling pattern and their livelihood dependency. Both artisan communities lived nearby forest and hunting, collections of forest goods and agriculture is also part of their lives. Thus the forest plays a significant role in their lives and craft of artisans' communities. To understand the lives of artisan communities further will see the social status of Jhareka and Ghadwa artisan communities, which creates an identity for them as *Dhokra* craft maker community.

2.4 Social status of *Dhokra* artisans: caste identities

The caste system is a unique and integral part of Indian society and it is a fact that a caste system is a major form of social stratification. As based on the caste, people are in the hierarchy in Indian society. The tribes[2] , on the other hand, are assumed to the egalitarian society. Tribal has been defined by many, first come the British who define tribal as a separate segment from the mainstream community. Tribe have simple totemic religions, absence of caste in general, distinct and numerous languages and tribal society have an egalitarian society.[3] Tribes were addressed by different names, like Adivasi aborigines, primitives and backward Hindus.

[1]Claude Levi-Strauss is a theorist who came up with the idea that any narrative contains Binary Opposites. His theory was that the way we understand specific words doesn't depend on the meaning. Meanings are according to our understanding of the difference between the words and its "opposite" which is called "Binary Oppositions" like – love-hate, hero-villain, truth-lies etc. (Dundes, 1997).

[2]Scheduled tribes have been listed in article 342. According to the 2011 census of the country, the total population of tribal is 10.45 crores, tribal share the 8.6% of the population in the country.

[3]British used the word tribe to understand numerical strength of different communities and distinguished based on the mode of production and style of settlement. British anthologist studied like of Gonds in central India. Todas in Nilgiri and Adivasi of Andaman and their distinctive forest lifestyle, primitive occupations and religion set them away from the caste system of villages. Britisher called them contemporary primitive. They had an ethnocentric assessment. Britishers called tribal remnants of early stages or humanity with savagery and barbarism their defining features.

Indian thinkers disagree with British views; they never saw caste and tribe as binary or mutually opposite terms. Indian view was empirical and rooted in reality. Scholars like G.S. Ghurye, Verrier Elwin, S.C. Roy[1], David G. Mandelbaum[2], Andre Beteille[3] and S.C. Dubey.[4] Most of the scholars have defined tribes based on the religious view and the degree in which they mingle or assimilated with Hinduism. G.S. Ghurye said tribes always had a close association with larger society terming them backwards Hindus. He categorized tribal into three groups; Hinduised tribes, partially Hinduised tribes and the hill section or completely isolated tribe (Ghurye, 1980). Verrier Elwin gave the alternative view of tribal social structure which is popularly known as Cultural classification. He said about communal life[5], solitude[6], and isolation[7] (Elwin, 1955).

Though tribal society may not have sharply divided caste system, they do have hierarchy and they do follow the caste system[8]. Generally, the caste system is the feature of Hindu society, but its effect can be seen on other religion of the subcontinent. There are many theories regarding the caste system of India. The most popular is the theory of the Varna system. The crafts maker communities in general, according to the Varna system, come into Vaisya categories. Tribal society does not have the Varna system. On the surface level, tribal society seems to be an egalitarian society. Major occupations in the tribal society are shifting cultivations, herding cattle, hunting and collection of forest goods. Almost all the communities

[1]S.C. Roy called them Jana or tribe and *Jati* have coexisted in India since very long.

[2]Sociologist David G. Mandelbaum says there are not any strict cultural differences between caste and tribes. Mandelbaum has made some distinguished social, cultural feature of tribes, according to him Kinship as a vital instrument of social bonds for tribal. Tribal has a lack of clearly defined hierarchy among men and group. In tribal communities central, complicated and formal organization is absent. Tribal have Communitarian basis of landholding. They do not have the concept of private property. Tribal societies are segmentary. They place little value on surplus accumulation. They use of capital and on market trading. Tribal has a lack of distinction between form and substance of religion. They have a distinct psychological bent for enjoying life (Mandelbaum, 1970)

[3]Beteille differentiated them based on language, religion and degree of isolation.

[4]S.C. Dube said that tribal community has a combination of traditions of Hinduism and little tradition of the tribe; they both coexist without any conflicts. Dubey classified tribes to highlight their diversity- Purest of pure tribe-living in seclusion, partially accultured tribes in the neighbourhood of non-tribal villages. Substantially accultured tribes were living with caste, sect and religious group. Fully acculturate tribes those degraded to the status of untouchables. Aristocratic tribes- those assimilated into mainstream and enjoy high economic, social and political status.

[5]Group who adopted Hinduism.

[6]Group is who adopted Hinduism but maintain distance from other castes.

[7]Group lives in total isolation and away from any practices from Hinduism.

[8]Hinduism is a polytheistic religion; it incorporates diverse views on the concept of God. Different traditions of Hinduism have different theistic views. They worship and belief in multiple deities, which are usually assembled into a pantheon of Gods and Goddesses, along with their religions and rituals.

do these works in the tribal regions. Tribal did not have a culture of wealth accumulation; from that point, they are egalitarian. But they do have hierarchy and hierarchy is based on secondary work which they perform within their society or institution. And those secondary occupations decide their status within their social structure. The Jhareka and Ghadwa both communities' social statuses are lower. Here is the brief discussion on Caste identities of both communities.

2.4.1 Jhareka

Jherka is also known as Jhara, Jhorka and Malar. They are renowned craft maker community from Raigarh district of Chhattisgarh. Earlier this community was nomadic, but now since the 1990s, they have settled in villages (Hunter, 1908). As they were nomadic, they learned many language and dialects. They are multilingual because they have mostly lived in the border region of Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand. They can speak Sadri[1], Chhattisgarhi[2], Hindi and Koilta[3]. Sadri is the mother tongue of Jhareka.

Most of the Jhareka artisan families are settled in different parts of Raigarh district. The Ektal village, which is near to the Raigarh city, is very popular for the Jhareka community's craftwork. Baigandihi[4] is another well-known village for the Jhareka community's craftwork[5]. They are also known as Jhara and Jhorka in Raigarh and in Sarguja District they are known as Jhora or malar. Artisans from Raigarh say that have migrated from Sarguja and Jashpur district of state. Some of the Jherka community members identify themselves as Malar and some claim that Malar is their affiliated caste. Some of the community members have settled in *Phuljhar*[6] area of Mahasamund district. Some community members are still in Sarguja- Jashpur district and among them, very few members practice the craft.

[1]Sadri is a dialect of Korwa language which is part of Munda language family. Sadri is spoken by northeastern part of the country.

[2]Chhattisgarhi is the central-eastern language of the country and has Devnagari script. It is part Indo-Aryan language family with the heavy vocabulary of Dravidian and Munda language. It is spoken by almost 20 million people of the state and has many dialects in the region.

[3]*Koilta* is a dialect, a mixer of Sambalpuri Oriya and Chhattisgarhi but Oriya is dominant. People of Orissa and Chhattisgarh border speak Koilta.

[4]Its small village in Raigarh district, which is attached to Raigarh-Saraipali Highway road.

[5]Here is the list of villages from Raigarh district, where members of Jherkha community and work 1. Baigandihi, 2. Bhelwa, 3. Dadarpali, 4. Damdarha 5.Devulbhata, 6. Domadihi (Chheen), 7. Dongripali, 8. Ektal, 9. Ghoraghati,10. Ghorgha, 11. Kandulpali, 12. Khokhripali, 13.Sanpali. And from Mahasamund district 1. Sukhipali, 2. Vishnu pali

[6]*Phuljhar* is name popularly used for Orissa border area of Mahasamund district.

Jhareka moved one place to another and collected old vessels, pots or broken pieces of metal as raw materials for their craft. They cleaned and melted all these scraps for casting new products. They also used to skim gold from the river and used to work for Sunar (Goldsmith) by helping them in cleaning Gold. But few members of the community say they have been doing craft since ancient times. And people who skim gold from the river who are known as Sonjhari and Sunar (goldsmith) are their brothers. There is a tale, told by the artisans, regarding the brotherhood of artisans' communities. According to the tale-

"*Once a poor tribal couple had twelve sons, they all used to live in the village, which was in the deep forest. Farming and collection of forest goods was the only source of livelihood. When all brothers became adult, they thought of doing something else because whatever land they owned was not enough for all of them. So they learnt Brass craft technique. But one village twelve brass maker was not required, so they scattered and unknowingly moved into twelve parts of Chhattisgarh. Over time, they learnt different crafts and became a separate community. These twelve brothers are; Lohar (blacksmith), Badai (carpenter), Sonar (goldsmith), Jhareka (Brass craft maker), Thathera or Kaser (brass utensil maker), Kumhar (clay pot maker), Sonjhari (person who engages in gold mining), Shitira (tin and iron utensil or equipment maker), Shikari (hunter), Godhireen (tattoo maker), Basod (bamboo craft maker), and Darji (tailor).*"[1]

As per tale, all these artisans have a single descendant. Many members of Jhareka refer to the tale as mentioned above. In an interview, artisan Son Kumar Jhareka introduces his craftwork titled "*Haman Barabhai*" (we twelve brothers). As he describes the work he says-

"*Our grandparents and great grandparents have told us the tale that the twelve artisan communities of Chhattisgarh belong to one parent. Twelve sons of the same parents scattered and made twelve different communities. My great grandfather had one diary in which all these twelve brothers' names had been mentioned. Now each community enlarged their number and possession but lost their connection with other communities. We cherish the feeling of the brotherhood without knowing each other. It is because of this feeling of brotherhood I made and titled the craft as 'Haman Barabhai' as a monument to our good old days.*"[2]

Many Members of Jhareka community writes their surname as Jhara and they have been included under the other backward class. According to Jhareka community, they are tribal and unwittingly included among OBC category. This confusion has created due to the misrepresentation of community name, by the authority. As Ramlal Jhareka says-

[1]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, June 27th, 2015, Ghorghati.
[2]Sonkumar Jhareka, personal interview, October 28th, 2016, Kandurpali.

"*When we were nomadic, we used to stay in one place and collect the order from all the surrounding villages. We used to call out, 'pital, jhara, chetuwa, batki, banoiwa, aahee, kanho, badlwaha au banwaha taaa' Means 'brass ladle, spoon, utensil maker have come. If anyone to get older damaged/broken one repaired or buy a new one' while walking through the village. So, when we came to Raigarh area, people didn't know our caste name and they started calling us 'Jhara banoiya' which means 'ladle maker'. And for convenience of them, we also started introducing ourselves as or Jhara. As our great grandfathers were not educated, they didn't know about the reservation. So when they began settling in villages, they were enrolled as Jhara caste in the official records. Thus officially we were considered among the OBC category since there was no community called Jhara enlisted among the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Caste*."[1]

He adds that they are unable to give good education to their children as there is no reservation and financial assistance from the government. They are not able to sell their products in the Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India (TRIFED) as well. Most of them realized the importance of getting into the category of tribal and try to be renamed their caste name from Jhara to Jhareka. Recently after renaming their caste name in 2016 from Jhara to Jhareka, the young generation of Jhareka community can receive the Schedule Tribe status.[2]

R.V. Rusell mentioned the caste name Jhara and Jhora as a synonym of a caste name, Sonjhara and Jhira. "sanjhara is occupational caste who wash for gold in river-beds, belonging to the Sambalpur, Mandla, Balaghat and Chanda District and the Chota Nagpur feudatory States. The name probably comes from Sona (Gold) and Jharna, to sweep or wash, though when the term Jhara only is used, some derive it from Jhori a streamlet" (Russell, 1916, Vol-IV, p. 509). According to Rusell, Sonjhara is the Sub-caste of Gond and their social status is low. Sonjhara lives at the corner and a little distance from the village. Their traditional occupation is gold washing; they formerly washed for gold and diamonds on the Mahanadi River. At the starting of the 20th century, the gold-washing industry decayed and most of the member of this community turned towards cultivating, fishing, some started working for Sunar (goldsmith) and few became a Brass worker(Russell, 1916, Vol. IV, p. 513).

Meera Mukherjee has mentioned a community named "Jhoras" from Sambalpur, Orissa. "Traditional occupation of these people is collecting gold from streams by panning. But

[1]Ramlal Jhareka, personal interview, November 26th, 2016, Ektal.

[2]List of Scheduled Castes: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. (2019, April 4). Retrieved from http://socialjustice.nic.in/UserView/index?mid=76750

the uncertainty of finding gold, and hunger have made them learn to make metal artefacts from Sithrias. The Jhoras follow some of the customs of Sithrias, during the marriage. But their Gods are their own: Burha Mata (the great mother Goddess), Donger Burha (the Great Old one) etc. At the time of the Cart Festival in the rainy season, they worship their Gods and sacrifice cocks and animals before them. Jhoras have a speech of their own, similar to central India dialect" (Mukherjee, 1978, p. 45).

Sonjhari and Jhareka are the sub-Tribe of Gond Tribe.[1] As per writings of Russell and Mukherjee, it seems Jhareka from Raigarh were earlier known as Jhora and Sonjhari. Sonjhari is known as a tribal community, but in Jashpur and Ambikarpur Districts, they are considered as Untouchable. Jhareka from Raigarh says that Sonjhari are their sub-community and they are lower in social status than them. Because Jhareka considered them daily wagers and they are not as artisans. Few old members of Jhareka community say that earlier they had "*Beti-Bahu Nata*"[2] means marriage relations with the Sonjhari but as they were nomadic slowly it decreased and now they are a completely different community. As Sonkumar Jhareka says-

"*My Grandfather used to say that his sister had married to a Sonjhari, but it was not arranged marriage, she had eloped with him during Karamseni festival. First, our family was not ready to accept because they are lower caste than us. But later someone told my great grandfather that, Sonjhari are similar to Malar (Jhareka), so he accepted. But since we were nomadic, we moved from place to place and lost any connection with them. Now we don't have any Beti-Bahu naata with them*."[3]

As seen in the above narratives and historical documents, the caste name of Jhareka has changed many times. However, at present Jhareka community members are known as *Dhokra* craft maker community and they have tribal status. Their craft gives them an identity of tribal artisans and having tribal status provides an extra edge to avail Government subsidies. Another craft maker community from Chhattisgarh is Ghadwa community, further will discuss the social status of Ghadwa artisan community from Bastar region.

[1] List of Scheduled Tribes in India. (2005, April 7). Retrieved from `https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Scheduled_Tribes_in_India#Chhattisgarh`

[2] *'Beti-Bahu'* means 'Daughter and Daughter-in-law' and *'Naata'* means 'Relations'. The term is usually indication between two communities who are independent and different maybe in terms of occupations, status and geography, but they also have marriage alliance between them.

[3] Sonkumar Jhareka, personal interview, October 28th, 2016, Kandulpali.

2.4.2 Ghadwa

Ghadwa from Bastar are also known as Ghasiya, Ghurwa and Gadaba, this community lives in the Bastar[1] division of Chhattisgarh. Bastar division has seven districts. Forest covers more than seventy per cent of this district. The Bastar district is well known for its Art and Crafts. From the tribal textile to terracotta craft is well received by the Indian market as well as the international market. Among all craft, *Dhokra* metal craft enjoys supreme status. Presently Jagadalpur and Kondgaon districts have become the hub of *Dhokra* metal craft. Ghadwa community is one of the traditional craft makers of the region. This is traditional hereditary occupation and the whole family involves in this work, including women and children. As Bastar is the homeland for many major tribes of the state, it is extremely heterogeneous society, each tribe has its own culture, believes and dialect. Chhattisgarhi is the most widespread dialect[2], Other than Chhattisgarhi, Gondi[3], Halbi[4], Bhatri[5], and Dhurvi[6] are the prevalent dialects of Bastar region. Ghadwa community creates craft according to religious and mundane needs of these communities enabled them to have a connection with every community. That is why

[1]The origin story of name Bastar, two stories which is very popular the first one is like this- In initial days *Kakatiya* dynasty has spent their life under the bamboo tree which is local language call as "*Banstari*" (Bans + Tari) 'bans' means 'Bamboo' and 'Tari' means 'under something' so this is how the region name is known as "*Banstari*" in the course of time it became "Banstar" and now it is known as "Bastar". The second story goes like this; 'once the king 'Annam Dev Singh' went to establish a new empire, his '*Kuldevi*' Goddess "*Danteshwari*" was also with him. In the direction of the Goddess, he started his journey. The Goddess *'Dantesari Maa'* had given him instruction that not to look back in the middle of the way until she is not saying to stop. The king started his journey. The Goddess "*Danteswari*" was behind him. They were walking and walking on the way one river came known as "*Dankani-Sankani*". While crossing the river Goddess's anklet started touching to the sand and sand entered in the bell of anklet. Due to sand, the sound of anklet stopped coming. The king thought that the Goddess had given the sign to stop. King stopped walking and looked back, Goddess got angry for refusing her order, king gave explanation and requested to forgive him for his mistake and to proceed the journey but she did not agree but for the so much of request of king she open her divine saree's part and spread, whatever the area was covered with her saree she gave to the king. Because it was under the Goddess's "*Vastra*" means cloth, this region is known as "vaster" and course of time name became "Bastar".

[2]Chhattisgarhi has five different main dialects based on geographical division, they are: Kedri, (Central) Utti(Eastern), Budati/ Khaltahi (Western), Bhandar (Northern) and Rakshahun (Southern)

[3]Gondi is part of a Dravidian language family, popularly known as south-central Dravidian language. Gondi is mother tongue of Gond tribal. Gonds are prominent tribal community of south-central region of the country. Devnagri and Telgu both script are used for writing according to the region.

[4]Halbi is also known as Bastari. This belongs to Indo-Aryan language family and it is mixer of Oriya and Marathi.

[5]Bhatri is also part Dravidian language family, similar to Gondi a mixer of Chhattisgarhi and Gondi, spoken by Bhatra community of Bastar region.

[6]Dhurvi is similar to Halbi with heavy Oriya vocabulary spoken by Dhurva community of Bastar region.

Ghadwa community members are multilingual, Gondi is there mother tongue but other than Gondi they also speak Halbi, Chhattisgarhi and Hindi. In most of the villages of this region have the settlement according to the community name known as *para*[1]. Though this is changing now still people, prefer to stay along with their community members. Thus they have their colony, which is known as '*Ghadwa Para*'. They usually settle down in the corner of the village at the beginning or the end. The reason they say is that because they make kiln or furnace for the metal casting, in the open space. So if they stay in between village, they may not get enough space for their kiln that's why they prefer to stay a little far from the village.

Ghadwa community members say that they are a sub-tribe of the Gond community. Though they do not deny their caste name as Ghasiya[2] and being scheduled caste, but few members deny the being the scheduled caste.[3] A few members accept that they were earlier considered untouchable community. Verrier Elwin, in his book "*The Agariya*", mentioned the Brass craft maker of Bastar as tribal artisans and their caste name as Ghasiya. According to Russell "Ghasia is a low Dravidian caste of Orissa and central India who cut grass, tame horses and act as village musician at the festivals. In Bastar, they are described as an inferior caste that serves as horse-keepers and also makes and mend Brass vessels" (Russell, 1916, Vol. III, p. 27). Meera Mukherjee on her book "*Metal craftsmen of India*" mentioned them as untouchable. The practice of untouchable is not very prevalent in the Tribal majority region of Chhattisgarh.[4] According to a few members of Ghadwa community, their caste name has been derived from the community called "Gond"[5], which is a dominant tribal community in the region.

Few community members say that term Ghadwa has been derived from the word 'Ghadna' which means creating and casting in metal. As stated earlier they were known as

[1] *Para* is the term used for the colony, in every village colony are known according to the community name like *Gond para, Bhatra para, Lohar para, Teli para, Gadwa para, Soura para etc*.

[2] Ghasiya is commonly used for an untouchable community in Chhattisgarh. The community has been listed as scheduled caste as per the article 341 of the constitution. They are known as a grass cutter and said to be migrated from Sarguja district and spread all over the central and north India.

[3] Both craft maker community Jhareka from Raigarh and Ghadwa from Bastar claim to be schedule tribe not as schedule caste. It could be because schedule caste is still considered inferior in the region. Though the practice of untouchable is a crime in the country, it exists even now. This makes people detach themselves from such a title. The Jhareka and Ghadwa members face such discrimination on day to day basis, which makes them resist and refuse their caste name as schedule caste.

[4] The practices of untouchability exist in the Bastar, though not very prevalent or visible. The degree varies place to the community to community and region to region, as every community follows the purity and pollution in various form, the form of food habit, marriage and worship.

[5] Gond is a tribal community of central India. They are the majority comparing to other communities. They are believed to be the oldest community and also known as royal or ruler community in their region.

Ghasiya but later on the instruction of their king they were called as Ghadwa. As Sukhchand Ghadwa says that in the beginning there were five brothers they are Gond, Bhatra, Dhurvaa, Muria and Baiga. Later each of them became a separate community. Earlier they were known as Gond and later they became Ghasiya because they used to do the work of grass cutting for feeding the horses of the royal family. Hence they were known as Ghasiya. Later due to their craftwork, a queen named them as "Ghadwa". Since then they were known as Ghadwa. In reference to the name Ghadwa, a tale is very popular among the artisan community of Bastar. As per the tale-

"*Once there was an art lover king of Bastar. In his palace, there were two metal workers named Sukhanand and Dada Maniram. They used work in the stable of the royal house, especially for cutting grass and feeding to the horses. They also used to do craftwork in their free time. One day king heard about their craft skill and he ordered to make something for his queen. Both of them made a pair of the anklet and gifted it to the queen.*[1] *The queen was very happy to see the beautifully crafted jewellery. The wondered queen declared, 'you create and cast very beautiful jewellery, so from now onwards, your name will be Gadawa'. Hereafter the community becomes popular under the title of Gadawa. It means creator*."[2]

Members of the community are also known under different titles like Ghasia, Ghadwa and Gadwa. The name Ghadwa brought them to Other Backward Class. Some people have their caste name as Gadaba. The Gadaba is another sub-caste of the Gond tribe. The community members, who have recorded, 'Gadaba' as their caste name, have the Scheduled Tribe certificate and the people, who have the Ghasiya as their caste name, have the Scheduled Castes certificate. The other community members from the region like Gond, Bhatra, Halba, Agaria and Halba etc. consider them as untouchables. The practices of untouchability exist in the Bastar, though not very prevalent or prominently visible. The degree of untouchability varies from place to place, community to community and region to region, as every community follows the purity and pollution in various forms, in the form of food habit, marriage and worship.[3]

[1]Few artisans say that those artisans made necklace, few say they made bangles and finger rings, though majority of artisans say anklets.

[2]Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 11th, 2015, Kondagaon.

[3]Louis Dumont describes India's caste system on the theory of Purity and Pollution. Dumont's classification is based on the Hindu Varna system. A first criterion is based on the marriage alliance, second is on the base of traditional and family occupations and third based on the concept of purity and pollution. The tribal society does not follow the Varna classification. Inter caste marriage is not rigid in the tribal society. Hierarchy based on occupation is not stiff either. But with a certain degree, his classification is applicable for the caste system in the tribal society as well (Dumont, 1980).

Some artisans believe that *Dhokra* crafts originated in the central-east part of the country and some say it was originated in the extreme east part of the country. *Dhokra* artisans known as Ghadwa from Bastar (Chhattisgarh) say their ancestors have migrated to the central part of India from eastern parts of India. Thus, these migrated artisans spread the *Dhokra* craft in the Chhattisgarh region as well. *Dhokra* artisans known as Jhareka from Raigarh (Chhattisgarh) say they have migrated from east their ancestor migrated from Orissa and we were nomadic. As they changed the place, the community identity also has changed.

As seen above through the anecdote from Jhareka and Ghadwa artisan and historical documents, caste names of both communities have changed over the period of times. Due to their earlier occupation, current occupation and misspelling of their caste names in the official records. However, crafting as the occupation has given them an identity and recognition as *Dhokra* artisan community. Though members from both communities are not pleased with the policies of governments because the government has popularizes the *Dhokra* craft as "Tribal craft", but the official status of the artisan is not tribal. The issue is that adequate facilities are not given to the Scheduled Caste artisans or other backward class artisans, which are provided to the Scheduled Tribe artisans. This is insensitive and ignorant of the Government towards the artisan communities. Inability to avail government facilities made artisans sell their work to businessmen. And they are inherently exploitative. The official caste statuses do not make a difference in their social status, but it makes the difference in their economic status. Thus in the next section of the chapter, will discuss the issue of their economic status.

2.5 Status and prospects of *Dhokra* communities

The economic status of artisans defines their quality of life and prosperity. Over a period of time, the government has taken several steps to improve the life standard of artisans. (For the details on the involvement of government institutions see the sixth chapter) Jhareka and Ghadwa both are tribal artisan community. Farming, forest goods collections and agricultural labour were their primary source of livelihood. Now agriculture, daily wage labour and collection of forest goods have become a secondary source of income, due to deforestation, lack of agricultural lands and irrigation facilities. Earlier metal-craft making was the seasonal and secondary occupation for both Jhareka and Ghadwa communities. Presently *Dhokra* craft-making became the major source of livelihood for both communities. Though both communities are known as *Dhokra* artisan communities, not all members practice the craft making.

Earlier along with brass casting Jhareka used to engage in tin, copper, aluminium and silver works. Even now some of the members of the community work with tin sheets.[1] Some of these artisans cast in other metal like aluminium and copper but that is only for the commission work or on special order. Jhareka community members have two types of settlements, one group is permanent settlers and the other is seasonal nomadic. The permanent settlers are also those families who have established their name as master craftsmen. They can acquire government and private assistant for their craftworks. These artisans can build small houses instead of Hut but not good enough to live a lower-middle-class life. The seasonal nomadic travels to sell and seek market for their products usually have a permanent settlement as well where they live as a community. They live as a cluster of families and produce their crafts individually. They set out to sell their products as a group which in turn divides into one or two members and move into different directions. All families of Jhareka community come under below poverty line.[2] A few of them work as daily wage labourers as well. Sometimes they work as daily wage labourer for the other craftsmen. These daily labour sometime migrate[3] to the city along with other labourers to work as "wage-labourer" in the city.

In the Ghadwa community, majority of members come under the below poverty line.[4] And the only handful of artisan families own agricultural lands. Agriculture and collection of forest goods are their other source of livelihood. The new generation has started joining the government and private jobs as well. Most of the artisans want their children to join for salary based jobs. People who have shifted to the town also have agricultural lands in their village. But many of them complain that due to Naxalites[5] they are forced to leave their land and village, as

[1]They don't melt or cast Tin, only utensil and object are made with Tin sheet by cutting and beating the tin sheet. Mostly villagers give their oil tin boxes for making household items.

[2]As per the Raigarh Handicraft office and village Panchyat offices, from the villages where Artisans families live.

[3]Seasonal tribal migration in Chhattisgarh is major problems of the state. Labor migration to the city for construction and kiln work is a common phenomenon. As these community members are also poor without any land and even for craftwork, some of them do not have enough money to invest. So the lack of work throughout the year and without proper support from government, these artisans are forced to move to city. These do not only affect their life but the life of coming generation as the school dropout for this community's children are increasing day by day. These community members have the potential to be skilled artisans, hailing from craft maker community. The members have seen crafting work since the childhood and can proceed and excelled if proper assistant and training is provided.

[4]As per Kondagaon handicraft office and from village Panchyat offices, from the villages where Artisans families live, the list was taken only from Bastar and Kondgaon District.

[5]Since four-decade Chhattisgarh state is affected by Naxalism. The conflict between state and armed group has killed thousands of civilians. Majority of people feel like stuck between these two. Naxalites have caused a

Chamsingh Besra says-

"*I came to Kondgaon some forty years back, when I was around twenty years old. By that time I was married and had one kid. My village is Kotgaon, 30 km away from the city, but that place was notorious for Naxal. We had acres of land, but we were not allowed to farm there. Earlier, our house was in a very remote area. So, we had to suffer the Naxalite atrocities. Thus, we are forced to build a house near the main road. The urban spaces were much more secure than the rural. Many villagers were evacuated due to the Naxals*."[1]

As seen earlier, both communities have caste issue and this effect in their livelihood as well. Government is facilitating few artisans; a majority of artisans from both communities are forced to sell their work to the businessmen. The middlemen & businesspeople pay very less to the artisans. They give artisans specific designs to make and artisans are supposed to create work. The businessmen provide capital for raw material and after completion of work, artisan handover the craft items to them. Businessmen sell those craft items for more than double prices. They buy craft from artisans according to weight and sell according to pieces. Artisans are helpless due to lack of other opportunities for work. Besides nowadays due to deforestation and land alienation,[2] artisans are forced to buy all the raw materials required for work.

The entire tribal community has been alienated[3] from their forest and land by Gov-

huge disturbance in the region like destroying the official buildings, schools, railway lines, burning buses, killing and threatening officials and civilians, forcing civilians them to accept their ideology etc. At the same time state has failed to give tribal their constitutional right to have the access of their forest and land. Due to mines and dams caused huge tribal displacement. Government has failed them to give proper compensation and rehabilitation. Lack of development and education is leading tribal youth to pick arms. During my fieldwork in Chilkuti, Bastar June 2015 artisans told about atrocity done by Naxals, just a week before in end of May 2015 a Sarpanch of nearby village named Koleng was allegedly killed by Naxals in the May 2015 as he tried to bring development to the village and wanted to build school and a government cooperative society office. Security forces often misuse the immunity given to them. Security forces enter houses and drag boys out and arrest them. They allegedly kill the innocent tribal without any substantial evidence of having Naxal connection. Police atrocity is also increasing day by day in the region. The justice is not given to them and they have lost the trust over the authority. Government has failed to understand the need and demands of Naxalites to resolve the issue. Poor tribal are paying the cost of this war with their life.

[1]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, March 12th, 2015, Kondagoan. Artisan Chamsingh was Kind to show me his village, so he accompanied me, as BSF officer stopped the bus one our way to Kotgaon for routine checking, he told about his view on Naxalism and how they were forced to live village in order to survive and find livelihood, because they knew metal casting it somehow they were able to survive in the city.

[2]Alienated land is that which has been acquired from customary landowners by the government, either for its own use or for private development requiring a mortgage or other forms of guarantees.

[3]Karl Marx proposed the theory of Alienation in his book "*Das capital*" in chapter "Fetishism of commodities." He states that "when a person engaged in the lower rungs of the capital system, they are just cogs in a larger system. They are driven by those within a higher social class to produce as much as possible. Labour is now owned by the

ernment. And in the form of compensation, the government is trying to provide rehabilitation, infrastructure, capital and market. But these are not enough for the whole tribal community. In the case of Artisan, the majority of artisans are alienated from these facilities and subsidies. The only a handful of artisans are able to avail government facilities. There are three sets of artisan groups; first 'endeared artisan group', second 'isolated artisan group' and third 'moderated level artisan'.

According to Director of NGO "Saathi-Samaj",[1] more than half of artisans are unable to access all facilities provided by state and central government. Only a few artisans are fortunate to acquire facilities. This endeared artisan group has managed to gain economic, social and cultural capital. They can access every form of economic facilities provided by central and state governments. These artisans can sell their craft items to government emporium and organize a personal exhibition and have their showrooms. These artisans can sell their craft items at a decent price. They are also able to fetch big commission works from designers and merchants from cities, thus able to attain economic capital. These facilities are availed only by awardee master craftsmen and they have of National and State award winner artisans in their family. They have been able to establish their name in the field of craft, thus able to attain cultural capital. They mostly reside in the town area of the state or these artisans have tribal status, thus able to attain the social capital. Though the numbers of these endeared artisans are few, from both communities only a few families who have managed to be part of this type of group.

A second type is a group of the isolated artisan; they are unable to access government facilities and unable to fetch big commission works. They are limited to bulk orders from merchants; this artisan group is completely depended on merchants from towns and cities. In the name of government facilities, these artisans are only able to access the government studios, built-in their villages and occasionally participate in the craft fairs and exhibitions. These artisan groups mostly belong to the rural area of the region, but few of them also reside in the town area.

capitalists and labour no longer transforms the worker; in fact, they get alienated from it ultimately from themselves." Though later many scholars like Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Robert Blauner and C W Mills, have presented many forms of alienation. As CW Mills says in his study of middle class entitled "white collar" 1951 it is not just the working class that suffers alienation, but white-collared staff also witness alienation, even they have to assume false personality to work in terms of fake smiles, artificial politeness etc. which alienates them from their true self. Robert Blauner, in his study alienation and freedom 1964, has highlighted that alienation depends on the technology used at work. In different industries using different technologies, the degree of alienation is also different. Max Weber says that over bureaucratization of society leads to alienation as man is guided by fixed rules and his creativity is suppressed.

[1]For the details of Saathi samaj NGO see the sixth chapter of thesis.

The number of this type of artisan is more; there are more than fifty per cent of artisans who belong to this category. This artisan group clearly lack in economic, social and cultural capitals. Many of the artisans from this category work under master artisans or in the craft workshop setup by merchants as daily wage labourers.

However, there is the third type of artisan group as well, the moderate level artisan. This type of artisans can access to government facilities and subsidies. Artisans from this group have received the national and state awards, thus have attained cultural capital. But cannot fetch big commission works from merchants and designer, thus unable to gain economic capital. Lack of transportation and communication facilities deprives them to attain social capital. This group mostly belongs to rural areas and the number of this type of artisans is few. Artisans from this category are also engaged in agriculture and collection of forest goods.

Above discussed issues of artisans, communities suggest that the dwelling patterns, official social status and recognition as "master craftsmen" or "*Shilpguru*" make a huge difference in the economic status of artisans. Though Government and Non-government institutions are trying to improve their lives, but due to loopholes in the policies and corruption, the speed of improvement is very slow. The craft fairs, exhibitions, emporiums, training and workshop etc. have benefited the artisans (details of the government and NGOs' work will be discussed in the sixth chapter of thesis). The government workshops and training also helps other community members to pick craft as the livelihood. This transformation from hereditary to occupational has been discussed in the following sections.

2.6 Occupational group of *Dhokra* artisan

Dhokra craft making was a traditional hereditary skill that was transferred from one generation to another generation as seen above but now the situation changed and members of other communities also practice *Dhokra* crafting. And the group has transformed from a traditional hereditary craft group to occupational craft-making group. There are many communities members, involved in making and trading of this craft. Most of the artisans, from other communities, have learned crafting, from traditional master craftsmen. Though many elders and aged artisans do not like this transformation but with changing times they have accepted it, as artisan Suktaram says-

"*Ulta pulta bhai snasaar nawu ke mud la mude luhar*" means "*the universe has turned upside down and downside up, a blacksmith is cutting the hair of barber.*"[1] He means to say that people are doing something on which they do not have knowledge and skill. According to him, the new artisans do not have the involvement in the craft they are making. Only for the sake of production, they prefer to make the product or commercial items, which are easy to make like; pen holder, Nandi, tortoise or new fashionable jewellery etc. not everyone can create figurative and old intrinsic designs. As he says-

"*These new generation people do not know to make the figurative sculpture so later they may start making copy work like a sand metal caster.*"[2]

The anecdote clearly shows his fear for the loss of traditional artefact and method of *Dhokra* craft making. This is partly true too that now many artisans do not know to make idols. The production of figurative items has been reduced. But craftsmen's skill cannot be assessed on this basis that they are not making the traditional craft items. There are several artisans who have been trained by government and non-government organization and they have made work on which they have been granted awards and fellowship like; Arun Guha (Jagdalpur), Devendra Mandawi (Kondgaon), Sushil Sakuja (Kondagaon), Jayhind Thakur (Kondagaon), Bajrang Kuldeep (Bhelwanpadar), Bannuram (Barkai), Bansilal (Barkai)and Goutam Markaam (Bhelwanpadar) etc. These non-traditional craft makers have not only explored the technique of craft making but experimented with design, scale, and presentation. Besides the traditional craft maker have given new dimensions to figurative artefacts; they have made figurative items more popular and iconic artefacts of *Dhokra* craft.[3]

However, in some cases, few traditional artisans are not able to compete with new artisans because of lack of technical advancement (artisans have started using a buffing machine, to make the item more glossy and shinning. And have started colouring craft items with enamel colours). The new figurative artefacts made by artisans are more naturalistic and the subject matter of the craft object has also changed. The production of Hindu God-Goddess has increased. This initiation was taken by some master craftsmen like Panchuram Sagar (Barkai), Rajendra

[1]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, May 25th, 2015, Sirmud.

[2]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, May 25th, 2015, Sirmud. *Dhokra* artisan consider sand caster inferior to them, according to them they are copy maker they are not real 'Kalakar' means 'Artist'.

[3]Like *Jhitku-Mitku* made by Chamsingh Besra was awarded by state government the item gained such popularity, the item is made by most of artisans, available at every *Dhokra* craft shop. This item can be found in many sizes and designs. Even due to popularity of the *Jhitku-Mitku* item, Forest Department of Chhattisgarh has kept the craft shop name as *Jhitku-Mitku*. Though the craft have does not only have *Dhokra* craft it also has other craft items as well.

Baghel(Kondagaon), Sushil Sakhuja (Kondagaon), Maniram Jhareka (Ektaal), Phoolsingh Besra (Kondagaon), Pradeep Sagar (Kondagaon), Sabbir Nag (Dahikonga), Balmukund Jhareka (Baigandihi), Arvind Netaam (Sonabaal) and Son Kumar Jhareka etc. who had interest in making creative and realistic crafts items. It is also that artisans want to have an identity as a skilled and creative artisan. To compete and survive as an artisan in the region of many established, National Award winner Master craftsmen and "*ShilpGuru*" like Jaydev Baghel (Kondagoan), Manik Ghadwa (Jagdalpur) Sukhchand Ghadwa (Bhelwanpadar), Govind Ram Jhareka (Raigarh), Gochiraam Ghadwa (Aalwahi), Suktaram Soni(Sirmud), Ramlal Jhareka (Raigarh) Sampurna Induwaar (Ghoraghati) etc.

Presently the *Dhokra* craft-making no longer remains the territory for hereditary craft maker group. It includes not only the hereditary groups but also artisans who have formal training from governmental or non-governmental organizations. Individuals from other castes also work as *Dhokra* craft artisans. Similarly, all traditional craft maker community members do not practice *Dhokra* crafting as a full-time occupation. Many craft maker families are engaged in government and private jobs. This is also a reason that many master craftsmen are welcoming to teach anyone who is interested in learning and making the craft. In order to leave the mark of their legacy, as Ramlal Jhareka says:

"*My kids are studying now and they do not want to continue with craft making so I do not have any problem in teaching anyone, this way I will able to pass this knowledge to another generation, many of our artisans have started following the Guru-Shishya parmpara (tradition of teacher and disciple) like other craft makers*."[1]

Dhokra craft maker group has become more like any other modern occupation, which can be done by anyone who has the proficiency to create the *Dhokra* craft. This way *Dhokra* craft maker group has transferred into an occupational group. This group can be further divided into three broad categories based on their social and educational background.

1. **Traditional artisans-** The traditionally trained master artists of Bastar and Raigarh regions. This group has learned the craft as a traditional informal means. It could not be separated from their daily routine; rather it is their life itself.
2. **Artisans who got trained by the Traditional artisans-** The artisans who are not from craft maker caste. They are from other communities and learned craft from master craftsmen or trained in workshop and NGOs.

[1]Ramlal Jhareka, personal interview, November 10th, 2016, Ektal.

3. **The artisan who got trained in art and craft schools-** These artisans are trained in art schools. They may have done degree or diploma courses. And after graduating from art school picked *Dhokra* craft making as their profession.

Above mentioned categories of artisans share the same occupation of Craft making and these categories have been made based on the artisans who belong to Chhattisgarh. Below is a pie chart presenting the share of artisans based on above-mentioned categories.

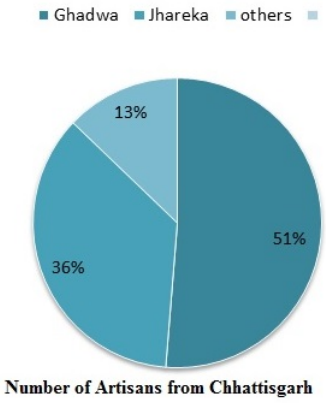

Figure 2.2: Share of artisans group in the state

The pie chart in Figure 2.2 is the population share of artisans from the state, there are approximately four hundred *Dhokra* artisans practicing in the state. More than two hundreds artisan belong to Ghadwa community of Bastar, their share is fifty-one percent of total numbers, approximate one fifty artisans belong to Jhareka community of Raigarh, their share is thirty-six percent of total number and around fifty artisans belong to other communities in the state, their share is thirteen percent of the total number of artisans. These artisans do not only share the same occupation but they also belong to the same region, share languages, culture, belief systems, customs, rituals, etc. Though these two communities dominate, it includes other skilled labourers as required in their practice, who made this craft practice to traditional artisans group into the occupational group.

As per the historical documents, Jhareka communities' members have learned the crafting from their allied community members. And Ghadwa community has been practicing this Craft since ages but as part-time work. The above-given discussions suggest that over a period of time, dwelling pattern of artisans have changed. As they accepted the permanent-settlement, their craft practice also slightly changed (changes in the technical aspect will be discussed in

the fourth chapter of thesis). Due to their past nomadic life artisans faced problem to enrol themselves in the official records and obtain caste certificates. The inability to enrol themselves as tribal community members made them change their caste name. The permanent settlement made a huge difference in their socio-economic status. Because artisan's socio-economic status plays a crucial role in the creation of artefacts. Above given discussion also suggests that the nomadic lifestyle of artisans made them adaptive to any circumstance. Thus they are accommodative to other community members to their crafting arena. Their adaptability becomes one of the major factors for continuances of crafting tradition. The crafting process will be discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis, which will further throw light that, how permanent settlement played a role in the enhancement of craft production. Before that incoming chapter will discuss how their folklore helps in shaping their craft, which also provides the context of artefacts. As mentioned previously that artisans make artefacts for regional consumer according to their socio, religious and mundane needs. Thus folklore of region becomes the major source of inspiration of *Dhokra* artisans.

Chapter 3

Folklore of *Dhokra* Craft

The chapter explores the folklore of *Dhokra* craft and crafting tradition. To understand any given culture or an aspect of culture and tradition, it is important to have an in-depth understanding. But it is often seen that we get caught in our own understanding of world and culture, and without being aware we end up giving a biased preconception and ethnocentric views. To safeguard from such prejudice, folklore comes in the form of liberator. Folklore studies provide awareness of the roots of culture. Folklore showcase the world views of society, it provides the ethnic identity, which showcases the similarity and difference of one culture to other culture. Folklore is the reflection of true form and character of any given culture. As Alan Dundes says "Folklore as a mirror of culture frequently reveals the areas of special concern. It is for this reason that analyses of collections of folklore can provide the individual who takes advantage of the opportunities afforded by the study of folklore a way of seeing another culture from the inside out instead of from the outside in , the usual position of a social scientist or teacher. Whether the other culture is far from the borders of our country or whether the 'other culture is lodged within these borders, a world shrunk by modern technological advances in transportation and communications demands that education keep pace" (Dundes, 1969, p. 471). Thus folklore and folkloric studies become an important aspect of a culture.

3.1 Folklore and folkloric

The term folklore was first coined by William John Thomas in 1846, before that it was considered or called as popular antiquities or popular literature. The earliest definition would refer to the object and orally transmitted material of people from working-class rural

communities. It is thought to be under threat or about to become extinction and therefore had to be preserved (Freeman, 2005). Later several folklorists have defined "what is folklore?"[1] Among all the definition of folklore, given by scholars, Alan Dundes's definition of folklore is widely accepted. According to him, "the term folklore can refer to any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common aspect. It does not matter what the linking factor is; it could be a common occupation, language or religion etc. But what is important is that a group formed for whatever reason will have the same tradition which it calls its own" (Dundes, 1980, p. 6-7) for examples, inside stories or jokes between two people or among one group, family lores and office or workplace lores, etc. According to Alan Dundes, an individual family can be called as the smallest group. Further, he extends on an explanation of folklore given an extensive list of folklore forms. Folklore includes "myths, legend folktales, jokes, idioms, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, slang, jokes, folk art, music, songs, poetry, performance, street dance, street vendor's screaming, street art, protest songs or quotations etc."(Dundes, 1980).

Folklore: The lore or commonality shared between two people or group of people in the form of oral, custom, performance or material culture. Folklore is the combination of two words, "Folk" and "lore". Historically terms "folk" referred to labours or everyday working-class or rural area or peasants. But according to the contemporary definition, everybody is folk, in present-day folk is used to address the people in plural form. In the folklore "Folk" is the first element. 'Folk' refers to the groups in which people from all section or part of life interact with each other, on an everyday informal basis; we call these a folk group. Folk groups are just a group of people who are linked by a particular commonality, like the same occupation or belong to a specific community or region or locality. They may have similar beliefs system like religion/faith or have similar interest like fan clubs or debate club or sports clubs etc. These groups, people built for themselves. In a group, people share some commonality. It could be an official or unofficial culture that surrounds that commonality (McNeill, 2013). A person can be part of many groups like family, friends, work, faith, sports and hobbies etc.

There could be infinite numbers of folk groups, in which an individual can be part of many groups. A folk group might be as small as a single-family or as large as a religion. A single person can be part of lots of different folk groups throughout their lives. They might

[1]Maria Leach has described twenty-one definition of folklore in her "Standard Dictionary of folklore." This reflects that there are differences among folklorist regarding the definitions because few scholars have concentrated on folk and few have concentrated on lore.

join and leave as they age, for example; a family is one folk group. Someone of the family is working at an NGO that makes that person part of an occupational folk group. S/he lives in the tribal region that makes her/him as part of the culture of the local folk group. The person also teaches in a school that's another folk group. The person also participates in a sport that is yet another type of folk group. One can see how one person can be part of many different folk groups. We participate and play a role in how we define ourselves in our relationship with another member of the group.

"Folk" refers to the people, "lore" refers to the way that members of a group communicate and express with each other within the group. This can be done in a variety of ways like songs, stories, art, performance, rituals and custom. These forms of communication could be formal, informal or symbolic. However, that doesn't mean just anything can be folklore; for example, there is a folktale and a movie or novel based on a folktale. But just because they all have similar content does not mean they all are folklore. The first characteristic that makes folklore different from "popular culture" or so-called "elite culture" is how it is transmitted. Folktale is defined as folklore because it directly travels from person to person, unlike novels and movies that travel from one source to multiple sources at the same time.[1] The second characteristic of folklore is its "ability to adapt and change" (McNeill, 2013) for example, movie and books are fixed you cannot change the media you are viewing, it will always stay the same no matter how many times you see it. However, if you hear a story from another person and say to another person, the story may change. Changes may occur in the sequence or motifs or character or place etc., a story spreads and grows outwards like a web or a tree. Folklore is dynamic and changing, but it is also a tradition which passing through generations. Tradition is mostly assumed that something old and unchangeable; however, it is not accurate. Tradition refers to the practice of passing on skills, knowledge, information, language and other cultural elements, from one person to other or one generation to the next, over a long period, for example; the folktale, proverbs, rituals, customs, art and craft etc.

In the 20th century, the definition and area of folklore broaden from rural to the urban group and just oral folklore and custom today object and behavioural practices. Folklorists have been grouped into four broad groups which are known as a major genre of folklore as Richard M. Dorson has given in his book "*Folklore and Folklife*".

[1]Though today at the time of the digital world, this definition can be modified, "Memes" are considered as e-folklore and it spread at the same time from one source to many. The origin and diffusion of e-folklore happen rapidly. The question of anonymity as well can be challenged as in the case of e-folklore the origin can be traced.

1. **Oral literature** (verbal art or expressive literature)- Myths, folk-narrative or song or poetry or tales, anecdotes, rhymes, epics, proverbs, riddles, hollers, cries, chants, and laments etc.
2. **Social folk custom-** Rites of passages as birth, initiation, marriage and death, folk beliefs, rituals, festivals, games, folk religion, and folk medicine etc.
3. **Performing folk arts-** traditional music, dance, drama, folk instruments, and puppet show etc.
4. **Material culture-** architecture, stitching, cooking, weaving, carpeting, dyeing wool, lacemaking, quilting, and blacksmithing etc. (Dorson, 1972).

Above given categories suggest that *Dhokra* artefacts are a form of material culture. Any artefact or object made by culture is known as material culture. According to Henri Glassie, "material culture is the conventional name for the tangible yield of human conduct. It is an odd term, material culture for culture is immaterial. Culture is the pattern in mind, inward, invisible, and shifting. Material things- red wheelbarrows, for instance-stand, solidly out there in the world" (Glassie, 1999). Thus Material culture is not an intangible tradition but a manifestation of tradition or product of acquired knowledge. "Therefore, material culture constitutes an abbreviation for artefacts in a cultural concept" (Bronner, 1979).

As already discussed in the previous chapter *Dhokra* craft tradition is living material culture of Chhattisgarh's tribal communities. That's why it is essential to study the *Dhokra*, from a folkloric[1] perspective. In order to understand the culture, the context of creation and influence of visual elements of *Dhokra* craft tradition. Folkloric perspective helps in "identifying the cultural frame that inculcates certain values, beliefs, and practices but also to discover how people modify that cultural frame. The advantage of a folkloric perspective would be recognition of the complexity of the cultural process" (Dolby, 1996). Folkloric perspective facilitates in understanding, traditional and cultural elements, which are dynamic and changes more frequent than we assume.

Dhokra craft tradition incorporates the folklore of almost everyone, who is involved in the process of crafting creation and consumption. Therefore, it is identified as the folklore of the occupational group. Before discussing the folklore of *Dhokra*, it is to understand the definition of occupational folklore.

[1]Of, pertaining to, or having the character of folklore or relating to folklore.

3.2 Occupational folklore: a brief introduction

Occupational folklore is a branch of folklore which deals with a group of people who share the same work or workspace (McCarl, 1978) for example, workers from one particular factory, a worker who share similar occupations like black smiting, craft making, farming, lawyers, teachers, students, etc. There are many genres of occupational folklore, for example, legends in one particular occupation, jokes about the profession or workspace like doctor jokes, lawyer jokes, courtroom jokes, exam jokes, laboratory jokes etc., rites of passage like introductory ceremonies, farewell ceremonies, pranks, and ragging, customs like regards or deference, narratives of personal experience etc. for example, teachers tell about their experiences of their student life, coach shares about their training days or particular experiences of game or line of duty, the doctor tells about their any individual patient or case, etc. Occupational folklore also includes proper equipment names and slang names for different objects, auspicious or inauspicious times or days, the days of the week or unusual occurrence, beliefs and weather etc.

Dhokra craft artisans are one such group, who belong to an occupational folk group. Earlier *Dhokra* artisan belonged to the specific community as it was traditional hereditary occupation. In due course of time with the involvement of external institutions, the people from other communities as well have learned the craft skill. This transformed traditional artisan to occupational artisan group as discussed in the previous chapter (see the subheading "Occupational Group of *Dhokra* Artisan"). Though there is domination of hereditary artisans, *Dhokra* craft never becomes homogenous and it is not influenced by one particular community or region, due to consumers, who belong to different communities. The consumers who belong to other communities also played a significant role in inspiring the crafting tradition. Because their demand, taste and aesthetic coupled with ritualistic, functional necessity forced the artisans to incorporate the consumer's folklore. Thus artisans perceive the idea of craft from the folklore of consumers. Naturally, the craft influences from regional consumer's folklore.

Interestingly most of these inspirations come from oral narratives of Ghadwa and Jhareka artisan communities, who create craft for the regional-traditional consumers. Artisans create craft for their peculiar, religious/sacred usage and wisely appropriated regional lores, belief and practices which were familiar to their day to day reality. In due course of time, these regional narratives, belief and rituals practices shaped the artefacts for traditional consumption. So it is essential to look at folklore from the region which shaped the creative practices of

the *Dhokra* artisans. Among the folklore related to *Dhokra* artefacts, oral narratives dominate, which included myths, legends and tales along with proverb, idiom and riddles.

As mentioned earlier inspiration for the *Dhokra* craft come from the folklore of the region, from the tales, custom, ritual, beliefs, lifestyle and world view. Apart from tribal communities, most of the communities of the state have their *Kuldevi* or *Kuldevta* and *Gudi*. There are many items which are connected to the myths and beliefs of these communities. Even though artisans now make artefacts for outsiders, but they make artefacts inspired by their regional folklore. Though outsider does not share the same belief system or religious practice, most of them like to acquire an item from other religion for example, in most of the houses in their showroom, tortoise and laughing Buddha can be seen. It is the common interest of people. Artisan Panchuram Sagar says about his experience of selling the religious item to outsiders-

"*When I went out of the region for a craft fair to exhibit my craft for the first time, I didn't know how to explain the tale behind the craft. Because I thought they would not understand about our 'Man-Dharm' means 'Belief-Religion'. So, I just used to say that it is our Mother Goddess. Later, when I narrated the story behind the craft item, I noticed that people showed more interest. Story enhances the values of the craft. As we narrate it, the customer understands that how we respect the craft and what the craft really means. It is not merely a product that we sell. Instead, we give our Goddess itself to the Grahak (customer).*[1]"

Above anecdote suggests the value craftsmen hold for the craft idol. Thus *Dhokra* craft is part of folklore from Chhattisgarh region. Interestingly *Dhokra* craft is reflects, in all genres of folklore from the region. *Dhokra* craft itself is an example of material culture, which has been inspired by oral traditions. And it is part of folk customs and folk performance of the region as well. Every genre of folklore discussed below contains the elements from *Dhokra* crafting tradition. Either has inspired the crafting tradition in creations or inspired from crafting tradition. For these discussions, ethnographic data collected from the field has been incorporated to legitimise the emic point of view of the communities.

3.3 Oral traditions

This is a genre of folklore, also known as verbal folklore, oral literature and oral history. "It is a form of human communication wherein knowledge, art, ideas and cultural material is received, preserved and transmitted orally from one generation to another" (Vansina,

[1]Panchuram Sagar, personal interview, June 5th, 2016, Sargipali.

1985). This is common as well as a fundamental feature of folklore; in every culture and group, oral tradition exists. Any lore which includes words in the form of stories, songs and poems come in this genre. Some of the most recognizable types of verbal folklore are folk tales, myth, legends etc. These folklores have been collected during the fieldwork from the members of artisan communities of the state, the descriptions of these folklores are given below.

The visual appearance of *Dhokra* craft greatly drives from folklores. *Dhokra* Craft has got influenced by the folklore of the consumer communities of their regions; this shapes the craft. The *Dhokra* practicing tradition is primarily based on oral tradition and many different aspects of folklore are linked to it. Artisans have narrated these myths and tales in their native dialect, for the academic purpose researcher has taken the liberty to translate these in the English language. Translation sometimes causes misinterpretation of words. That's why, as per the necessity, vernacular words have been written in italic (for the meaning of regional words can refer to Glossary given at the end of thesis) in the following narratives.

3.3.1 Myths

Myth is a sacred narrative or tale which is told as an actual incident or fact. Claire Farrer defined myths as, "narrative of cultural or religious beginnings. Myths refer to beginnings, in a sacred sense" (Farrer, 1997, p. 575). Sacred means something which has a relation with supernatural things or another world. Every culture has some myths regarding the origin of the world, their community, their religion and their rituals etc. *Dhokra* craft maker communities also have these myths. The following is the myths of the origin of world and clan. Below are the myths about the origin of the world from Bastar and Raigarh region.

3.3.1.1 Origin of the world

Every culture has myths regarding the origin of the earth, human and natures. These myths refer to the world view of a given culture, their understanding of the universe and human, their relationship with the supernatural being, the creator and earth. *Dhokra* artisan communities as well have such myths though these myths are shared by other tribal communities as well. The following myths from Chhattisgarh regions bring out the above-said aspect.

Myth: I, (Bastar)

This is the myth of "Origin of the world" from the Bastar region told by artisans. As per the myth-

"*Initially, the earth was not there; the only foamy water was everywhere. There was nothing else than that, so God said to the water that to conjoint in one place. Due to conjunction, the clean water left one side and foam in many places conjoins together. After some time foam dried and became crust, the crust became a layer of earth. From the layer of scurf a bottle gourd plant came out and from that, twelve bottle guard came. From twelve bottle guard, twelve kinds of major species came like tiger, tortoise etc. but along with that many species also came out. The major twelve species later became as human and since then these species became a clan of a human being.*[1]."

Myth: II, (Bastar)

This is another myth from the Bastar region told by artisans, as per the myth-

"*Once Mahaprabhu thought of destroying the whole world, after the destruction of the whole world only Water left in the whole Earth and everywhere only water was seen. When Mahaprabhu was destroying every living thing, one man named Kavashi claimed on the dry Bottle gourd, along with his wife and he saved himself and his wife. They both were floating along with bottle gourd and suddenly the God Bheema Deo appeared and started tilling the soil everywhere on the earth. While he was moving plough, wherever clay rose higher there, it became a hill. Wherever shovel went down became the valley, wherever it was equal, it became plain area. That's how the earth came into existence when Bheema Deo got tired, he left and that part is still in water means seas. Then Kavashi came down with his wife and greeted Bheema Deo. He blessed Kavashi and his wife of having 20 children. Kavashi's wife gave birth to ten boys, ten girls and they married each other as they were brothers and sisters their children born as animals and later their grandchildren born as a human.*[2]."

That's how clan names are on Animals. The idol of Bheema Deo is made prominently by Ghadwa artisans of the regions during June and July before rain the worship of Bheema Deo is done. The festival is celebrated by a procession of Bheema Deo around the village. The festival is known as Bheema Jatra or Bheema Jatrai.

Myth: III, (Raigarh)

This is the myth from Raigarh region, told by artisans. As per the myth-

"*After the great deluge, Bhagwan thought to start human life again on the earth. He said to the crow go and search if any human is alive. Crow came to earth started wandering*

[1]Tumi Kashyap, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa. Similar myth was narrated by the many artisans from region

[2]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Kondagaon. Similar myth was told by other artisans as well. Similar myth was told many artisans from regions

everywhere on the earth. After a while of search, crow heard the cry of a child he followed the voice. Crow found a bottle gourd floating on water. He opened the bottle gourd and saw two children (a boy and a girl) were inside. He took both kids along with him and gave both kids to God. God nourished them until their young age.

Meanwhile, God prepared the earth for their living, with water, hill, clay, rock and plant etc. When they became young God sent them to earth. After coming to earth, they married to each other. They had many children, but all of them were animal. So they went to Bhagwan and asked him why they do not have any human child. Bhagawan said, because they are brother-sister, their kids are born animal. He said to them; do not worry. As their grandchildren will be human and they will be named according to their parent's species. But Bhagwan also warned them that in future not to allow any brother-sister to get marry with each otherwise they will again become animal. Since then, marrying in the same Gotra is forbidden."[1]

Above given narratives showcase the world view of tribal from the state. Though the narrative may look different, but structurally these are same. To identify the basic structure and elements of narrative a table based on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure is given.

SN	Destruction	Protection	Encounter	Recreation	Birth & Rehabilitation
1.	God	-	God-water	Bottle guard Plant	Animal to Humans
2.	God	Man-woman/ Bottle-	Man-God	Marriage	Animal to Humans
3.	Natural	Kids- Boy/- Girl, through Bottle guard	God- Kids	Nourishment	Animal to Humans

Table 3.1: Structure of world origin myths of tribe

As in Table 3.1, in all three myths, six elements are compulsorily found they are; God, Earth, Water, Plant, Human and Animal. Following is the sequence in the origin tale of the Chhattisgarh region; the elements may fall in a different place.

1. God destroys the earth or earth deluge
2. Man-Woman/pair of Kids save themselves thorough plants or fruits
3. God encounters man or man encounters God

[1]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, June 27th, 2016, Ghorghati.

4. God helps or blesses human to recreate the world
5. Humans give birth to the animal (taboo originated for marrying within Blood relation)
6. The animal gives birth to humans (clan is originated)
7. World is rehabilitated

Bottle guard is a constant element in the origin tale; artisans widely use the bottle guard shape (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The first artefact on the left is from Raigarh district, known as *Tuma* now sold as a decorative lamp. The second artefact on the right is from Bastar, known as *Tuma Gaghri* means bottle guard pot. The item is used for keeping the *Salfi*[1] (a kind of beer made out of the milk of *Salfi tree*). There are many sizes and designs are found. Original dry bottle guard is their most handy pot. Usually, they carry *Basi*[2], *Pej*[3] and water in the pot along with them while going for agriculture work or jungle or travelling. Bottle guard is found in another genre of folklore as well.[4]

Other than the origin of the world, the tribal communities have myths of their clan origin as well. Below descriptions of those tales provides an ample idea in the regard.



Figure 3.1: *Tuma*, Raigarh



Figure 3.2: *Tuma Ghaghari*, Jagdalpur

[1]The *Salfi*/ fishtail palm (Caryota urens) of Bastar is a local drink prepared from liquid from the branch of *Salfi* tree. The tribes use the same on various occasions. This is more prevalent in Bastar area of Chhattisgarh.

[2]*Basi* is leftover rice of night with water.

[3]*Pej* cooked rice with extra water, extra cold water is mixed with rice after cooking.

[4]There is a famous saying, "*Tuma gala futi, Deo galla uthi*" mean bottle guard got broke, God is gone. As they keep food and drink in the pot so if bottle guard is broke now no one can help them for food and beverages. It is considered as a bad omen, that's why during the rituals they prefer the bronze bottle guard, to hang on the swing of the Goddess on the shrine or in the home above the *Duma* (totem). There is also a riddle about the bottle guard, "*Denga dokra, pete dante dant*" means a fat old man who has many teeth on his stomach. The answer is *tuma* means bottle guard, as bottle guard has many white seeds inside.

3.3.1.2 Origin of the clan

Gotra is the name of an ancient patrilineal lineage of a family. *Gotra* of unmarried women is known with *Gotra* of her father and married women with the *Gotra* of her husband. Jhareka artisans do not worship artefacts made by them. They have to buy from other artisans. But they make for selling, like many other tribal communities as well have a similar clan. Jherka community uses their *Gotra* name as surname or title of their family. There is six *Gotra* (clans) in Jherkha communities. They are as follow:

1. *Inda (Induwar)* - A kind of fish also known as *Rohiya*
2. *Baghel (bagh)* - Tiger
3. *Koilaar (koyal)* - Cuckoo
4. *Ojha (chirai)*- A bird
5. *Malaj* - A kind of fish also known as *Dhari*
6. *Baikar* - Tortoise

Their festival rituals and rites of passages differ slightly from each other. There are few differences in the procedure, as Sampurndas Induwar says-

"*While Induwar Gotra people perform their rituals related to Kuldevta. They worship with seven plates of paddy and coconut. The Baghel Gotra people perform the same with three plates, and Ojha and Koilaar perform with five. Malaj Gotra people also perform the ritual with seven plates, but Baikar performs with nine. He continues, even our Kuldevta (clan God) is different. We worship and never sacrifices animals to our clan God. If we see someone killed our clan animal as an act of propitiation. We take off or buy the carcass and perform death ritual for the animal*."[1]

Ghadwa community too follows the patrilineal lineage. Ghadwa artisans also do not worship craft idol made by them. They have to buy from other artisans. But they make for selling, as many other tribal communities as well have a similar clan. Ghadwas have animals and nature, plant-based *Gotra*. Many members of Ghadwa say that they have seven Gotra and some claim it is eleven *Gotra*. However, during the fieldwork, the researcher has met people from seven *Gotras*, here is the list of seven *Gotra*-

[1]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, May 16th, 2016, Ghoragahti.

1. *Besra*- bull
2. *Kashyap*- tortoise
3. *Sagar*- sea
4. *Baghel*- tiger
5. *Netam*- dog
6. *Nag*- snake
7. *Poyam*- sal (Shorea robusta) tree

Ghadwas too do not kill or eat their respective *Gotra* animal and do not cut the respective *Gotra* tree. The Ghadwa are not very strict for inter-caste marriage or inter *Gotra* marriage. If someone elopes, the couple is accepted within the community after a ritual bath called *Jaat-Gadhun*[1] and community feast called *Jaat-Bhat*.[2] If a couple belongs to the same *Gotra*. A maternal uncle adopts the girl before the marriage, which is called *God-Lena* means "taking adaptation". And the uncle of the bride performs the ritual as the official father of the bride. Below are the myths of clan origin of artisan communities.

Tortoise Clan

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*Once there was the man who used to live in heaven along with God Bheema deo his name was Naitami. He used to work for Bheema deo. He had four brothers. But once he made a mistake and Bheema deo got angry. So Bheema deo sent him to earth along with his other three brothers. They thought of going towards the Bastar raj. On the way, there was a great river. Naitami and his brothers made a rope from the Grass, Peddy and tree branches. Naitami first sent his second and third number brother to the other side of the river and after crossing, that two brothers they cut the rope because of jealousy. Naitami and his youngest brother, whose name was Markami, began to drown in the water. Then the Dandai fish, who is the king of the creatures of the water, sent a tortoise to help them. Tortoise saved their lives and on its back, they sat and crossed the river safely. Since then Naitami and Markami worship the tortoise as their clan because tortoise has given them another life*."[3]

[1] *Jaat-Gadhun* means the "community bathing" ritual, it meant to purify the person.

[2] *Jaat-Bhat* means "community feasting" in order to be accepted within the community the couple offer food to whole community.

[3] Tumi Kashayap, personal interview, June 16th, 2016, Khorkhosa

Dog Clan

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*At the beginning of the world, a brother and sister were going to a village. On the other side of the river, the sister crossed the river first. In the meantime, the river was flooded and the brother was left on the other side. Both the brother and sister started weeping. A tortoise heard them weeping and told the boy to ride on its back. In the midway, it drowned when the boy was sinking; a dog swam and crossed the river. Dog took the boy safely across the river, where his sister was waiting for him. Since then they started worshipping the dog as their clan and saviour. The dog is called Maitam in Gondi language*."[1]



Figure 3.3: Tortoise, tiger and buffalo from Bastar region

Fish Clan

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*There was a lake in the forest and on its lower side, there was a village. The people always apprehended that if the banks of the lake broke, they would be drowned. So they decided to make a channel to divert the water, this made Kana pen very angry who was the big fish of that lake. He decided to break the dam of the lake for that he started practicing some magic. When all the villagers were in deep sleep kana pen broke the dam and the water came out gushing. Kana pen caught the root of a tree and saved himself. When Bod fish, who was the king of the lake, saw water flowing, she understood that it was the act of kana pen. So she became annoyed and ate one eye of the kana pen. Since then, kana pen has only one eye after that Bod fish lied down in the place of the broken dam and saved the villagers. Since that day people of that village worship Bod fish as their clan for saving their lives*."[2]

[1]Bhonduram Netam, personal interview, October 13th, 2016, Alwahi

[2]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, May 17th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

Tiger Clan

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*Once a woman gave birth to two children, one kid was a tiger and one was a human being. Both kids grew up together; one day, both kids were going to the field, a lion came by and asked each of them, and who are you? Both said I am sori. The lion said to kid tiger, to allow him to eat the human boy. The kid tiger refused to give up on his human brother. The lion started attacking. The kid tiger fought with the lion. He saved the human kid but lost his life. Since then, that family worship tiger as their clan*."[1]

The people who accept their clan as tiger write themselves as *Bagh*, *Baghel*, and *Baghvanshi* or *Sori*.

Buffalo Clan

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*Once there were twelve brothers, they went to get honey in the forest. There was a tree, on the bank of a river on which there was a beehive. Beehive was a reflection in the water, which was the tree. Elven brothers entered the water, to get the beehive one by one and were drowned. The last brother saw the tree on the river bank and looked up he could see the beehive. He climbed the tree and took the honeybee nest, but while coming down, he too fell on the water, but a buffalo saved his life. Since then they worship the Buffalo as their clan for saving a life*."[2]

The tales suggest that tribal believe that their clan is life-saviour. And by saving a life in a way it gave them second life thus they consider those saviours as their life-giver. Below a table has been made, which shows the structures of above-given tales of tribal clans.

[1]Jheruram Baghel, personal interview, June 16th, 2016, Khorkhosa.
[2]Tumi Kashyap, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

SN	Journey	Interruption	Solution fails or partly works	Savior
1.	Four Brothers	Big River	Two Brother cross & cut the rope	ortoise saves
2.	Brother & sister	Flooded River	-	Dog saves
3.	– (Villager)	Overloaded lake	Evil fish breaks dam	Fish saves
4.	Human & animal (Villager)	Lion	Lion attacks	Tiger saves
5.	Twelve Brothers	River	Eleven brothers drowned river	Buffalo saves

Table 3.2: Structure of clan origin tales

The table is a syntagmatic and paradigmatic structural analysis of clan tales. As seen in the tale, and mentioned earlier in the clan origin, few elements are frequently seen in these tales. They are human, animal, forest and river. A sequence of the tale has been given.

1. Journey beings- one person or sibling or group of people.
2. The problem arises- they try to solve the problem (River or attacker come).
3. Solution fails- whatever solution partly works or does not work at all (ropes break, or a flood occurs or fight starts).
4. Savior comes- the animals save them (helps them in crossing river or protects them from an attacker).
5. Start worshipping saviour as a clan (for giving second life).

Above table reflects that inherently all these tales consist of identical structure and elements. *Dhokra* artisans make their clan animal for worship and they are always considered as saviour of their clan. Thus artisans create clan animals as votive offering objects. Nowadays, they slightly modify and add extra elements to convert these items into utilitarian objects for the

outsiders (see Figure 3.3). Though they also sell without modification or alterations because in several cultures around the world animals are always connected to religious or spiritual belief systems for example tortoise is considered auspicious and holy totem in the several cultures around the world. Thus tortoise is a popular artefact in the urban and global market. Other than clan, artisans also make the symbolic representation of universal elements below sections are the example of such elements.

3.3.1.3 Origin of sun & moon

There are many myths regarding the sun and moon and about their relationship. Sun and Moon are the symbols of eternity. Sun God is popular amongst the Gonds of Central India and the plains of Chhattisgarh, Sun and Moon are worshipped throughout Bastar as the Gods of the universe. People believe that as long as there are sun and moon in the universe, the world will survive. Because according to them Sun and moon existed at the beginning of the universe and they will remain there forever. Most of the Gods and Goddesses of Bastar have sun and moon symbols on their flags. Sun and Moon are also the essential symbols of Bastar idols. Even on the utility articles such as the musical pots and stamps, the sun and moon motifs are frequently made, these motifs are made on the horse's and elephant's foreheads as well. Even some Gond men and women of Chhattisgarh plains and Central India have sun & moon motifs tattooed on their foreheads or upper body parts. This is for the consecration and to the protection of the body from evil eyes, and for the survival of the "clan" up to eternity. In tribal mythology throughout India, the myths of sun and moon exist widely and also in Hindu mythology. Below is 'Sun & Moon' tales from Chhattisgarh-

The tale of Sun & Moon from Raigarh

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*The Sun and the moons were brother and sister. They once went to attend a marriage. Their mother told them to bring something for her to eat while coming back from marriage. Sun ate everything which was served to him and did not bring anything for his mother. But the Moon brought some food for her mother. The mother cursed the Sun. She said, as you have neglected to satisfy the soul of your mother and you have burnt my heart by disregarding me, so you will always blaze. The Moon had taken care of her mother, so she blessed him, as you have given me satisfaction; you will always remain cool*."[1]

[1]Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 11th, 2015, Kondagaon.



Figure 3.4: Sun & Moon in *Mohari*

The myth of Sun & Moon from Bastar

As per the tale told by artisans-

"*The Sun and Moon were born from the stomach of the Turu fish. After the great destruction, there were only two humans left alive the world. One boy and one girl named Kawachi and Kuhrami, they were married to each other. One day they went to a river for fishing they caught a Turu fish and brought it home. When they were cutting the fish, they heard a voice from the belly of the fish 'cut me carefully' Kawachi and Kuhrami cut the stomach of fish carefully. Sun and Moon came out of the stomach of fish. Kawachi and Kuhrami were pleased to find them and brought them up. When they grew got those married and told, you go to the sky and live there. The Sun and Moon obeyed their advice and went to live in the sky they had many children they are stars the whole sky was filled with stars*."[1]

Sun and Moon are found in another genre of folklore as well.[2] *Dhokra* artisans frequently use the motif of sun and moon in most of the artwork. Called as *Jond-Ber* means moon and sun, '*Jond*' means 'Moon' and '*Ber*' means 'Sun' both are Halbi terms. In the religious item, these motifs are complementary if the sun and moon motif is made in the artefacts, it is believed that item is made for the religious purpose (See Figure 3.4).

3.3.2 Legends & folktales

Legends are stories told by people about a specific person who is the divine and possess supernatural powers. It is believed to be the 'true story from the past'. The legends

[1]Tumi Kahsyap, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

[2]There are known riddle told by the craftsman Kejuram from Kotgaon (Kondgaon), "*Sanjhaa bihane eke k kari aaye, ekto gulla ghaghari ni hoye, ekto sing, buila ni hoye?*" Means *'evening and morning one by one comes, one is round, but it is not pot, one has a horn but it's not bull?* The answer is *surja-Chanda* means Sun and moon, as both do not come together; they come one by one, and the moon has points like horn, and the sun is round. Kejuram Besra, personal interview, March 12th, 2015, Kotgaon.

are "Short, oral prose narrative based on the reality of performers and audiences" (Green, 1997, p. 485). There are many religious legends which tribal worship and believed to be godly personalities, they are the mother Goddess-like *Mawali Mata, Danteswary Mata, Banjarin Mata, Pardesin Mata, Kankalin Mata, Budi Mata, Mata Devi, Sheetla Mata* etc., couple deities like *Jhitku-Mitku, Gopa-Gopadai, Dokra-Dokri, Mama-Mami* etc. and village Gods like *Thakur Deo, Rao Deo, Raja Rao, Dulha Deo, Bairam Deo, Sapdhari Deo, Bheem Deo* and *Bhanga Rao* etc. Artisans make idols of these Goddesses and village Gods. They all come to solve the problems of people; they fought and protected the people from the natural disaster, monster and evil men.

Artisans have inspired from the narratives of legends. There are many *Dhokra* artefacts which are based on these legends. The local people worship these legends. According to artisans, they used to make a few artefacts based on stories or tales. But nowadays popularities of these artefacts have increased as artisans Tijan Bai Besra says-

"*When we send our craft item for award ceremonies, officers ask us what we have made, what is the story behind it etc. If we say any stories they like and mostly those craft items get selected for awards. And such artefacts are also sold immediately with excellent price. That's why we all prefer to make items as per the stories told by our Purkha (Ancestors)*."[1]

Above anecdote suggest that items inspired by tales and legends have become more prevalent in recent times. Following are the tale from which *Dhokra* artisans have been inspired and created the artefacts.

Tale of *Jhitku-Mitki*

"*Jhitku-Mitki*" are a popular legend couple of the region. According to a popular folktale told by artisans-

"*Mitki was the only sister of seven brothers in a Gond family they lived in a village Newta Bandha. As part of the local tradition, her brother brought Lemsena.*[2] *A youth named Jhitku to the home to marry Mitki, both fell in love. But one day her brothers dreamt that the Goddess was demanding sacrifice. On not finding anyone they sacrificed Jhitku. Mitki could not bear the separation from her husband and ended her life. They believe that their Mannats (wishes or desire) get fulfilled only by worshipping Jhitku-Mitki. Mitki are also worshipped as Gapa-Gosai or Dokra-Dokri (Old man- old woman) in some places of Bastar*."[3]

[1]Tijanbai, Besra, personal interview, October 26th, 2015, Kondagaon.

[2]Ghar Jamai, or Son-in-law, who after marriage stays in the house of his wife.

[3]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, June 8th, 2016, Kondagaon.

Danteshwari (From Bastar)

According to the ancient legend, as told by artisans-

"*Goddess Sati committed self-immolation in the fire pit of Yagya Kund. Due to an insult committed by her father Daksha towards her Husband Lord Shiva during the Yagya. The angry Lord Shiva destroyed the Yaga Shala of Daksha. He carried the body of Sati on his shoulder, started to do Taandav. Lord Vishnu cut the dead body of Goddess Sati with his Sudarshan chakra to free Lord Shiva from the grief of Sati's death. The body parts of Goddess Sati were scattered into fifty-two different places, which are now known as Shakti Pithas. It is believed that a tooth of Sati fell here and Danteshwari Shakti pith was established. Danteshawari is the Kuldevi of the royal family of Bastar and it is often depicted riding an elephant. Her statue is taken out of the temple and placed on an elephant during a yearly procession*."[1]

The Dhanteswari cult is very famous in the region. Goddess Danteshwari is worshipped not only in the Bastar region but in the whole Chhattisgarh state. That's why the idol is made not only by the *Dhokra* artisans but also by stone, wood and terracotta artisans.

Budi Mata

Budi Mata Jatra is celebrated on the month of Bhando in the first week usually falling in the month on July-August because *Budi Mata* was born during the month of *Bhando*. Below is a photograph of the artefact, which is known as *Budi Mata*, (see Figure 3.5). According to the folktale, told by artisans-

"*Once there was huge deluge during the rainy season in the month of Bhando. Suddenly light falls from the sky in the hill and hill divided into two parts. From there Budi Mata was born, for the safety of baby Budi Mata, one banyan tree started growing on the same place. Within some minutes it became a huge tree. The baby Budi Mata started living under the tree. Whenever she felt hungry, she used to take milk from the braid of the banyan tree. Whenever she wants to play the banyan tree braid become like a swing for her and gradually, she becomes a young girl. One day one man and woman saw Budi Mata. They thought this girl had the spiritual power and they were impressed by her look, they were staring at her. When Budi Mata saw them, she called them nearby her. They both went to her, she gave fruits and said to eat and they will get rid of all their worries. She also told them whenever they will call her. She will come to help. Once the flood occurred in the village and the rain was not stopping. Everyone in the village thought they would die, so they started crying and screaming, but the old couple*

[1]Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Kondagaon.

didn't cry and started calling Budi Mata. Budi Mata immediately came and drank all the water, when Indra deo saw that she drank all the water, he got afraid and stopped the rain. That is how she saved the village. Budi Mata and her thirty-two sisters will also come one by one to the earth. They all will give protection to the human being from worries, poverty, pain and illness etc."[1]

There are many variations for this artefact, which can be found in many parts of the region (See the appendix-2). It is also because the tale itself says that *Mata* has many sisters and came to earth in different forms.



Figure 3.5: *Budi Mata*, Jagdalpur



Figure 3.6: *Mata Devi*, Jagdalpur

Mata Devi

Mata Devi is believed to be sisters or the different Avatar/Personification of the *Mawali Mata* (see Figure 3.6). *Mata Devi* is one among such artefact which is available in many sizes and varieties of artefacts can be found in both Bastar and Raigarh region. She carries a sword and a terra-cotta vessel for drinking the blood of the slain. Every village has one particular *Mata Devi* or Mother-Goddess, which they also call *Gram Devi* means Village-Goddess. Villagers believe that she protects the villagers from enemies and evil spirits. According to the tale told by artisans-

"*There was a huge village. People used to live in harmony. But once a Raksha (Monster) came from somewhere and started living in the nearby forest. He slowly started hunting and killing people who used to visit the forest. People were afraid to visit a forest but*

[1]Kejuram Besra, personal interview, March 12th, 2015, Kotgaon.

without going to the forest, they could not live. Forest is their livelihood, so all discuss among each other and decided to ask mother earth to save them. They started worshipping mother earth, with their worship mother earth pleased and one Goddess came out of the earth. When she arrived, she had four hands, so people started screaming, that made her very angry. She began throwing people; all villagers got scared and thought to calm her down. So they gave her first water she threw that, then they gave her milk, but she threw that too, so they gave her blood of the goat, she liked that and became calm. Later people told her their problem; she fought with Raksha and killed it. Since then they started worshipping her as their Mata Devi or Mother Goddess and to please her they sacrifice a goat."[1]

This narrative justifies the reason behind the Goddess carrying a vessel.

Thakur Deo

Thakur Deo is a village God who takes care of the village and protects the villagers and cattle from evil spirits and illness. He is a Gond God, but the cult is found only amongst those Gonds, who have migrated from the plains of Chhattisgarh. The Bastar Gonds have the concept of the God-Goddess who protects the villages from the evil spirits and illness. The shrine of Thakur Deo is made on the boundary of the village under a tree and he is offered white fowl and coconut during worship. According to the tale-

"*Once a courageous child was born in one village due to his bravery, people called him Thakur. He became commander chief in the royal army. Once he came to visit his family during the vacation. During his vacation period a gang of dacoit attacked the village, Thakur Deo fought alone with the gang. He killed the Sardar of dacoit and others ran out of fear, but Thakur Deo lost his life. After hearing the death of Thakur Deo, dacoit thought to attack the village. But the spirit of Thakur Deo didn't let them enter the village and all of them ran out of fear. Since then Thakur Deo is worshipped by the villager*."[2]

Rao Deo

Rao Deo is known as village God, he is also known as*Gram Deo* means Village Gods. He is also referred to as *Bhangaram deo* his wife is *Mawali Mata*. She is one of the sisters of mother Goddess *Deanteshwari*. *Rao Deo* is mythical spirit rider who rides his horse at night and protects the village boundaries during harvesting; the farmers worship *Rao Deo* ceremoniously at a shrine on the outskirts of the village. As per the tale-

[1]Ganesh Soni, personal interview, March 30th, 2015, Nangur.

[2]Fagnuram Sagar, personal interview, June 24th, 2015, Chilkuti.

"*Rao Deo was head of village. Once the group of thieves attacked the village and while fighting with the group of thieves Rao Deo lost his life. But his spirit kept fighting with them and saved the village. Since then, it is believed that his spirit still guards the villages*."[1]

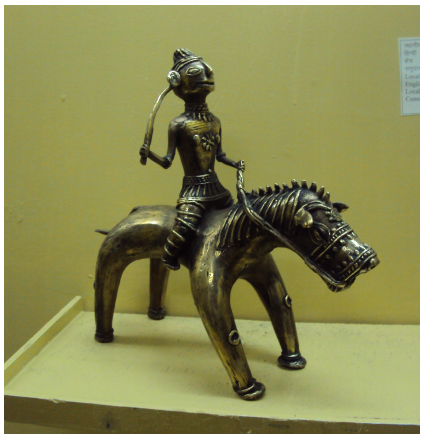

Figure 3.7: *Rao Deo*, Jagdapur



Figure 3.8: *Bhanga Rao*, Jagdalpur

Bhanga Rao

Bhanga Rao is also a village God, who safeguards the villagers. As per the tale-

"I*n ancient times, there was a region below the Kanker valley in Bastar region. A child with crippled legs and hands was born in that region. Hence, his name was Bhanga Rao (Bhanga means deformed). Bhanga Rao used to wander here and there in the locality and used to help the people who were in trouble. He protects the good people and punishes the dacoits and thieves. He always kept a sharp knife along with him. One day a group of people were coming after marriage along with bride but one the way in the jungle. Some dacoit attacked them they started calling Bhanga Rao for the help Bhanga Rao saved them from dacoit. But lost his life in the fight, since then he was worshipped as a God. Villagers make his Gudi/shrine outside of the village*."[2]

Bheema Deo

Bheema Deo is also one among the Gods, worshipped by villagers to save them from wild animals especially from the lion. As per the tale told by artisans-

"*Once upon a time, in a village of Bastar state, there were three brothers. The youngest brother name was Bheema. Bheema was very strong but had no sense or intellect. Everybody*

[1]Tumi Kashyap, personal interview, June 16th, 2016, Khorkhosa.
[2]Phoolsingh Besra, personal interview, March 10th, 2015, Kondagaon.

thought he does not know anything. Both elder brothers were going for agriculture work, but Bheema used to take animals for grazing. One day he was in forest grazing animals, suddenly one tiger appeared, but he did not panic and fought with tigers; eventually, the tiger died. Since then, people started respecting him and when he died, they made his shrine in the forest. It is believed of people that tiger does not come nearby the Shrine of Bheema Deo. So people take their animal for grazing nearby shrine of Bheema Deo."[1]

These tales are told by tribal of Chhattisgarh. These deities do not belong to any specific community. They are worshipped by most of the tribal communities. The idols always show the presence of horses and swards to reveal the heroic character of the warrior protector. Many of these legends have *Gudi* (temple) in the many parts of the state. Here is the syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure of tales.

SN	**Mother Goddess**	**A problem in the village**	**Arrival of God**	**Fight/ Solution**	**Saving and Worshiping**
1.	*Budi* Mata	Flood in the village	The old couple called the Budi Mata for help	The old couple called the Budi Mata for help	Saved the villagers from rain and flood
2.	Mata Devi	Raksha (Monster) came to the village	Goddess appeared from earth	She fought with Raksha and killed it	Saved villagers from Raksha

Table 3.3: Structure of folktales on deities

[1]Kejuram Besra, personal interview, March 12th, 2015, Kotgaon.

SN	Village God	Birth of Unconventional personality	A problem in the village	Fight/ Solution	Saving and Worshiping
1.	Thakur Deo/ Rao Deo	Once the courageous child was born	A gang of dacoit attacked the village	Thakur Deo fought with the gang	Thakur Deo lost his life. His spirit continues to safeguard village
2.	Bhanga Rao	A child born with crippled legs and hands	Dacoit attacked a marriage procession	Help Bhanga Rao saved them from dacoit	Lost his life in the fight. Since then worshipped as God
3.	Bheema Deo	A boy who was very strong but had no sense or intellect	While grazing animals tiger attacked	The boy fought with tigers and killed the tiger	Since people started respecting him as saviour built shrine after his death

Table 3.4: Structure of folktales on deities

As seen in the legends of Mother Goddess and Village God are similar. There are only differences in the first two steps. As in the case of mother Goddess tales, the problem arises first and then mother Goddess arrives. And in the case of village God, the legend takes birth first, and then the legends tackle the problem. Every tale ends with the victory of legend, victory of good over evil. There is an absolute binary which is visible in the tales. They are Man vs Animal, Man vs Evil Men, Human vs Nature, Nature vs Supernatural and Supernatural vs Monster. The legend tales are part of the religious life of the communities, which reflects in the material culture of the region such as *Dhokra* craft. Artisans do not only make religious idols but other religious artefacts as well, which are part of social folk customs. The chapter will further discuss the role of *Dhokra* craft in the folk custom of tribal.

3.4 Craft in folk customs

Customs is an action, which is a traditional and widely practiced way of behaviour that is usual and traditional among the people, mostly associated with the particular community, region, society, place, and time. "Folklorists consider customs to fall into four major categories: (1) calendar customs i.e., practices associated with certain dates or times of the year, (2) rites of passage customs i.e., practices associated with pivotal moments in the human life cycle, (3) customs associated with significant communal events i.e., festivals and other large group celebrations, and (4) customs linked to folk belief i.e., practices that result from holding certain beliefs" (Green, 1997, p. 168). As mentioned earlier *Dhokra* craft is made for the social, religious and sacred use of regional communities' members. Along with the idol of God-Goddess, Artisans also make the votive objects and sacred object for usage in social and religious ceremonies. Below a brief account of socio-religious customs and role of *Dhokra* artefacts in these customs has been given, starting with social customs of life-cycle ceremonies.

3.4.1 Craft in the "Rites of Passage" of artisan communities

A Rite of passage is any life cycle Ritual that marks a person's or groups transition from one social status to another. Rites of passage are a ritual threshold and a transit. It transmits one stage of life to another. Two scholars have worked extensively on the rites of passage, Van Gennep and Victor Turner. Van Gennap found that "certain kinds of rituals around the world had similar structures. These were rituals associated with the movement of people, from one position in the social structure to another thing like Births, Initiations, Weddings and Funerals" (Gennep, 1960). According to Van Gennep in all human societies, rites of passage have three stages. These stages may vary from one society to others, and the first stage is separation. All the rituals begin with "periods of separation from the old position and from normal time. Second is a transition; this involves a period of transition, in which the participant is no longer in the former stage but also not yet in the new. The second Victor Turner called this as the liminal period. And the third and final stage is reintegration or reaggregation when the individual is reintroduced into society in his or her new position"(Gennep, 1960).

Artisan communities celebrate the all major lifecycle ceremonies, and *Dhokra* artefacts are one of the elements used during these ceremonies. Especially for weddings artisans make specific artefacts for these occasions, below is a short note on the artefact which artisans make for their social lifecycle customs.

3.4.1.1 Jhareka

Jhareka community observes three major life events; birth, marriage and death. In all the rites of passage, sacred objects made from Brass are used like, *Diya*/Light lamp, *Kalash*/small Pot, *Ghanti*/bell, *Tokna*/big brass bowl and *Parat*/plate is used. These artefacts are used by other community members as well. According to artisans, these artefacts are evergreen items, as they are sold throughout the years. As artisans Vedmati induwar says-

"*Kalash-Diya (pot-lamp) is used in every home for every occasion, without these artefacts worship is not possible. That's why we always keep these items ready. Because if the customer comes to our house and if we say it's not available, they will not wait. They will buy from Bartan wala (utensil sellers). But those are plain without any designs, ours is with designs that's why customer prefer to buy from us*."[1]



Figure 3.9: *Diya* & *Maan*, Ektal, Raigarh



Figure 3.10: *Suta*, Kandurpali, Raigarh



Figure 3.11: *Ghanti* (bell) Baigandihi, Raigarh



Figure 3.12: *Haldi Parat*, GhoraGhati

Above anecdote suggest that the demand for these artefacts has not decreased and artisans are still making these artefacts for regional consumers. Jhareka makes *Diya* & *Maan* (light lamp and rice measurer) especially for daughters, to give them as gifts during her wedding.

[1]Vedmati Induwar, personal interview, May 18th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

Other than that they also make *Suta* (necklace) for Bride, nowadays they buy the gold ornaments from the market. A girl wears the gold *Suta*, but earlier they used to make from Brass or silver. Below are the photographs of objects made by Jhareka, which are used during the ceremonies (See Figures 3.9 to 3.12). These items clearly reveal the intricate craft skill of the artisans.

3.4.1.2 Ghadwa

The Ghadwa community performs three significant rites of passage birth, marriage and death. Like Jhareka community in all the rites of passage, sacred objects made from brass are used for example, *Diya* /Light lamp, *Kalash*/small Pot, *Jhari*/pot with the attached pipe, *Ghanti* /Bell, *Parat* /Plate, *Danda* /Stick for deity and *Muhari* /musical instrument (see Figure 3.13) etc. Ghadwa used to make Mundi/finger ring specific for marriage. The boy's family offers a ring for the bride as a mark of commitment for marriage, the girl's family does the same.[1] They also make *Mangalsutra* (a necklace with a pendant worn by married women) for the bride, which is given by the groom to the bride (see Figure 3.15).

Though nowadays they rarely use brass jewellery for life-cycle ceremonies and especially for marriage, they usually buy gold jewellery. As artisans Keshwati says-

"*Nowadays who wears petal (brass) madam? If someone is giving petal (brass) jewellery for marriage people will laugh. Even the girl will refuse to wear petal (brass). Shahrati(urban) people just wear these jewelleries for some time and for some hours, it is feshan(fashion) for them. Do you think they wear them every day? We are wearing it from childhood so it is not a problem but these 'school jawiya laika' (school going kids) do not wear. So for them, brass jewellery is very heavy, that's why they prefer gold.*"[2]

Above anecdote suggests that the popularity of brass jewellery has declined in the region. But it also indicates that artisans are selling these jewelleries in the urban market. The photographs of the artefact have given below (see Figures 3.13 to 3.16).

[1]Nowadays this ritual has changed now the ring ceremony is celebrated and the ring is exchanged between girl and boy. Also, people prefer to buy gold rings instead of brass rings.

[2]Keshwati Kashyap, personal interview, April 3rd, 2015, Dahikonga.



Figure 3.13: *Mohari*, Dahikonga, Kondagaon



Figure 3.14: *Jhari*, Jagdalpur



Figure 3.15: *Mangalsutra*, Jagdalpur



Figure 3.16: *Mundi*, Jagdalpur

The photographs of artefacts have social significance in the region. The functional aspect of artefact will be discussed in the next chapter of the thesis (see Section 5.2 “function of *Dhokra* craft”). Other than rites of passage *Dhokra* artefacts are also made for festivals, those artefacts are having socio-religious significance in the state.

3.4.2 Craft in folk festivals

The festival is a celebration on a specific day by members of a particular family or community or region or nation, it observed as a regional or national holiday. Other than religion, agriculture is the predominant origin of festivals and most the festivals around the world are associated with the agrarian calendar. Gathering, sharing food, dance and games are essential aspects of festivals. As per the definition is given by Falassi, the festival is “a periodic celebration representing through traditional observances, performances, rituals, and games the worldview of a culture or social group. Virtually universal, the festival may be the most complex social and symbolic event to persist in tradition” (Green, 1997, p. 295). There are many varieties

of the festival celebrated in the Chhattisgarh. Like Religious festivals like *Diwali*[1], Dashhara[2], *Madai*[3], *Pitar*[4] and *Holi* (the celebration of the arrival of spring) celebration of the relationship like *Bhaiduj/Rakshbandhan*,[5] *Dhankul/teeja*,[6] *Betaduj*[7] And the harvesting festival marks the changes of season. The harvesting festivals are celebrated across the subcontinent with different names and different ways. In Chhattisgarh, harvesting festivals are celebrated by almost every community of the state. *Dhokra* artefacts are one of the essential elements in the harvesting festival of the region, below brief account, these festivals and role of *Dhokra* artefact have been discussed.



Figure 3.17: Bull pair, Nangur



Figure 3.18: *Chhatra*, Nangur

Amush or *Hareli*

This is celebrated on *Amavasya* (new moon day) of *Srawan Mas* (a Hindu month at the beginning of the rainy season) usually falling in the month of July-August. On this day they worship Bulls and Cow, agriculture tools and equipment along with their *Kul Devi-Kul devta*. *Hareli* is festival of Agrarian community, Farmer worship for good harvesting but all people of this region celebrate it despite occupations. Term *Hareli* originates from *Devnagari*

[1]*Diwali* is celebrated in the month of October-November. It is believed that Lord *Ram* had return home along with his wife *Sita* and brother *Laxman*, after the exile of fourteen years.

[2]Dashhara is a prominent festival in the state, in the Bastar *Dashhara*, is celebrated for seventy days Interestingly in Bastar the effigy of *Ravana* is not burnt instead the *Rath* (the wooden vehicle) is burnt.

[3]The gathering of tribal God-Goddess in Bastar celebrated in March, Procession and Fairs take place from one village to another for whole one month across the region.

[4]In the month of September-October, the people of Chhattisgarh worship their ancestor for fifteen days, the last the festival is celebrated along with other family members.

[5]Celebration of the relationship between Brother-sister.

[6]Celebration of the relationship between Husband -wife.

[7]Celebration of the relationship between Mother-son.

word '*Hariyali*' means the greenery. People buy terracotta and brass bull or cow pair for the worshipping (see Figure 3.17). Though terra-cotta bull and cows are more in demand for the festival because terracotta is cheaper than brass. But demand for *Dhokra* bulls and cows also increase during the festival. As the artisans Balmukund Jhareka says-

"*During the festival, we get special orders to make pairs of the Bulls and Cow in many sizes and designs. Because people want to have more durable and fine designed Bull for worship, so whenever they can afford they prefer to buy brass bulls and cow. The small terracotta object cannot be made with so much of design and for bigger one have the transportation problem. Brass Bulls and Cows are handy, beautiful and durable*."[1]

Hareli festival is also known for *Gedi* (L shape wooden or Bamboo stick), kids walk around with the help of *Gedi*, on the evening of the festival day. *Gedi* race is also organized in every big village or in a place where the fair takes place.

Bheema Jatra (Bastar)

This is the marriage of *Bheema Deo* (Supreme God) with *Dharti Mata* (Earth) for the rain, also known as *Medka-Biha* (Frog wedding). It is celebrated on any day of *Jeth Mas* (Hindu month occurs at the end of summer season usually falling in the month May-June). The *Chhatra* and *Aasaan*, and *Danda* are made with *Dhokra* craft (for *Chhatra* See Figure 3.18, for *Aasan* see Figures 3.19 and 3.20 and for *Danda* see Figure 3.21).



Figure 3.19: *Aasaan/Palki* for deity procession



Figure 3.20: Details of ornaments in *Palaki*

Holi (Chhattisgarh)

Holi is popularly known as the festival of colour, it is also known as the festival of witchcraft for Jhareka artisan community. On this day Jhareka worships the *Churin Mata* (witch mother Goddess) for the wellbeing of their family. Jhareka artisans make the idol of *Churin Mata*, but they buy the product from each other within the community. They do not worship

[1]Balmukund Jhareka, personal interview, March 25th, 2015, Baigandihi.

the idol made by themselves, for their religious and sacred usage Jhareka members have to buy from other artisans (for detail of Churin Goddess see the chapter five, subheading, "Ideo function" *Churin Mai/Mata* (Witch Mother Goddess). Other than idols other religious artefacts like *Diya*/lamp, *Kalash*/pot, and *Ghanti*/bell etc. are also made by artisans.



Figure 3.21: Deity *Danda*, Nangur



Figure 3.22: *Turhi*, Nangur

Madai Mela(Bastar)

This is the village fair before the fair starts people worship all the God and Goddess of the village. Majority of tribal communities like Gond, Bhatra, Baiga, Kurma and Halba etc. bring their deities into the public. A procession of all God-Goddess is done all over the village and kept in the middle of the fair-ground for five or seven or ten days. After that, the fair moves to another village, that's why Madai is popularly known as "travelling festivals". Every form of dance, music, all types of art, craft and cuisine can be seen in the festivals, *Madai* fair is vibrant and colourful.

Madai takes place for all most three to four months. Start on the first day of *Push* (A Hindu month usually occurs in December or January) and it ends on *Magh Purnima* (Full moon day of *Magh* month usually occurs at the end of February or March). It starts from Kesharpal village of Jagdalpur district in December of January and ends in Dantewada in March. Local *Dhokra* artisans make all the deities in *Madai* festival, *Dhokra* artisans also make their *Danda, Shastra, Chhatra* and *Aasan*. *Kouta*/A wooden chariot used for the deity procession which is carried by four people.

The descriptions of festivals given above suggest that *Dhokra* craft is a significant part of the religious and agrarian festivals of regional communities. This reflects the world view of

the craftsmen and their society. As Meera Mukherjee also wrote “The Gharuas have no use for these images, and, although full of reverences for their magic powers, never worship them. They make no idol of their own, nor set up shrines nor celebrate any festivals peculiar to themselves” (Mukherjee, 1978, p. 41).

So far, the thesis discussed the folklore which inspired the artisans to create craft and the folkloric perspective of *Dhokra* craft being part of folk customs and performance. The chapter will further discuss the belief associated with *Dhokra* crafts which are practiced by *Dhokra* artisans.

3.5 Beliefs

The beliefs which are accepted and practiced by people are called folk beliefs. Believe or recognition of any proposal is subjective acceptance, but when it received social approval, then it becomes mundane and folk beliefs. “A broad genre of folklore that includes expression and behaviour variously called superstition, popular belief, magic the supernatural, old wives tales, folk medicine, folk religion, weather signs, planting signs, conjuration, hoodoo, rootwork, portent, omens, harms, and taboos” (Green, 1997, p. 89). Folk belief often refers to what is commonly called superstition. Superstition is often a short statement of belief, for example, if someone sneezes while entering the house or going out of the house is bad luck. Seeing empty vessel while going out is consider bad luck etc. Folklorist calls a short statement of belief as cause and effect, for example sweeping in the night will take away wealth from home. Another way to think of superstition is “cause-effect” and “unless” for example, if a cat crosses your way, then it will be bad luck unless you let someone pass or throw some object to the other side of cat’s crossed path. The term superstition is often used in a derogatory way, the reason it throws away all the logic and it reflects as a naive and foolish act.

Folk belief is the result of collective experience. As folk beliefs overlapped with ritual, custom, and rites of exit, it is difficult to make classification, however, to make it convenient to understand, one can make the following classification including; Luck, Evil eyes, Omen/Portent, taboo, Religious beliefs, Supernatural beliefs, Agricultural beliefs, Astronomic beliefs, The household-related beliefs, Auspicious-Inauspicious belief, and Health/ Medical beliefs. *Dhokra* artisans as well follow certain beliefs related to their life and crafting practices.

3.5.1 Belief related to craft

Ghadwa artisans from Bastar do not perform any specific ritual daily before starting waxwork or casting work, but they perform the annual ritual. Artisans worship the clay and furnace on the first dark lunar day of "*Chait*" or "*Chaitr*" Month which comes mostly in March or first week of April. This festival is also known as "*Mati Tihar*" means "clay festival". This day the oldest male member of the family perform *Pooja* in the studio with *Dubi-Phool*/Leafs and flower, *Sindur*/Vermilion, *Dhoop*/Incense, *Gamchha*/Towel, and *Nariyar*/Coconut.

In Raigarh region, artisans perform *Vishwakarma Pooja* which falls on every 17th September. Earlier they used to perform only for one day, but nowadays they have started celebrating it for three to seven days. The *Vishwakarma* idol (made of clay or plaster) is bought from the market. They install it on the outer veranda of the house or in the lane or street side, along with their tools, equipment. Aarti and prayers are done twice in a day, morning and evening and on the last day immersion of idol takes place.

In both communities, God-Goddess idols making is considered as sacred work. Earlier male craftsmen made the religious idols. Nowadays, even women artisans as well as make religious idols. Women are not allowed to enter the studio during their menstrual periods, where God-Goddess idol making and firing of the artefact is done, especially during the casting process. This practice is in both Ghadwa and Jhareka community. During menstruation, not only women are considered polluted, but the family members are believed to be polluted as well if a woman is menstruating in the house. None of the family members is allowed to go for taking beehives or clay from the riverside. It is believed that if someone is menstruating in the house and tries to takeout honeybee nest, the honeybee will catch the person and will follow till the house. By chance, if anyone succeeds in taking beehive, it is believed that in such beehive, honey will not be in the proper amount. And if the clay is brought, while someone is menstruating in the family, the clay is considered as polluted.

In both communities, it is forbidden for them to worship self-made idols. If they need for their personal use; they have to buy from other artisans like from relatives or someone who does not share their *Kul Devi-Deota*/family Goddess-God. It is believed that God-Goddess should be brought from outside if worshipped the image made by ourselves. The spirit will not visit that craft, as it is like any other household items.

The beliefs are practiced by all the artisans, including the artisans who do not belong to traditional craft-making communities. As other members have learned the craft from traditional

artisans, they have incorporated not only the practice of craft making but also the belief attached to the craft making and craft. It is evident that *Dhokra* is part of the religious and social life of tribal. And crafting practice as well is surrounded by many folk beliefs.

The narratives and beliefs inspire artisans to create forms and shapes and reassert to do's and don'ts. The genres of folklore are interlinked to each other that make one to discuss the other genres of folklore related to craft and crafting practice like tales, proverb, idioms and riddles etc.

3.6 Folktale

Dhokra craft being the part of material culture has inspired from the folklore like myths and legends. Even craft and crafting practice as well inspire other genres of folklore, folktales are one among them. Folktale is "a traditional narrative; more narrowly, a traditional fictional story in prose. Fictional folktales told as entertainment, can be distinguished from myths and legends, which are intended to convey information or at least a point of view" (Green, 1997, p. 365). There are few tales related to crafting which are popular among the artisans of the state. The tale on the origin of craft making has been already discussed in the previous chapter (for details see the subtitle, Oral Narrative of craft making: Origin & Elements). Here tale related to the discovery of fire and craft tool has been given they are.

Discovery of fire

According to the Ghadwa of Bastar, the fire came from the bamboo. This was how the pole fire was born. As per tale told by artisan Suktaram-

"*Once during the prehistoric time, the fire caught in the forest due to the friction of bamboo. Humans had seen fire first time they were afraid and ran towards the cave. When the fire got down, they came out of the cave and went on the search of food. But they didn't find anything raw. Finally, they bought the burnt animal and fruits and ate that. They liked the taste of those roasted animals and fruits; that's how they learned cooking*."[1]

Still, some tribal use bamboo sticks to create fire. With the help of some local cotton the Semur tree flower, they keep in the hole of a bamboo stick. Jhareka from Raigarh also believes that fire came with the friction of dry bamboo. They also believe that because of fire in the jungle, they learned wax modelling. As due to heat, the gum of tree melted and dripped

[1]Suktarram Soni, personal interview, May 30th, 2015, Nangur.

from the tree in the form of thread. When the fire stopped gum thread became hard and they made craft design from gum thread.

In another version of the tale, which is popular among '*Bison* Horn Marias'[1] the fire appeared out of a bamboo clump. When the wind was blowing fast, the bamboos scratched each other forcefully and fire came out of it, the fire spread wildly and engulfed the whole forest, and that's how their ancestor encounters the fire (Jagdalpuri & Vaishnav, 2017).

Discovery of Pincer

It is the story of the origin of Chimta (pincers) equipment used in all metal work like blacksmith, wrought iron, brass casting, silver or gold work process etc. according to the tale told by Chamsingh Besra-

"*During the old times, when the world was different than man and God could interact with each other face to face as there was a way to reach to the Darbar of God. Those days' people used to work with bare hands keeping a hot metal rod. They have kiln or furnace but not any equipment to hold the hot metal rod. As they were working with hot metal, their hands go bad till evening. In the night they sleep without hands, but till morning the new hands come, this was a daily routine. Though they didn't have any permanent loss, they were not happy with this daily process. They were living in sadness. They always discussed with each other about their problem. Once they thought to go to God, to tell him about their problem and to request him to rescue them from this daily problem. With this thought, some elderly member of the community went to God. First, they greeted him and told the reason behind their visit. God heard silently but didn't utter a single word, so they turned to go back. As they were coming back, God told them, to look at each and everything while going back home. God said 'whatever you will find on the way, which will help you to solve your problem.' While coming, they look at the way very carefully, but they didn't find anything except one dog. They could not understand, so they discussed among themselves. There was one old man who was a very silent person, but he had a very strong and sharp brain. The old man said, to take the dog along with them. In the Night Old man thought, he got an idea that 'how it will be if dog legs are made in metal.' In the morning he told community member to make two legs of the dog in metal. They did so and till evening again their hands gone bad. Again in the night, the old man thought 'how if a nail will be put in between two dog legs of metal.' In the morning he told them to do so, they did, but yet no one could understand, what is this and what to do with it. Then the old man again came, took that in hand and picked some object. It was a 'chimta' (pliers). Now everyone understood*

[1] *Bison* Horn Mariya are tribal central region of india.

the use of 'chimta' from that time onwards, to hold hot metal everyone use 'chimta' and their problem was solved."[1]

Folktale is one of the popular sources of transferring and sharing traditional knowledge and values. Crafting is a traditional knowledge of tribal from Chhattisgarh. Crafting includes the process, tools and equipment and above-cited tales suggest the importance of fire and Pincer. Elaboration and emphasis on both elements are inevitable as there is not, any alternative to these two, they are compulsory elements in the crafting process.

3.7 Proverbs

Sayings or proverbs are short sentences people use in conversation to imply common sense in general, which carries social and cultural view of the community. It showcases the wisdom, knowledge, life experience, satire, and morals etc. Though many folklorists have given the detailed and descriptive definition about Proverb here is some of the popular definition which explains the essence of Proverb. Dundes describes proverb as "Impersonal vehicles for personal communication" (Dundes, 1978. P.50). Roger says "Proverbs are short and witty traditional expressions that arise as the art of everyday discourse as well as in the more highly structured situations of education and judicial proceeding. Each proverb is a full statement of an approach to a recurrent problem. Proverb takes personal circumstances and embodies it in impersonal and witty form. Proverbs are merely always stated in the form of a single sentence" (Dorson, 1972). Wolfgang Mieder gives a descriptive definition as, "Proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and that are handed down orally from generation to generation" (Green, 1997, p. 661). People mostly use proverb in order to validate their perspective or example "as ancestors have said" or "ancient people said", referring to the past while citing proverbs are the standard ways to authenticate the sentence. The proverb is considered to be the source and essence of wisdom and the worldview of a particular culture. Proverbs are part of all formal and informal communications. It occurs in every part of the world in every language and dialects.

Chhattisgarh is not the exception, the state is the hub of tribal communities and there are many dialects prevalent in the states.[2] Proverbs are part of their everyday communications,

[1] Mangluram Sagar, personal interview, March 10th, 2015, Errakote.

[2] Chhattisgarhi, Gondi, Halbi, Bhatri, Binjwari, Sadri, Kamari, Oraon, Kharwari and Koilta (Chhattisgarhi has five different main dialects, based on geographical division. They are Kedri, (Central) Utti (Eastern), Budati/ Khaltahi

which they frequently use for example: "*masagat ni karle, musa mans na mire*" means "*without hard work, you do not get mouse meat*"[1], "*Phokya cho dhan ke dandar naapa*" means "*free paddy is used without counting*"[2]. Sukta ram used this proverb while talking about government facilities. He said the new artisans do not care for government studio and equipment. They are getting it for free, so they do not have the value of these things. "*Ghare nandu, bahre kandu*" means "*in-home being dominant and outside being timid*"[3], and "*Andhyari raat me harra bechage*" means "*in the dark night useless things are sold*"[4] etc. Artisans told these proverbs during conversations with them in their studio. There are many proverbs related to craft and crafting process as well, which artisans use on an everyday basis. Below is the list of those proverbs, which have been collected during the fieldwork from the artisans.

"*Bhati pare petal, bazar me mol*" means "*brass is in the furnace and in the market price is getting fixed*."[5] When someone plans more than usual for the future, they use this phrase as casting is not predictable. Even master artisans cannot be a hundred per cent sure. That, how will be casting or what will be the output after the firring. Same way without knowing the present situation someone plans about the future.[6]

"*Mati baila barse, petal dele purse*" means "*clay bull is for one year, but brass is for many years*."[7] While buying or investing in something people use this phrase. Artisans Gunjmati Besra said "*clay bull which used for worship during the Pola festival, cannot be used for next year. But the brass bull can be used even for many generations means it's more durable*."

(Western), Bhandar (Northern) and Rakshahun (Southern).

[1]Fagnuram Sagar, personal interview, May 23rd, 2015, Chilkuti. Fagnuram said while talking about learning the craft at his home cum studio in Chilkuti, "it takes a lot of time and hard work to learn the skill of craft making. Without that, one cannot learn". Though outsider thinks that eating mouse is a sign of poverty, but that's not the case for them. Mouse meat is part of their food habit. Catching mouse from the field is no easy task because it requires hard work and patience.

[2]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Sirmud. The proverb is used in the context of misusing of resources, 'People use free stuff without thinking twice

[3]Keshwati Kashyap, personal interview, April 3rd, 2015, Dahikonga. During fieldwork, I met a women artisan Keshwati. While talking about her son, she said, "*he doesn't do whatever I say, but for outsider he is nice. He is always busy with other people's work*". She told this proverb referring to her son.

[4]Basanti Besra, personal interview, March 10th, 2016 during my field work visits in March 2015 *Madai* fairs were ongoing in the town. I asked the artisan Basanti Besra from Kondagaon that what she bought from fairs. So she replied that she did not buy many things only few household items, as nowadays many people sell defected items in the night fairs.

[5]Sundarmati Jhareka, personal interview, May 22nd, 2016, Dadarpali.

[6]Brass is the essential material, it is found in their folklore, and there are many proverbs, riddles and idioms which are related to Brass. This particular proverb was told by Sundarmati Jhareka from Dadarpali.

[7]Gunjmati Jhareka, personal interview, April 10th, 2015, Kondagaon.

"*Tamba na peetal, malar me thana thani*" means "*no copper or brass and Malars are unnecessary fightings between each other*."[1] The phrase is used, when two people unnecessarily fight with each other. The proverb has come from the story of two Malars (Jherkha community are also known as malar; they call each other malar).[2]

"*Andhyari ke chhe, nou, tera. Devi fir ke aaye dera*" means "*six, nine and thirteen days of dark lunar fortnights, the Goddess comes back to her house*."[3] According to artisan, earlier the God-Goddess idols are not sold, if the six, nine or thirteen days of *Krishna Paksha* arrives (Dark lunar fortnight). And if the market takes place on these days, they do not sell the God-Goddess idols in the *Haat*/Village-Market.

Above mentioned proverbs are parts of everyday communications of artisans community, though these proverbs are "cultural-specific" their meaning and importance are global. Through these Proverbs, artisans pass their traditional knowledge of the craft and crafting to another generation.

3.8 Idioms

Idioms are short sentences or words, which are used to denote the figurative meaning. And the meaning of sentences is not taken in a literal sense but with the context. According to Taylor "an idiom is an expression whose properties, whether syntactic, lexical or semantic, cannot be predicted by the rule" (Taylor, 2012). Idioms are "colloquial metaphor" and it cannot be understood with knowing the social-cultural context. Culture and worldview reflect in the idioms.

The idioms are one of the sources to understand and comprehend the language and culture of any community. As idioms are attached with context, it does not signify the literal meaning of words. It needs to be interpreted with its socio-cultural context. The people of Chhattisgarh use many idioms in their day to day life. That showcases their world view and their understanding of their surroundings. Like "*Aankhi phut jaathe*" means "*becoming blind*",[4]

[1] Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, November 9th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

[2] As per the story told by Sampurandas Induwar once two artisans started fight over which metal they should use for casting artefact copper or brass, though they didn't have any metal still fighting over metal casting.

[3] Vedmati Induwar, personal interview, May 18th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

[4] Padmabai Sagar, personal interview, June 19th, 2015, Karanpur. The idiom is told in the context of unable to see or to ignore the right/wrong. While speaking about the biased attitude of Government official towards the artisans from the small village, as she said "*officer become blind when we send our work for awards, they only give to people from cities*."

"*Dumar ke phool*" means "*flower of Dumur*" (a local variety of cluster fig),[1] and "*Baraghat ke paani*" means "*water of twelve places*"[2] etc. These are a few examples of idioms which artisans use during the conversation. There are many idioms related to craft and crafting, which they use in their everyday life, below is the list those idioms, told by artisans during the fieldwork.

"*Peetar ke baila*" means "*Bull made of brass*."[3] The term "bull" is designated for a person, who is the fool or thick-headed. Brass bull means a person lack of sense and who is stuck, he is a useless fool. The phrase is also used for someone who is very hard working. Both phrases depend on the context. Brass is the most important element in the *Dhokra* crafting, as it is craft tradition also recognized as brass or bell metal craft. "*Kaan me main pare he ka?*" means "*are your ears crammed with wax?*"[4] The sentence is employed once somebody doesn't hear properly.

"*Main he putri banaw*" means "*making of wax statue*"[5] people use the sentence when someone imagines in plenty. As the wax sculpture cannot be kept for long, wax gets melted in heat or sunlight. And once somebody imagines concerning one thing that can't be done in reality, people use this sentence. Wax is another important element in crafting as the technique is popularly known as "lost-wax casting".

"*Koyla hogis he*" means "*to became like coal*."[6] The sentence is generally used for people, who work very hard and due to heat, the body gets tanned. Thus they say that due to too much of hard work his body looks like coal. For the casting of artefacts, coal is an important thing.

"*Kaccha mati*" means "*wet soil*."[7] This is usually forenamed to someone who does not know anything like a beginner or child. As artisan Sunita Besra explains when asked- 'how do you make children to learn the craft?' She said- "*layka man kaccha mati kas hothe jisne sikhha usne sikh jaathe*" means "*children are like wet soil, they would learn whatever you make them learn*."

[1]Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 11th, 2015, Kondagaon. While speaking about the commission work, he said 'big commission work is the flower of Dumar' everyone wants it, but not everyone can get.

[2]Panchuram Sagar, personal interview, June 5th, 2016, Sargipali. While conversation he said in context of understanding the market of craft. One has drink water of twelve places means one has to gain the experience of many places, to understand the demand and requirement of the craft market.

[3]Jamunabai Sagar, personal interview, May 26th, 2015, Chilkuti.

[4]Mohan Netam, personal interview, April 7th, 2015, Kondgaon.

[5]Gopinath Induwar, personal interview, June 30th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

[6]Maglin Jhareka, personal interview, November 13th, 2016, Kandurpali.

[7]Sunita Besra, personal interview, April 9th, 2015, Kondagaon.

"*Eke bhati ke aongra*" means "*cinder or ember of the same kiln*."[1] The sentence is used to show the similarity between the people. Like from the same region or the same community or same workgroup. As craftsmen, Subeshwar Kashyap from Dahikonga said that- "*I do not like to give my work in the handicraft office because once I fought with an officer in Kondagaon Shabri office. That officer has been transferred now and another officer has come. But still, I do not like to give*." When asked- 'why he does not like, not all officers are corrupt?' He answered- "*sab Sarkari eke bhati ke angara kas hothe, ye teer dekha ki wo teer*" means "*all government officers are the coal of the same kiln. Whether you see from this side or another side*." Making of the kiln is a significant part of the work, there is folklore can also be found among the craftsmen of both regions.

"*Bhati me parna*" (Raigarh) means "*falling in the kiln*."[2] When something falls in the kiln gets burn and becomes into ashes, means complete waste, so they use this sentence. Without kiln, casting cannot be done thus kiln becomes an important element in the crafting technique.

As already mentioned that to understand idioms, one needs to know the context, in the case of the above idioms related to craft, a person has to know about the crafting process (for the technique of crafting see the fourth chapter of the thesis). Above given idioms suggest that craft materials and crafting processes are parts of their everyday life and culture and it influences the other genre of folklore as well.

3.9 Riddles

Riddles are short and confusing questions, with funny and twisted words or sentences. It is to judge the wit of the person and also to teach the language and wordplay. According to Dundes and George, "a riddle is a traditional verbal expression which contains one or more descriptive elements, a pair of which may be in opposition; the referent of the elements is to be guessed" (Georges & Dundes, 1963). Dundes has contributed with Roger as well in studies of Riddles. According to that "Riddles are a question that is framed to confuse or test the wits of those who do not know the answer" (Dorson, 1972). As per Dorothy Noyes, "the best-known and best-studied form of a traditional enigma, the riddle is generally agreed to consist of a description. And its referent the first posed by the riddle, the second-guessed by the respondent"

[1] Shibeshwar Kashyap, personal interview, June 20th, 2015, Dahikonga.
[2] Putri Bai, personal interview, May 23rd, 2016, Ghoraghati.

(Green, 1997, p. 728). Riddles are a popular form of oral teaching. It incorporates every aspect and subject like maths, science, history, religion, culture, astronomy and society etc. all these subjects are taught via riddles.

Like proverbs and idioms, riddles as well as are part of tribal language, though may not be on an everyday basis but it is not occasional either. People of Chhattisgarh frequently use riddle in leisure times. The elder members of families mostly ask riddles to kids. In the evening and before the bedtime folktales and riddles are parts of their routine, though nowadays this has changed, as artisan Tumi Kashyap says-

"*My mother-in-law knew a lot of Kattha (tale) and Dhandha (Riddles). Every day she used to tell my kids, nowadays no one knows like her. And kids also do not want to hear those tales and riddles. They are busy on TV and phone. There is no one to listen, so we even forget.*"[1]

Above mention, anecdote reflects that the practice of telling tales and riddles has declined. But tales and riddle not limited to kids, even while working artisans ask each other riddle on various topics. Like "*Khale pachri, upare pachari, bich me mangate macchari?*" Means "*Below wharf and above wharf in between fish?*" The answer is "*Jhhebh*" means "tongue"[2], "*Gulay dongri cho khokhsi, gotki buta no paksi?*" means "*fruit of whole jungle, ripens at one plant?*" the answer is "*Haat*" means "Bazaar",[3] and "*Saanjh bihane lathak, bara baje hathak?*" means "*morning and evening lengthy like a long stick, afternoon twelve o'clock short like a palm?*" the answer is "*Chhanv*" means "shadow"[4] etc. These riddles are few examples there are many riddles on various topics including craft and crafting process. Here are few riddles related to *Dhokra* craft material, process and Artisans. The technique of crafting has been given in the next chapter of the thesis. (See Section 4.2.1 "techniques").

"*Nani asan peela, kori kori datun kare?*"[5] means "*tiny child, uses many wooden tooth-brushes?*" the answer is "*Bhati*" means "Kiln". The riddle is used for entertainment during the work and get together.[6] The kiln is the most important in the process of casting.

"*Bigar pani, bigar dhan, mahal banaye than than?*" Means "*without water and money, make places in various places?*" The answer is "*Dimak*" means "Termite". It is not possible to make the home, without water and money. But termite makes the house, not with the water but

[1]Tumi Kahsyap, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

[2]Bijuram Kashyap, personal interview, June 20th, 2015, Dahikonga.

[3]Jamuna Bai Sagar, personal interview, May 26th, 2015, Chilkuti.

[4]Kejuram Besra, personal interview, March 12th, 2015, Kotgaon.

[5]*Kori* word is used for the amount of twenty, but when it is used as *kori-kori* means a lot or uncountable. *Datun* is the word used for a small piece of tree branch used for brushing teeth.

[6]Vedmati Induwar, personal interview, May 18th, 2016, Ghoraghati.

with saliva. Such riddles are asked for entertainment as well as for the information.[1] Termite clay is widely used by *Dhokra* artisans as it is very smooth and fine quality clay.

"*Raja ghare kasela kasmas kare, Raja aato bera dal dal kare?*" Means "*King house's pot, moves slowly-slowly when the king comes it runs like a storm?*" The answer is "*Ghadwa ke dhukni*", means "craftsmen's air blower." The old air blower used to be like pot, which moves slowly-slowly, and when craftsmen move blowers faster, air comes out like a storm.[2] Earlier artisans used blower made of leathers during casting thus this proverb emerged.

"*Du bahini ke gotke khiliya?*" means "*two sisters are on one nail?*" the answer is "*Chimta*" means "pincher".[3] For moving the work or crucible during casting artisans use pincher.

"*Teen bhai eke ek goud?*" (Raigarh), means "*three brothers, with one foot?*" the answer is "*semi pan*" means "Bean leaves" (Phaseolus vulgaris) in this tree three-bean eaves are held together with one stalk.[4] Bean leaves are used to smooth the clay surface of the core before wax modelling.

"*Pit pit khaye, lam-lam hage?*" means "*piece-piece eats, and long-long shits?*" The answer is "*Dhuwoon Jhari*" means "the wax or resin thread maker".[5] This manual machine is used by *Dhokra* artisans, across the east, the central and southern region of the country for making the wax thread. Wax thread making machine is essential most crucial machinery which is known as "*Pichki*". Earlier this was the only machinery which was part of their crafting process. The knowledge about the machine is given to the younger generation in the form of riddles.

"*Upar aantu, tale aantu, manjgata jagnatu kacha aantu?*" Means "*on the top dry clay piece on the down dry clay piece, in between of dry there is elastic wet soil*." The answer is "*mati-main*" means "moulded work." When the inner core is dry clay, the upper layer is also dry and in between of dry clay there is flexible clay means wax.[6] Clay moulding is a special feature of *Dhokra* technique.

"*Mudi upre, tedga dehe chamke?*" Means "*head is upside and bent body shines?*" The answer is "*Chhuri*" means "Knife".[7] Artisans use limited tools the handmade iron knife is

[1]Fagnuram Sagar, personal interview, June 14th, 2015, Chilkuti.
[2]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Sirmud.
[3]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, May 18th, 2016, Ghoraghati.
[4]Ahilyabai Bai Baghel, personal interview, May 21st, 2016, Damdarha.
[5]Sampurndas Induwar, personal interview, March 2nd, 2015, Ghoraghati.
[6]Suktaram Soni, personal interview, March 19th, 2015, Sirmud.
[7]Nadguram Kashyap, personal interview, April 17th, 2015, Errakot.

one of the essential elements in the crafting process.

"*Ek ghar cho budgi gay, baraghat wo pani khay?*" Means "*one house's old cow, who drinks a lot of water?*" The answer is "*Aagi*", means "fire", as to blow out fire need a lot of water.[1] Without fire the crafting cannot be done, from wax making to casting fire is a fundamental necessity for *Dhokra* artisans.

These riddles demonstrate that craft materials and process have influenced the origin of riddles. The craft making is not just an occupation but part of their way of life, craft reflects in their world view and folklore.

Above-given descriptions of various folklore genres related to *Dhokra* is evident that folklore is the compulsory aspect of *Dhokra* craft. Artisans develop their ideas for artefacts from folklore. As they convert these folkloric elements into the artefact. These folklores provide the shape and form of artefacts, in the fifth chapter of the thesis this aspect will be discussed in the details. That how artisans conceive and convert the verbal folklore into visual forms. As the craft was not the sole occupation for *Dhokra* artisans from Chhattisgarh, we see that *Dhokra* craft is not the prominent part of their life circle ceremonies. This makes *Dhokra* artisans communities different than other craft maker communities for whom craft is an integral part of their way of life like Kaser (Brass utensil makers), Kumhar (Potter), Lohar (Ironsmith), Sunar (Goldsmith), etc.

The various genres of folklore are connected to each other, and supplement the legitimacy of tradition. Artisans give reference of their folktales, myths, performances, and rituals for the legitimacy of *Dhokra* artefacts (an element of material culture). Thus folklore is foundations for the origin of the craft, and craft as well becomes motives for the origin of folklore. Therefore it was essential to study the folkloric perspective of *Dhokra* artefacts to understand the context of the artefact. This discussion provides foundations for further analysis of *Dhokra* crafts. After observing the origin source of artefacts, the next chapter will have a detailed discussion about the typology of old and contemporary craft items along with a detailed description of the technique.

[1]Govindram Jhareka, personal interview, November 4th, 2016, Ektal.

Chapter 4

Typology and Technology: *Dhokra* Craft Through the Ages

The most essential or fundamental aspect of crafting is "*technique*". Artisans develop their skill by practicing over the years. Excelling the technique is the first step towards the becoming master craftsman. The creativity in the forms, design and composition comes secondary. As discussed in the first chapter of the thesis that technology of *Dhokra* is considered as an ancient technique. And even after thousands of years, *Dhokra* has passed and survived through the test of time. The form or design or context or function may have changed but the technology survived. Thus those structural and functional aspects will be discussed later chapter of the thesis. This particular chapter aims, to trace the archaic and contemporary typology and technique of *Dhokra*. The chapter gives an exhaustive list of the artefact to create a typology, in order to trace the chronology of *Dhokra* artefacts. It will further give extensive ethnographic documentation of the techniques of *Dhokra* craft, to demonstrate the uniqueness of *Dhokra*.

4.1 Typology

Typology is the method or system of classification, based on the similarity or common characteristic of particular things. As archaeologists say, "Classification is simply an extension of the recognition of differences and similarities among phenomena, those materials, events or processes that are more similar than different, according to the classifier, are placed together into classes. This process involves the classifier's assessment of the degree of 'sameness' among the phenomena"(Read, 2016). Typology could be simple or complex can have two things

to hundreds or thousands of varieties, depends on the things. A typology for any things is required to differentiate different kinds of thing, which have similar traits. Typology makes thing statistical and codified. It minimizes the variation into simple, specific and comprehensible categories. Archaeologist use artefact types (their form and function) to place them in time for example, if we look at *Dhokra* crafts over time, we see how they change in form and function. We can see that *Dhokra* has changed in form and function throughout the years. Knowing this, we can place a *Dhokra* craft in time by merely looking at its form. The same can be valid for all kind of artefacts like terracotta, stone craft, and wood-craft etc. Typology can be made on several aspects of artefacts like either based on forms, structures, functions, designs and themes, or a collective typology which includes all these aspects. And then create according to periods of artefacts, below a collective typology has been made according to time periods to recognize, the changes on the *Dhokra* artefacts.

4.1.1 Typology: core & periphery

As culture is dynamic and not static, it keeps changing its form, though the change in culture is a slow process. Craft is changing in terms of structure, functions and themes; these changes have occurred in due course of time. Typology of *Dhokra* items has been made according to changes over the periods of times, in the structure, functions and themes of the items. Thus artefacts can be divided into, two types; 'core and periphery'. Craft item which craftsmen claimed to be making since generations for the regional consumers are core artefacts. These artefacts reflect the folklore of artisans and regional consumers of Chhattisgarh. Such items are made to satisfy the religious, social and mundane needs of regionals consumers. As Meera Mukherjee mentioned, " Gharuas produce brass horses, elephant, gods, and goddess and a few other artefacts for sell, it is significant that it was the Gharuas who introduced these object to the Adivasis" (Mukherjee, 1978, p. 41). Though, at present many artisans do not make core items in huge quantity, due to lack of demand. Core items have these specific traditional theme, structure and function of *Dhokra* craft and the Periphery artefacts are those artefacts, which are made according to the contemporary lifestyle. Though, the motifs, patterns and designs are as per the *Dhokra* Structure. But functions are completely contemporary for an examples bottle opener, key chain, hanging lamps wall frame, etc. (see Figure 4.1). The detailed analysis of the structure and function of artefact has been discussed in the fifth chapter.



Figure 4.1: Core (Mawali goddess) & periphery (Lamp Hanger) craft items

Here is the overview of typology of *Dhokra* crafts from Chhattisgarh, which are made by craftsmen of the state. It includes core and periphery artefacts of Raigarh and Bastar region, artefacts are divided into two categories first is the core artefacts, and second is the periphery artefacts.

Core Items	**Periphery Items**
Regional Religious Idols from Bastar:- Mother Goddesses (*Baman Devi*, *Bankunvar Devi*,*Betal Devi*, *Bohariya Mata*,*Buri Mata*, *Sat Dhangri Mata* ,*Handa Kankalin Mata*, *Hinglajin Mata*,*Jhula Devi*, *Kotgobin Mata* ¸ *Khanda Devi*, *Pani Sua*, *Sona Dai*, *kanka Dai*,*manka Dai*, *Telangin Mata*, *Arya Dev*, *Lohjarin Mata*, *Mawali Mata* and *Nag Devi*) Folk deities/Village Gods- (*Raja Rao*, *Bhairam Deo*, *Bhar Sambhar Deo*, *Gobar Jodhiya*,*Kaharu Deo*,*Madiya Duma*, *Mitu Deo*, *Sur*, *Bhangaram Deo*, and *Sapdhari Deo*) Legends- (*Mama-Mami*, *Jhitku-mitku* and *Dokra-Dokri*)	Hindu Religious Idols- *Laxmi*,*Ganesh*, *Shiva*,*Radha-Krishna*, *Ram- Sita*, *Durga*,*Saraswati*, and *Kali*. *Shiva*,*Durga*, *Saraswati*,*Mahakali*, *Ramayana Katha*(Ramayana story description), *Mahabharata Katha*(Mahabharata story description), *Krishna Leela*, *Mahamaya*,
Regional Religious Idols from Raigarh:- Mother Goddess (*Thakur Devi*, *Dhokri Mata*, *Churin Mata*,*Chandrahasni Mata*, *Nathal Dai*, *Budi Mai*,) Folk Deities (*Badpari Devta*,*Thenga*, *Thakur Deo*)	—

Core Items	**Periphery Items**
Sacred items from Bastar:- *Dumni* (ritual bowls) *Diya* (lamp), *Kachhwa* (tortoise), *Bhainsa* (buffalo), *Macchri* (fish), *Hathi* (elephant), *Nandi Baila* (bull), *Nag-Nagni* (snake), *Ghora* (horse). *Kocha* (grain measurer), *Mohari* (trumpet), *Chhatra* (deity umbrella), *Jhari* (Pitcher)	Decorative/ customized Items:- Tribal Figures (tribal couple/Mother& Child, families), FolkTale based work, tribal lifestyle work (hunter, tree climber, folk singer/ dancer/ musician) *Sulfi* tree and *Karmaseni Jhhad* (tree) etc. *Agarbatti* (incense stick) Stand, Hanging Lamps and Hanging Bells etc.
Sacred items from Raigarh:- *Maan* (grain measurer), *Ullu* (owl), *Kalasa* (pot), *Maan* (grain measurer), *Baila* (bull), *Kachhwa* (tortoise), *Diya* (lamp), *Nandi Baila* (bulls), *Hathi* (elephant), *Nag-Nagni* (snake)	——-
Tribal Utility item from Bastar:- *Jhari* (Pitcher), *Tokni* (basket), *Duaa* (spoon), *Orkhi* (ladle) *Ghana* (grain container) *Kadahi* (frying pan). *Muth* (handle of chisel), *Chimni* (wick lamp), *Mohari* (trumpet)	Contemporary Lifestyle Objects- Jug, Table Weight, Bottle Opener, Ashe Tray, Towel/Key/cloth- Hanger, Candle/lamp Stand, Key Ring, Mobile Holder, Door Handles and Furniture/ wall/ Mirror/Photo- Frames etc.
Tribal Utility item from Raigarh:- Narza (weighing scale), Tokni (basket) Muth (handle of chisel), Chimni (wick lamp). Makhur Dabba (tobacco box) and Gahna Baksa (jewellery box) etc.	
Traditional Ornaments from Bastar:- *Phuli* (nose ring), *Khilwan* (round pointed earring), *Karanphool* (earring with floral motif), *Suta* (thick round necklace), *Dhan Mala* (necklace with paddy grain motifs), *Sikka Mala* (necklace with coins), *Mundi* (finger ring), *Nagmori* (armlet), *Pipar Mala*(necklace with pipal leaf motifs), Chhapai Mundi (coin fingering), *Ninda Khadu* (bangle), *Banuriya* (thick flat bangle), *Banhata* (armlet), *Toda* (anklet), *Kardhani* (girdle for women) *Paymundi* (toe ring), *Chipkan* (hairpins) etc.	Fashion Jewellery- Necklace with different motif and lockets for men and women, Armlets, earring with several designs, Bangles, anklet, Bracelet etc.

Core Items	Periphery Items
Traditional Ornaments from Raigarh:- *Suta* (thick round necklace), *Dhan Mala* (a necklace with paddy grain motifs), *Sikka Mala* (necklace with coins), *Kundal* (round earring), *Bali* (small round earring), *Mundi* (finger ring), *Nagmori* (armlet), *Khilwan* (round pointed earring), *Karanphool* (earring with floral motif), *Phuli* (nose ring), *Bichiya* (toe ring), *Paidi* (thick anklet). *Phool Kunda* (floral locket), *Kundal* (round earring), *Bali* (small round earring), *Dhan Mala* (a necklace with paddy grain motifs) and *Ninda Khadu* (bangle) etc.	—-

Table 4.1: Typology of *Dhokra* craft

From Table 4.1, it is visible that in the first section, the core artefacts have a wide range of varieties. Though most of the artefacts are now not readily available in the market, artisans make these items in few quantities or only on commission. In the second section, Periphery artefacts have less variety; these artefacts are made in huge number also several versions and variations are available in the market. The periphery items are mostly commissioned by businessmen, middlemen and furniture or interior designer to assemble along with other objects. Though the periphery items are getting updated frequently and new items are getting add-up to the list.



Figure 4.2: Semi periphery (tortoise & fish candle stand, duck jug, boat rider key hanger)

Core artefacts are now modified slightly, which can be called as semi-periphery artefacts. The changes are done in forms, designs, structures and functions of artefacts, for example, religious idols are composed for decoration, and grain measurer is interchanged as a pen holder; tortoise (votive object) is converted as table weight, etc. (see Figure 4.2). These

types of craft item are always in demand and readily available in the market. Semi-periphery craft items are made in huge quantities; according to artisans, these items are the most popular artefacts in urban markets. Most of these artefacts are made in small sizes and not bigger than one foot. These are handy and easily portable artefacts, thus it is popular among the urban dwellers. Semi-periphery artefacts are a perfect combination of tradition and modernity, and those are also sold like a hotcake. Below is the diagram which shows the variation in the typology of *Dhokra* craft items.

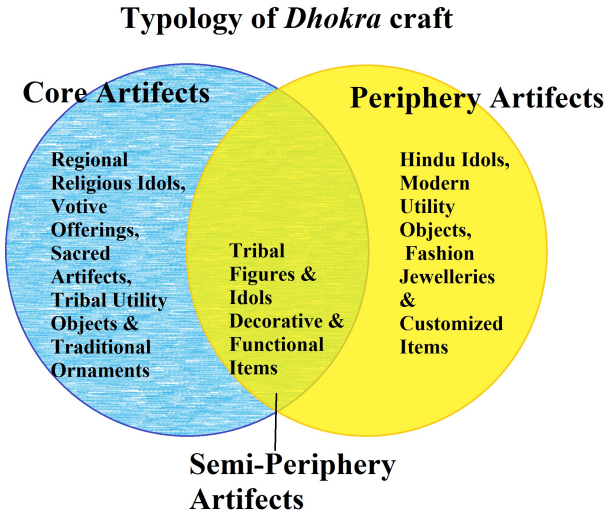

Figure 4.3: Typology of *Dhokra* craft

The above diagram suggests that semi-periphery artefacts have the features of core and periphery. As mentioned above, typology has been made according to the changes that occurred in the *Dhokra* craft items. Even though these periphery items have different structure and function, still it is identified as "*Dhokra artefacts*" because of the fundamental elements which give identity to the artefact to be known as *Dhokra*. There are three elements, first is brass, second is wax thread modelling and third is lost wax technique. These three elements make brass craft items *Dhokra* craft. That's why a bottle opener or key hanger or candle holder is considered as *Dhokra*, despite having differences in structure and function.



Figure 4.4: Fundamental elements of *Dhokra*

The triadic diagram shows the three essential elements, which provide a craft identity of *Dhokra*. These are the core features of the technique. Hence it is crucial to understand the technique of *Dhokra*, in order to understand the structure and function of *Dhokra*. Detailed descriptions of *Dhokra* craft technique are discussed at length in the following.

4.2 Technology of *Dhokra* metal craft

The speciality of *Dhokra* craft lies in the process which gives uniqueness to the artefact, as each artefact is made separately means no fixed base or mould is made. For each work, an individual base and a separate mould are made. The crafting process is entirely done with the material available to them in the local region, except for the brass. The raw materials they use are from the jungle. Even most of the tools are handmade, minimal numbers of instruments and tools are used. In due course of time, they have been exposed to technology and new tools. But they are using them in limitation and still, few artisans prefer to utilize the old traditional process. Most of the craft objects are made in a single piece. But the artefacts, which are large and has a complicated composition or many figures attached are made in many pieces, those can be removed and can be assembled again.

The process of the craft requires fifteen to twenty days, depending on the size and weather. During the rainy season, it takes more time as the weather is moist, and in summer the work can be completed in a short period like ten to fifteen days. Nowadays, due to advancement of technology, artisans can finish faster but less than a week. Seven to ten days are the minimum requirement for work; *Dhokra* crafting is a time-consuming process. In order to understand the crafting traditions, every aspect of craft technique is discussed in the next section.

4.2.1 Techniques

We shall see the complete procedure of the work. The technique includes everything from raw material to tools, equipment and process. Some of these steps have been changed and materials or equipment have been replaced as well. Here the technique of the work is explained, first in the table format later in detail with the description. The table is divided into two parts, one which gives information about raw material, another about tools and equipment. Further, these two parts of the table have been divided into three major sections. First is the process of the craft. Second the traditional material, tools and equipment according to the artisans. And third are contemporary materials, tools and types of equipment. Further, the second and third section has two sections. Divided according to region, one is Bastar and other is Raigarh.

The table consists of the list of traditional and contemporary raw materials, tools and equipment required in a different stage of *Dhokra* craft Process. Artisans have told about process and material in their regional language due to academic purpose and convenience for the reader. The researcher has taken the liberty to translate in the English language. Regional words are written in italic form and translation in English has been given in bracket. Table 4.2, Table of Raw Materials, Tools & Equipment from Raigarh & Bastar.

***Dhokra* Craft Process**		**Traditional Materials, Tools & Equipment**		**Contemporary M.T. & E.**	
		Bastar	Raigarh	Bastar	Raigarh
Raw Material	Core & Mold/*Mulaa*/*Khunt*/ *Chhabn*	*Rui Mati* (fine smoothie clay), *Sanpaghara Mati* (termite clay), *Mun Mati* (clay from the field), *Bhushra* (paddy husk), *Kudharu* (fine sand from Riverside), *Garu Gobar* (cow dung), *Koyla Pisaan* (coal powder) & *Kunvar Paan* or *Metani* (softener made out of green leaf)	*Doli Mati* (clay from the field), *Trai Mati* (clay from the lake), *Bhusa* (paddy husk), *Nariya Kudhru* (fine sand from riverside), *Koyla Ghor* (coal powder) and *Chheri Ledi* (goat dropping) or *Garawa Gobar* (cow dung)	*Lali Mati* (red clay) *Lakri Rakh* (wood ashes)	*Chhena Rakh* (dry cow dung's ashes)
	Wax Modeling/ *Main Tigal Matna* / *Dhoopan kaaj*	*Madhu Mom* (bee wax) and *Dori Tel* (oil made out of the seed of Mahuaa)	*Sarai Gond* or *Saras* (resin, mucilage of Shorea Robusta tree), with *Leem* Or *Sarso Tel* (neem or mustard Oil)	*Madhu Mom* (bee wax) with Paraffin wax or Damar (coal-tar). Mixture these three are known as Rar	*Sarai Gond* (mucilage of Shorea Robusta tree) with *Madhu Mom* (bee wax) or Paraffin wax
	Firing Material/ *Peetar Bhati saman*	*Sukha Lakri* (dry woods) & *Koyla* (wood coal), *Chhena* (dry cow dung)	*Chhena* (dry cow dung), *Jhitka* (dry woods) *Koyla* (wood coal)	–	–

***Dhokra* Craft Process**		**Traditional Materials, Tools & Equipment**		**Contemporary M.T. & E.**	
		Bastar	Raigarh	Bastar	Raigarh
	For Polish, patina and paint/ *Rang poutrna*	*Chhena Rakh* (cow dung ashes), *Imli Ghor* (tamarind paste), *Limau Ras* (lemon juice), *Sarso Tel* (mustard oil)	*Chhena Rakh* (cow dung ashes) *Imli Ghor* (tamarind paste), *Limau Ras* (lemon juice), *Sarso Tel* (mustard oil)	Buffing Bar (green rouge), Enamel paint	Buffing Bar (green rouge) Enamel paint
Tools and Equipments	Clay Making/ *Mati Banaa-sot/ Mati Gharuta*	*Lodhi* (wooden muller for breaking big clay pieces), *Chalni* (sieve for send & fine clay), *Khopla* (clay bowl for water)	*Batta* (wooden Muller for breaking big clay pieces), *Chalni* (sieve for send & fine clay), *Khopla* (clay bowl for water)	*Jhari* (sieve), Plastic or steel bowl	*Chalni* (sieve), Plastic or steel bowl

***Dhokra* Craft Process**		**Traditional Materials, Tools & Equipment**		**Contemporary M.T. & E.**	
		Bastar	Raigarh	Bastar	Raigarh
	Wax & thread Making/ *Main Tigal Matna / Dhoopan kaaj*	*Dhoursi* (wide mouth terracotta pot), Jhaara (skimming ladle), *Suti Kapra* (cotton cloth), *Parat* (flat container) *Jhari* (brass sieve used for making wax wire) *Pitchki* (the wax holder on which wax is kept for wire making, *Dheta* (wooden roll just as size of *Pitchki* to give pressure on the wax) and *Pharni* (two pieces of wood or bamboo bars in which *pitchki* is fixed and *Dheta* is pressed with the help of the upper bar with full force)	*Haadhi* (wide mouth terracotta pot), *Jhaara* (skimming ladle), *Suti Kapra* *Suti Kapra* (cotton cloth), *Parat* (flat container) (Cotton cloth), *Jhari* (brass sieve used for making wax wire) *Phichki* (the wax holder on which wax is kept for wire making, *Dheta* (wooden roll just as size of *pitchki* to give pressure on the wax) and Chipna (two pieces of wood or bamboo bars in which Pitchki is fixed and *Dheta* is pressed with the help of the upper bar with full force)	Same equipment for wax thread machine. Aluminium pot and Big steel Plates or Plastic buckets	Same equipment for wax thread machine. Aluminium or clay pot and Big steel Plates or Plastic buckets

***Dhokra* Craft Process**		**Traditional Materials, Tools & Equipment**		**Contemporary M.T. & E.**	
		Bastar	Raigarh	Bastar	Raigarh
	Wax Modelling/ *Main Tigal Matna / Dhoopan kaaj*	*Gutki* (small size wooden board or stool), *Lodi* (roller), *Chakku* or *Chhuri* (knife), *Sahikanta* (round pointed tool)	*Gorshi* (coal stove), *Pirha* (Small size wooden board), Belana (roller), *Chakku* or *Chhuri* (knife), *Sahi Kanta* (round thick pointed tool)	–	–
	Mold Making /*Mati chhabala/ Uperi Mati chhabana*	*Kanti* (iron nail), *Muthi* (small iron hammer), *Koyla Pisaan* (coal powder)	*Kanti* (iron nail), *Muthi* (small iron hammer), *Koyla ghor* (coal powder)	–	–
	Casting Prepar-ation/ *Ghaili Jorna/ Peetar Jorna*	Kheela (small wooden nail), *Narja/Napn* (weighing scale), *Loha Chhura* (iron knife)	*Kheela* (small wooden nail), *Narja/Napni* (weighing scale), *Loha Chhura* (iron knife)	*Taraju* (weighing scale)	*Taraju* (weighing scale)
	Furnace/ *Peetar Bhati*	*Kudaar* (hoe), *Bans* (bamboo), *Chamda* (leather)	*Rafa* (hoe), *Bans* (bamboo), *Chamda* (leather) or *Tirpaal* (canvas cloth),	Iron Pipe, *Dhoukni* (iron Air blower), *Chhaddar* (tin sheet)	Iron Pipe, *Dhoukni* (iron air blower), *Chhaddar* (tin sheet)

***Dhokra* Craft Process**	**Traditional Materials, Tools & Equipment**		**Contemporary M.T. & E.**	
	Bastar	Raigarh	Bastar	Raigarh
Firing/ *Peetar Udoltos/ Peetar Dharna/ Peetar Gulatna*	*Chimmati or Chimta* (iron pincers or pliers) *Kharsana* (long wooden stick), *Phukni/-Nari / Nali* (pipe),	*Sansi or Chimta* (iron pincers or pliers), *Kharsana* (long wooden stick), *Phukni/-Nari / Nali* (pipe),	*Ghadia* (cursibal), *Duaa* (ladle), *Chhad* or *Kholana* (long iron rod),	*Ghaila* (cursibal), *Duaa* (ladle), *Chhad* or *Kholana* (long iron rod)
Opening & Finish-ing/ *Mati Jhaarna/ Khar-Jhaar Kartos/ Saffa-dhukka Karout*	*Chheni* (chisel), *Muthi* (hammer) *Retari* (iron files),	*Chheni* (chisel), *Muthi* (hammer) *Retari* (iron files), gas welding machine	*Retmaal Kagaj* (sand-paper), *Taar Reti* (iron wire brush), Hex Blade	*Retmaal Kagaj* (sand-paper), *Taar Reti* (iron wire brush), Hexa blade, Gas Welding Machine
Polishing, Patina and paint/ *Chikkan Karout/ Rang Poutan*	*Bans Dhari* (bamboo fibre), *sika* (hanging rope)	*Sukkha Dodaka* (dry ridge gourd), *Sika* (hanging string)	Buffing machine with Iron, cloth blade & Paint Brush	Buffing machine with Iron, cloth blade & paint Brush

Table 4.2: Table of raw materials, tools & equipment from Raigarh & Bastar

The table comprises the list of all required raw materials, tools and equipment used in the crafting process. The vernacular terms of materials and tools are also in the glossary given at the beginning of the thesis. The table needs to be looked at in details, therefore below a note on every material has been given, along with the regional names and its usage in the crafting process.

Raw material

As mentioned above the craftsmen use local raw materials, which is collected from the local or nearest jungle. Earlier the craftsmen were nomadic. They used to carry a limited amount to materials, tools and equipment. So whenever they stayed in any village, they used to collect materials from the local area. Meera Mukherjee (artist) writes in her book "*Metal*

Craftsmen of India" about the collection of raw material by the craftsmen of Bastar. She wrote "for their particular technique the artisan needs an assortment of specific types of clay, in such cases, some artisans stick to places where these materials are easily available. But Gharua for sheer survival must remain mobile as they have developed a versatile talent in improvisation, particularly in preparing the clay they need they move to places wherever they find themselves from local clays" (Mukherjee, 1978).

From her statement, it is clear that artisans get easily adapted. She also mentioned that even though they are nomadic, they stay close to a forest. It has been already referred in the second chapter, as artisans have left nomadic life and artisans have settled in some places. They live permanently in villages which are nearby to jungles. Because of the availability of firewood for casting and readily available bee wax or resin/gum, termite clay and soil etc., earlier all the raw material was collected by themselves from jungle except brass.

Earlier the artisans used to take old Brass from the villagers in an exchange with a new artefact. The villagers would offer their broken brass artefacts and ornaments to remake a new artefact. The craftsmen would use the brass provided to them. Their labour charges were within the sort of paddy or rice. If the given brass wasn't enough in creating the new item they further supplement brass, labour charges were taken accordingly. In due course of time situation were modified, the craftsmen purchase most of the raw material, including clay. Because artisans need, two to three types of clay, and fine red or termite clay is tough for them to gather. Thus they purchase from the native potter or terracotta maker. The potter and the terracotta maker also have to gather clay and clean, to make it usable for the work. The details of clay and alternative materials needed for creating *Dhokra* craft are given below.

Brass/ *Peetal* or *Peetar*- essential metal for the *Dhokra* craft is brass, earlier artisans used to get old and broken brass pieces from villagers or the buyer (see Figure 4.5). Nowadays artisans purchase old brass scrap from local traders or nearest city. Fifty to hundred kilograms of brass is readily available from the local shop or in the nearest city market. But for more quantity like two hundred to three hundred kilograms then artisans prefer to get brass from bigger cities like Dhamtari and Raipur. Depends on the availability in the market, due to this they travel out of their region to purchase the brass, as Bhupendra Baghel says;

"*Our region has become very popular for Dhokra craft. So the local shopkeeper always sells brass at an extra price. Because they know that we must be in need and we are forced to buy. So we had started to keep the stock of brass. Since the time of my father Jaidev Baghel, but not every artisan can afford it. I think this is also a reason some poor craftsmen*

from a rural area who cannot invest money are leaving the work. Due to poverty, they are taking a loan from merchant and broker from outside and end up working for them. Not able to develop their skill, because brass is most vital as it is brass work. For other things, we can use a substitute or can manage with mixing, like wax and paraffin. But brass cannot be substituted, I think the government should sell brass to the craftsmen like rice and grains are given to the BPL. That would be helpful for the craft maker community."[1]



Figure 4.5: Old brass utensil pieces in a basket

Termite clay/*Sanpaghara mati*, red clay/*Lali Mati*, clay from Riverside/*Rui mati*[2] and clay from the lake/*Tarai mati*- this is a fine clay used in the second and third layer of core and the first layer of the mould is made with fine, smooth and thin layer of clay known as *Rui Mati* in Bastar division and *Patar Ghor* or *Chikhla mati* in Raigarh region. Earlier in the Bastar region, they used termite clay. Due to unavailability of the termite clay craftsmen from Bastar have started using red clay available from the pot makers. Artisans from the Raigarh region are still using clay available from the pond or lake to make mould and core.

Clay from the farming field/*Mun mati* or *Karli mati* or *Doli mati*- this is less greasy soil, basically used for the first layer of the core and the last layer of the mould. It is also used for making Bhati means furnace or kiln using bricks.

Paddy husk/ *Bhushra* or *Bhusa*- this is used along with clay for the first layer of the core, the second and third layer of mould and bowl of brass.

Sand from riverside/ *Kudharu* or *Nariya- kudhru*- this is also used along with clay in the second layer of the core. And for the second layer of the mould as well.

[1]Rajendra Baghel, personal interview, March 18th, 2015, Kondagoan.

[2]This clay is taken from the riverside where water flows swiftly. The soil contains mostly clean sand and is called "*Rui Matti*" *Rui* means cotton. Because of the softness of clay, it is named *Rui Matti*.

Cow dung/ *Garu gobar* or *Garawa gobar*- artisans widely use Cowdung, since mostly they make reticular items. Sometimes only cow dung is used as a core, for example, in the small *Ghunghru* (bells) and Boxes. In Raigarh region artisans also uses *Chheri ledi* (goat dropping) to make small bells.

Wood ashes/ *Lakri rakh* or dry cow dung's ashes/ *Chhena rakh*- artisans have recently started using these materials. They mix ashes along with clay and paddy for core and mould. [1]

Green leaf /*Metani* or *Metani*- a Softener made out of bean or any other green leaf, which is greasy. *Metani* is used during wax modelling to give a fine smooth surface to the core. Artisans mostly use bean leaves because they are more slippery. In case if bean leaves are unavailable, any sticky green leaf of the plant can be used.

Bee wax/ *Madh mom*- beeswax is used for modelling. Earlier beeswax was used only by the craftsmen of the Bastar region. But since thirty to thirty-five years the craftsmen of the Raigarh region are using resin along with beeswax.

Resin/*Sarai gond* or *Saras*[2]- artisans of Raigarh region use this for modelling, even now they use but along with bee wax and paraffin wax. Wax and resin, are the second most vital material within the craft. Alternative material will be mixed with this. However, it cannot be substituted completely. As artisans are accustomed to work with wax they earlier used to get wax from the jungle. An elderly craftsman Kejuram Besra from Kotgaon recollects how they used to wander to collect beehive from the forest, as he says-

"*To collect beehive minimum of three to four people are required. We had to cover or hide our face completely while climbing the tree. To collect beehive during those days, we did not wear western clothes. However, we wore dhoti that could not cover our body entirely. We used to apply Neem*[3] *oil over our body, yet we had to suffer from bee bites. First, we used to build smoke below the tree. Then a person climbed the tree carrying with Aari Jhhoga (bamboo basket) in Sikka (pot or basket holder made of jute-rope), a torch with Neem leaves which produce smoke. First, he ties the Sikka and then cuts the beehive and keeps in Jhhogs. It is dangerous because sometimes the tree is too high and bees stings are very hard. I remember once my cousins, Kanuram had collapsed from the tree. And when he fell, one stick got stuck in*

[1] I asked Craftsmen what they used to do with ashes, so the craftsmen of both regions replied that they never used to take out ashes. It used to remain for a long time for thirty to forty day. After several days the upper layer of ashes is used for washing utensils. But the bottom layer of ashes they used as washing powder for cleaning cloth and other things.

[2] Mucilage of Shorea robusta tree.

[3] Azadirachta indica is the botanical name for *Neem*. A tree popularly known for its medicinal benefits.

his eyes. His life was saved, but he became 'Kanwa' (means one who has just one eye). Since then, people started calling him kanwaram."[1]

Paraffin wax- this new material which the craftsmen of both regions have started using, since twenty to twenty-five years, because paraffin is cheaper than beeswax. And due to deforestation bee wax is not easily available and also the price of bee-wax is very high. Thus artisans use paraffin wax along with bee wax.

Coal tar/ *Damar*- this is used along with beeswax and resin. [2] Few artisans mix coal tar as well along with beeswax and paraffin. Coaltar makes paraffin softer and flexible.

Oil/ *Dori tel*[3]/*Leem tel*[4] or *Sarso tel*[5]- oil is used along with bee wax or resin to make it smoother. Oil is also used during modelling to make the surface smooth.

Dry woods /*Sukkha lakri*/ *Jhitka*- wood are used for firing, earlier the craftsmen used to collect wood by themselves from Jungle. But nowadays they have to buy from the market. Though in Bastar region tribal artisans get dry wood from the forest department at the concession, but that is beneficial only for the craftsmen who have the schedule tribe certificate.

Wood coal/ *Koyla*- coal is also used along with wood though they get coal after firing which are not sufficient, artisans have to buy coal from the market.

Dry cow dung /*Chhena*- people of Chhattisgarh make a mixer of cow dung with Paddy husk, which is known as *Chhena* means dry cow dung paste with paddy husk. It burns slowly and maintains heat for a long time. In Raigarh region, while modelling artisans use *Chhena* with a clay bowl. As *Dhuwan* (Resin) gets hard very quickly, thus it needs warmth in order to make flexible.

Cow dung ashes/*Chhena rakh*, Tamarind /*Imli* and Buffing bar/ Green rouge-hand polishing was an age-old technique which artisans have stopped. Instead, they use a buffing bar with a cloth wheel in a buffing machine.

Tamarind paste/*Imli ghor*, lemon juice/ *Limau ras*, Mustard oil/*Sarso tel* and Hays leaves/*paira-paan*- though colouring work is very rare some artisan use colour which is called Rangna in Hindi and technically it is known as patina.

Enamel paint- recently few artisans have started using enamel paint on items.

[1]Kejuram Besra, personal interview, March 14th 2015, Kotgaon.

[2]Coaltar is mostly used by artisans Bastar. Artisans from Raigarh do not use because their work is mostly Reticular so they do not prefer to work with Coal tar.

[3]Oil made out of the seed of *Mahuaa* fruit.

[4]Oil of Neem seed.

[5]Mustard oil.

Above given list provides the details of materials used by artisans. This description shows the changes in the usage of material and usage of substitute materials. There are many reasons for the substitution which will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter. Here technical aspects are discussed but before moving to stages of processes, an overview of on the list of tools and equipment is required, though those are less in quantity but crucial for crafting process. Tools and equipment-

Traditionally artisans use fewer tools and equipment. As the scale and production quantity of artefacts increased, artisans have incorporated modern tools into the crafting process. Though they still refrain themselves to use extra equipment's. Below is the list of tools and equipment used by artisans from Chhattisgarh.

Wooden Muller/*Lodhi* or *Batta*- usually used for breaking clay pieces and powdered from the lump of clay. Earlier the wooden Muller was handmade with a simple geometric shape made by the local village carpenter. But nowadays machine made round wooden Muller is available from a local carpenter.

Bowl/ *Khopla*- this is used for holding water while mixing clay with paddy husk and sand. Earlier they used to have a terracotta bowl. Now they use plastic or steel bowl or small bucket as the water container.

Sieve/*Chalni*- there are many sizes for *Chalni* available to clean the clay, ash or paddy husk and dust from wax etc. Earlier artisans used Iron sieve but presently plastic or steel Sieve is used.

Round pot/*Dhoursi*[1] or *Haadi*- a terracotta pot used for boiling beehive to get wax. Nowadays, Aluminum vessels are also in use.

Skimming ladle/ *Jhaara*– for skimming wastage from the boiling wax.

Cotton cloth/*Suti Kapra*- for filtering boiled liquid wax.

Flat container/*Parat*- container is filled with water to make solid wax from refined liquid wax.

Pichkki-Pharni and *Jhara* - wax thread making machine, it has four different parts *Jhari*, *Pichki*, *Dheta* and *Pharni* or *Chipna* (see Figure 4.8).

[1]*Dhoursa* means to contain something *Dhoursi* might have come from this verb.



Figure 4.6: Girl sieving sand, Chilkuti



Figure 4.7: Boiling wax in the pot, Sirmur



Figure 4.8: *Jhari-Pichki*, Ghoraghati



Figure 4.9: *Jhari, Pichki* and *Detha*



Figure 4.10: Craftsmen working with wax



Figure 4.11: Craftswoman cutting a tin box

Pitchki–cylindrical-shaped Brass container on which wax is kept for wire making

Dheta- This is a cylindrical shaped wooden piece, made according to the size of pitchki, to give pressure on the wax for thread making.

Pharni or *Chipna*– it is made of two pieces of wood or bamboo bars, one is known as *Pharni* which has a hole in the centre on which *Pichki* is kept. The second Bar is known as *Chipna*. And in the centre of bar half or one-inch pit is made according to the shape of *Dheta*.

Wooden slab/ *Gutki* or *Pirha*- small oblong-shaped wooden slab, board or stool, it is used during clay and wax modelling to create different shapes and design like round bolls, flat, thin etc.

Roller/*Belana* or *Lodi*[1]- for rolling clay and wax, to make slabs or thin plates.

Knife/*Chakku* or *chhuri*- for wax threads cutting, modelling and designing.

Porcupine quill[2]/*Sahikanta*- round, thick, long pointed tool, to make a wax thread into a spiral and ornamental design according to the craftwork.

Soldering iron/*Chipna*- the small and thin iron road used for fusing the joints on the waxwork. As seen in the above image of artists working in the studio (see Figure 4.10).

Wooden or bamboo tool/*Matni*- similarly like *Chipna*, a wooden device used for joining or pressing wax without soldering.

Iron nail/ *Kanti*- to hold the inner core clay and outer clay, mould iron nail is used. It is because when the wax melts from inside of the mould. And if the inner core is not attached with the outer layer, it may move from the original place and the final work can change the shape. Thus to hold the core at the same place, a nail through the mould to the core is fixed.

Wooden nail/ *Kheela*-bamboo nail is used for making a channel for molten brass.

Coal stove/*Gorshi*- during winter artisans use this to keep wax warm so that wax modelling can be quickly done with the minute and intricate designs. Earlier the craftsmen of Raigarh region used to keep always *Gorshi* whenever modelling is done because resin gets hard very quickly compared to wax.

Iron knife/ *Loha chhura*– this is a big iron scissor, used for cutting metal sheet.

Hammer/*Hathodi* or *Muthi*[3]- it is used for various purposes like to break the mould, cutting tin boxes for the cover of the furnace, piercing of iron nails, etc.

[1] *Lodi* is referred to the roller made out of wood; loda is referred to the roller made out of stone.

[2]Porcupine is large size rodent, which has a long defensive quill. This tool is made like the shape of porcupine quill.

[3] *Muthi* word is also referred to as the handle of any object.



Figure 4.12: Old bamboo & leather air blower



Figure 4.13: Craftsman rotating air blower



Figure 4.14: Blowing air with an iron pipe



Figure 4.15: Melting Brass, Ghoraghati

Weighing scale/*Narja* or *Napni*[1] or *Taraju*- this is an old instrument for weighing. It has a pan with a bronze rod and scale marking on the left side. In between the rod, one thread-like losing rope is tied. When weight is on the pan, the thread shows the scale which is known as *Baharphuli*. *Narja* is an ancient instrument. Nowadays, it is rarely used. Instead of *Narja*, they use *Taraju* the weighing instrument made of iron.

Bamboo/*Bans Nali* or iron pipe- this is kept inside of the floor, which makes way for air from air blower to furnace. The earlier bamboo pipe was used, but now iron pipes are in use.

Iron air blower/*Dhoukni*- earlier *Dhokni* (a traditional air blower) was used by artisans

[1]*Napni* is the common word used for all measuring scale in the state. The word *Napni* may have come from the word *Napna* means to weigh something.

made out of soft leather[1], which was flexible and moved around easily. *Dhokni* is triangular, broad on one side, tapering on another side. The tapering side is fastened with a small ten to twelve inches bamboo pipe that connects to a furnace. The broadside is divided into two open parts. And both sides are joined together with two sticks of twenty to twenty-five inches in length. With the help of these sticks, the leather bag is moved ups and downs. And air passes through the leather bag to a bamboo pipe and from pipe to kiln (see Figure 4.12). Currently, the craftsman uses an iron blower that is available in the market (see Figure 4.13).

Hoe/ *Kudaa* or *Rafa* - for taking clay from fields and digging a pit for kiln or furnace etc.

Iron pliers or pincer/*chimta* or *Sansi*- to hold something, during firing or for turning mould of work or crucible. Artisans use pliers of many sizes like small, medium and large, pincers of various shapes are used according to need.

Tin sheet/*Tina chhaddar*- for covering furnace so that heat will remain inside.

Stick or rod/*Kharsana* [2]- a long wooden stick used for moving coal or wood while firing.

Big spoon/*Duaa*- iron or steel spoons are used during the casting of small brass items to shift the melted bronze into the mould. Craftsmen also make *Duaa*[3]made by themselves with the cycle bells welded with a long iron rod.

Long Iron rod/*Chhad* or *kholana*- Long pointed iron rod used to check the molten metal and also used while pouring melted metal to stop other materials like cloth or leather from entering the mould. *Chhad* is referred to an iron rod and *kholna* means "to move" it is used when the metal starts melting on the crucible.

Pipe/*Phukni*[4]or *Nari* or *Nali*- used as manually air blower (see Figure 4.14).

crucible/*Ghadia* or *Ghaila*- oval-shaped graphite pot to melt metal artisans use various sizes and shapes of crucibles according to their need. The craftsman started using a crucible recently (see Figure 4.15).

Iron files/*Retari*- for cleaning the surface of bronze after casting.

Chisel/*Chheni*- to open metalwork after casting and to remove metal bubbles from craft surface.

[1]Primarily artisans used cow, bull or gaot animal skin for making *Dhokni*.

[2]This may have come from the word *Khasrana* means 'to move.'

[3]This word may have come from the sound which comes from putting something on the liquid-like *Dup*

[4]The word Phukni may have come from the word *Phukna* means to blow air from mouth.

Sandpaper/*Retmaal*[1]/ *kagaj*- to make craft surfaces smooth.

Iron wire brush/*Taar brush*- for cleaning of work after the removal of mould.

Hexa blade - to cut the metal channels and extra brass from work.

Buffing machine with iron & cloth blade- this is used for polishing the work to make the surface burnished or glossy. Earlier polishing was done by hand and for cleaning artisans from Bastar used *Bans dhari* (Bamboo fibre). And artisans from Raigarh used *Sukkha Dodaka* (dry ridge gourd).

Above given list provides the detailed descriptions of tools and equipment. Artisans have slowly incorporated many modern tools and equipment for crafting. Artisans have also started using electricity and machinery for crafting production. The complete descriptions of every stage of crafting process have discussed at length in the following sections.

4.2.2 Processes

Dhokra casting is done by two ways one hollow casting and second solid casting. Most of the *Dhokra* casting is hollow and solid casting is done only for miniature works. The craftsmen of the Raigarh region preceded the hollow casting to a further advanced level. Most of their work is reticular, done entirely with wax thread on the base of clay core. Solid casting does not have any core that is solely done with wax. Artisans make craft directly with wax and ornamentation is later done with wax thread. Below is the details of every step of the process has been given. Here researcher uses folkloric and ethnographic methods to go in details of the crafting process.



Figure 4.16: Craftswoman making clay for core



Figure 4.17: Jamunabai teaching to make core

[1]*Retmaal* is Hindi word *Ret* means 'sand'.

Clay making- there are three to four types of clays used for craft making process. Initially, artisan crushes the clay and then soaks in water. Once the clay completely dissolves with water and blends into soft mud, this is semi-dried in the shade. Then the required amount of dry paddy, husk, and ashes are mixed with clay to prevent from breaking and cracking. If necessary fine sand, goat dropping, and cow-dung are also combined with clay, crafts compose desired shaped with clay (see Figure 4.16).

Clay core or model preparation- *Mula* (Bastar division) *Khunt* (Raigarh region)[1] - the core is used for making the base for waxwork. It is the base structure of work. The shape is created accordingly. The core is called *Mula* by the craftsmen of Bastar division and *Khunta* or *Khut* by the craftsmen of Raigarh region. There are three types of cores made for different kinds of work. First is a hard-core, like if the work has a wide opening like pen holder or bowl or core clay has to be inside of work. Even after casting like in figurative works. For this kind of work, the core is made with the mixer of clay[2] and paddy husk. The second type of core is a slightly softer core used for the kind of work on which core has to be removed entirely. But the work has a narrow opening like in the small works and reticular works. For this kind of work, the core is made with clay, paddy husk and cow dung. Lastly, the third type of core is very soft. Such core is made for the kind of work which has a very narrow opening or tiny works. And clay has to be entirely removed, like for tobacco box or small bells etc. For this kind of work, the core is made by cow dung or goat dropping or cow dung with less quantity of clay (see Figures 4.18 and 4.19).



Figure 4.18: Rubbing off on core surface with sandpaper



Figure 4.19: Making of clay core

[1]Required Raw material: see the table no. 1 first row clay for core making.
[2]The core is made with termite or by the red clay or clay from the riverside.

The core is made with two layers of clay, first making of form the basic shape is made according to the desired shape of the artefact. After that core is kept in sunlight to dry, once it is dried, the second layer of thick clay paste[1] is applied on the surface. To make the surface even and smooth, again kept for drying in sunlight. Once the second layer of the clay gets dried; the core is rubbed with sandpaper and sticky green leaves. To make the surface smooth and greasy so that wax can be easily plated on the core (see Figure 4.20).



Figure 4.20: Polished core with leaves

Bee wax making / *Rar* Making- two types of wax are made, first pure bee wax with oil, and second bee wax with, paraffin and coal tar. In the first type of wax making, artisans collect empty beehive from the forest or buy from local people who extract and sell honey or from the nearest local market. The outer dust of beehive is cleaned with a brush and then in a big pot beehives are boiled. Until it becomes a thin liquid, once wax turns into a liquid, the wastage is taken out with the help of skimming ladle. After that, approximately ten per cent of mustard or neem or any thick oil is mixed with wax. Then a mixture of oil and liquid wax is transferred into another wide mouth container which is filled with water. A cotton cloth is tied on the top to filter wax so that all the dust can be removed from the wax. Then for one or two hours, the wax is left in the container to become solid. After that, it can use for modelling or thread making (see Figures 4.21 and 4.22).

In the second method a mixer of bee-wax, paraffin and coaltar are boiled together. Nowadays most of the craftsmen have started using this mixer due to lack of forest goods availability. Combination of these items is approximately fifty per cent paraffin and forty per cent beeswax. Then the mixture is boiled and filtered. This is cheaper than the mixer of bee wax and oil. Beehive is first boiled along with paraffin when it melts into liquid; five to ten per cent

[1]This paste is known as *Baran mati* used for making a smooth surface.

coal tar is mixed and boiled again for ten to fifteen minutes. Then the liquid is filtered with a cotton cloth and wax is poured into another bowl which is filled with water to make solid wax.



Figure 4.21: Skimming melted wax



Figure 4.22: Skimming wax in cotton cloth

Resin/ *Dhoowan* making (Raigarh Region) [1] - instead of bee wax artisans of Raigarh region use, *Dhoowan*[2] (resin), it is a kind of organic gum known as *Sarai Gond*[3] in the state. The gum comes from the tree named *Sarai* or *Sal* (Shorea Robusta). Like the craftsmen of Bastar region, artisans of Raigarh region also make two types of *Dhoowan* first pure resin with oil and second resin with paraffin and beeswax. Initially, the resin is heated in a pot, until it melts and changes into a thick black paste later linseed oil or mustard oil is mixed. In the second type of wax, approximately forty per cent of paraffin and fifty percentage of *Dhuwan* are boiled. When the mixture starts boiling, approximately ten per cent of oil is mixed with paste to boil again. After it is boiled, some drops of the liquid are discharged into a bowl of water. To check, if the liquid gets frozen in water if it is frozen means the liquid is ready. Then this liquid is sieved with cotton cloth into another big container or bucket of water to cool (see Figures 4.23 and 4.24).

After the wax making process, henceforth all of the rest processes from both region is same. As wax thread making, wax modelling, moulding, and casting preparation, casting, cleaning and polishing.

[1] See the table no.1 second-row section of the Raigarh region.

[2] *Dhoowan* is used as incense during rituals and ceremonies, the smoke of *Dhoown* produces fragrance.

[3] *Gond* means *Gum* in Hindi.



Figure 4.23: Boiling wax, resin & paraffin



Figure 4.24: Skimming melted wax into water

Wax/Resin threads making/*Main Tigal/ Dhoowan Baranaa* / *Dhari Perna*-thread making is similar in both regions; it is made with the help of a hand machine. It has three parts which are fixed in between the wooden bars. In the middle part of wooden bars, a round hole is made, the bottom bar has a hole in the centre, and the top bar has one or one and a half-inch pit in the centre. Inside of *Pichki*, first *Jhari* is fixed and later soft wax is kept. On top of the wax, *Dheta* is fixed. Now *Pichki* is placed in the hole of lower bar and pressed by the *Pharni* or *Chipna* with full force. Thin wax wire and thread comes according to the shape of the pore and size of *Jhari*/brass disc (see Figures 4.25 and 4.26).



Figure 4.25: Making of wax thread



Figure 4.26: Making of wax thread

Furnace building/*Bhati Banaasot* or *Bhati Banut*- a furnace is made in the ground, mostly done outdoors or open space with a roof on pillars without walls. The size of the furnace building varies according to the size of items the artisan has to cast. The dimension for constructing a furnace pit depends on their convenience and requirements. The procedure carried out in the traditional way of brass casting. The minimum size of the furnace is twelve

inches near the periphery, of a circular pit with a depth of minimum eight inches. Maximum size is around three feet distance from the periphery and with the depth of maximum two feet. The frame of the pit can be round or square-shaped. They usually keep two types of the furnace in their studio. Earlier brass would be attached with work of art, so only one pit was needed. Presently artisans use two pits, one for melting brass and other for de-waxing. Both pits are kept in a distance of minimum one foot. For melting brass, the pit is made with the periphery of maximum five feet and with a depth of one to three feet. And for the dewaxing process, the pit size can increase up to six-seven feet periphery with the depth of one to four feet, depends on the requirement.

Encircling pit/*Aaara* or *Bhitthi*- pit wall is made of bricks and clay. The surface of bricks is coated with clay and cow-dung, from both the sides of the furnace, inside as well as the outer side. If the wall is short in height, the depth of the pit has to be increased; the overall height of the furnace should be one foot to five feet.

Pipe and air blower- a short distance from the furnace, one slant pipe is fixed. The pipe connects to the pit, which is made for air to pass into the furnace. The pipe has a minimum length of one and a half feet and maximum up to three feet.

Wax modelling/*Matna* or *Dhoowan*- mostly artisans make a complete craft with wax thread, but for small artworks and figurative artefacts, freehand modelling is done. For this wax has to be smoothed to create form or layer on work. As the resin is a little harder than wax, that's why artisans of Raigarh region have to keep the coal stove while modelling. On the upper surface of the core around the form, the wax wire is slowly attached. One thread with another and as per requirement second and third layer is also done. A wax thread mostly does the ornamentation of the image with the help of tools. They do not use any tool, hardly three to four types of timber tools and iron or steel knife. And wax modelling is done on a wooden stool or any flat surface. Artisans make patterns of different shapes and size with wax thread for decoration like thick and thin circles, braids, dots, oblong, square etc. (see Figures 4.27 and 4.28).



Figure 4.27: Modelling with wax thread, Ghoraghati



Figure 4.28: Wax lamp, Kondagoan

Joining of the core or *Nikasi*- for the perfect casting and proper flow of molten metal into every part of the work, *Nikasi* is made. An open space is left mostly in the lower part of the work, during the wax modelling. So that the inner core and outer core layer of clay mould can join. This helps to keep both the core connected and to hold each other. So when wax vaporized during the de-waxing process. The form made in wax remains the same, without altering its original space.

Chanel making/*Kheela* or *Dhari*- channel is attached to the waxwork, a type of pipes made of wax or bamboo stick. Earlier *Dhokra* works were small in size, so bamboo sticks were attached to wax from funnel. In due course of time, the size of *Dhokra* items has been increasing, so artisans have to make wax channel. So without any blockage molten metal can pass via mould to the waxwork. When wax work completes, channels are made around the work. There are many channels which create a web around the work and number of channels depends on the size and shapes of craft items. All channels are made connected with one major channel, which is joined to the waxwork.

Moulding/ *Mati Chhabna*- two to three layers of clay are added on the surface of the wax, which creates the mould. Earlier it was moulded using clay nowadays some artisans have started using plaster of Paris. This is mostly done within three layers. The following is the process of moulding.

The first layer of mould/ *Baran Mati chhabala* or *Chikan Mati chhabana*- very thin smooth clay paste is made for the first layer of mould, which creates an impression to take every small detail of craft items. On top of this layer, a thin clay paste of black colour is applied. So while breaking of clay black or blue layer indicates that now artisan has to open mould carefully without damaging the craft. This black paste is made using fine clay from riverside or lakeside

or from termite house mixed with coal powder and filtered using a thin cotton cloth. After covering with a black paste, work is left for drying (see Figure 4.29).

The second layer of mould/*Mati chhabana*- in the second layer of mould, clay is mixed with sand and paddy to make the mould strong. Paddy and sands keep mould warm and maintain the temperature for very long. This helps while the transformation of molten metal to the craft or poured from the crucible to the craft. (See Figure 4.30)



Figure 4.29: The first layer of fine clay mould



Figure 4.30: The second layer of the clay mould

Mould holder/*Khuti deton* or *Khilaa Padto*- after the second layer, if a craft item is closed and space is not left, for core and mould to join. For such artefacts, iron nails are pierced from the outer layer of a cast into the core. These nails grip core and prevent it from moving when the wax is vaporized during de-waxing (see Figure 4.31).

Third or the last layer of mould making- in the third layer, more quantity of paddy husk is mixed along with clay and cow dung. Once the second layer gets dry, this mixture is applied as a third layer on craft and kept again for drying. Altogether three layers of mould are applied around the wax artefacts, it becomes one to two-inch thick depends on the size of craft (See Figure 4.32). If the artefact is big in size, mould is tied with the iron wire. Then one more layer of clay and paddy husk is applied to the artwork. Around the funnel, circular space is left open to pour liquid metal. Now the moulding is done craftwork is ready for casting.



Figure 4.31: Piercing nails on small work



Figure 4.32: The third layer of mould



Figure 4.33: Brass bowl is kept on funnel



Figure 4.34: Attachment of work & brass bowl

Attaching brass bowl for casting[1]-*Ghaili Jorna* or *Peetar Jorna*- in the traditional method of casting, the brass pieces are melted in the clay bowl, which is attached to work. In this way, the first scrap of the broken brass pot, vessel utensil and pieces are broke in small pieces and weighed according to the weight of wax. On proportion ten-fold of wax, then pieces are kept in a clay bowl along with the small quantity of salt, salt helps Brass to melt faster and it clears the dust as well. After that bowl is fixed to funnel of the work and sealed with the mixer of clay and paddy husk. Nowadays very few craftsmen work with this process; presently most of the craftsmen use crucible for brass melting. (See Figures 4.33 and 4.34)

Casting/*Dhalai*- for the casting of craft approximate proportion of 1:10:100 is fol-

[1]Required raw materials & tools- Bastar- clay & Paddy husk, Brass pieces, *Kheela* (small wooden nail), *Narja/Napni* (Weighing scale), *Kaichi* (Iron Scissors), *Taraju* (weighing scale) & Raigarh- clay and Paddy husk, Brass pieces, *Kheela* (small wooden nail), *Narja/Napni* (Weighing scale), *Kaichi* (Iron Scissors), *Taraju* (weighing scale).

lowed. Wax, metal and firewood are used in the same quantity; means for every one kilogram of wax, ten kilograms of brass is required. And for ten kilograms of brass, hundred kilograms of firing material is used, this includes woods, coal and dry Cow-dung. Casting process requires four to six hours, depends on the size and quantity of the work. [1]

The casting process has three steps. First, the De-waxing, second melting Brass and third transferring molten Brass. In traditional method de-waxing and melting Brass is done in one kiln (see Figures 4.35 and 4.36). In the present method of casting, brass melting and de-waxing are done in two separate furnaces, here is the following process.

Dewaxing/*Main Jharaatos* (Bastar) or *Dhauwan Barna* (Raigarh)- the work is first kept in the fire of low temperature, so the clay can be baked without breaking. And wax can be vaporized slowly without leaving any bubble in the mould. The process of de-waxing is same for both ways of casting it takes around half an hour to one hour for de-waxing.



Figure 4.35: Craftsman checking brass melting



Figure 4.36: Turning work to shift melt brass

Melting of brass/*Peetar golaun* (Bastar) *Peetar Paatar karout* (Raigarh)- after vaporization of the wax, the clay mould is almost baked. In traditional method temperature of the furnace is increased so the Brass can melt as Brass is attached with the craft. In some process, Brass is liquefied separately on crucible (granite bowl) (See Figure 4.37) and de-waxing is done separately.

[1]When Brass melts into liquid, this molten material is transferred into the mould. In the old process, a brass bowl is attached to the cast which is turned upside down. So the melted brass shift from bowl to empty space, in the mould left after wax vapourization. In the present method, it is poured directly from crucible to work. In the traditional process, artisans have to guess checking whether Brass has been melted entirely or not. For this craftsman holds work with the help of iron pincers and shakes it slowly, similar to moving coconut shell. If it sounds like movement of water, the Brass is ready to transfer.



Figure 4.37: Melting Brass in the crucible



Figure 4.38: Shifting melted Brass to work

The casting of work/*Peetar Udoltos* (Bastar) or *Peetar Dharna* (Raigarh)- in the traditional method, once brass starts boiling, the blue flames can be seen on the top of work. Once the blue flame is visible, craftsman takes work out from the furnace and tilts slowly (see Figure 4.38). In the new process, brass melting is visible as it is done in the crucible. After that, if work is small iron ladle is used for transferring molten Brass to work. If work is big two craftsmen hold crucible from both sides and pour slowly on the mould. Casted work is kept on the wooden base funnel facing towards the sky. This is the most critical and dangerous part of the process and it is very sensitive. Hence it becomes like a religious ritual activity, pin-drop silence is maintained until the metal pouring finish. One has to handle carefully during this process; metal pouring is done immediately but very cautiously. One person has to keep looking at the mould because if mould has any crack, metal will be out via gap and whole work will be damaged. And if somehow mould gets cracks, immediately some wet clay is applied to mould which prevents liquid metal from running out. Sometimes metal gets stuck in between due to air bubbles so they clear the way by using a thin rod. Once casting is done craftsman leaves the casted work for two to three hours to cool down.

This process has to be carefully done because if the melted brass felt down and touch the body, that will be very harmful. As during the casting, Fagnuuram Sagar said, about the care need to be taken-

"*Turning work or pouring of molten brass to mould is not easy and light process. Concentration has to be kept while casting. If a drop of molten brass falls into the body part that means drop will pass from this side of the body to another side, like a sharp arrow. And for a second person may not even realize what happened. After that the way person will scream, the whole village will be able to hear. That's why there is Haana (proverb), 'dehe me peetar parish'*

means 'brass fell on the body'. When someone screams we say, what happened why you are screaming as if brass has fallen on the body."[1]

Breaking of mould/*Mati Jhaarna*- once mould gets completely cold after casting it is opened with the help of chisel and hammer, the brass item is taken out and cleaned. Generally, artisans wait for two to three hours for the cast to cool but after an hour with the help of water mould can be broken slowly (see Figure 4.39).



Figure 4.39: Spraying water to cool off



Figure 4.40: Cleaning items after casting

Cleaning & repairing/*Khar-Jhaar*(Bastar)/ *Saffa-dhukka* (Raigarh)- damaged or air hole or extra brass bubbles are repaired and cleaned with the help of chisel and sandpapers. Channels which are attached to the work are cut with the help of Hexa-blade. On some areas, if Hexa-blade cannot reach, chisel and hammer are used to remove the extra parts. Then iron files and iron brushes are used to clean the surface to remove clay and dust. If there is bubble or cracks that are filled with metal putty or gas welding but that is done in very rarely (see Figure 4.40).

Polishing or buffing/*Tang-tangaa Banaasot* or *Chika-chakan Karout*- earlier the polishing was done by rubbing the surface with tamarind or ashes with the help of handmade brush like bamboo fibre or dry ridge gourd. Nowadays the polishing is done with the help of buffing machine on which iron wheel and cloth wheel is used along with by buffing soap bar (see Figures 4.41 and 4.42).

[1]Fagnuram Sagar, personal interview, June 14th, 2015, Chilkuti.



Figure 4.41: Polishing in the buffing machine



Figure 4.42: Polishing in buffing machine

Patina or colouring /*Rangna*- this is a method of colouring metal sculpture. Patina doesn't have its volume, so when it is done on any item. It doesn't affect the original design and texture of the surface. Patina also prevents damage from the atmosphere due to a layer of patina metal doesn't get any direct contact with the environment, even if kept in the open space. Nowadays, other than patina enamel paint is also used by many artisans. But that makes a thin layer on the surface and due to that, it loses the quality of metal and texture cannot be seen. But it looks shiny and catchier to the eyes due to colours.



Figure 4.43: Natural method of black patina



Figure 4.44: Chemical patina on gauzy lion

There are two significant techniques of patina, first Natural patina, [1] (see Figure 4.43)

[1]In natural patina there is the limitation of colours. Here are the primary three colours and method of natural patina is given. Brown patina/*Kattha Rang*- Brown patina, the item is left in the open air and covered with grass and leaves for one or two months. And when grass and leaves get rotten, they leave a brownish mark and that makes brown patina. Sometimes for this patina cow-dung is also used this makes faster patina then grass and leaves. Green

second chemical patina (see Figure 4.44). The *Dhokra* craft makers usually do not use patina, but nowadays it is used very rarely for decorative images and pieces of jewellery. The usage of chemical patina has started recently since fifteen-twenty years. Chemical patina is quick, but artisans prefer natural patina, though this is a long process. Chemical patina is rare among the artisans few craftsmen use that, though there are many formulas for chemical patina and can get a variety of colours. [1] Chemical has the quality that it doesn't make any layer and get mix with the surface as if it is the original colour of the metal. It gives transparent tint, which makes metal looks more attractive as well as it appears ancient. Having such quality still, the chemical patina is not popular among *Dhokra* artisans due to lack of technical knowledge and awareness regarding chemical patina. Also, demands for patina artefacts are less compare to well-polished and colourful items.

Nowadays artisans use enamel paint and acrylic paint to colour the craft items. (See Figures 4.45 and 4.46) As many artisans say that shiny items and colourful items are more in demand and sold hand to hand, patina gives an old look. They say that not everyone likes to have inactive looking piece only some foreigners like such items and such customers are less in numbers. So they prefer to polish, colour and apply natural patina. Though the natural process takes time, it does not cost much. After polishing and colouring the artefact is ready for sale in the market and shops (craft market, consumers and patronizes will be discussed in the sixth chapter).

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patina/*Paan Rang*- for this lemon juice or tamarind paste is rubbed on the surface after drying the layered item is dipped into water or buried in the earth. This method is very appropriate for bronze or brass sculptures. Black Patina or Dark brown/*Kariya au bit kattha Rang*- black colour patina is done with the help of smoke. Brown or dark brown colour can also be achieved by this method, for that mustard oil is applied on the surface of the brass item. After oiling the artefacts is fastened to the kitchen roof with the help of sika or rope where little heat can be reached along with the smoke. It is left hanging for some days later it is removed and polished with cloth the brown object turns into dark brown colour.

[1]With Chemicals patina can get varieties of colour with the usage of temperature, some with average temperature and some need more warmth. This depends on the formula; generally, sulphuric acid is mixed with water, but if there are more stain which came on the surface due to overheating. In such cases, other chemicals are also used. Sulfuric acid with sodium fast dichromate and water and if the stain is more prominent than some more chemicals are used. Sulphuric acid with nitric acid, water and sodium chloride or hydrochloride, though these chemicals are used only by some craftsmen. This information has been taken from the Sushil Sakhuja, who owns the *Dhokra* craft studio in the Kondagaon.



Figure 4.45: A painted elephant with three trunks



Figure 4.46: Painted tortoise

Above given techniques of crafting suggest that *Dhokra* is indeed a lengthy, time and labour-consuming process. What makes this craft unique is this process, not just the manual work but each artefact is made independently. The mould-made for crafting is not reused because it made of clay and broken after casting. There are few transformations have taken like usage of substitute raw materials, machinery and colour etc. Though machinery usage is less and restricted, thus crafting is completely done manually. Below is a brief note on the transformation on technique has given, which compares the archaic and contemporary methods of crafting.

4.3 Transformation of *Dhokra* metal craft technique

There are three significant changes in the craft technique. First making of wax (usage of other materials means from beeswax and resin to the mixer of paraffin and coal-tar), second casting and casting equipment (process, iron air blower, and crucible), and third polishing of artefacts (from tamarind and ash to buffing soup means polishing material tools and equipment).

The changes with the tools and equipment has come with the availability of cheaper and durable substitute gadgets, like from terra-cotta bowls and pots to plastic containers or buckets, with the usage of less energy consumable equipment like handmade blower to Iron air blower, polishing tools like from dry ridge gourd or bamboo fiber to buffing machine, iron brush to buffing wheel sandpaper, and with the adoption of new technique like the in casting process usage of crucible and iron ladle.

As mentioned earlier, the change in the wax mixture has occurred, due to the lack of material available in the region. The bronze price has increased and the Government and merchant buy their work according to the weight. After spending a lot of time and money on the raw material, selling according to weight is not beneficial for artisans. Earlier works were sold according to piece design and size in a weekly market. But now they can sell their artefact as a

piece, only if they could attend the craft fair or organize their exhibitions in the galleries or can open their shop. But not everyone has enough money to do so not everyone gets the opportunity to go for governmental craft fairs and exhibitions. Even if they get an opportunity, some of them cannot afford to go because of the Government's policy of paying money afterwards. First, they have to spend from their pocket, as the young craftsmen Piluram Baghel and Jheruram Baghel from Khorkhosa said about their experience of the travelling-

"*Some six-seven years back our name got selected for the exhibition in the Indore. The officer from Shabri (handicraft department of Chhattisgarh) told us that the conveyance, food, and accommodation would be provided in Indore. We got ready and we four people went, but while going, they did not give us any advance money. So with our money, we went on general bogie (railway compartment) and reached somehow. There they gave accommodation but no food; we did not even have enough money to get food. Because we had already spent on a train ticket and during the journey, we did not even have a mobile at that time to call anyone. We had to stay for two days without food because the exhibition started on the second day of our arrival. After selling some work, we got to have food. Since then, I had sworn that I am not going to believe in this Shabri(handicraft department of Chhattisgarh) people. So rather than going to an unknown place and starve, it is better to give merchant. Even they offer less money, but they provide on time.*"[1]

Above anecdote suggests that to sell their work to merchants has become their compulsion. Because of the lack of buyers in the local, regional market and Government failed to purchase their works and provide payment in the time as like the Balram Kashyap from Dahikonga says-

"*I had given application many times to get the opportunity to go for an exhibition, but my name never came. And giving work in the Shabri (handicraft office) does not work for me. As they first take work but give the cheque afterwards that too very late. Sometime after six months, my family could not afford such a long gap of payment. So we started giving work to the merchants from Raipur and Delhi and also started using some less expensive material like paraffin and coal-tar. Though earlier I did not like the coal-tar, it was slightly challenging to get clean and micro details, but slowly I got the control over it. We also started doing a casting with the help of crucible; there are very fewer chances of any wastage and damage. My father never liked working with coal-tar, till he was alive he worked with pure bee wax. But their time was different, they had a simple lifestyle with minimum necessities, but now technology developed*

[1]Piluram Baghel & Jheruram Baghel, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

my children want a phone. I cannot say 'No' to the, because all of their friends have. So I have to fulfil their need. Hence I had to choose another option, and the merchant provides money on time."[1]

These anecdotes signify that how and why they choose or adopted new materials and process. As artisan said, it was not easy for them to work with new material. But with time they got control over it, excelled it like their traditional technique. Some of the young artisans say they do not even know to cast through old casting technique. As craftsman Santosh Jhareka from Damdarha (Raigarh) who is twenty-four years old. He says-

"*My grandfather and father say that earlier they used to attach the brass pieces, along with work. But I have never done that, not even seen anyone doing this not even in my father-in-law house no one does that. Since childhood, I have witnessed melting Brass in the crucible, that old process is gone long back, for us now it is like Kattha (story).*"[2]

The anecdote suggests that the craftsmen have adopted the changes so well that it has become their own. As the old process on which brass is kept along with work requires fewer workforces, compared to the present casting method (melting of brass in graphite crucible) which most of the craftsmen use now. The main reason for the adoption of this method is the scale of melting of Brass. Earlier the craft scale was small, but now the scales of the artefacts have increased and graphite bowl can hold a massive amount of the Brass. In the old process, big work is not even easy to turn. Secondly, in crucible, the melting of the Brass is visible to the craft maker. Artisans do not have to guess or check constantly the melting process. As the craftsmen Fagnuram Sagar says-

"*Earlier, my father and grandfather used to make small size artefacts. But they had a high demand for their work, and in the exchanges, they used to get, paddy, rice, cows, grains etc. Everything was in surplus, but now things have changed. It is not like earlier days; usage of these handmade utensils, even brass pieces of jewellery has become rare in the region. Now our artefacts are sold to outsiders, and they like fine-polished and large works. And in the old process, big size works cannot be cast. If we make that would consume more wood, coal and time, and nowadays the collection of wood is difficult. Now we had to buy everything, so for one work, we cannot spend such amount. Besides, in the old process, there is always a slight risk of failure of casting. The unsuccessful cast means damage of artefact. Only Brass can be reused;*

[1]Balram Kashyap, personal interview, March 16th, 2015, Dahikonga.
[2]Santosh Jhareka, personal interview, March 22nd, 2015, Damdarha.

everything else gets wasted along with time." [1]

This anecdote suggests the reasons, which made artisans to adopt new casting technique for their work. Similarly, the usage of buffing soup instead of tamarind or ashes for polishing as well was incorporated due to demand. As artisan Panchuram Sagar says-

"*My mother used to polish all the artefacts which my father made. But earlier there were less and small artefacts. Now I make big artefacts, like four feet and five feet. That has to be polished and shiny, in the local markets; villagers do not care much about the shining things. They see the material and design. But outsiders do care about those things, in city exhibitions and craft fair. I have seen people buying papercraft at such a high price, though that's not going to stay for long. Our craft is going to remain even if kali-juga[2] is finished and shiva destroys the world again. But in the city rich people who buy big works for their palace, they do not care about the material. If that catches their eye, they will buy. So to look more attractive we have to do the good polishing and after polishing with buffing soup, brass looks like shine gold.*" [3]

The anecdote indicates that how the market became a reason for the artisans to polish their works. So that artefacts would catch the eyes of the spectator. Artisans started using the machine for polishing because hand polishing consumes time and energy and the result is not as good as a machine. So in order to make sparkling artisans started using the buffing soap with the help of a grinding machine.

There are many reasons which made artisans change their materials, tools, and equipment with the adoption of the new process. It is remarkable that due to modern equipment and process like casting has made their work faster. They can produce more amount of work in a short time with fewer defects. If any slight defect occurs, that can also be resolved with the use of gas welding and metal putty, which was not possible earlier. These types of equipment made it easier for the new learner, as they do not need to have years of experience for wax making, modelling and moulding skills and to know about the melting of brass etc.

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, *Dhokra* is a traditional occupation for the majority of artisans. Thus like other traditional occupation in *Dhokra* tradition as well every member of the family is involved, including women and children. In every step of production and distribution, from the collection of raw material, the making of clay to casting and selling of

[1]Fagnuram, Sagar, personal interview, June 10th, 2015, Chilkuti.

[2]In Hinduism, *Kali Yuga* is the last of the four stages (or ages or *yugas*) the world goes through as part of a 'cycle of yugas' described in the Sanskrit scriptures. The other ages are called *Satya Yuga, Treta Yuga*, and *Dvapara Yuga*.

[3]Panchuram Sagar, personal interview, May 28th, 2015, Sargipali.

artefacts, every member of the family is involved. But few steps are done mostly by men because physical strength is required, for example, during casting shifting or pouring of the molten metal into the cast or digging a pit for kiln etc. Some women also do these works but in rare cases and the absence of males in the house. Nowadays, the role of women has drastically improved and their presence is felt in all aspect of craft. So it is worth making a separate account for women. Thus a brief discussion on the participation of women artisans in the crafting process has done in the following section.

4.4 Women's Participation in the craft work

Women participation in the craftwork is as equal as men, but earlier, they rarely participated in marketing. Most men used to go to the village market for selling craft. Though the scenario is changing now and many women participate in the exhibition, craft fair and award ceremonies. Women artisans also teach craft not only to their kids or family members but to an outsider as well. Many artisans have learnt the work from the women artisan. Jamuna Bai from Chilkuti has taught many people. She says:

"*Earlier my husband used to go for a handicraft exhibition and its camp. He used to be very busy. He was my brother in law. I married him after my elder sister's death. He has four children in his first marriage. As he was busy, I used to teach craft making to all these children, Along with some of the friends of kids. Since then, people started coming to me for learning. I have taught the craft to many ladies in the village. We were the only family in the village who make this handicraft. Now there are more than ten families.*"[1]

Jamunabai is not the only women who teach the craft. There are other women too, like Bhagtin Nag from Barkai, Tijanbai Besra from Bhelwanpadar, Jankibai from Errakot, Aartibai Baghel from Khorkhosa, Kiyabai, Ramjawati and Phoolbai from Ektal, Raigarh, Ahilyabai from Damdraha, Raigarh etc. Some women have received the State and National awards as well. Until the recent past, women's name was not popular among the artisans. It shows that women were not coming out of their house, as part of the production and sales of these products. Due to the patriarchal mindset, the community prohibited women from appearing publicly as artisans. Craft maker Madhuri Naag from Karanpur said about her experience of travelling out of Bastar for exhibition and camp.

[1]Jamunabai Sagar, personal interview, June 2nd, 2015, Chilkuti.

" *The first time when I went to Surajkund Mela (an event of public entertainment and trade), I didn't even know how to talk. I went with my husband Sukhdev Baghel, who also did not know to speak properly in Hindi. But there we experienced a comfortable atmosphere as people were coming, buying our works at a reasonable price and took our photos. Some Bideesi (Foreigner) also came and took pictures with us. They had collected our address and later came to our home to learn the craft. Thus we got the confidence to face the people from outside. We also learnt to speak Hindi. Now we go all over India for exhibition and sometimes we women only go for exhibitions.*"[1]

Most of the women had such kind of experiences when they first stepped out of the region. Sometimes they had unpleasant experiences too. They do not like the gaze and questions of the outsiders who have many misconceptions regarding the region. Kotribai Soni from Sirmud relates her experience in Delhi exhibition:

"*I was standing at our shop when a group of people came. They saw our nameplate and began asking some question like, 'do u wear Saree and blouse even in your region? Is this your cloth or Government has given you? Do you eat mouses every day? Do you also dance and sleep in Ghotul? [2]' etc. such questions irritate and hurt us. After that incident, I do not like to go to exhibitions and if I go, I do not wish to talk or engage in conversation with the customers.*" [3]

Many craftswomen have faced such questions, but some had good experiences as well. Many of them were admired and invited to home by the outsiders. They also enjoy functions conducted by different organizations, exhibitions at schools and workshops by the women organizations. Mangli Kashyap from Khorkhosa village recollects her experience in a workshop conducted by a woman's organization in Jaipur, as she says;

"*Twenty years back, I got an offer to participate in a month-long workshop at Jaipur. I along with the members from Kondgaon and Jagdalpur, participated in this program. Those women from Jagdalpur were bamboo craft makers. Many girls and ladies used to come to the camp to learn the Dhokra and bamboo craft. All of them were affectionate and respected us as their teachers. Everyday someone or the other used to bring their homemade food. During the*

[1]Madhuri Naag, personal interview, June 19th, 2015, Karanpur.

[2]Ghotul is the place where unmarried boys and girls gather together during the evening. They learn, discuss, drink and dance, sometimes they sleep there. Many people find their partner there. But once they are married, they are not allowed to participate in Ghotul. Now days very rarely found Gothul in villages. Unlike earlier now it is only for dancing and celebration and not regularly only during the festivals and fairs.

[3]Kotribai Soni, personal interview, March 16th, 2015, Sirmud.

evening they used to take us to show the city. Some of them learnt to wear Potaka[1] *Saree from us. They took photos of our tattoos. The jewellery we had carried was sold out within one day. We were very happy to see these ladies regularly wore the jewellery that we had sold. It is a memorable event that they had organized a great function for us on the last day.*" [2]

She admitted that she has started making more jewellery after this camp. Though the *Dhokra* jewellery making is a bit complicated, it could be easily marketed in every exhibition, she states. Men also have pleasant and sometimes unpleasant experiences. It would be discussed later. These experiences of women reflect how they have come forward. Women have started participating and travelling out of the region. Not only had they learned the language but to read and write as well. They are also learning to teach craft, getting aware of market and demands. They are getting recognition and becoming more confident. These experiences reveal the gradual advancement of the craftswomen from the household to the market. It must be noted that initiations taken by the Govt. and NGOs have helped the women considerably to get labelled as craftswomen. Such openings gave them a platform to exhibit their ability and it made them confident.

The participation of women has always been undermined and unrecognized in every sector, and *Dhokra* is no exception to this. Even though women from every house actively take part in the craftwork, less than one-tenth of women artisans have been included as craftswomen in the official records of handicraft department. [3] This shows that many of them are yet to come forward, and at least to get enrolled as an artisan. As of now, many women travel all over India for the exhibitions, camps and workshops. The state and central Government recognize many of them with awards. With technology the role of women as well slowly changes are coming but still a long way to go. One could see the change, but it is very slow, the Government has to provide capitals and promote craftwork of women artisans. Infrastructure and equipment are must for the craft, as the process of craft making is lengthy and it demands physical strength. Thus organizations can also offer separate working space for women artisans (for details on the contribution of external institution see the sixth chapter of the thesis, subheading "*Trading Craft out of Region: Cosmopolitan Market of Dhokra.*" As its government cannot change the social structure but it can help in providing appropriate assistance for women artisans. And slowly but hopefully soon the women will be equally recognized and rewarded for their craft creativity.

[1]Traditional *Saree* of Bastar, length and width are lesser than normal *saree*; it is worn as calf-length, without plates.

[2]Mangli Kashyap, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

[3] According to the official artisans' list of State handicraft board Chhattisgarh

The above discussion of typology and technology showcase the chronological difference and continuity in the artefacts. It suggests how artisans are incorporating modern material and technology in their crafting process. But along with the incorporation of new tools and equipment artisans are also maintaining methods of their age-old crafting practice. As seen above that transformation took place in several aspects of crafting, from raw material to polishing but artisans somehow manage to maintain the traditional method. Usage of the traditional method is not completely extinct; it is rare but not extinct. Their ability to adapt, incorporate and blend the new technology into their own way of practice helps them in safeguarding their tradition. Artisans are updating themselves in terms of techniques and typology. In order to combat with machine-made goods, artisans have adopted a few modern technologies to accelerate the crafting process. But they are using in limitation so the uniqueness and quality of customized artefacts remain. This gives *Dhokra* edge over other metal artefacts which are mass-produced. *Dhokra* artisans are constantly exploring their ways to sustain craft by their creativity. As Margaret Boden said "creativity is the ability to come up with ideas that are new, surprising, and valuable. There are three ways of creativity. Three types of creativity are combinational, exploratory, and transformational creativity" (Boden, 2004)). Artisans explored their techniques and subject matter of artefact and produce the exploratory creative artefact. Artisans have taken other major steps as well in order to create a product which fit according to the modern lifestyle. They have incorporated forms and designs according to the modern lifestyle. This aspect will be discussed at a great length in the following chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 5

Structure & Function of *Dhokra* Craft

The artefacts from any given culture, region or periods have a specific structure, through which artefact is identified as discussed in the previous chapter (see Section 4.1 "typology"). This particular structure can give information about that culture, region and time periods. In art, this study is popularly known as iconography. Artisans of sub-continent strictly followed a set of iconography given in the ancient text known as *Shilpa Shastra* (see the introduction part of the first chapter). These texts were primarily written based on the religious perspective, which was followed by the patrons of those arts, particularly by the state-power and religious authorities. Similarly, *Dhokra* artisans as well follow the "iconography" of their own. But they do not follow the iconography, which is used by the majority of court and temple artisans. They create artefacts according to their folklore, which includes tribal beliefs, traditional customs and practices. The folklores of craft has already been explored in the third chapter, in this chapter will discuss how artisans conceive and construct the visual structure and function of the artefacts, and how becomes beneficial in the sustenance.

5.1 Structure

Structure means any object or artefacts made with different elements connected with each other. In order to create a form is called a structure, for example, the structure of DNA or a human skeleton (The human skeleton has different types of bones connect with each other with specific joints and forms; so basically, the skeleton is made of different bones). Similarly, an artefact is made with various structural elements which define the basic shape or form and

design of artefact. There were many studies have done analysing the structural features of the phenomena in the humanities, arts and social sciences.

The study of literary structure is known as structuralism. It is a literary theory that started in the early nineteenth century in Europe. "Structuralism is about finding the fundamental basic units or elements that make any system and discovering the rules that govern and how these units can be combined. A structuralist analysis of literature started with a structural examination of its language (atom of a text). The basic atom of language is the word or more strictly the phonemes and the rules are the forms of grammar. According to structuralist all language are the same because all have the same structure, regardless of what kind of words they contain"(Culler, 1981). A structure can be universal because it is only a structure, a skeleton, a framework on which specific individual content is built. Structuralist believe that every system has a structure and that structure is the "real things" that lies beneath "the surface" or the appearance of meaning. Structuralism began in linguistic studies and it influenced many disciplines from humanities, social sciences to visual arts. Semiotics is one of the branches of structuralism as "the approach to literary criticism informed by the theory of signs or semiotics. Semiotics, tied closely to the structuralism pioneered by Ferdinand de Saussure, was extremely influential in the development of literary theory out of the formalist approaches of the early twentieth century" (Chandler, 2007). The aim to recognize the structure of the *Dhokra* craft is to perceive the basic form and design features of *Dhokra*. It will help in understanding the change and continuity of craft. To understand that, which structural elements like forms and designs have been preserved? Which has been broken down? And what are new elements, which have been added and replaced? In order to answer these queries an analysis will be done on the core & periphery artefacts of *Dhokra* craft (see subheading "typology: core & periphery" in the fourth chapter). To identify the Structure of *Dhokra* craft the semiotics theory[1] has been implemented on the artefacts of *Dhokra*. Before the analysis of *Dhokra* artefacts, the chapter will briefly discuss the theory of semiotics.

5.1.1 Semiotics

Semiotics is the science of the sign system, also known as the study of sign or sign process, for example, analogy, indication, designation, likeness, metaphor, signification,

[1]The theory is an organized set of ideas. A theory is also an explanatory framework and theory is the position you take on any issue. Theory is a general idea. It is also a comprehensive explanation of something, a general idea and a theory is also a proposition.

communication and symbolism. The word has been derived from the Greek word "*semeion*" means "sign".[1] Semiotics refers to how the meaning is originated and how it signifies. The origin of semiotics can be traced back to ancient western philosophers like Aristotle and Augustine. Though, it was not fully developed as an independent academic study until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Ferdinand de Saussure is considered as one of the founders of "semiotics study" or "semiology". Charles sander pierces, regarded as another significant founder for semiotics. Semiotics is a broad subject, which is studied in many different disciplines like linguistics, culture studies, media studies, performances, film, music and visual arts etc. Semiotics consists of three elements first is "Signifier" this means physical form or physical aspect of the sign. Second is "Signified" this is associated with the sign means signified is the concept related to the meaning assigned to the signifier. And third is "Sign" this is the chain of phoneme used in language means the combination of signifier and signified create the sign. According to Saussure, the meaning of the sign is the result of dual relation. His theory is known as the dyadic model of sign, the relationship between the signifier (the physical object or form) and signified (the mental conception about the object or form) is a sign. According to Saussure, the "meaning of the sign emerges. From the relation between the signifier and the signified, which is arbitrary" (Cobley, 2014)).

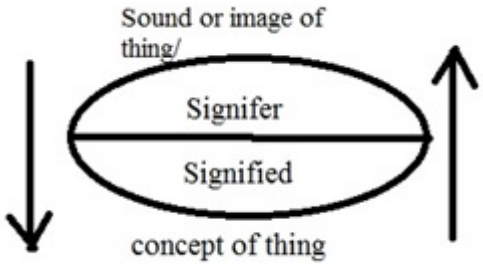

Figure 5.1: Sign model of saussure

Above given diagram is the dyadic model of the sign given by Saussure. Charles Sander Peirce had extended theory of Saussure and said signs are not arbitrary. As per Peirce, the meaning of the sign is created by the relationship among the signs, which is known as a triadic relation. According to him, "nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign" (Peirce,

[1]The word Semiotics is used for the first time in the modern sense by John Locke in his book "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding".

1894). Signs are interpreted by the way it has been represented. In the study of signs, much can be read in a single image. Thus, it creates the end numbers of signs. According to Peirce, "the sign includes an 'object' and its 'referent', (this is similar to Saussure's signifier). And 'interpretant' (similar to Saussure's signified), the 'interpretant' is a sign in itself. It is a sign of the first sign created in the mind of the interpreter. Semiotics is the process of creating signs; for this reason, in Peirce's theory, the interpretant is a sign itself. So it can lead to the creation of an endless number of new interpretant, which Peirce says multiple types of signs" (Chandler, 2007).

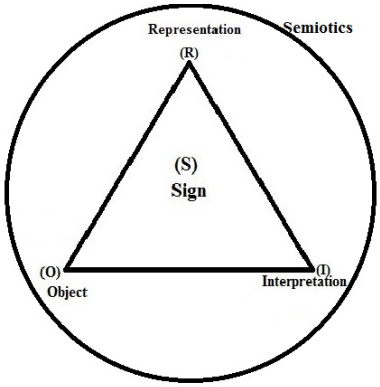

Figure 5.2: Peirce's triadic model of sign

Above given diagram is Pierce's triadic model for semiotics. Pierce made classification of signs, popularly known as the second layer of a triadic model for the relationship among object, representation and interpretant, which is based upon the way they convey meaning. According to Pierce, there are three types of relationship among objects, represent and interpretant, they are; **Icon, Index** and **Symbol**. Signs can have one, two or all three of these at once.

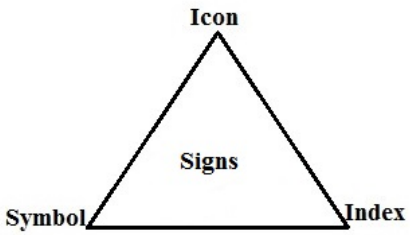

Figure 5.3: Peirce's classification of sign

Above given diagram is triadic model Peirce's sign classification, below are the

descriptions of three elements of signs; textbfIcon, Index & **Symbol**.

Icon- the most straightforward meaning of the icon is, it visually resembles what it stands for or refers to. Icon or sign is similar to what it signifies, the physical similarity or resemblance between physical form and mental conception, for example, realistic paintings, sculpture, photography, illustration and diagram, signs boards etc. The *Dhokra* figurative items resemble the male figure or female figure or animal or plants etc.

Index- unlike Icon Index does not resemble the object itself as the icon does, but the index is affected by what it represents. The index has a direct connection between what is indicated and our understanding of that information. Means the physical form and mental conception both has a direct relation to each other as per the time and place. "An index is more in which the signifier might not resemble, its signified object. The index is not arbitrarily assigned and it is directly connected in some way to the object" (Chandler, 2007) for example, the signboards, the signs boards do not have any meaning if not placed in the respective space. Similarly, like the usage of footprint or sun and moon on the surface of *Dhokra* craft items; these motifs are indexical for the people of the state that artefact is meant for religious purpose.

Symbol- symbols are a sign that is connected to what it signifies by particular given context or law and convention. These laws and conventions are assigned arbitrarily or accepted as cultural or societal convention. Relationships between symbol and meaning are not apparent because the link between two is arbitrary and it is understood by conventions. Means it is conventional, which has to be learning which is based on our social and cultural setup, for example, the punctuations, numbers, flags etc. These two semioticians works have tremendous influence in the study of semiotics and later followed by scholars of literature, culture, anthropology, visual art, media psychology etc. like Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco, Noam Chomsky and so on.

Roland Barthes is another semiotician who proposed four elements of semiotics based

upon binary oppositions. They are "*Language* and *Speech*,[1] *Signified* and *Signifier*,[2] *Syntagm* and *System*[3] and *Denotation* and *Connotation*" (Barthes, 1977). Denotation and Connotation, Barthes gives these terms, to analyze the relationship between the above mentions groups of elements and their context. The denotation refers to the meaning of the sign. And connotation refers to the closest probable meaning of sign according to context, for example, roadside "board sign" of intersecting. If we see it, we immediately understand that its sign of the cross. But the same sign of the cross can be a symbol of Christianity as well in an appropriately given context. Barthes says the binary of this two is Denotation is always present and visible, but Connotation is absent and invisible. Barthes says these groupings are done in "Dichotomy form" as in structural thoughts the binary classification of the concept is frequent. He further extended the semiotics theory into visual media studies. His theory of semiotics is popularly known as codes, which he describes in his book S/Z. There are five codes given by Barthes, they are;

[1]Language and Speech drawing from the Ferdinand de Saussure *Langue/Parole* (*Langue* "Language is the social side of speech, outside the individual who can never create nor modify it for himself; it exist only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by members of the community." Such contract made by some formal rules like phonetics, grammar and logic, those can be studied and analyzed. And on the contrary, *Parole* "speech is the executive side of language, belongs to the individual, it is actual, heterogeneous, unpredictable, and causes language to evolve" like slang, jargons etc.) Barthes explains the semiotic system of speech and language, by taking examples from the garment industry (costume is language and the way those are worn is Speech), food system (the food dishes are language, but the specialization of dishes as family, community and region is speech), car system and furniture. (The structure and function of car and furniture are languages and the variation based on the model, size colours etc. are speech).

[2] Signified and Signifier. According to Saussure "the signified was representation of a concept, while the signifier was used to represent the sound image of that concept" for which Saussure used the term arbitrary and unmotived. Barthes says it is not arbitrary; the meaning should be looked, through the relationship of signifier and signified. According to him "the words in the field derive their meaning only from their opposition to one another (usually in pairs). And that is these oppositions are preserved. The meaning is unambiguous" Barthes explains that "once a sign takes on function or the sign can lose its arbitrary nature and become motivated."

[3] Syntagm and System- Barthes defines these syntagms as "combination of sign", means a meaningful combination of words within a phrase and system. He says is association "the units which have something in common are associated in memory and thus form groups within which various relationships can be found" means it can be explained with comparison to the system or association of one word to another. As our brain associate certain words and their meaning in relations to other words. Barthes gives the example of education as education can be associated, through its meaning to upbringing or training.

"Hermeneutic codes or enigma codes, [1] Semantic code, [2] Symbolic,[3] Proairetic code/action code,[4] and Referential code/cultural code[5]" (Barthes, 1980).

Another popular semiotician of the twentieth century in the field of advertisement and visual media is Umberto Eco. His theory of semiotics is popularly known as interpretative semiotics. According to him, a sign system as anything that can be used to lie, as to quote "Semiotics is a principle discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie" (Eco *et al.*, 1976, p. 7) for example, every sign is used in the advertisement to sell the commodity is an "act of lie". The lie is an essential factor in sign, specific to advertisement. Eco says "Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This 'something else', does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands in for it. Thus semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie. If something cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely it cannot be used, to tell the truth; it cannot, in fact, be used 'to tell' at all"(Eco *et al.*, 1976, p. 7).

The semioticians mentioned above have widely influenced the visual semiotics, one of

[1] This Code use imagery to show mystery and therefore entice a viewer to ask questions or create mystery. Enigma means mystery and it's any mysterious part of a media text. That will engage an audience in some way that will hook them in and that will make them want to read the full article or read the full advert or watch the whole advert or film etc.

[2] Semantic codes are certain elements of media product, which we, as the audience, understand to have the extra layer of meaning or hidden meaning. This is not necessarily something we consciously think about when we see them. There is a connotation to them that we understand as an audience or we should understand as an audience. So for example in a horror movie, there are typically lots of the colour red, black because we understand those colours signified blood danger darkness mystery and so on.

[3] Code, use of an image to represent meaning, Symbol normally means an image which has come to represent something else for example "the heart" symbol symbolizing love, so the shape of a heart has become a symbol for love over time. In some way, symbolism is something you should be looking out for in media production.

[4] Action code is the elements within a media text that are used to signify that something is about to happen. As some people refer to them as elements of media products which signify that something is going to happen as a result for example, a person pulling gun that would be prohertic code which would signify to the audience that he is going to shoot somebody. Or something is going to happen, some kind of conflict where that gun is going to end up being needed and used.

[5] Cultural code is part of media product which one can only really understand if you are part of that particular culture. By culture means it could be a literal cultural country or nationality or ethnicity. It could just be that you need to be part of that age group or that particular gender or that particular historical period etc. In order to understand that code and those people who come from outside of that culture.

the sub-fields of semiotics. The art historians like David Crow[1], Michael Wintle[2] , James Smith Pierce[3] and Erwin Panofsky[4] have explored the usage of semiotics in Art history. In this chapter to manifest the structure[5] of *Dhokra* craft, it will perceive with visual semiotics and iconography theories. *Dhokra* craft items will be analyzed and elaborated with the triadic theory of sign by Charles Sander Peirce and Iconographical and iconological analysis by Erwin Panofsky.

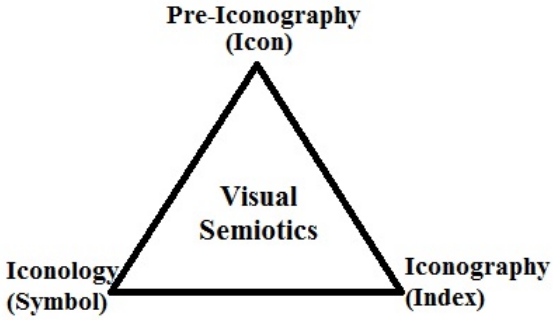

Figure 5.4: Panofsky's triadic model

According to Panofsky, Iconography is a description and first interpretation of the meaning of the object and iconology is the science that studies the object through the origin, literary sources and relations between the remaining object. The study of iconography requires extensive knowledge of the related culture on which work has been produced. Panofsky defined Iconography as the study of subject matters and Iconology as the study of meaning. Panofsky

[1] "Visible Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics in the Visual Arts" in this book David Crow introduces the key theories and concepts, such as signs and signifiers, and language and speech, within the framework of visual communication.

[2]"The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages" by Michael Wintle. This book is a major study of visual representations of Europe, from the classical world to the present day, in maps, icons, the arts and graphic images of all kinds., Michael A. Holly"Past Looking: Historical Imagination and the Rhetoric of the Image" In this Michael Ann Holly uses semiotic approach to asserts that historical interpretation of the pictorial arts is always the intellectual product of a dynamic exchange between past and present.

[3]"From Abacus to Zeus: a handbook of art history" James Smith Pierce makes an elaborate study of the relationships between semiotics, symbols, and the visual arts.

[4] Panofsky's ideas were also highly influential in intellectual history in general, particularly in his use of historical ideas to interpret artworks and vice versa. his works include "Studies in Iconology: Humanist Themes in the Art of the Renaissance"(1939), and "Meaning in the Visual Arts" (1955) are two very popular books in the study of visual semiotics.

[5]The structure is a system in which each element in a group can only be understood by its association or relation to other elements, as part of a larger structure. Various methods of analysis based on the reduction of phenomena into cognitive models referred to as structures.

makes a triadic model for the iconographical analysis of artworks, which he termed as Pre-Iconography, [1] Iconography,[2] and iconology[3] (Panofsky, 1939).

Above diagram shows the combination of the triadic model of Charles sander Pierce and Erwin Panofsky. Though the terminology differs but the meaning and context in which both scholars used is same. Panofsky used the terms which European classical art historian like Giorgio Vasari[4] and Cesare Ripa[5] have used for the study of visual work, termed as the

[1]Pre- Iconography or primary or natural subject matters, which the basic understanding of any work of visual art. It refers to representational meanings, which he subdivided into factual and expressional. Factual refers to the pure form, that is certain configuration or visual elements like line, colour, shape, material or medium, light shadow, as representational of natural object like human, animal, tree, house, furniture, tools, objects etc. and identification of these elements and their mutual relationship is known as event. Expressional refers to the pose, gesture, atmosphere, facial expression etc. These factual and expressional elements are known as motifs (the smallest unit which creates the form, event and expressions), and the enumeration of these motifs are known as pre iconographical representation or primary description of work of art. This analysis is similar to the semiotic analysis (the science of sign), what Panofsky calls pre iconography. In semiotics, this analysis is known as "signifier", Charles sander Peirce calls this first phase of analysis as "icon" (the physical resemblance of what is presented). And Ronald Barthes calls it Literal or Denoted representation or Denotation, (what, or who is being depicted?).

[2]Second level of the Erwin Panofsky's visual analysis is "iconographical symbolism" or "conventional subject matter" or context. This consists of the interpretation of shared cultural context. In this analysis, Panofsky connects the motifs and combination of motif or composition, to the themes and concept. And thus motif is recognized as the carrier of conventional meaning, which Panofsky calls Image (here image means not the person or thing, its abstract notion like faith, wisdom, luxury or personification or symbol etc.). Combination of these images, he calls stories and allegories. Later he explains that this can be as "contextual meaning of work of art, in the narrower sense of the world, under the varying cultural or historical condition some specific theme or concept is expressed in the object and event."In the semiotics analysis, this is known as signified. Peirce calls this second level of analysis as Index (means indication through some associated meaning). And Barthes calls it connotation (what idea and values are expressed through what is represented and through the way in which it is represented).

[3] The third level Panofsky explains is the iconology or intrinsic meaning or content, as Panofsky says this is to look into the personal, technical and cultural history to understand an art piece. This is intuitive, symbolic and more profound level. And can be achieved only by subjective understanding, "it is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principle which reveals the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, religion or philosophical persuasion- unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work." The Panofsky describes how to achieve this level? And to achieve one has to look into the history of cultural symptoms or symbol in general. This can be identified by looking at the motif and sets of motif, how motifs have been represented, or meanings associated with themes and motifs, within a specific context. In this level of analysis, we ask questions about the content and what it might suggest to and what it means to us as an individual when we bring our personal experiences and knowledge into play.

[4] Giorgio Vasari is often called "the first art historian", He was the first to use the term "Renaissance" in print His book "Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects" (1568) is considered the ideological foundation of art-historical writing.

[5] Cesare Ripa's book "*Iconologia*"(1593) was extremely influential in the 17th and 18th centuries and was quoted extensively in various art forms. It was also a highly influential emblem book based on Egyptian, Greek and Roman emblematical representations, many personifications.

'iconography'.[1] As already mentioned chapter will have a structural analysis of *Dhokra* through the theoretical frame of visual semiotics. As per the requirement, for structural analysis, the visual element of *Dhokra* has been segregated into the smallest visual unit called "motif", and artefacts have been classified according to the motifs of *Dhokra* craft. Before getting into the analysis of visual elements, it is worth giving a brief introduction about the term "motif". In order to comprehend the context in which the term motif has been used here. Thus in the following section chapter have an introductory discussion on motif and types of the motif used for the visual analysis of *Dhokra*.

5.1.2 Motifs

To make the classifications and typologies of *Dhokra*, the craft items have been classified into the motifs. Motifs are the first element to draw the structure, "A motif is a recurring fragment, theme or pattern that appears in a work of art"[2] means the smallest visual element, which is used in any visual work, to make a pattern or design, is known as motifs. A motif may occur many times or may just once in work. But that makes an identity or mark to the particular genre of the work. Motifs can be a sign or indexical and symbol for a sign. It can symbolize any idea or subject, in the form of visual elements. Visual works can be classified and analyzed with a number of different elements which can be called as motifs. There are significant forms of motifs which are inspired by nature, flora and fauna like human, animal, plants, flowers, fruits, vegetable and geometric shapes etc. Some important question will be taken into the account while looking for motifs of *Dhokra* craft, like what are the motifs and how are they used? How many motifs are majorly used? What are the motifs which are still in use or which are rare or which are no more seen? What are the new motifs?

To analysis, the visual structure *Dhokra* metal craft, motifs are divided into two types. The primary motifs are 'Form Motifs'[3] of *Dhokra* craft like human, animal, and natural objects. The form motifs are base of *Dhokra* craft, this first and foremost noticeable thing which make significant differences in the artefacts. There are variations within the forms as well like male and female human forms, which will be further discussed. Second types of motifs are 'Design

[1]Iconography as an academic art historical discipline developed in the nineteenth-century in the works of scholars who were all specialists in Christian religious art. Indian art historian like R.D. Banerjee, Anand Coomarswamy, Kalpna Desai, and S.R. Balasubrahmanyam etc. followed the same term to analyse the visual work of sub-continent.

[2]Tate. (n.d.). Motif? Art Term. Retrieved from https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/m/motif.

[3]A form can refer to a three-dimensional composition or object within a three-dimensional composition.

Motifs'[1] these are created in the surface of the craft. These motifs are made in all forms and shapes of artefacts, made with wax threads. *Dhokra* craft designs are based on the extension of thread design. But these are not for mere decoration or the beautification of craft. Those designs have indexical and symbolic meanings as well. There are many shapes of thread which are created by artisans like round, flat, twisted, circle, braided etc. The segregation and unification of motifs are done based on images collected during the fieldwork from the artisans, museums, craft exhibitions, craft fair, craft showroom, catalogue and online sources (for details see Appendix-2, a list of significant works and the major variations have been given. This includes the list of a major artefact made by *Dhokra* artisans, which helped the researcher to categorize and skim the major forms and designs). In order to identify the fundamental structure of *Dhokra* artefacts, the semiotic analysis of motifs is discussed in the following section, first 'form motifs' have been analyzed.

5.1.2.1 Form motifs of *Dhokra* craft

The creativity of human comes by observing the surrounding, *Dhokra* artisans as well take their inspiration from their surroundings. The forms artisans create show the world around them. There are four major forms created by the *Dhokra* artisans of Chhattisgarh. These forms are inspired by flora and fauna of the state, which also has special significance in the socio-religious lives of tribal. As mentioned in the previous chapter that there are variations in the method of craft making from the both region of Chhattisgarh (artisan from Raigarh and Bastar), but the necessary steps of techniques are the same (see Section 4.2.1"techniques"). Similarly, primary forms of artefacts are the same, but there are variations in the way artisans create these forms. Below a list and table have been made which gives the details of major forms from Bastar and Raigarh region.

A. Idols – a) Female religious figures, b) Religious male figures

B. Religious Anthropomorphic figures

C. Animal- a) Mammals, b) Reptiles, c) Fish, d) Birds, e) Amphibians

D. Natural and Geometrical forms- Equipment, Utensils, Musical Instruments, Tool, and Articles.

[1]Here Design means the arrangement of lines, shapes, colours, textures and sizes that serves to beautify the appearance of an object.

SN	Form	Bastar Region	Raigarh Region
1	Female figures	*Baman Devi, Betal Devi, Bohariya Mata, Buri Mata, Sat Dhangri Mata, Handa kankalin Mata, Hinglajin Mata, Kotgobin Mata, Khanda Devi, Lohjarin Mata, Mawali Mata, Nag Devi, Sona dai, Telangin Mata, Arya Deo, Durga, Laxmi,*	*Thakur Devi, Dhokri Mata, Churin Mata, Chandrahasni Mata, Nathal Dai, Budi Mai, Karmaseni, Mahamaya, Laxmi, Durga, Mahakali,*
2	Male figures	*Bhairam Deo, Bhar Sambhar Deo, Gobar Jodhiya, Kaharu Deo, Madiya Duma, Mitu Deo, Bhangaram Deo, Raja Rao, Sapdhari Deo, Shiva, Krishna, Vishnu,*	*Badpahri Deota, Krishna, Ram, shiva,*
3	Anthropomorphic	*Bankunvar Devi, Pani Sua, Jhula Devi, Ganesh*	*Thenga, Ganesh*
4	Mammals	*Ban Bhainsa* (buffalo), *Nandi Baila* (bull), *Hathi* (elephant), Piglets	*Nandi Baila* (bull), *Hathi* (elephant), elk
5.	Reptiles	*Nag-Nagni* (snake), *Kacchwa* (tortoise)	*Nag-Nagni*(snake), *Kacchwa* (tortoise)
6	Fish	*Macchari* (fish),	*Macchari* (fish)
7	Bird	*Mayur* (peacock), *Kukra*(hen)	*Ualwa* (owl)
8	Amphibian	*Benkcha* (frog)	–
9	Natural & Geometrical	Equipment (vase, bowl, ladle) Musical instruments (*Mohri, Todi, Damroo*), tools (weighing machine, knife & sword), scared articles (crown, *chhatra*/umbrella , stick, jewellery)	Vase, bowl, instrument, tools, box

Table 5.1: Form motifs from Bastar & Raigarh

Table 5.1 suggests that in both regions, human forms are created in large numbers. Interestingly both these forms were earlier created for a religious purpose, and a present function of these forms has been changed, the functional aspect will be discussed in the latter part of the chapter (for details on function, see Section 5.2 “function of *Dhokra* craft”). Regarding the structure of *Dhokra*, the following is the detailed description and semiotic analysis of each form.

Human forms

Human figures, both male and female motifs, are widely made by *Dhokra* artisans.

The earlier craft was made for religious purpose such as a regional totem, deities, legends, tribal and Hindu mythological characters etc. Nowadays, in addition to that, the human forms are also created based on folktale characters. And tribal lifestyle (tribal mundane activities hunting, gathering, cultivation, dancing and domestic chores etc.) are depicted and represented in human form. Based on the representation of human it can be divided into two types of human forms. First religious figures God-Goddess, Deities and Legends, who have the supernatural power. And second the mortal ordinary human being, mostly the tribal figures. The representation of both human forms differs. The differences are shown with the ornamentation and prop attached to the figures for example, in the religious figure 'aura' and 'crown' is prominent in craft items. Other than that weapon, sacred and votive objects as well are attached to artefacts, which signify the indexical and symbolic meaning for religious figures. In ordinary mortal human figures, props of day to day usage and tribal ornaments are attached. Such as cloth headgear for men, comb and flowers on hair bun for women, simple jewellery in man's body and layers of jewellery in woman figures, men with axe and hoe, women with basket and pot etc. These elements are inspired by the traditional attire of tribal, which signifies the socio-cultural life of tribal. Below is the detailed description of both types of human forms, each from the Raigarh and Bastar region (for more examples of human figures see Appendix-2). Below given photographs are taken by the researcher during the fieldwork.

Female figures

Female figure motifs are found in the majority because female deities are worshipped more in the region as 'Mother Goddess'. There is not much difference between the male figure anatomy and female figure, except than breast, which is iconic to the female physique. Though some time that too is not prominent and both genders look similar as per the anatomy wise. But there are other elements which are indexical to the female figures like jewellery and clothing which indicates that artefact is a female figure. Unlike male figure, female figures have many pieces of jewellery, especially prominent one are; earrings, necklace with thick and heavy layers, bangles, armlet, anklet, waist belt, and nose rings etc. Clothes are mostly made with wax threads, that's why attached to the skin. But made mostly on the lower part of the body, the upper part of the body is least or partly covered.

As already mentioned that there are two types of human forms are made. To identify and differentiate between mortal and immortal figures the props are attached. In the 'Goddess or female Deities' forms, sacred and religious props are used like an aura, crown, swords, rice plates, flower branches, small bowls, and magical sticks etc. and in the 'Mortal female' forms,

cultural ornamentation of the region like jewellery, Combs, flowers and feathers in the hair bun etc. are attached. Along with ornamentation other daily usage domestic props are also attached to the figure like pot, basket, wood bundle, sickle, small axe etc. For female dancing figures, a long stick with *Ghunghuru* is attached, which signifies that artefact is a 'Dancing figure'. As generally women dancers of the region hold such stick during the dance. They also wear feathers and clamshell belt on the head, thick waist belts and heavy-thick necklace. These elements are indexical to the female figure. Iconic and Indexical elements together create symbolic meaning, which shows the characteristic of artefacts. Based on that it can be identified, whether a figure is a goddess or female deity or a tribal dancer or a woman or a mother etc. in the following sections selected examples of female figure forms have been discussed in length with visual semiotic frame.

1. Bohariya *Mata* (Mother Goddess), Barkai (Bastar)

The image of the artefact given is tribal mother goddess belongs to Muriya tribes (see Figure 5.5). According to tribes, the goddess has a knife in one hand and a blood plate in another. It is believed that she is known for her justice. She punishes the criminal and saves the innocents. They worship the goddess in all their festivals and if someone falls sick, they offer her goat or hen or pig. To please the goddess, as they believe that illness comes due to any mistake or sin of last birth. The goddess is worshipped and possesses by a whole Muriya community of village and always placed outside of the village under the tree or on stone, which is known as *Gudi* (tribal shrine).

Iconic features- item is a simplified figurative form of a woman. It has a frontal presentation in the first instance and from the side view, it has the linear form. It is lean and simplified Individual figure, the surface has the semi-rough texture with designs, the figure is seminude and partly covered with jewellery. The sculpture is in standing position, has big lips, big eyes, long ears and a small head.

Indexical features- head with a round crown, dagger in right hand and plate in the left hand, it signifies as goddess or legend.

Symbolic features- Goddess is a symbol of justice and generosity. According to artisans, she punishes the criminal and saves the innocents. They worship the goddess in all their festival, in case of falling sick, tribal offer goat or hen or pig. To please the Goddess, as they believe that illness comes due to any mistake or sin of last birth.



Figure 5.5: *Bohariya Mata*/goddess, Bastar



Figure 5.6: Women with pumpkin, Bastar

2.Women with Pumpkin (Bastar)

The image of the item given above is a tribal woman; this is a contemporary artefact (see Figure 5.6). Artisan Sukhchand Ghadwa is the creator. He is the first master craftsman who won a National award in 1970, he is known for figurative artefacts. As he describes the item, he says-

"*This is a tribal woman carrying pumpkin in her head. Usually, in our Bastar, our women do not carry a bag or anything; they carry everything in their head. Even if they go for marketing, they carry bags on their head. Because they all go to the jungle and carry wooden branches in the head, it is our lifestyle. I tried to depict our day today tribal life. The jewellery she is wearing is the identity of our tribal jewellery.*"[1]

Sukhchand Ghadwa said this item is very popular and these are always in demands. Earlier *Dhokra* craft items were made in small sizes. Nowadays, the scale has increased as it is seen here. Also, the effect of realism is clearly visible, below semiotic analysis of the artefact has been done.

Iconic features- artefact has strong frontal representation, have a slender body. It is a semi-realistic figure of the woman. She has bare chest and breasts are covered with jewellery designs. She is carrying a pumpkin in her head. These are iconic features of a tribal woman body.

Indexical features- the heavy breast which is the partly bare body with heavyweight and prominently visible tribal jewellery. Flowers and feathers are attached to hair bun and *potka*

[1] Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 16th, 2015, Kondagoan.

saree[1] are attached to the figure, these are indexical features of a tribal woman.

Symbolic features- in Chhattisgarh comb is the symbol of femininity & love (as young boy offer comb to young girls as a symbol of love proposal). Flowers and feathers in the hair bun are other symbolic features of femininity.

Though tribal clothing and pieces of jewellery have changed, now rarely woman keeps bare chest, that too mostly the older women keep bare chest.[2] Also, they hardly wear such heavy silver jewellery. But as they were described earlier and that became their identity marker, they are continuing in their art forms. Similar changes have occurred in the male figure as well, further analysis of male figures has been done.

Male figure

As mentioned earlier, there is no much difference between the male and female figure in *Dhokra* craft. But there are a few iconic and indexical features which are major characteristic to male figures for example, male figures have limited jewellery, only on neck or arms or waist and hardly visible cloth. Like female artefact, male artefacts as well have two types, and to identify and differentiate between these two types of props are attached to the figures. In the form of **'Gods, male deities and legends'** forms, there will be a heavy and big sword or stick and shield are attached, sometimes they are shown along with the horse, which indicates the figure as a religious figure. In the mortal male forms props like a cloth piece on the shoulder and cloth headgear, big axe, big hoe, big fishnet, and bow-arrow etc. are attached. If the figure is dancer, big *dholak* or *Mridunga*[3], thick waist belt, and bull or buffalo horn crown etc. are attached. These elements signify the character of the male figure, whether an item is a male deity or legend or dancer or musician or hunter or farmer etc. below given examples of male figures are from the both region.

1. Duma (ancestor god of the Madiya community), Kondagaon.

This image of an item given below is *Duma* (ancestor) of Madiya community of Bastar (see Figure 5.7). Every community has its own *Duma* (ancestor) which they worship in every festival along with their *Kuldevta* (family god) and other major gods. It is believed

[1]Women of Chhattisgarh wear Potka saree, It has small width and length compared to saree worn in general by today's women.

[2]Nowadays, even in the rural area young girls can be seen wearing jeans and a skirt, the Salwar-suits and maxi dresses are now part of their everyday attire. Though in the rural area, mostly women after marriage give-up on Salwar-suits and pick-up saree as their daily wear clothes. In town or city area, women prefer to wear, Salwar-suits and maxi dresses as their everyday clothing.

[3] *Dholak* and *Mridunga* are musical instruments used only by the male musician of the regions.

that *Dumas* are holy spirits of their ancestor and they protect them from all kind of evil things. Craft item has a strong frontal presentation, primarily rounded but self-contained and gesturing independently. Item has a mixer of rough and uneven texture, made with a fine thread of many size and shapes. Face features are simplified; the figure has asymmetrical anatomy. Following is the semiotic analysis of artefact.

Iconic feature- the figure is on round pedestals decorated with thread design, which is also similar to jewellery design made on the figure. broad shoulder, minimal cloth, simple jewellery, minimal work on the face, big ears, hardly visible forehead, Big nose, big mouth, narrow and thin neck, broad shoulder, narrow and flat waist, short legs, small feet and small fingers, these are iconic features of the male figure.

Indexical feature- there is *Danda* in both hands of the figure, the small crown on the head. Round dots impression on the knee are made. These elements indicate that the figure is God or made of religious purpose.

S**ymbolic feature-** item has a circular plate in the chest. According to artisans, the circular plate is a symbol that the figure is a spirit or ancestor god. Duma is always shown as holding two sticks in hand according to tribal that is a symbol of their guardianship.

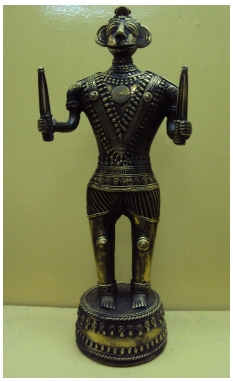

Figure 5.7: *Madiya Duma*/ancestor of Madiya



Figure 5.8: *Chirai Maar*/bird hunter, Raigarh

2. Chirai Maar(Bird Hunter)

The image of the artefacts given above is created by Ramlal Jhareka from Ektal (see Figure 5.8). Artisan Ram Lal Jhareka received National award of 'Master-craftsman' in 1998. He is practicing since he was a young boy, he learnt the craft from his father and mother. He describes his work by saying-

"*This is 'Chirai Maar' (bird hunter) bird hunting is our tradition. On earlier days whenever we used to go jungle to collect wax, resin or wood etc. we always used to bring a few birds along with us for food. Nowadays we barely go jungle and birds are already rare, that's why we do not kill now. But this is the identity of our tribal life. To showcase our way of living I have made this, there is an axe in his shoulder which is for wood cutting. He already has one bird in his left hand. It indicates that he is returning from Jungle.*" [1]

Ramlal Jhareka also expressed his concern over the environment, as the forest is reducing day by day; wild animal and bird are not even seen in the jungle. They cannot get their raw material in the jungle, which has affected their work process. At present, for everything from resin to wood, they have to depend on the market. Artisan Ram Lal Jhareka says that by creating tribal figure he gets satisfaction and that reminds him of their simple life. Here is a semiotic analysis of his craftwork.

Iconic features- craft item is a semi-realistic figure of man, bare flat chest and broad shoulder are iconic features of the male figure.

Indexical features- the figure has minimal jewellery, small headscarf on the head, an axe in the shoulder and bird in the other hands. These are indexical that man is a forest dweller and hunter.

Symbolic features- the *Bagh Nakha* locket along with jewellery are the symbol of tribal men, in Chhattisgarh only men wear such locket. Axe on the shoulder is another symbolic feature of tribal.

The discussion and analysis presented suggest that human forms are one of the prevalent forms in the *Dhokra* tradition. Though the human is mortal being, the tribal conceive the supernatural power in the form of a human. Artisans take inspiration from regional myths, tales and legends (for tales see the third chapter of thesis subheading "oral tradition"), and construct the supernatural being by manifesting in the human forms. Along with the figure, they attached props which they consider a symbol of power, prosperity, victory and guardianship. Similarly, the mortal figure they construct is inspired by their way of living and props are attached along with figures, which signify and creates the identity as tribal men & women. The tribal men and women figures are contemporary artefacts, artisans have recently started making. Tribal figures are trendy and always in demand among urban consumers. Other than human figures, artisans also make artefacts which are partly human and partly animal those are made for religious purpose.

[1] Ramlal Jhareka, personal interview, March 20th, 2016, Ektal.

Anthropomorphic Figures

There are few artefacts which have anthropomorphic feature means a half-human and half-animal those are less but enough to be taken into account as a 'form motif'. Though artisans do not name them as half-human & animal, they name as God-Goddess of the human form, but they also mentioned that these Gods-Goddesses transform themselves. According to the artisans, the god and goddess have the power to transfer themselves in any form, they wish. They can be human or animal and even appear in the form of other natural elements. Such as water, wind or fire etc. Artisan says that whenever god-goddess comes to save or protect, they do not come in their original form. But instead, they may come in the form of an animal or ordinary human. Like, *Jal Devi* (water goddess) may come in the form of fish, tortoise and snake. *Ban Devi*(forest god- goddess) and *Pahad Devta*(mountain god) may come in the form of an elephant, bear, deer, monkey, old lady or old man or sometimes in the form of tiger or lioness as well. That is why they make such god-goddess as half-human and half-animal. As Craftsman Sukhchand Ghadwa said an incident-

"*My uncle had seen the goddess, once he was going to Sargipal. Earlier to reach there, we had to cross a small river which meets to Narangi river. When he was crossing a big snake caught him and started rolling over his body. Suddenly a crocodile came who pulled the snake, crocodile and snake started fighting. Meanwhile, my uncle escaped from the river. And when he reached on the side and looked crocodile and snake both were not there. The crocodile was none other than the goddess 'Panisuaa' who came and saved his life from an evil snake.*"

Later he also added about the existence of the goddess and the authenticity of the incident, he said-

"*I know you may not believe, you will say, that might have an accident. This new generation and people from outside do not believe in the goddess. But we know that is a small river, not a big one before that no one had seen any crocodile there, not even after. So how crocodile came there, it was no other than Goddess Panisuaa.*"[1]

The anecdote reflects their strong belief in the existence of a goddess and appearance of the goddess in the form of the animal. It also shows how their lifestyle is changing as he says that the *'new generation does not believe'*. As artisans later added reason, he knows people are not going to believe, so he feels the requirement of giving proof of authenticity. Such kind of incidental tales or experience could be found in the region, which may have

[1]Sukhchand Ghadwa, personal interview, March 18th, 2015, Kondagaon.

inspired the craftsmen to transfer those narratives into the artefacts. Here are two examples of anthropomorphic figures from Chhattisgarh.

1. Bankunvar Devi, Bastar

The image of artefact given is an anthropomorphic figure, known as goddess Bankunvar Devi from Bastar (see Figure 5.9). According to an artisan, the artefact is a tribal forest goddess, with a wide mouth and long teeth. Tribal worship this deity for the safety from a dangerous animal. The figure is in sitting position, face looking upwards, primarily rounded figure with the frontal presentation, cylindrical body, but from the side view, it looks semi volumetric. It seems to be, seen from the below eye level, freehand wax modelling and design is done with wax threads that have a smooth and rough surface. Below semiotic analysis of artefact has been given.

Iconic feature- the human body, head of the wild animal and bizarre features of the face, looks like a mixer of animal and human. Hands seem like holding two similar small figures. Hands and legs look like average any other human figures, which iconic for human figures, wide-open mouth and sharp teeth are iconic for wild animals.

Indexical features- artefacts have layers of jewellery, dot in both knees. There is a small circle in the chest which is attached to sacred figures. The mixed features of the human and animal body indicate that item has mythical connection or significance.

Symbolic feature- artefacts have 'Sun & Moon' motif in the chest and the round patches in both knees are the symbol for the religious idols. According to artisans, two similar small figures are attached to the lap of the figure, which is the symbol of being "mother goddess".

The people believe that while hunting, if they get caught or attacked by a dangerous animal or forest devil, then only *Bankunvar Devi* can save them.[1] The goddess does not have an entirely human feature. She is shown this way because she lives in the jungle. The goddess is part of a larger group of the village, does not belongs to any particular family or community. Below is another example of an anthropomorphic figure from Raigarh region of the state.

[1]There is the tale of Bankunvar Devi as per tale. Once upon a time, a pregnant lady was travelling. Along with her husband to her mother's house for delivery. To reach faster, they took a short way of jungle, which was known for having Rakhasha (Demon) and man-eater. Though it was seven-month lady got the labour pain, she started screaming and there she gave birth to a girl. Due to the screaming of the lady, a Demon came to eat them. When he came near, suddenly newborn baby girl opened her mouth. Her mouth became too big, she attacked demon and killed him since then the goddess is worshipped as forest goddess. Fagnu Ram Sagar told the tale from Chilkuti 25th May 2016.



Figure 5.9: *Bankunvar Devi*/forest goddess



Figure 5.10: *Thenga*/Ghost God[a]

2. *Thenga* (Ghost god) Raigarh

The image of artefact given above is an anthropomorphic figure, known as *Thenga* from Raigarh (see Figure 5.10). This is semi volumetric figure with strong frontal representation. The artefact has a small round head without any detail, narrow shoulder, long thin hands with big palms and long fingers, long cylindrical torso, narrow waist, short legs with long feet and long fingers. This small-scale item has an uneven and coarse surface, geometrical and elongated shape.

According to artisans of Raigarh, Item has a bizarre feature because of the characteristic of the item. This is known as *Thenga*, means the male ghost, also known as the husband of *Churin Mata*, who is the spirit mother goddess. Jhareka artisans worship him on most of their festivals. The item is made for religious purpose. There is a belief that worshipping *Thenga* and offering him blood can cure illness and can save from evil spirits. Following is the semiotic analysis of the figure.

Iconic features- it is a mixture of human and bird, a human body with feathers attached to the arms and legs. Prominent male genital, this is probably the one among the rare artefacts, where genital is prominently visible, these are iconic features to the human body, feathers are iconic for bird figures.

Indexical features- it is represented as Batman, with feather and extended palm and feet. It has a small head and long flying hair. And it is hard to say that this a human form. The

[2]Jhara artefact, 1989. Annual catalogue, Manav Sangrhalya: Bhopal.

mixer of two different forms of species indicates that item may have some mythical or religious connection.

Symbolic features- according to Jhareka artisans from Raigarh, prominently visible male genital with feathers are the symbol of male ghost.

Above described anthropomorphic forms suggest that the supernatural power of god-goddess and their ability to transform in the various forms is manifested through anthropomorphic figures. The mixer of human-animal features indicates that deity has mystical, wild and malevolent character. Above-given discussions on human and anthropomorphic forms suggest that artisans manifest supernatural being in various forms, as tribal are a polytheistic believer, [1] there many God-Goddess and Deities which tribal worship in various forms (for the list see Table 5.1 and details of tribal deities see Appendix-2). And as mentioned earlier they conceive the idea for these 'forms' from the folklore of the region.

Animals

This is another motif, which is widely used by artisans of state, for both types as 'form motifs' and as 'design motifs'. Animals are integral parts of tribal; they worship them as deities, clans and totems. Tribal livelihoods depend on animals like agriculture, animal husbandry and hunting are their primary sources of livelihood. Many proverbs, idiom, riddles and can be found related to animals. [2]

Animals are considered as wealth and sign of prosperity; animals are given and taken as a form of wealth, for exchange and as a gift during the marriage. Few old artisans said that earlier during the marriage, the family of the groom had to offer, four to five goats to the family

[1]Polytheism is the worship of or belief in multiple deities, which are usually assembled into a pantheon of gods and goddesses along with their religions and rituals. In most religions which accept polytheism, the different gods and goddesses are representations of forces of nature or ancestral principles. And can be viewed either as autonomous or as aspects or emanations of a creator deity, which manifests immanently in nature.

[2]Idioms related to animals- "*Garuaa puchhi chhu ke*" means, "touching the cow tail" sentence is used as idiom whenever cow is considered as a holy animal. So whenever they swear to make it more expressive people say I swear by touching the tail of cow. "*Garuwa hoish*" means being like a cow this another expression to refer someone to be very naive. "*Kawaan hawe*" means being like the crow, sentenced is used for referring someone for being cunning or clever. "*Baila hawe* means being like a bull, used for referring someone for being a fool, '*Bhukhahaa bagh*' means Hungary tiger, referred for someone who has become dangerous. Proverbs related to animals- '*Muhnta me Hathi jhhulat the*' Means elephant is dancing on the door. The sentence is used when someone speaks a lot his or her wealth. So people say, describing as if the elephant is dancing on the door. '*Beta rlee, bohari, Garu rlee diyari*' means 'if the son is there, daughter-in-law will come and if the cow is there, the festival will come.' The sentence reflects that they believed that having a cow in-home means having prosperity)."

of the bride as a 'bride price'. Every house has animals and birds like cows, bulls, buffalos, goats, pigs, ducks, cocks and hens etc. The house without any animal is considered as an empty, deprived and miserable. [1] As artisan Keshwati Kashyap says-

"*When I was young, my parents were looking for a match. They got an offer from a family and the boy was in working in forest department with a good salary. My parents went to see their home. They did not see any animals neither a goat nor hen and not even cow. So my parents refused the proposal. And my mother said-they do not have anything to eat in the house, not even a goat. If Chheri (Goat) is there, at least my daughter can drink milk. How many things he will buy with money, shall I give my daughter to starve and die?*" [2]

Above-given anecdote suggests that they used to value animal wealth more than money and land. In following, section will discuss the examples of animal artefacts created by the *Dhokra* artisans. There are five types of animal motifs, on which mammals and reptiles are seen in the majority as a form or subject motif but less as a design motif. Birds are seen more as design motifs along with the plant, creep and flower motifs. Fish and amphibians are rare motifs as a subject, as well as design motifs. Below descriptions of each type of animal and semiotic analysis of 'animal forms' have been done.

Mammals

Mammals are prominent form motifs and extensively used by the artisan of state. Chhattisgarh is forest-rich region due to that pastoral communities are in the majority. Naturally, mammals become a prominent subject motif in the crafting tradition. Mammals like bulls, buffalos, elephants and horses are major artefacts made by *Dhokra* artisans. These artefacts also have religious significance in the state, these are worshipped by people of Chhattisgarh in the agrarian festivals (for details see the third chapter of thesis subheading "craft is folk festival") for example bull is a clan of tribal, wild water buffalo is the state animal of Chhattisgarh, the elephant is the vehicle of mother goddesses like *Danteshwari, Mawali* and *Laxmi*, and horse is the vehicle of village *God Raja Rao, Thakur Deo* & *Bhairam Deo* (for details see the third chapter of thesis). Other than mammals mentioned above artisans also make mammals like deer, elk, reindeer, tiger, lion, camel etc. (see Appendix-2 for details).

The following is an example of mammal artefacts of the state known as *Nandi Baila* means bull named *Nandi* [3] (see Figure 5.11). Many *Nandi* sculptures made with stone and

[1]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Kondagaon.

[2]Keshwati Kashyap, personal interview, March 13th, 2015, Dahikonga.

[3]Nandi bull is worshipped in Hinduism as the vehicle of Shiva. According to many myths and tales of the Hindus and Tribal communities of the region, Shiva is mentioned prominently. The cult of Shiva was popular amongst the

bronzes are found from the region and made in standing and sitting positions. The Bull is made in other allied craft mediums as well, like in wrought iron, wood and terracotta. The terracotta bulls are made, as a votive object during the *Hareli* festival (harvesting festival). After the festival, those terra-cottas are kept, on the house roof or outside of the village. Small terracotta bulls along with wheels are also made as a toy. Terracotta toys are popular in the region. As mentioned earlier, the motif of the bull can be found in their tales, idioms, proverbs and riddles. [1]

Iconic features- below given bull artefact is the semi-realistic and simplified animal figure. The horn and hump on the back of the animal is the iconic feature of the bull figure. The artefact is the rounded, volumetric and organic shape. There is no frontal representation and this is small-scaled artefact has coarse surface and thread designs.

Indexical features- bull indicates the agrarian and pastoral lifestyle. Item has thread designs on the body, on the upper part, on hump, forehead and in all four feet. This indicates that the item is used for special ceremonies.

Symbolic features- as bulls are decorated during the *Hareli* festival[2] in the state when they are worshipped. Decorated bulls are symbolic for having a religious purpose. According to

Gond and other tribes of the region. The bull is also*Kuldeota* (totem) of the *Buyi* clan of Maria tribe, but rest clan of Maria or Muria tribes sacrifice a bull and eat its flesh.

[1]Idioms related to Bull- "*Baila kas kamathe*" means "like bull works", this idiom is used for someone, who works very hard means, another idiom is "*Baila has ka?*" means are you bull? The question is used in two different contexts. At first, context, if someone is not able to understand something. This sentence is used means this person is a fool and in the second context, if someone is working very hard without any break. So people use this sentence. As during casting the wife of one craftsman Sikandar Baghel came. And she said to him, are you bull, don't you have to come home, then she turned towards me and said-"*Madam ka goithiyaat ho ye kara, mor douka baila-bhainsa kas buta karthe lekin ye kar buddhi gholo bailaa kas haawe, kachhu ni jaane*" means "*madam what are you talking to him he may work like a bull, but his head is also like bull. He does not know anything. You will not get anything from him.*" (Lady's name is Neeta Baghel from Bhelwanpadar (Kondagaon), wife of craftsman Sikandar Baghel. This incident took place on the 15th March 2015 at the *Dhokra* metal craft studio Kondgaon, made by the forest department.)

There is a popular proverb from Raigarh, "*Baila ke kubad bailla la garu*" means "*the bull's hump is heavy only for the bull.*" The sentence is used like this "the pain or problem of self can be understood by the self, not anyone else can understand". Another proverb is popular but with the motif of buffalo "*Bhainsa la apna ke sing garu ni laage*" means "for buffalo does not feel heavy for his horn. When someone does not feel guilty of his or her deed, the sentence is used to express the arrogance of the person." There are many versions and variations of the bull can be found, in varieties of sizes, shapes and designs. The bull is made for religious, utility and decorative purpose, the following is semiotics analysis of a bull artefact.

[2]The pair of Nandi bull is worshipped in the harvesting festivals all over Chhattisgarh. Specifically on the *Hareli* which come during the month of July-august. For details of *Hareli* festival, see chapter three, subheading 3.8 Craft in Rituals, customs and Festivals, titled *Amush* and *Hareli.*

artisan Bull is a symbol of prosperity, strength and power.

Above mentioned analysis suggest that mammals signify religious beliefs, livelihoods and social lives of tribal.



Figure 5.11: *Nandi/Pora Baila* (bull)



Figure 5.12: *Ullu* (owl)[a]

Birds

Bird motifs are prevalent in the tribal art of Bastar and Raigarh such as peacocks, crow, owl, cock, duck, hill starling, sparrow and vultures. The wick lamps which are made of bronze are made in bird motifs. Vulture, cock, owl and crow are also the clan name and totem of many tribes of the region. Birds are considered as the messengers between the gods and human. This can be found in many tales where God sends his messenger in the form of bird as crow or vulture or owl etc. The motifs of these birds can also be found in the other form of folklore as well.[4] The bird motifs are also used in other allied craft as well, such as in wrought iron, terracotta, and woodcraft and stone-craft etc. for example, small bird motifs are prominent is the wooden combs, and various bird motifs are carved on the wooden pillar of *Ghotul.* Below is an example of a bird motif (for photographs see Figure 5.12).

The artefact of the owl is worshipped by Jhareka artisans from Raigarh (see Figure 5.12). This item has a volumetric and organic shape. It has strong frontal representation; the base of the piece is cone-shaped and has stuck on the top. The crafted item is known as *Ullu* or *Ulawa* means owl. This is a rare item now, made only on order, earlier this was made by Jhareka artisans.[5]

[3]Jhara artefact, 1989. Annual catalogue, Manav Sangrhalya: Bhopal.

[4]Idioms related to birds, "*Kukda Baastor*" (cock voice) means it is starting the new day. "*Pataki badtor*" (feather is growing) means someone who is thinking of more than there capacity.

[5]The owl is found in their folklore as well, for example, *Ulawa hoge* (become like an owl) is popular idiom from Raigarh. As craftsman Sapurandas Induwar from Ghoraghati (Raigarh) said. Once he got the order to make one thousand pieces of Karamseni Jhaad (Karamseni tree) to complete within one month. So he and his whole family did

Iconic features- the item is a semi-realistic and simplified form of an owl, pointed beak, thick neck and joints feather and with big round pinhole eyes which iconic for the owl.

Indexical features- leaf design, shape, flow and bird on the top indicates that it is a tree branch and Owl is made as sitting over the branch of the tree. Branch heading upwards and on the top, the owl is in the centre which signifies that owl is the subject matter as the other two birds are tiny in size compare to the owl. Artefact indicates the scene of the night, as owl stays awake in the night.

Symbolic features- the owl is a symbol of wealth in the state as it is considered as the vehicle of Goddess *Laxmi*. It is also a symbol of the ancestor's ghost. Because people of Chhattisgarh believe that their ancestor's spirit comes in the form of an owl. And worshipping the owl can protect them from death and evil spirits. The owl is made as votive object and for the religious purpose of their community and the region. It is believed that offering owl can save an ill person from premature death.

Earlier *Dhokra* artisans made few bird forms. Mostly bird motifs were used for designing purpose as seen in above artefact (small birds along with tree branch). But nowadays they make many birds as an independent artefact. The bird is a symbol of beauty in the state; the tiny-beautiful birds designs are found in the jewellery items of *Dhokra* (for details see Appendix-2). The bird motif is now widely used for making modern utility products, along with a lamp, candle-pen holder, hangers, key chains, doorknobs etc.

Reptiles

Reptiles are majorly used as form motifs and these are rarely used as the design motifs. There are only two reptiles made by the craftsmen first snake and second is the tortoise. Both reptiles have socio-religious significance, as both reptiles are also the Clan of tribal in the region (see the third chapter of thesis subheading "origin of the clan").

An image of tortoise artefact is given below (see Figure 5.13), it has volumetric and organic shape. Item is made with thread and freehand modelling. The legs are out, which shows the movement. It is small scale work, has coarse surface and thread designs. There are many sizes, shapes and designs of tortoise are made by artisans, with a variety of motifs. Tortoise is not only used as a thematic motif but also as design motifs. Tortoise is one the significant, distinct and popular craft items from the state. Below semiotics analysis of craft has been given.

in one month. When asked how they completed, he said- "*ek hazar jhhad isnech thori banthe, douki laika sab ulwa hoke buta kare*" means "one thousand tree does not become just like that my whole family became like the owl and we completed the order." Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, March 21th, 2015, Ghoraghati.

Iconic features- this is a semi-realistic and simplified form of a tortoise, egg shape-round shell is an iconic feature of a tortoise.

Indexical features- in the tribal region, artefacts of Tortoise indicate that auspicious space, as they worship the tortoise as their clan god. Tortoise also indicates the availability of water and forest.

Symbolic features- tortoise is a symbol of saviour and wisdom. As in folktale of the region, the tortoise is represented that way (see the tale of tortoise clan in the third chapter, subheading "tortoise clan"). A tortoise is a votive object; it is a totem, clan god and mythical creature as many tribal have their *Gotra*/clan a tortoise. So they worship tortoise as a god. It is also believed that earth is standing on the back of a tortoise, this can be found in many tribal myths and tales of the tortoise.[1]



Figure 5.13: *Kacchap* (tortoise)



Figure 5.14: *Macchali* (fish)

Above descriptions suggest that tortoise has socio-religious significance in the region. Similarly, Snake is also a prominent and popular artefact made in various craft medium like wood, stone and terracotta. Snake is made as religious deity and votive offering for *Linga Deo, Bheema Deo, Buda Deo* and *Shiva*. Snake is also clan name of tribal communities (see the third chapter of thesis subheading "origin of the clan"). Both reptile artefacts hold a distinctive place in the region.

Fish

Earlier artefacts with the form of fish were made only as tobacco box (see in the latter part of the chapter, Figure 5.38). The fish motif was mostly used as a design motif. The fish motif can be found in the folklore of the region as well,[2] fish is part of their totem and clan of

[1]There is a popular riddle in the state. Usually, in family gathering for entertainment, people ask the children. "*Pani bhitare gobar chotha, kon bujhis ye kattha*" means Cow-dung is floating over the water, who can understand this riddle? The answer is tortoise as when the tortoise is in water the cover of it looks as cow-dung is floating over the water.

[2]This example of riddles based on the fish. These are the riddles which they generally ask children during a get-together, The fishing, for entertainment also to teach them about the variety of fish so they could identify them. *Nan asan tarai, sigir-bigir kata* means tiny pond and many thrones. The answer is *macchri* means fish. *Pani Bhitaree*

tribal.[1] Unlike tortoise, fish was not made as the votive object or nor for worship because tribal who have fish as their clan worship their clan god in riverside. Fish is one of the prominent food items and fish hunting is the part of daily life activity of the several tribal communities. Nowadays fish is made as decorative artefacts and modified into many utility craft items, here is an example of a fish artefact (see Figure 5.14).

The artefact has a volumetric and organic shape with dimensionality. It has four pointed bases. Elongated tail turning up words, small feathers, protruding round eyes and pointed mouth, the piece has coarse surface and thread designs. It is a small scale artefact. Many variations of this artefact can be found as decorative, utility and ornamental pieces, below are the semiotic analysis of the artefact, which suggests the importance of fish in the culture of the state

Iconic feature- item is a semi-realistic and simplified form of fish. Tail and round eyes are iconic features of fish.

Indexical features- an artefact of fish indicate the importance of fish in the culture of artisans. It suggests that artefact of fish because it might be part of their food habit or religious life or significant animal in their folklore.

Symbolic features- it is a totem and represents one clan of tribal, it is a symbol of life in the water. Fish is a symbol of fertility in the state because according to a tribal myth, the sun and moon came from the belly of fish (see the third chapter of the thesis, subheading "myth of sun and moon").

Amphibians

Under this category, the only frog is made as *Dhokra* artefacts and that too only in Bastar region. Frog artefacts are made as a votive offering object for *Bheema Deo* during the *Bheema Jatra* festival which comes before the rainy season during the month of May-June. Below is an image of frog artefact (see Figure 5.15). It is in life-size scale, pointed mouth, round protruding eyes, front legs are small and back legs joined with the body. The end part of the body is flat. The piece has a rough and uneven surface with thread design. A few variations of

bakti kadari means *underwater small slant knife*, the answer is *chingri* means 'prawn fish'. *Pani Bhitre kariya thenga* means underwater black male ghost. The answer is *Kochiya Macchri* means blackfish.

[1]There are varieties of fish which they believe as their clan. Fish is a prominent part of their food habit, but they do not eat the fish, which is their clan. And if they catch that fish by mistake, they drop it again in the water and if fish is dead, they bury it behind, near the lake. Jhareka from Raigarh also follows the same ritual for their clan. As Sampurandas Induwar from Ghoraghati said- "our rohiya machhari (a type of fish) is our *Gotra* (clan). So we don't eat rohiya macchari. If by mistake catch while fishing, we let it go again in water. And if it dies, we apply *Haldi*-oil to fish and pour some rice grain and bury in the lake or behind the house."

the piece can be found and the motif of the frog is used in many other utility objects, a semiotic analysis of artefact has been done, to understand the value and importance of frog in the region.



Figure 5.15: *Benkcha* (frog), Bastar- Raigarh

Iconic features- the artefact is a simplified, semi-realistic and volumetric form of a frog. The round eyes long thick back legs and heavy body are iconic features of the frog.

Indexical features- frog indicates the water and rainy season.

Symbolic features- tribal consider frog as a symbol of God Bheema Deo, frog sound is the believed to be the announcement of rain in the state. Frog is also the clan of some tribal community and frog clan member worship frog. There is believed that rain comes only when the frog invites cloud.

The motif of the frog can be found in the tale, proverb and riddles[1] of the region. Nowadays the artefact is also made for decoration and modern lifestyle utility purpose. Frog as design motif is found in some utility objects like a candle holder, paperweight, and ashtray etc.

As seen above the varieties of animals are made by *Dhokra* artisans. These animals have socio-religious-cultural significance in the region. Artisans manifest animals as symbols of wealth, saviour and protector. Similar to human and animal forms artisan also take their inspiration from the natural elements. Like tree, leaf, flower, mountains etc. The following section will discuss these natural forms, which are created by *Dhokra* artisans of State.

Natural & Geometrical forms

Dhokra artisans create several natural forms. These forms have geometric and organic shape. The majority of artefacts shapes are derived from plant, vegetable, fruits and seed etc. for example, bottle guard shape is used for pot and bowl (see Chapter 3 of the thesis, subheading "origin of the world" and Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Coconut shape is used for ladle and a small bowl.

[1]The riddle is from the Bastar, it is told during the gathering for the entertainment, *Kaka kude se tupuk tupuk*, means "uncle is jumping slowly-slowly," the answer is *Benkcha* means "Frog". Suktarram Soni, personal interview, March 31st, 2016, Sirmud.

Char Phokla/ Chirounji[1] shape are used for plate and flat bowls, and pumpkin shape is used for box etc.

Geometrical shapes are also created like cone, cylindrical, square and round shapes, such as *Chhatra* (umbrella), *Danda* (stick), *Ghungharu* (bells), and *Chimni* (candle/lamp) etc. (for details see Appendix-2). These forms are also used by other artisans of state who create a stone craft, woodcraft, wrought iron, and terra-cotta. As these artisans belong to the same region, it is evident that "forms" are shared by these artisans. In a similar manner as they share the social- religious significance of these "forms". Below a few examples of organic and geometrical forms have been given, which indicate the inspiration and significance of those shapes in the region.

1. Ukri/ Duaa(Ladle)

The Brass ladle is known as *Ukri* in Bastar region, *Duaa* in Raigarh and also known as *Bela* (see Figure 5.16). This artefact is also available in various sizes, shape and designs, though the measurement is not fixed. The depth and diameter of the artefacts vary according to usage. Two types of artefacts have been given below, but around ten to fifteen variations are found in the state, items are made with freehand modelling and decorated with thread designs. On the top of the handle, a hook or hole is made to hang. It has a smooth and uneven surface. This is used as the kitchen utensils. Due to the durability of the piece, it is still in demand. In the regional weekly market *Salfi*[2], *Mahua*[3]and *Kosna*[4] (local drinks) are sold according to the measure of *Ukri*.

Iconic features- artefact is made in the shape of the coconut (Cocos nucifera) shell shape.

Indexical features- ladle is indexical for kitchen and household items.

Symbolic features- earlier brass artefacts like ladle and utensil with designs were the symbol of wealthy households in the region, as very few could afford to keep brass utensils,

[1] *Chironji* (Buchanania lanzan) is a tree species, which belongs to the family Anacardiaceae. *Char* fruit and *char* seed *Chirounji* is Popular dry fruit in the region.

[2] The *Salfi*/ fishtail palm (Caryota urens) of Bastar is a local drink prepared from the soup of *Salfi* tree. The tribes use the same on various occasions. This is more prevalent in Bastar area of Chhattisgarh.

[3] The *Mahua*(Madhuca longifolia) drink has special socio-religious importance in the folk culture of Bastar. This is unique in the traditional culture of Bastar. In a local market, one can enjoy the group (all sitting together) drinking style of *Mahua* drink, in a cup-like structure made of leaves (Known as *Chipdi* in local language).

[4] *Kosna* is local alcohol drink made out of spoiled cooked rice. It is a very popular drink in the state. People offer and welcome their guest with *Kosna*. As it is made with rice and rice is base food grain in the state. It is available in abundance also the process of *Kosna* making is easier than *Salfi* and *Mahuaa* drink.

and for most of the tribal iron, aluminium and terra-cotta utensils were economical. Though nowadays everyone can afford to buy brass utensils it is available in almost every household of state.

Above given description suggest that the importance of brass ladle. Coconut form Motif is still a very popular artefact. Similarly, other natural forms also have a significant status in the region.



Figure 5.16: *Ukri/Duaa*(ladles), C.G



Figure 5.17: *Morhi* or *Mohari* (blower), Bastar

2. Mohari/Morhi (musical Blower)

The image above is that of the artefact, a musical instrument, a blower made of bronze by local craftsmen (see Figure 5.17). *Mohari* or *Morhi* are found with every *Mahara* or *Gada* musician of the region. And they only 'hold the right'[1] to play this instrument during the ceremonies. The item has the cone shape at the bottom and takes a cylindrical shape on the top. It is elongated, round and pipe-shaped, the lower side is opened which at the front. On the top side is the endpoint of the instrument, which is pointed. From the pointed side, the musician blows the instrument. One small round hook is attached to the top part of the instrument probably made for hanging. Thread design has been made on the outer side of the artefact, it has smooth and coarse surface. Below is semiotics analysis of this artefact to recognize the significance and inspiration of the shape.

Iconic features- the shape and surface design of the artefact make it identical to a musical instrument. As in most of the world, the wind type musical instrument made out of bamboo and wood has a similar shape.

[1]As playing an instrument was traditional hereditary occupation, so the community, who plays the instrument holds the authority. And they had the "copyright" overplaying instrument. Though nowadays, This scenario is slowly changing. But still, the majority of players belong to *Mahara* and *Gada* communities.

Indexical features- "Sun and Moon" design motifs are made on the surface of the artefact. On the other side of artefacts, the goddess feet are made, which is indexical that artefact has religious significance.

Symbolic features- *Mohari* sound is a symbol of religious ceremonies. It is believed that the sound of *Mohari* is pleasant to the goddess. It is played in order to please the goddess. After hearing the sound of *Mohari* along with *Nishan* (Drum), Goddess takes a physical form by entering into the body of a human being. It is called as *Devi* or *Deota uthna* means to invoke gods and goddess on all the occasions of worship.

Mohari is of two types; the first type of *Mohari* is used mainly for ritual processions. That has goddess feet marks; the sound of *Mohri* indicates that god-goddess are on the way. The second type of *Mohari* is used during marriage ceremonies, which have simple motifs like flowers and leaves.

Above given form motifs of the human, animal, organic and geometrical signify that artisans have not randomly taken inspiration from nature, but it has a particular connotation in the region. These forms are derived in the craft tradition due to having socio-religious importance. These form or motifs became part of the socio-religious world due to accessibility in their geographical world. Similarly, artisans take inspiration for the 'design motifs' as well, which derives from their surroundings. In the following section, the design motifs will be discussed in the details.

5.1.2.2 Design Motifs of *Dhokra* craft

"Design-Motif' here refers to the decoration on *Dhokra* artefacts" surface, created and shaped by a wax thread. These designs have been segregated into the smallest unit of design called 'motif'. As already mentioned motifs have been divided into two categories, form motif and design motif. Former has been analyzed above and here is the analysis of design motif. A table of design motif has been made, which include wax thread designs from both regions of the state (Bastar & Raigarh). This table does not contain every design made by artisans but the majority designs are included. *Dhokra* artisans of both regions mostly and frequently use all these designs. These design motifs have been identified based on collected images of artefact during the fieldwork and online sources. The significance and context of designs are written according to personal interview and conversation with *Dhokra* artisans of the state. In order to make an academic analysis researcher has taken the liberty to translate the regional terms and concepts.

SN	Form	Bastar Region	Raigarh Region
1.	Humans	*Maoli Panja* (feet of the Mawli goddess), *Chelak-Chelki* (dancing figures), *Baja Bajoiya* (musician), *Adivasi Jeevan* (tribal lifestyle)	*Laxmi Paon* (feet of Goddess Laxmi), *Naachkar* (dancing figures), *Baja Bajoiya* (musician), *Adivasi Jeevan* (tribal lifestyle)
2.	Animals	*Hansa Pai* (claw of Swan), *Kanwa ankhi* (crow Eyes), *Macchali Kanta* (fish bone), *Bagh nakha* (tiger's claw) & *Makri Jala* (spider nest)	*Kanwa ankhi* (crow eyes), *Macchali Kanta* (fish bone), *Bagh nakha* (tiger's claw) & *Makri Jala* (spider nest)
3.	Plants, fruits & flowers	*Amakali* (mango slice), *Karela Phool* (bitter guard flower), *Gehun Dana* (wheat grain), *Pikr/Pikri/* (sacred fig or Ficus religiosa) & *Dhan Dana* (paddy grain)	*Amakali* (mango slice), *Karela Phool* (bitter guard flower), *Gehun Dana/ Yuwa*(wheat grain motif), *Pipar paan* (sacred fig or Ficus religiosa), *Dhan Dana* (paddy grain), *Champa Phool* (Magnolia Champaca) & *Baramsi Phool* (Catharanthus roseus)
4.	Geometrical	*Ber-Jon* (sun & moon), *Ek Dhaga* (single thread), *Enthi* (twist thread), *Bundiya* (circle), *Bundiya Dhuru* (circle with a dot in center), *Du Dhoga* (double thread), *Beni/Veni* (braid pattern), *Dhuru* (ball pattern), *Chakri* (spiral), *Tikoni* (triangular shape), *Makri* (placed side by side forming a chain) & *Pikad pan* (diamond-shaped)	*Chanda- Suraj* (sun & moon), *Soot* (single thread), *Du Soot* (double thread), *Enthi* (twist thread), *Kundiya* (circle), *Kundiya Dhuru* (circle with a dot in center), *Du Soot* (double thread), *Veni* (braid hair pattern), *Dhuru* (globule or ball-like pattern), *Bhawnari* (spiral) & *Tikoniya-* (triangular shape)

Table 5.2: Design motifs from Bastar & Raigarh regions

Table 5.2 gives a list of design motifs based on their shape, which derives from the types of forms (see the description of forms in the chapter subheading "form motif of *Dhokra* craft"). Similar to form motifs design motifs also have been classified, because the inspiration for designs also develops from the influence of surroundings. As already mentioned, these designs are created for decoration and beautification. But that's not the only purpose of these designs. These design motifs carry the socio-religious and cultural significance in the region., each category of design motifs have been explained in the following section, to understand the

signs and values of these designs.

Human Motifs in Design

Earlier human forms were created to manifest the form of God-Goddess, deities and legends, for the design on surface human forms were rarely used. But human prints like feet and hands were always used in the surface of artefacts. These human prints or marks have religious significance in the region. And these two are considered the marks of deities or God-Goddess. Artisans also name them as per the name of God-Goddess, they never call those designs simply 'feet' or 'palm' mark but the 'feet or palm of God or Goddess'. Nowadays artisans frequently use 'human form motif' for decoration as designs. According to artisans these 'human form motifs' are now popular as well. Artisan from both region say that these designs are more in demand that's why they have started making it, as artisans Govind ram Jhareka says-

"*We used to make the human form as an independent artefact, and we rarely made the human form design in the artefact. But outside people are interested in buying items which depict our tribal lifestyle, so we started using it. Now we make varieties of design. People think it is easy as we have been doing since pre-historic time. But we are always creating new designs. We invent style on our own.*"[1]

The anecdote suggests the changing of design patterns in the crafting tradition. The demand and popularity of particular designs make artisans, to create widely. There are many varieties of human motifs are used as a design for examples; symbolic mark (God-Goddess feet or palm) and tribal figures (dancing figures, musician figures, hunter, agriculture worker, fishers, couples, and mother-child etc.). In the following section, a few examples of these motifs have been explained and analyzed.

1. *Maoli Panja* (feet of *Maoli/Mawali* goddess)/ *Laxmi Paon*(feet of Goddess *Laxmi*)-

These designs represent the feet represent the Goddess *Maoli* and Goddess *Laxmi* (see Figures 5.18 and 5.19). The Craftsmen of Raigarh region call it *Laxmi Paon*, but the usage of this motif is rare in Raigarh.

Maoli Paon has three to four fingers a simplified form of feet and *Laxmi Paon* has dots or five dots in a triangular form like a pyramid motif. These are simplified iconic features of feet. The existence of these designs indicates the religious significance of artefacts. These feet are a symbol of divine presence. The existence of this motif over the surface of artefact signifies that artefact is meant for sacred and religious purpose.

[1]Govindram Jhareka, personal interview, June 28th, 2016, Ektal.

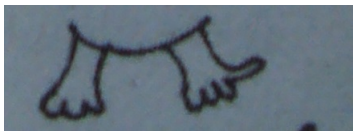

Figure 5.18: *Mawali Paon*(Bastar)

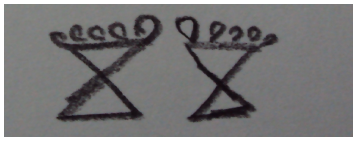

Figure 5.19: *Laxmi Paon* (Raigarh)

This motif is generally found on the blower of the *Mohari*. Sometimes the full image of the goddess is also made as relief sculpture[1] on the blower. This motif is also a popular motif used for body tattoo. Mostly women like to have Goddess feet tattoo in their upper body parts like arms hands and chest. The motif may have been adopted from tattoo design or tattoo design may have been borrowed from *Dhokra*. Or else both the forms may have derived from other forms of art or craft. Other than that 'palm prints' are also created as a symbol of deities and legend's presence.

2. *Chelak-Chelki/Naachkar* (Tribal Dancing figures)

The *Chelak-Chelki* is the term used for young boy & girl from Bastar region who perform a traditional dance. They are depicted along with traditional attire, the dress and jewellery in very minimal shape (see Figure 5.20). Human form motifs are used as designed patterns on the different artefacts, mostly the shape of dancing figures, musician, and mundane workers etc.

The image of the artefact given below is a tobacco box, though the usage and popularity of artefact have declined. But out of the region it is sold as a decorative paperweight. The artefact has two figures designs on the surface, which is an iconic feature of dancing figures. According to artisans, horn crown on head and big musical instrument are the identical features of the male musician. This signifies that left figure is male and the right figure is female. Due to the prominent breast and she also has a feather and stick on her head which is an identifying mark of the female dancer. The design indicates the root of the artefact as from tribal region and it is a symbol of tribal tradition & culture. Below another example of the tribal figure made by Jhareka artisans from Raigarh has been described.

[1]Relief sculpture is any work which is attached to surface of the wall, or other type of background surface, on which it is carved or moulded.



Figure 5.20: *Chelak-Chelik* (dancer) Chilkuti

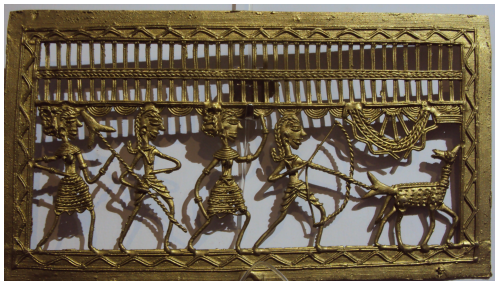

Figure 5.21: Hunters, hunting deer, Ektal

3. *Adivasi Jeevan* (Tribal mundane activity)

The image of artefact given is a popular mural frame (see Figure 5.25). This mural has four figures which depict the hunting scene. Four tribal men hunting deer, and around the frame, simple geometric design from thread has been made. Women artisan Dhanmati Jhareka made the huge *Dhokra* mural craft on which she received the National award of 'Master-craftsman'. Most of the hunting figures designs are taken from her work and now repeatedly created by the artisans from Raigarh. Above given artefact is one such example of those designs. Simplified human forms with minimal cloth and prop like bow & arrows, knives, axes, long throwing arrows are an iconic feature of hunters. This frame indicates the scene from the jungle and according to artisans and outsider, hunting is one of the symbols of tribal lifestyle. Hence the mural effectively signifies the mundane tribal activity.

The given account of design motifs of human form suggests the significance and signs of human mark & figures for the artisans and the consumers. Though the hunting deer and many other forest animals are banned in the state, it is not in practice anymore. But it is a symbol of forest-dweller as the very definition of tribal as per the Indian constitution article 342 says that tribal are forest dweller, who are away from mainstream civilization. This creates stereotyped views towards the tribal. But at the same time, it helps artisans in creating their brand as the ancient craft tradition. This will be discussed in the next chapter (for details see the sixth chapter of thesis subheading "Glocalization and Commodification").

Animal Motifs in Design

In the design motifs, a realistic form of the animal is rarely used that too mostly for large scale. Earlier *Dhokra* artefacts were made smaller in sizes, but after the intervention of external institutions, the scale of artefact has increased. The culture of award ceremonies, gallery exhibition and huge commission work from outsiders etc. made artisans, to increase the size of their artefacts. Earlier *Dhokra* artisans mostly make the animal's mark and prints

such as feet, feathers, eyes, bones, horns and nails etc., similar to Goddess mark of feet and palm. Few of animal marks have a social- religious purpose, but mostly these marks are made for decoration and beautification of artefacts. Here are a few examples of the animal design motifs. This includes contemporary forms and traditional animal marks and prints as well.

1. ***Mayur/Manjur*** (Peacock)

The image of artefact given is the base part of a large decorative lampstand (see Figure 5.22). The stand is decorated with four peacock figures, which are made on four sides of the lamp. Standing over the round base, feathers are attached with a square stand of the lamp.

Long beak, round eyes, crown along with crest over the head and round ocelli shaped feather designs are iconic features of the peacock. Peacock is a symbol of beauty in the state.



Figure 5.22: Peacock motif used in the lampstand

The feather of the peacock is used in making jewellery and headgear for men and women. The colourful peacock feathers are also used by Baiga(local priest).[1] Peacock one of such rare animal design motif which is made in iconic form. Other designs are made as mark and print of indexical form below few examples of such designs are given. 2. *Hansa Pai* (Claw of Swan)

The drawing of the design motif is known as *Hansapai* (see Figure 5.23). According to artisans circle and three lines are iconic features of feet of Swan bird. In the Bastar region, swan bird is a symbol of beauty and purity. It is considered feminine and mystic. The motif is generally used in the jewellery mostly in the neck ornaments showing three toes of a claw. The *Hansa Pai* motifs are also made in mother goddess idols, for jewellery designs. The purpose of this design is purely for decoration and beautification, according to artisans swan signifies beauty.

[1] *Baiga* and *Guniya* (local priest and medicine makers) in the state make a small broom out of peacock feather. The broom is used for cleaning path during the procession of deities in *Madai mela* (for details of *Madai mela* see the third chapter of the thesis, subheading 3.6.2.4)



Figure 5.23: *Hansapai* (claw of swan)

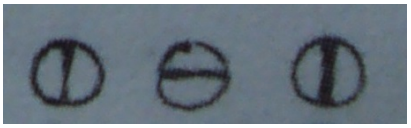

Figure 5.24: *Koanwa Ankhi* (crow's eyes)

3. *Koanwa Ankhi* (Crow Eyes)

Drawing of design motif is known as *Koanwa Ankhi* (see Figure 5.24). This motif represents the eyes of the crow bird, which is commonly found close to the human habitation. Artisans from Raigarh say crow can see two sides at the same time. That's why for the crow eyes in between they make a line. This indicates that design is crow's eyes that can see two sides at the same time. Due to that quality of crow, this motif is a symbol of prevention from evil eyes.

Along with decoration, the design also signifies the magical importance of artefacts. That's why this design is mostly made in utensil and ornaments to prevent from evil eyes. In the Chhattisgarh, Crow is considered to be the messengers between the departed and the living being. It is believed that the departed ancestor accepts the offering through the crows.

4. *Macchali Kanta* (Fish Bone)

Drawing of the design motif is known as *Macchali Kanta* (see Figure 5.25) means 'fishbone'. The motif is an iconic feature of the bone of fish. The design is made for decoration on craft surface. Though this design looks simple but mostly artisans do not prefer, as they say, it's very tiny and design is created with thinnest wax thread. To make this design, artisan requires patience because, after each smallest design for one cone, they have to break the thread, that's why it's time-consuming design. For comb and ornament, *Macchli Kanta* motif is popular among the tribal.

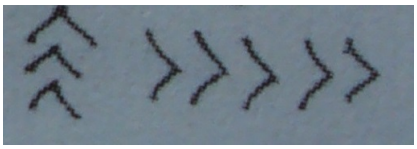

Figure 5.25: *Macchali Kanta* (fish bone)

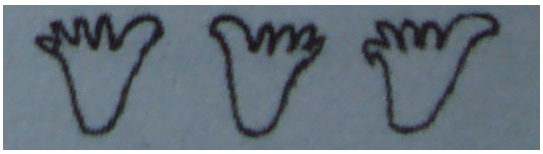

Figure 5.26: *Bagh Nakha* (tiger's claw)

5. *Bagh Nakha* (Tiger's Claw)

The drawing above has the design motif known as *Bagh Nakha* (see Figure 5.26), means 'claw of the tiger'. The motif looks similar to the feet of *Maoli Mata*. But according to

artisan, the toes of *Maoli Mata* are made soft and curvy. And for *Bagh Nakha* the toes are made sharp and pointy. *Bagh Nakha* is a symbol of strength and power in the state. Like crow eyes, this motif as well is made to ward off the evil spirits and hostile magic.[1]

The designs given above are 'form' and 'mark' of animal made in iconic, indexical and symbolic forms. There are many other animal forms and marks are made by artisans for decoration of artefact (for other designs see Appendix-1). Other than human and animal artisan also take inspiration from 'nature' in the following section the natural design motif has been described.

Organic form motifs in Design

These designs motifs are inspired by the organic form of nature like tree, plants, creeper, flowers and fruits. The flowers and leaves were the most popular form of designs used by artisans. Earlier tree and plants were rarely used, but nowadays artisans use varieties of plant designs. Most of these designs are not made in the iconic form but as mark and print, like human and animal marks discussed above. Below a few examples of this category of design motifs are given.

1. *Karela Phool/ Karela Chani* (bitter guard flower)

The design motif in the drawing below is known as *Karela Chani* (see Figure 5.27) means 'flower of bitter gourd' (Momordica charantia). Artisan from Bastar region also calls it *Aroyee Phool*, which means 'flower of cucurbitaceous'. The flower is made of six or eight petals, which iconic feature of the bitter gourd flower. This motif is also made to represent sunflower because both, sunflowers & bitter gourd flower are yellow and found in abundance in the state. The bitter gourd flower is more popular and widely used by the craftsmen. The tiny bitter guard flower is a symbol of simplicity and beauty. Women of the region like to have jewellery with bitter guard flower motifs. Even goldsmiths in the state use this motif for jewellery. The bitter guard flower motif is popular for body tattoo as well.



Figure 5.27: *Karela Phool* (bitter gourd flower)

[1]In Chhattisgarh, the tusks of an elephant and wild boar, the horns of bison, buffalo, deer and bones and nails of a specific animal are made along with brass and silver. As an amulet, because there is believe that these body parts of animals have magical power, it can protect from evil magic and witches.

2. *Gehun Dana/ Yuwa* (wheat grain motif)

The following image is the detail of artefact surface on which a design motif called *Gehun Danas* is made (see Figure 5.28) meaning 'wheat grain'. This motif is extensively used for decoration of the artefacts by *Dhokra* artisan of Chhattisgarh. The motif is in the shape of wheat grain, which is an iconic feature of wheat. According to artisans, wheat is a symbol of prosperity. That's in all utensils the 'wheat grain' motif is compulsory. Wheat grain is also made along with circle, line and dot. Like wheat grain, *'Dhan'* means 'paddy' is also used as design motifs, it looks similar to wheat but slightly thinner and longer than wheat. Paddy is a popular design motif for jewellery, another brass paddy motif is made in silver and gold as well. *Dhanmala* means paddy-necklace is popular jewellery from the region (see Appendix-2, serial no.59).

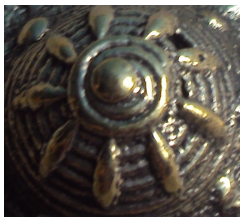

Figure 5.28: *Gehu Dana* (wheat grains)



Figure 5.29: *Pikar/Pipar Paan* (leaf of sacred fig)

3. *Pikar/ Pikri/Pipar Paan* (sacred fig design motif)

The above image is the detail of artefact surface with the design motif known as *Pikar Paan* in Bastar and *Pipar Paan* in Raigarh (see Figure 5.29) means the leaf of a *Pipal* (Ficus religiosa). These motifs are made in a geometrical stylization. It is in the shape of a brick and flat like a *Pipal* leaf along with dot. This design is not an iconic feature of *Pipal* leaf, but it is recognized as *pipal* leaf by artisans. It is also made as heart shape along with hook which is an iconic feature of the leaf. These designs are made to hang on the artefacts like a *Pipal* leaf. Especially on the *Chhatra*/umbrella and *Danda*/sticks of the Gods and Goddess and oil lamps (see the third chapter of the thesis, Figure 3.18 *Chhatra*). *Pipal* leaf is a symbol of purity and considered as auspicious and spiritual. People of Chhattisgarh worship *Pipal* tree. The popular motif designs and can be seen almost every *Dhokra* artefact the hanging leaves can be found in every large scale *Dhokra* artefacts.

These examples and their descriptions suggest that though artisans take inspiration from the organic form. They have to abide by the limitation and flexibility of wax threads. The designs artisans create is a simplified form of elements and most of the forms are indexical

and symbolic. There many designs which drive from the organic form (for other motifs see appendix-1). The other design motif form which artisans take inspiration is purely shape-based or geometrical forms, those design motifs are discussed in the following section.

Geometrical Motifs in Design

The *Dhokra* artisans widely make these motifs. Every artefact contains a minimum of three-four to maximum seven- eighth types of geometrical design motifs, such as simple lines or dots, or circles or squares etc. Most of these geometrical motifs are made for decoration and beautification of artefacts. But few of these motifs also have socio-religious significance, below a few examples of these types of motifs are given.

1. *Ber-Jon/ Chanda- Suraj*(Sun and Moon)-

The image that follows is the detail of artefact's surface on which "sun & moon" design motif is made (see Figure 5.30). Sun is represented as a circle and moon is represented as a crescent shape. Moon is always made more prominent in size than the sun; these are an iconic feature of "sun & moon" motif. This design motif indicates that item is made for religious purpose and Sun & Moon motif is a symbol of eternity & universe. The sun-moon motif is marked on all types of sacred and religious artefacts. Like, on the flags of deities, on the foreheads of the gods and goddesses, on the foreheads of the horses and elephants on which the deities ride, on the blowers of *Mohari* (a musical instrument), on temple bells and on measuring pots, on the motifs of Nandi bulls, on the "*Prabha Mandal*" of the goddesses and so on. *Chanda-Suraj* is the word used by artisans of Raigarh region, but they rarely use this motif.



Figure 5.30: Left *Sona Dai* (three sister goddess). right, sun & moon motif

2. *Enthi /Gurethi* (Twist Thread)

The image is the detail of motif known as *Enithi* (see Figure 5.31) means 'bend or twist'. Two wax threads are twisted together to make a design which looks like DNA plot twist. This motif is one of the essential motifs and can be seen almost in every *Dhokra* artefacts. It is also known as *Gurethi* by artisans of Raigarh region. Artisans from both regions say that the

motif is made for purely decoration and beautification purpose. It does not have any specific socio-cultural meaning.



Figure 5.31: *Enthi/Gurethi* (twisted thread)

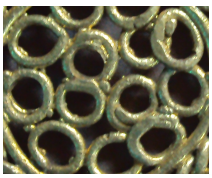

Figure 5.32: *Bundiya/Kundiya* (circle design)

3. *Bundiya/kundia* (Circle)

The image above is the detail of the motif known as *Bundia* means circle (see Figure 5.32). There are two types of *Bundia* motifs, one which is made only with wax thread just a circle. And second as flat and small circle like *Bindi* (round, thin sticker used by women on their forehead, see Figure 5.29). *Bindi* is not only made as decoration but also for the representation of wheel and eyes of bird and animals. As seen in the above artefacts in animal categories (see the artefacts in Appendix-3, serial no.-38 to 50). *Bunidya* motif as given in the above images is mostly used by Jhareka artisans from Raigarh regions as they are specialist in making hollow and lace type artefacts.

4. *Beni/Veni* (Braid hair pattern)

The following image is the detail of the motif called *Beni* or *Veni* means hair braid (see Figure 5.33). *Beni* is made with two *enithi* joint together in the opposite direction. This is another essential and popular motif used by craftsmen, can be seen almost all *Dhokra* artefact from the Chhattisgarh. The term *Veni* is used in Bastar region, but *Beni* word is used in both the regions. The motif is created merely for decoration purpose, but this also gives thickness and support to the artefact.



Figure 5.33: *Beni/Veni* (hair braid)



Figure 5.34: *Chakri/Bhavanri* (spiral design)

5. *Chakri/ Chakti/Bhawnari* (Spiral)

The image given above is the detail of the motif known as *Chakri* or *Bhawnari* (see Figure 5.34). The motif represents a spiral, artisans from the Bastar region use the term *Chakri*. The literal meaning of *Chakri* is a circular object or spiral. Artisans from Raigarh region use the term *Bhawanri* and the literal meaning of *Bhanwari* is a whirlpool. Design is made with a point in the centre and thread starts from this point, forming a coil-like shape, which moves towards outside making a continuous round shape, encircling the central point. The motif is created for decoration and beautification of artefact and this motif is mostly used for modern jewellery.

Above mentioned are few design motifs, there are many designs which are now used by artisans (for other design motifs see Appendix-1). Artisans have been using these motifs since generations; these design motifs carry the regional identity. Nowadays, artisans are modifying and experimenting with designs of craft item. Though now many of the design motifs are not in use. Instead of old motifs, many new design motifs like; flower and leaves, the geometric design had taken their place. But only a few artisans use a new design that too very selectively. Those motifs are not included here because all artisans do not use those motifs and also those are not significant identity marker of *Dhokra* craft.

Nowadays, many artisans have started working without the thread, the freehand wax modelling is gaining popularity for figurative and large scale artefacts, but that is occasional. Above given analysis suggest that in both regions variety of motifs are found and artisans from both region have distinct ways of making and using these design motifs. Thin thread design with many human figures motifs and reticular works are done only by the craftsmen of Raigarh region. Jhareka artisans from Raigarh use fewer design motifs compare to Ghadwa artisans from Bastar. As Jhareka artisans widely use human figure motifs in most of their artefacts, their craft surface gets filled with those figures. The usages of motifs are not only different in the regions but also among the artisans. A small number of artisans work with certain motifs. These artisans are specialized in making certain artefact for example, Bhupendra Baghel (Kondagaon) make mostly tribal figures, Jamuna Bai (Chilkuti) makes Tortoise, Sabbir Naag (Dahikonga) make bull and Elephants, Chamsingh Besra (Kondagaon) makes *Jhitku-Mitku* and jewellery items, Govind Ram Jhareka (Ektal) makes *Karmseni* tree, Sampurn Chand Induwar (Ghoraghati) makes Reticular lamps, Ramlaal Jhareka (Ektal) makes mural with human figure motifs, Balmukund Jhareka (Baigandihi) makes Boat with men and Sonkumar Jhareka (Kandurpali) makes wall frames etc. These artisans have established their name as the specialist of certain artefacts. They are popular due to their speciality of making those specific artefacts. They make their artefacts

better than others, by using different motifs than usual, as they experiment with forms and designs.

Even though artisans from both regions modify and experiment with forms and design of *Dhokra* artefacts, the basic structure remains unchanged, which is continuing for generations. The above analysis leads the thesis to consolidate the visual structure of *Dhokra* artefacts.

5.1.3 Visual structure of *Dhokra* craft

As seen above that in spite of the differences in both regions and among artisans, *Dhokra* craft has a particular set of structure. This set of the structure is followed by all the artisans of the state, including the recently learned artisans.[1] Artisans create forms and designs by taking inspiration from their surroundings. Their geography affects their religious, social, cultural world view and their way of life. This reflects their folklore as well through which artisans give shapes to their visual cultural forms like art and craft. Their way of representation of various forms heavily drives from folklore for example, their representation of deities and legends[2], representation of animals[3] and natural elements like fruits and plants[4] etc. The way artisans conceive their idea of universe, nature, God-Goddess, life and society reflects in their folklore (as already mentioned in the third chapter of the thesis). Artisans replicate their conceptual interpretation of tangible and intangible world into visual form. As Charles pierce says, the interpretation of sign is "sign in itself", which is the mental concept of sign. Means artisan creates a mental sign in the form of folklore like the creation of myths and tale which reflects the idea of supernatural being or saviour of illness, and later they create another sign in the form of the visual artefact to give the tangible and physical reality to their mental concept. This visual form is an object which works as an indexical and symbolic form of their mental sign. To make a comprehensive layout of *Dhokra* structure, a diagram has been given below, which summarises the basic form of *Dhokra* artefacts.

[1]Though the new artisans and artist do experiments with form and texture or decoration pattern but the basic visual structure remains the same.

[2]See subheading "Human form" of this chapter and third chapter of thesis subheading "legends and folktale".

[3]See subheading "animal forms" of this chapter and third chapter of thesis subheading "origin of clan" the usage of animal which are also clan name of tribal in the state.

[4]See subheading "natural and geometrical form" and third chapter of thesis subheading "origin of world", the bottle guard is a prominent element in myths, which is a popular *Dhokra* artefact.

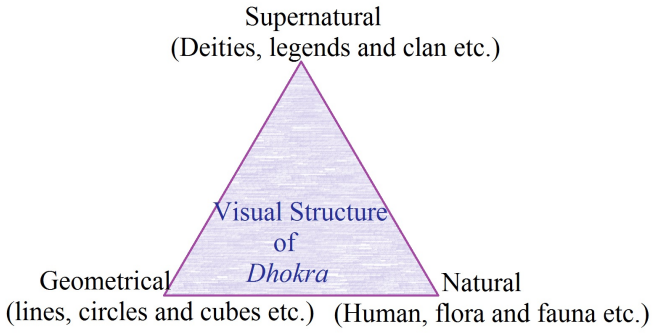

Figure 5.35: Structure of *Dhokra* artefacts

The diagram given above suggests that there are three primary forms and designs, which artisans use in making *Dhokra* artefacts. First is 'supernatural forms and design', within that artisans create several forms but three types dominate they are; (a) 'deities' like God-Goddess, folk deities & ancestor. Though artisan gives human form to a supernatural being, but these forms are different than ordinary human form. It differs in presentation and attached prop, which already has been discussed (see subheading "Human forms" in this chapter and subheading "legends and folktales" in the third chapter), (b) 'animal' tribal refers to the animal as clan god. The artisan creates these animals to worship and votive offering object (for details of the clan of tribal see the third chapter of thesis subheading "origin of the clan"), and (c) 'universal elements' like sun & moon, which they make over the surface of artefacts to signify the religious purpose of artefact (see the subheading "geometrical motif" of this chapter and subheading "origin of world" in the third chapter).

Second is 'natural forms and design' within this form too artisans create many forms but few forms dominate those are; (a)'human' like tribal man-women and their life depictions (see Figures 5.6 and 5.8), (b) 'animal' like created as form and designs, for utilitarian cum decorative artefacts (see Figure 3.4, & Appendix-1), and other (c)'botanical' which are mostly botanical like tree, plant, flowers and fruits (mostly created as design on the surface of artefacts see Figures 3.2 and 3.3, subheading "organic form motif" & Appendix-1).

The third type of form is 'geometrical forms and designs', within this form as well artisans create varieties of forms, but few forms and designs dominate. Within geometrical forms they are; (a) 'cone forms; like *Moahri* and *Todi* (musical instruments), (b) 'sphere forms' like pots, penholders and candle holders etc. and (c) 'cube forms' like tobacco and jewellery boxes etc. The geometrical designs which can be made through the wax threads are more

prevalent because the wax thread is one of the fundamental characteristics *Dhokra* artefact, thus geometrical designs like, lines, hair braid, twisted thread, thread flowers, circle, etc. more prominently made by artisans.

The above diagram shows the visual structure of *Dhokra*, which is based on forms and design. Above analysis showcase the visual semiotics of *Dhokra*, which includes the context and sign of artefacts. Based on the analysis in the following section, a summary on the semiotics of *Dhokra* craft is done.

5.1.4 Semiotics of *Dhokra* craft

So far, the thesis discussed the types of form and designs created in the *Dhokra*. To showcase this diagram of the structure has been made (see Figure 5.35). This will consolidate the signs of above given structural elements of *Dhokra*. To understand the semiotic of artefacts, a table has been made. The table has been divided as per Charles Sander Pierce's sign classification and Panofsky's iconography steps. The table carries the semiotics of *Dhokra* craft. It shows that the item which artisan makes is the reflection of their society they live in. They represent their geographical, social and cultural life in the craft items, by using the motifs from their surroundings. It showcases the beliefs and worldview of artisan communities, for example, the idea of supernatural power seen in the description of their totem, deity and religious items. Their concept of beauty can be seen in the usage of motifs like birds, flower and leaf. Their concept of power and strength is visible in motifs like bull, bison, and elephant. Here is the table which consists of three sections; the first section carries the artefacts and 'icons' made by an artisan. The second section carries the 'index' of those artefacts and third 'the symbolic meaning' of those artefacts demonstrates, according to the belief and world view of artisan from both regions.

SN	Item/Icon	Indexical	Symbolic
1.	Idols- male/female	Warrior or legend or deities or tribal	Supernatural power, saviour, religious figure, tribal lifestyle
2.	Idols- Anthropomorphic	Non- human or deity or mythic figure	Supernatural power, saviour, Strength of human and animal, religious figure, magical power
3.	Bull	Agriculture, food, human habitat	The domestic animal, votive object, religious figure, strength, the vehicle of Shiva etc.

SN	Item/Icon	Indexical	Symbolic
4.	Elephant	Gigantic mammal, royal territory, forest, traveller	Royalty, prosperity, wisdom, strength, mythical character etc.
5.	Bison	Forest, food, hunting	Totem, votive object, wild, strength
6.	Snake	abyss or snake pit, Forest	Mythical character, votive object, supernatural power, fear, justice, poison etc.
7.	Tortoise	Forest, water, tribal food habit	Longevity, slow pace, votive object, fortune, totem, world creation, mythical character etc.
8.	Fish	Water, food	Totem, votive object, fertility, transformation, feminity, luck, mythical character etc.
9.	Peacock	Forest, rain	Beauty, feminity, royalty, luxury, prosperity, mythical character, totem
10.	Rooster	Human habitat, food	Sunrise, totem, ancestor call, votive animal
11.	Crown	Religious or Royal figure	Royalty, divine power, supreme authority
12.	Wand with bell	Religious figure	Justice, supernatural power, represent the deity or totem etc.
13.	Jewellery	Human being	Wealth, prosperity, beauty etc.
14.	Weapons	Human, deity, warrior	Power, justice, legend, a religious or mythical figure
15.	Rice plates	Religious figure	Prosperity
16.	Sun & moon motif	Universe	Day and Night, supernatural power and religious
16.	Goddess feet	Human mark	Goddess existence and Religious mark
17.	Flower and leaf motifs	Nature	Beauty
18.	Halo	Religious figure	Peace & Spirituality
19.	Tiger nails	Dead animal	Savior from evil spirit
20.	Hair Braid	-	Beauty, feminity
21.	Grain and coin motifs	-	Wealth and Prosperity

Table 5.3: Semiotics of *Dhokra* craft

Table 5.3 suggests how people of Chhattisgarh conceive, represent and relate their concept of the world around them for example, to showcase the power, animal-like Bull & tiger are shown, which could be in the iconic form or indexical form. Beauty is represented in the form of flowers, leaves, and birds etc. Feminity is shown through breast, long hair and heavy jewellery. To showcase the supernatural power the crown, the halo and aura is made, which is a

symbol of peace and spirituality. Prosperity is shown in the form of rice plate and wheat grains. And royalty is shown in the form of elephant and chariot. To showcase their concept artisan use iconic, indexical and symbolic forms. The context and association of these indexes and symbol derive from the folklore of the region.

Folklore and way of life of people do not only influence the visual structure and semiotic of *Dhokra*. But the functions of artefacts as well are determined by folklore. In the following section of the chapter, the functional aspect of *Dhokra* artefacts has been discussed at length.

5.2 Functions of *Dhokra* craft

Art and craft are created for a variety of reasons like to make a record[1], to illustrate[2], to worship, [3] to express convictions and persuade[4] and for the beautification[5] etc. These describe a few common functions of art and craft. As the differences between art and craft are debatable, the functional value too, there is always a thin line between these two. [6] Despite the differences,

[1]Recording event & incident like crowning ceremonies, birth, war, celebration etc. appearance of the person like portraiture of the king, queen, pope etc.

[2]To narrate stories, tales epic etc. like Indian scroll paintings like *pat Chitra, Chariyal, Jatak* stories in Ajanta caves, and Mahabharata stories in Mahabali Puram etc.

[3]For the religious or sacred purpose, idol and icon are made in two or three-dimensional form like god-goddess and deities.

[4]Like many Ashoka pillars, the stupa, tombs, or church chapel etc.

[5]To please the eyes or gratifying the mind like church, temple, stupa and place's interior.

[6]The difference between art and craft emerged in European countries, after 1400 AD, in India or South Asia it came along with them during the colonial periods with the establishment of art school. In Europe before that, artisans or artist used to work together which was known as a guild system. Patrons rewarded these artisans collectively rather than individually and the works were valued as a symbol of social status not only for their beauty but their adherence to a particular tradition. And customer or patrons like a king, queen or wealthy people, who commissioned for the work, were more likely to get credit rather than the creator. In Europe during the renaissance period artist received the recognition by putting a great deal for individual creativity. But in India, the artists were given credit for their work of art as we know the famous artist from the Mughal court. Like, It wasn't until the late 14th century that people began to draw a line between art and craft. The mind of public painting, sculpture and architecture were now considered art and their makers creative masterminds: artist. Meanwhile, those maintained guild traditions and faithfully produced functional items would be known communally as artisans. And their work considered minor or decorative arts, connoting an inferior status and solidifying the distinction between art and craft. Though in the history of art, the value placed on innovation is the exception rather than the rule. In many cultures of the world, the visual expressions like painting or sculptures are considered the culture's prominent visual forms. When art historian of the 19th century saw that the art of some non-western cultures did not change for thousands of years, they classified the works as primitive. Suggesting that their makers were incapable of innovating and therefore were not really artists, but they failed to notice that those artisans were not trying to invent for them the value of their

a common set of functional aspect exists in all objects created by human. Functions are an essential aspect of artefacts. Function refers to the artefact's use-value, as Risatti says "craft is not craft without functionality. The function is important because it implies a relation to the hands that make and use the work, guaranteeing human scale and meaning"(Risatti, 2009).

In folklore studies, art and craft of any culture are broadly called as material culture. [1] "Craft first attracted folkloristic interest in the nineteenth century because the skills involved showed transmission through tradition and because the products of these skills could be compared across time and space. The craft was essential to utilities in daily life and also could have decorative and spiritual functions. In addition to the skills and processes that provide the basic equipment of domestic life—tools, furnishings, houses, clothes—crafts include ritual, religious, and artistic objects, and they foster beliefs about the highly skilled workers who produce them, often-collected legends of blacksmiths"(Bronner, 1979). There are many types of material culture which are created and shaped by humans from all civilizations. Many scholars from many disciplines have done research on the material culture with special reference to the art, craft and design products. In general, most of the scholars called these items as artefacts. Though there are limited studies in the context of functions of an artefact or material culture products. Most of the studies are related to aesthetic value or aesthetic function[2] of artefacts, rather than its use-value or functions (Conkey, 2006).

In the past three to four-decade many scholars have explored the functions of material

work relied upon safeguarding, preserving and continuing their visual tradition. On present-day, the crafts such as terracotta, pottery, carpet, embroidery are included in art books, displayed and exhibited in the galleries. In fact, the artist has worked in the various medium, which is considered as craft. So perhaps now it's high time to eliminate the difference of the terminologies and promoted the term like visual arts. What they didn't realize was that these makers were not seeking to innovate at all. These include everything which has a visually aesthetic function. The value of their works lay precisely in preserving visual traditions, rather than in changing them.

[1] Henri Glassie defines "material made by culture" or all tangible and physical things which people make and attribute meaning to it as per their cultural context (Glassie, 1999).

[2] Aesthetic functionalism started in the early 20th century in art and architecture. Their famous slogan was "Form follows the function." Aesthetic function refers to the function of style, design and form.

culture products like Daniel Miller[1], Lewis Binford[2], Henri Glassie[3], Maureen Anne Mackenzie[4] and Beth Preston[5] etc. American archaeologist Lewis Binford is one among the scholars during the late 19th century, who is known for his work on the classification of artefacts. Binford proposed three types for the artefact, based on the functions. **First is 'technomic artefacts'**, the kind of artefact which is directly related to technology or something, which solves human issues such as tools or utilitarian objects for example, knife, handle of the chisel, wick lamp, basket, pot etc. The primary significance of these artefacts is the utilitarian mode. **The second type is 'Socio-technic'**, artefacts which have the relationship or has social meaning like jewellery, accessories, decorative items (a comb, *Mangalsurtas*, king's crown, dancer's *bison* horns etc.). The primary significance of such artefacts is social beliefs. And the **third is 'Ideo technic'**, artefacts which have religious significance or ideological context for any social group. Like religious deities, totems and votive objects, for example, religious idols, *Chhatras*/Umbrellas of deities, votive animals, and votive lamps etc. The primary significance of the artefacts is religious and scared use. According to Binford, an artefact can have one or two or all three functions. And if an artefact which crosscut all these major types, Binford termed it is 'stylistic'. As per him, such artefacts give a sense of style. It attributes formal qualities and provides an identity to artefacts. It upholds the group solidarity[6].

[1]Daniel Miller is most closely associated with studies of our relationships to things and the consequences of consumption. His theoretical work "*Material Culture and Mass Consumption*" (1987) is concerned to transcend the usual dualism between subject and object and to study how social relations are created through consumption as an activity.

[2]Lewis Roberts Binford was for his influential work in archaeological theory, ethnoarchaeology and the Paleolithic period. His book "*Archaeology as Anthropology*" (1962) is known as ethno-archaeology and is credited to Binford; It is an elaborate work of methodology for conducting ethnographic fieldwork to establish firm correlations between behavior and material culture.

[3]Henry H. Glassie III is known name in folk art, folklife, vernacular architecture and material culture. His book "*Material culture*" (1999), "*Spirit of folk art*" (1989) His work explores the connection between History and art in the study of material culture.

[4]Maureen A. MacKenzie's book "*Androgynous Objects: String Bags and Gender in Central New Guinea*"(1991) explores the way meaning is encoded in material culture by focusing on the androgynous symbolism of the looped string bag, or bilum, of the Telefol people of Central New Guinea.

[5]Beth Preston is known for her philosophical approach to the study of artefacts, in her book "*A Philosophy of Material Culture: Action, Function, and Mind*" (2013) Preston argues that material culture essentially involves activities of production and use; she, therefore, adopts an action-theoretic foundation for a philosophy of material culture.

[6]"Cross-cutting all of these general classes of artefacts are formal characteristics which can be termed stylistic. Formal qualities that is not directly explicable in terms of the nature of the raw materials, the technology of production or variability in the structure of the technological and social sub-systems of the total cultural system. these foram qualities are believed to have their primary functional context in providing a symbolically diverse yet pervasive

Binford's classification of artefacts was further extended by Michel Brain Schiffer in his article "*Archaeological Context and Systemic Context*", he describes the function of artefacts in relation to the behaviour and culture, [1] Schiffer was more specific to these types. According to Schiffer, the unit of analysis is an activity, [2] and the term technique does not indicate the activity involved with the artefacts. He used the term function instead of technique, along with the Binford's three types. Schiffer's First type is "Technofunction" the primary utilitarian purpose. Second is "Sociofunction" means the interplay between the object and people. And third is "Ideofunction" means the symbolic values connected to the foundational values and ideas (Schiffer, 1972).

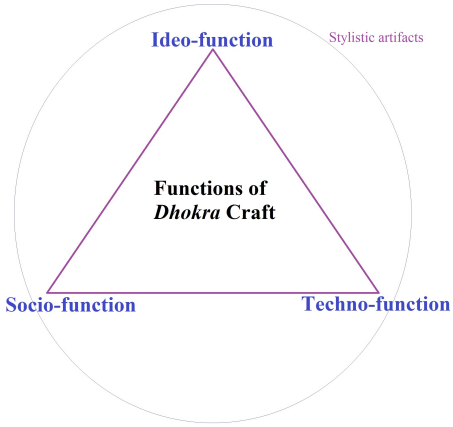

Figure 5.36: Function of *Dhokra* artefacts

The diagram demonstrates Binford & Schiffer's model of artefact functions. The triadic model represents three major categories of artefact functions. The circle shows the stylistic artefact, as every artefact has some functions based on Binford's classification of function. A table for *Dhokra* artefacts has been made; consisting of items from both regions Bastar and Raigarh. Though the functions cannot be fixed with any particular item, we can

artifactual environment promoting group solidarity and serving as a basis for group awareness and identity" (Binford, 1962)

[1]Schiffer makes this analysis on the base of behavioural archaeology, means the study of relationship or connection between material culture and human behaviour at any time or place, as he says that "a focus on describing and explaining the varied relationships between people and artefacts and these relationships can be investigated from both historical and scientific viewpoints".

[2]For Schiffer "an activity is a patterned interaction between an energy source (e.g. human, machine, and animal) and other material elements such hammer, or horse, bridal veil or clan fetish, even holy water."

broadly divide based on the craftsmen's intention of prime significance. Therefore artefact's function has been categorised based on the primary function.[1]

Function	Bastar Region	Raigarh Region
Techno-function	*Orkhi* (ladle) *Ghana* (grain container) *Taroti* (grain measurer), *Kadahi* (frying Pan), *Tokni* (basket), *Mohair* (trumpet), *Makhur Dabba* (tobacco box), *Chaku* (knife) *Muth* (handle of chisel), *Chimni* (wick lamp)	*Duaa* (spoon), *Kalasa* (pot), *Maan* (grain measurer), *Narza* (weighing scale), *Muth* (handle of chisel), *Chaku* (knife) *Makhur Dabba* (tobacco box) *Chimni* (wick lamp)
Socio-function	*Mundi* (finger ring), *Kakai* (comb), *Naraag* or *Mangal Sutra, Kunda* (locket wore by married women), *Chhapai Mundi* (coin fingering), *Phuli* (nose ring), *Khilwa* (round pointed earring), *Karanphool* (earring with floral motif), *Suta* (thick round necklace), *Dhan Mala* (necklace with paddy grain motifs), *Pipar Mala* (necklace with pipal leaf motifs), *Sikka Mala* (necklace with coins), *Banuriya* (thick flat bangle), *Banhata* (armlet), *toda* (anklet), *Kardhani* (girdle for women) *Paymundi* (toe ring), *Chipkan* (hairpins), *Lurki*(round hoop earring), *Jhhap* (anklet with ghunghuru), *Jalajal* (girdle for dancer) *Paidi* (thick anklet), *Polka Khadu* (holo bangle)	*Maan-Diya* (grain measurer and lamp for bride), *Mundi* (finger ring), *Kundal* (round earring), *Bali* (small round earring), *Phool kunda* (floral locket), *Khilwan* (round pointed earring), *Karanphool* (earring with floral motif), *Phuli* (nose ring), *Dhan mala* (necklace with paddy grain motifs), *Bichiya* (toe ring), *Nagmori* (armlet), *Paidi* (thick anklet), *Bali* (small round earring)

[1]The primary function is, according to Artisans, as per their objective for making the craft. This data is based on fieldwork done from 2015 to 2017.

Function	Bastar Region	Raigarh Region
Ideo-function	*Chhatra* (deity umbrella) *Dumni* (ritual bowls) *Diya* (lamp), *Kacchwa* (tortoise), *Ban Bhainsa* (buffalo), *Nandi Baila* (bull), *Nag-Nagni* (snake), *Hathi* (elephant), *Macchari* (fish), *Jhari* (surahi), *Baman Devi, Bankunvar Devi, Betal Devi, Bohariya Mata, Buri Mata, Sat Dhangri Mata, Handa Kankalin Mata, Hinglajin Mata, Jhula Devi, Kotgobin Mata, Khanda Devi, Lohjarin Mata, Mawali Mata, Nag Devi, Pani Sua, Sona dai, kanka Dai and Manka Dai, Telangin Mata, Arya Deo Bhairam Deo, Bhar Sambhar Deo, Gobar Jodhiya, Kaharu Deo, Madiya Duma, Mitu Deo, Sur, Bhangaram Deo, Raja Rao, Sapdhari Deo,*	*Diya* (lamp), *Nandi Baila* (bulls), *Ualwa*(owl), *Hathi* (elephant), *Nag-Nagni* (snake), *Thakur Devi, Dhokri Mata, Churin Mata, Karmaseni, Chandrahasni Mata, Nathal Dai, Budi Mai, Laxmi, Badpari Devta, Thenga*

Table 5.4: Functions of craft from Bastar & Raigarh

The table gives an overview of artefact's function, which also suggests the number of artefacts made for different usage. As per the table, it is clear that the majority of artefacts are made for the socio-religious purpose. It denotes that *Dhokra* is a socio-religious craft or tribal attribute social-religious significance to the material around them. In a similar fashion as they attribute socio-religious significance to the world and nature around them for example tree, animal, air, rock, and river etc. (which they attribute as their clan, deity, the symbol of God-Goddess and the vehicle of deities, for detail see the third chapter of thesis). As already mentioned artefact's function is not fixed, an artefact can have one particular function or multiple functions. Here are the examples of a few *Dhokra* artefacts, based on above mentioned three varieties of craft functions.

5.2.1 Tehno-functions

These kinds of artefacts are created for a utilitarian purpose. Usage value is the principal objective of the artefact. The two examples of utilitarian artefacts have been given, each from both Bastar and Raigarh region of the state.



Figure 5.37: *Kocha*/grain measurer



Figure 5.38: *Makhur Dabba*/tobacco box

1. *Kocha* (grain measurer)-

Above given photograph is that of the artefact known as *'Kocha'* means 'grain measurer' (see Figure 5.37). This crafted piece is an example of techno-functions. Kocha is widely used by the tribal of Bastar region. It is also available in Aluminum. Though at present usage of the artefact has been reduced in the region. But it is still made and sold as pen holder and ashtray, with a slight change in shape and design of the product, it can be found in a variety of sizes and shapes.

Cube-shaped *Kocha* is popular in the region; artefact's surface is decorated with many geometrical and botanical thread design motifs. The *Ghunghurus* meaning 'bells' are an essential feature of *Kocha*, on all four corners of *Kocha Ghunghurus*/bells are hung which are made separately. Those are detachable bells. *Kocha* is one of the identity markers of *Dhokra* artefacts made by Ghadwa artisans from Bastar region. Jhareka artisans from Raigarh also make *Kocha* but that *Kocha* shape is different than *Kocha* from Bastar. Also, Jhareka associated *Kocha* with social significance, which will be discussed later. (See subheading "sociofunction") below is another example of techo-function from Raigarh region.

2. Makhur Dabba (Tobacco box)-

Above given photograph of the artefact is from Raigarh region of Chhattisgarh made by Jhareka artisans (see Figure 5.38). The artefact is an example of techno-functions, which is known as *Makhur Dabba* means 'tobacco box'. Crushed leaves of tobacco are one of the popular addictions in the region.[1] Men and women keep a small box of tobacco; they usually

[1]Though nowadays people prefer to buy small pouches of *Ghutkha* (Beatle nut) with tabboco, the usage of

keep in the folding of their waist cloths or the pocket. Nowadays usage of the brass box is very rare. People prefer to keep in the plastic box. The artefact is made for a utilitarian purpose. The box suggests the cultural habit of intoxication in the region. Men and women despite gender, consume alcohol and tobacco. And according to artisans, once upon a time, tobacco box was one of the popular artefacts in the region. As artisan Sampurandas Induwar says-

"*My father was a specialist in making Makhur Dabba, people always used to pre-order and during the fairs, on the first day, all his Dabba used to get sold. He used to make Dabba with thin thread, which used be lightweight compared to other artisan's Dabba*".[1]

The anecdote suggests the popularity of 'Tabacco box'. Tabacco box was made in Bastar region as well, which was also mentioned by British anthropologist Verrier Elwin in his book "*The Baiga*". At present, the box has become a rare artefact.

5.2.2 Socio-function

Those artefacts which have social significance. The primary reason for creating such artefacts is the social value of the artisan and regional communities or the patrons of artefacts. Below are the two examples of artefacts with socio-function.

1. *Kokai* (Comb)

The image that follows is of the artefact known as *Kokai* (see figure no.-5.39) meaning comb. It is silver polished brass comb from the Bastar region. The comb is not only a utility artefact, but it has social significance in the region. The comb is still a popular artefact in Bastar due to its social-significance. The offering of a comb to a girl is considered a love proposal from the boy. The tribal boy tries to get the most beautiful comb for his lover. Usually, girls accept the comb but proposal is considered as accepted, only if a girl puts the comb on her hair bun. Tribal women love the beautifully designed combs. The comb is also made in other materials like in wood, bamboo, ivory and tortoiseshell. It can be found in many variations with beautiful designs. Many women keep at least two-three varieties of comb and maximum seven-eight. Tribal women like to braid their hair and make a bun with braided hair. For decoration of hair bun, they use comb which also helps in attaching flowers and feathers. It is an example of techno and socio-functional items.

Tabacco leaves is limited to the older generation. The new generation prefers to use readymade *Ghutkha* and popular and the usage of boxes has reduced.

[1]Sampurandas Induwar , personal Interview, June 27th, 2015, Ghoraghati.



Figure 5.39: *Kakai* (comb), Bastar



Figure 5.40: *Diya-Maan* (lamp-grain measurer), Raigarh

2. Diya Maan (wick lamp & grain measurer pot)

The photograph given is of the artefact called *Diya-Maan* (Wick lamp & Grain measurer pot (see Figure 5.40). The artefact is decorated with traditional design motifs on the surface and traditional way of black patina is done on the surface, which gives the artefact an antique look (for the process of black patina see Chapter 4 subheading "patina or colouring"). This artefact has all three types of functions; this is an example of a combination of 'Techno, Socio and Ideo- functions'. Jhareka artisans of the Raigarh and Sarguja district of the state make this artefact for their use and for other tribal communities of the region as well.

Jhareka community member uses this artefact for marriage ritual. The bride's parents give these two items to the bride, as one of the compulsory wedding gifts (thus has socio-function). The new bride uses the grain measurer whenever she cooks food for the first time at her in-law's house. She has to measure the rice by this pot (thus has techno-function). And whenever she worships to *Kuldevi* or *Deota* (family god-goddess) of her new house, she uses the lamp (therefore have the Ideo- function as well). Nowadays, usage of grain measurer is reducing in day to day life. But they still follow as custom, at least for the first day of cooking and worship. Therefore both artefacts are essential pieces during the wedding in Jhareka community.

5.2.3 Ideo- function

As already mentioned that Ideo-function refers to those functional aspects of the artefact, which is based on certain ideology or in other words artefacts created for a religious or sacred purpose. Two examples of ideo-functional artefacts are given each from both Bastar and

Raigarh region of the state.

1. Telagin Mata (Mother Goddess from Telangana)

The photograph of the artefact is the mother goddess called *Telangin Mata* (see Figure 5.41). The big decorated aura, crown and rice plate is a significant mark of the Goddess. This is an example of Ideo functional craft items. *Telagin Mata* is venerated by tribal during their major festival mostly on the harvesting festival like *Harli, Pola,* and *Push Purnima* etc. Some believed that the goddess has come from Telangana region with the traveller, who used to come earlier for business and was named as *Telangin Mata*. The goddess is also known as *Pardeshin Mata* or *Banjarin Mata, Pardesi* means foreigner. The earlier goddess who came with the immigration of Banjaras became known as *Banjarin Mata*. The later goddess who came to Bastar with the later immigrating group called *Pardesin Mata*. But presently all three female deities have an individual identity of their own and they occupy an important place in the tribal pantheon of Bastar. An important shrine of *Banjari Mata* is situated in Bailadilla hills. There is a slight difference in the appearance as well, *Telagin Mata* holds a plate with rice or paddy, in both of her hands which is a sign of prosperity. *Pardesin Mata* and *Banjarin Mata* wear a *Ghaghara* (skirt). She holds a bunch of peacock feathers in one hand and a (plate) in another hand. She has a very prominent *Aabha* (halo or aura) behind her head. In another version, the goddess holds a stick and bowl. Goddess is *Kuldevi* of many tribal families as well but not specific to any particular community, many tribal communities and families worship her.

According to a tale, tribes of Bastar started worshipping *Banjarin Mata* out of fear. The Murias and the Marias were afraid of the Banjara traders and considered them great sorcerers as they travelled in difficult terrains without any fear of ghosts, witches and wild animals. They thought, their goddess must be powerful. That's why they can walk into wild forest and travel across the regions. She must be protecting them from all hazards and evil spirits. Therefore tribal of Bastar as well accepted her into their pantheon and started the propitiation of *Pardesin Mata* and *Banjarin Mata*. Now both goddesses are found in a number of shrines of Bastar. The *Banjarin Mata* temples are found in various parts of Chhattisgarh, as Banjaras penetrated many parts of Chhattisgarh and people from Telangana region as well.[1] Similar to these artefacts there are many artefacts which are made for religious purpose in the region. Below is another example of ideo-functions.

[1]Fagnuram Sagar, personal interview, May25th,2016, Chilkuti.



Figure 5.41: *Telangin Mata*, Bastar



Figure 5.42: *Diya-Maan* (lamp-grain measurer), Raigarh[a]

2. *Churin Mai/Mata* (Witch Mother Goddess)-

The photograph of the artefact is witch mother goddess called *Churin Mata* (see Figure 5.42). The craft is an example of Ideo functional artefact from Raigarh region. She is worshipped by the Jhareka community of Raigarh and Sarguja on most of their festivals. The goddess is represented in the furious form with huge teeth, open hair and she has scary and weird facial expression.

There is a belief that this 'witch mother goddess' saves them from other evil spirit and black magic. As artisans say, according to the tale-

"*Churin Mai was an evil spirit who used to live nearby the Ghat of a river. Whenever Jhareka community members go for fishing, they had to greet her while going and offer some fish while returning, but once an old arrogant Jhareka man, who was also short of the magician. He went to the same river for fishing, but he did not greet the ghost of Churin for continuously three days. The fourth day she stopped the old man, but the old man already knew that ghost of Churin, may try to stop him on his way to the river. So Oldman was ready with a nail and hammer. As she came close to jump on him and Oldman jumped higher than her. And immediately put a nail in the centre of her head. The nail transferred her into a young lady. The old man brought the young version of Churin along with him to his home. He said to his wife 'this is my new wife, I got her from the forest, teach her to cook and do household work' since then all three started living. One day the old man's first wife, told the young lady to look her head for lice, the young*

[2]Jhara artefact, 1989. Annual catalogue, Manav Sangrhalya: Bhopal.

girl did so. Later old lady said let me look your head too while looking for louse in her hair, and the old lady found the nail. The old lady thought it is big louse and she took the nail out of the head of Churin. Immediately the young girl turned into a witch and started rampaging. To make Churin clam, the Old man promised her to fulfil her demands. As she calmed she told Oldman and Old lady that, she was pleased by their behaviour. So in exchange for their worship, she will protect them from any other ghost. Since then she is worshipped by Jhareka community member".

The story was told by the artisan from Ghoraghati he also added-

"*Churin Mai is our caretaker, but she is an angry lady. Whenever she needs something, she takes over the soul of our ladies. And to make her calm we have to offer her, Blood of hen or goat whatever she demands, along with Sari, Churi/bangle, Sindur, Jewellery etc.*"[1]

The above tale and anecdote suggest the belief of the artisan community, *Churin Mai* or *Mata* is a malevolent goddess, but she is also a saviour. Artisans make this artefact for their community members. They rarely make an artefact of *Churin Mai* for selling purpose.

These artefacts are examples of the three primary functions of *Dhokra* craft. There are many artefacts everything cannot be included in this study (for a list of the artefact have a look at Table 5.4). Other than above-mentioned functions, artefacts can be used for other usages as well. Like for decoration or for study or to keep record etc. *Dhokra* artisans have recently developed and modified the structure and function of craft items. As mentioned in the previous chapter under the subheading "typology" the "Core and Periphery items". The core structure is the structure of those artefacts, which are made by artisans since generations. Core artefacts have specific functions and mostly used for the same purpose as for worship, as a votive offering, body decoration and household utility etc. In periphery artefacts, the structure and function are different than core artefacts. Structures of periphery items are similar to the structure of core items. But functions of periphery items are not specific as one cannot decide the purpose of consumer and how the consumer will use the artefact. The consumer may apply for the same purpose or maybe for other purposes; function differs from person to person.

Currently, the functions of *Dhokra* artefacts are changing, as per the consumer's demand and use. Earlier, the craftsmen did not have the facility, to sell their crafts outside of the region. And outside consumer too did not have access to the crafts. Though it was not like they didn't have any contact and communication with people of other regions; they were never completely detached from the rest of the world. They had contact and trading

[1]Sampurandas Induwar, personal interview, March 21st 2015, Ghoraghati.

relations with outsiders, but that was very rare, that too only through traders and travellers. Now the scenario has changed as artisans and outsider both have access to each other. Craft is now created according to the demand of outsider as well, and consumers make use traditional artefacts according to their need like Preston says, "artefacts are very flexible and anyone can do well with it" (Preston, 2013). Even other metal craft worker and designer buy and commission *Dhokra* craft to assemble with their artworks.

The discussion on structure and function of *Dhokra* artefacts suggest that there are several changes; a few elements have become rare and a few additional elements have become part of the crafting arena for examples, in case of structure making of idols or human figures earlier were simplified in nature and process but nowadays artisans have started making more naturalistic or realistic figures. Earlier few specific thread designs were used which were simple and small. Nowadays artisans have started using intricate thread designs. In case of functions, tribal household items, heavy tribal jewelries etc. have become rare artefacts. And Hindu god-goddess, tiny and lightweight jewelries, modern utility artefacts etc. have become popular functional artefacts. Though these changes do not mean that artisans have lost the beauty of *Dhokra* or traditional structures or designs are disappeared. *Dhokra* artisans have not stopped making their traditional forms and designs while practicing their traditional crafting, artisans have incorporated the new elements into crafting practice. This quality of *Dhokra* artisans helped them in sustaining their tradition and creating *Dhokra* as 'authentic ancient artefacts'. *Dhokra* artefacts are also used by other forms of crafting and designing, like by wrought iron

artisans[1], woodcraft artisans[2], furniture designer[3], the bike designer[4], jewellery designer[5], and artist[6] etc. This leads us to the discussion of the usage of artefact in a different context, further in the next chapter will discuss the usage of artefacts in other contexts and treatment of craft as a market commodity.

[1]Several varieties of craft items of the wrought iron are also found in the *Dhokra* metal craft. Nowadays many artisans of *Dhokra* metal craft and wrought iron, both kinds of artisans work in groups and collaborate with each other, their crafts items are a combination of both metal crafts. Both materials have its own strength and limitation, iron rode are tough it requires physical strength but the process is not lengthy and minutes detailing is not possible. *Dhokra* craft on the other side has a lengthy process but requires less physical strength, as it is made through wax its very flexible material and minute detailing is easily achieved. The combination of both crafts is becoming popular for large scale and public art & craftworks.

[2]The form, motifs and themes of woodcraft are similar to *Dhokra* craftworks. Contemporary *Dhokra* craft has been inspired from the woodcraft of the region; the motifs which are used in woodcraft like tribal dancing figures, musician and hunter etc. were nowadays made in *Dhokra* craft, as decorative craft items. Both craft share similar design motifs like geometrical designs, animal forms, flowers and leaves design etc. These designs are carved in three dimensional or two-dimensional forms with low and high relief carving. Similar to wrought iron craft, *Dhokra* artisans are collaborating with woodcraft artisans as well.

[3]The furniture designers and carpenter use *Dhokra* for their product for example as door-window knob, holder and grill, engraved designs and murals along with furniture etc.

[4]Customized bike designer Mohit Chawda from Jagdalpur creates bike handles and body in brass by using *Dhokra* designs and techniques.

[5]Well-known designers like Ananya Kapoor and Sathosh Thakur use *Dhokra* designs into their couture.

[6]Renowned artist like Meera-mukherjee and Gogi sarojpal have made *Dhokra* a popular art medium in the art world.

Chapter 6

Dhokra Craft as Commodity

As seen in the previous chapter, the *Dhokra* artefacts have specific functions, which were made for regional consumers. In due course of time, in the globalized era artisans have incorporated the changes, as per the demands and necessity of consumers. After typologing the craft structurally and functionally, this chapter probe into reasons behind the changes. The globalization has affected every aspect of lives and it is rapidly changing tradition and culture of people. People are quickly embracing these changes, and regularly influencing and incorporating each other's culture. Due to that context and spaces of culture and tradition is changing over and over again. In the academic study of folklore, usage of folk element into different context is termed as the 'folklorism'. *Dhokra* is no exception to these changes; this chapter starts with a discussion on how *Dhokra* folk artefacts are used in a different cultural context. And in what way it is changing the crafting traditions. This discussion will be followed by the effect of liberalization and globalization on the craft and crafting tradition.

6.1 "Folklorism"

The concept of "*folklorismus*" or "folklorism" was given by scholars who were initially looking to differentiate between 'The traditional setup of folklore and folklore represented or recreated, away from its traditional setup.' It denotes the adaptation or invention of folklore, predominantly in a different context. Initially, it was assumed that Hans Moser is the first scholar who started the discussion over folklorism in the arena of folklore research.[1] But

[1]The term was first used in the early 1960s by German scholars, who were primarily interested in the use of folklore by the tourism industry. However, professional art based on folklore, TV commercials with fairy tale characters, and even academic studies of folklore are all forms of folklorism.

Russian scholars were the first to initiate the research on folklorism studies. In fact, the Soviet scholars have widened the range of folklorism as “process of adaptation, reproduction, and transformation of folklore”(Šmidchens, 1999). As Russian folklorist Viktor Gusev stated that, “folklore is understood not as a conservative element of spiritual culture which survives during the progressive development of society, but rather as a dynamic structure in which relics coexist with innovations, under the influence of the new conditions of the people’s everyday life. Relic assumes a new meaning, acquiring pertinence to contemporary life. As a result of this capability of folklore to develop independently, folklore is not conservative or foreign part of the culture of the class society, but rather, it adapts and is reworked to aid in the progressive development of this culture” (Šmidchens, 1999).

Instead of folklorism, soviet folklorist termed as “folk creativity” or “contemporary folklore”. Before the 1960s, it was widely discussed among Russian and French scholars, with references to “an adaptation of folkloric material in the high cultural contexts of music, art and literature”(Newall, 1987). Though German scholar Hans Moser first introduced the term “*folklorismus*” in 1962, he termed “folklorism”, for the usage of folklore in another context, which differs from its primary context. Moser defined “*folklorismus* as second-hand mediation and presentation of folk culture”(Bendix, 1988). The German term “*folklorismus*” and English translated term “folklorism” was widely accepted and discussed by the Folklorists. Since 1960s several scholars defined folklorism, and have explored the subject. A few prominent scholars are:

Herman Bausinger, a German scholar, according to him folklorism means “the use of material or stylistic elements of folklore in a context which is foreign to the original tradition”(Bausinger, 1990). Bausinger also stated that “contrasting *folklorismus* with genuine folk culture drew the latter into a closed circle in which it inevitably transformed toward *folklorismus*, that alleged first and second-hand traditions merged in many respects and that, by excluding one realm from research, scholarly results were inevitably falsified” (Bendix, 1988). Serbian folklorist Nemanja Radulovic claims in his article “From Folklore to Esotericism and Back: Neo-Paganism in Serbia,[1] that folklorism is similar to the concept of invented tradition[2] and

[1]The article gives an overview of Neo-Pagan scene in Serbia grouped in two camps, Wiccan and Slavic, while showing at the same time the fluid character of division. Broader cultural context (Romanticism and cultural reception of folklore) is provided as an interpretational key. Polarity esotericism/folklore reflects some deeper currents within national culture showing Neo-Paganism thus not to be “odd” or “fringe” but as an alternative variant of “mainstream cultural concepts”.

[2]E.J. Hobsbawm and T.O Ranger introduced the concept of “invented tradition”. Ranger in the edited book

fakelore.[1] The concept of Invented tradition was very influential on other concepts. Like Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities',[2] and the 'pizza effect'[3] (Radulovic, 2017) (Radulovic, 2017)." According to Joseph Feinberg "folklorism is the conscious recognition and repetition of folk tradition as a symbol of ethnic, regional, or national culture" (Feinberg, 2018). Honko introduced or coined the term "the second life of folklore" which stands for folklore used "in an environment that differs from its original cultural context" (Honko, 1990).

invention of tradition' published in 1983, Hobsbawn argued that "many traditions which appear or claim to be old are often recent in origin and sometimes invented" as he says "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past". He further distinguishes "tradition" and "custom" by claiming that the former is invariant while the latter does not preclude change. These "invented traditions", however, differ from other "traditions" because they claim to be old despite their more recent origins and they tend to emerge "when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed". Hobsbawm identifies three significant reasons that traditions are invented first to foster social cohesion among artificial communities, second to legitimize authority and third, to inculcate beliefs into society.

[1]American folklorist Richard M. Dorson first coined the term fakelore in 1950. He refers to the fictional character of a cowboy Pecos Bill and Paul Bunyan as an example of fakelore. Pecos Bill is one of the popular folk heroes in the American West But he was invented in 1923 by Edward S. O. Reilly. And Paul Bunyan is a giant lumberjack. The character of Paul banyan is initially used in tales of logger from the great lakes region in America. But later the Red River Lumber Company created many stories for their advertisement, by taking Paul Banyan as the primary character. According to Dorson, the advertisers used folklore and turned them into "a quaint and whimsical character though, in the original folklore, they have repetitive, clumsy, meaningless and obscene." The term fakelore is often used by those who seek to expose or debunk it. Including Dorson himself, who spoke of a "battle against fakelore". Dorson complained that popularizes had sentimentalized folklore, stereotyping the people who created it as quaint and whimsical- whereas the real thing was often "repetitive, clumsy, meaningless and obscene". He contrasted the genuine Paul Bunyan tales, which had been so full of technical logging terms. That outsider would find parts of them difficult to understand, with the commercialized versions, which sounded more like children's books. The original Paul Bunyan had been shrewd and sometimes ignoble; one story told how he cheated his men out of their pay. Mass culture provided a sanitized Bunyan with a "spirit of gargantuan whimsy reflects no actual mood of lumberjacks".

[2]An imagined community is a concept developed by Benedict Anderson in his 1983 book Imagined Communities, to analyze nationalism. Anderson depicts a nation as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism is a book by Benedict Anderson. It introduces a popular concept in political sciences and sociology, of imagined communities which is named after it.

[3]The term pizza effect was introduced, by Austrian born Hindu monk and professor of anthropology at Syracuse University Agenhananada Bharti in 1970. The pizza effect is a term used especially in the religious studies and sociology for the phenomenon of elements of a nation or people, culture being transformed or at least more fully embraced elsewhere. Then re-imported back to their culture of origin or the way in which a community's self-understanding is influenced by (or imposed by, or imported from foreign sources) for example, The Apu trilogy films of Satyajit Ray, which were flops in India before they were given prizes in Western countries and re-evaluated as classics of the Indian cinema. The popularity of yoga, several gurus, and some other Indian systems and teachings following their popularity in the west.

According to Regina Bendix discussion over the folklorism, it is similar to “fakelore” or “second life of folklore”.[1] She stated that “Scholars identifying folklorism or fakelore were, in fact, constructing a vision of authenticity that constricted the scope of their research” (Smidchens, 1999). The question of authenticity is another debatable subject. Some scholar defines it as something which is static with minor change basically uncorrupted from modernity; others say it as ever-changing, dynamic and continuing along with the movement of society. Even among the scholars, the definition of authenticity differs, “what one person holds up as authentic, another can reveal as after-the-fact reconstruction or outright fake. But when one person undertakes some activity as conscious reconstruction, another can look at the same as the real, original thing” (Feinberg, 2018).

In the folklore studies scholars like Moser, Bausinger, Lauri Honko, Gusev and Dorson etc. termed ‘folklorism’ or ‘fakelore’ or ‘second life folklore’ within the context of “secondness”. For them, the authentic or original folklore means “folklore which is thought to have continued over many generations with minor intrusions” (Bendix, 1988). The question is how someone decides so far there are “minor intrusions” and even though there are intrusions, another question arises, if folklorism is “second” then what is “first” how one decides it is “first” folklore. Evolution and diffusion of culture have been taking place for thousands of years. So how can someone arrive at this conclusion that for thousands of year’s culture is the same and it is in its original form? We all know that culture is dynamic, similarly the folklore as well is dynamic and it changes time to time. Due to various factors; as Joseph Feinberg stated, “material that was once seen as pure folklore can become folklorism subordinate to political pressures or to the culture industry. But the material that was once seen as non-folkloric can be taken up by the popular imagination and made into folklore and in such cases; does it make sense to ask which existence was ‘first’ and which ‘second’ if the object did not become folklore until it became second-hand?” (Feinberg, 2018).

Even the term “Invented tradition” does not give a clear definition. Because all traditions are invented by the humans, some may have thousands of years of legacy or some may have hundreds of years of or few decades of legacy. Having the history of short time duration does not make it fake, because nothing emerges out of nowhere. Traditions which seem like new

[1]The folklorist Honko used the term, “second life of folklore” when folklore is used in another context which differs from its original cultural context (Honko, 1990). The term was suggested by the Lauri Honko, instead of fakelore. Fakelore the self-evident term given by American folklorist Richard Dorson, for the folklore which is used by the people in a different context for which it is not meant for.

or recently developed may have roots of thousands of years. So to consider something original the concept of authenticity is questionable.

Folklorists like Regina Bendix, Handler and Linnekin, have questioned the authenticity of folklore or tradition. These scholars believe that their knowledge of genuine folklore or definition and classification of genuine folklore cannot be absolute or definitive. According to them "traditions are neither genuine nor spurious, for if genuine tradition refers to the pristine and immutable heritage of the past, then all genuine traditions are spurious. But if as we have argued, tradition is always defined in the present, then all spurious traditions are genuine. Genuine and spurious-terms that have been used to distinguish objective reality from hocus-pocus are inappropriate when applied to social phenomena, which never exist apart from our interpretations of them" (Handler & Linnekin, 1984). Similarly, Regina Bendix argues over the authenticity of folklore. She said, "authenticity cannot be defined and identified, but that the definitions used by previous generations of scholars reveal the concepts that formed the basis of their theories" (Bendix, 2009).

In the same way, Hermann Strobach a German scholar argues that "primary tradition never existed and the identification of secondary tradition is therefore flawed, one then considers third-hand tradition when folklorism folklorizes and fourth hand tradition which folklorized folklorism are recollected and so on when one is simply talking tradition. Nor does the identification of original context and authenticity have a solid theoretical foundation" (Šmidchens, 1999).

The question of authenticity is debatable and to an extent, it is irrelevant at the time of technology. As Bausinger said that "all folklore today has been affected to some degree by secondary tradition, folklore today cannot appear but in the mutative form of folklorism" (Bausinger, 1990). He further writes that due to the modernization, technological advancement and globalization, the mode of communication is rapidly changing. But "this does not change the need of the people using folklore as part of their lives the term folklorism as heretofore defined is difficult to distinguish from the folklore and little practical use in folklore theory. Folklore is folklore regardless of the fact that it exists in a world of technology" (Bausinger, 1990).

Though folklorists may have a difference in the terminology, their definition of folklorism, second-life or contemporary folklore is applicable in all genres of folklore in all contexts. Folklorism is regenerated form of folklore and its genre by incorporating and inserting in other fields like mass media, advertisement, tourism, education, films, arts and crafts etc.

Though it is difficult to say where the territory of folklore ends and folklorism begins, as this is not a clear-cut distinction, folklorism exists within the layers of grey shades. Folklorism is not same as folklore, it is different and it should be termed. Somehow the term folklorism is adequate to use. That's why Hans Moser is known as a prominent scholar in this context.[1] Moser gives three types of folklorism as described by Regina Bendix.

“First, the performance of traditionally and functionally determined elements of folk culture outside that cultural's communal context, second the performance of folk motifs in another social stratum, and third the purposeful imitations and creation of folklife elements outside any tradition” (Bendix, 1988).

Above given types are created when the folklore is used in different contexts. Folklores may have one or two or all these three types of features. *Dhokra* artefact as well has changed; the structure and function of the craft are frequently changing but crafting tradition is continuing. Thus *Dhokra* a popular tradition of material culture and a product of folklore as well becomes the part of changing world of folklore termed ‘folklorism’, the following section attempts a discussion on the application of folklorism concept in the world of *Dhokra*.

6.1.1 Folklorism and tradition of *Dhokra* crafting

In the *Dhokra* craft, one can see all three types of folklorism by Hans Moser, for example; as per the first type of folklorism, *Dhokra* deities are now bought by outsiders, as an exotic or traditional tribal sacred artefacts, which is supposed to be worshipped in the shrine or *Deo Gudi* (traditional temples in the jungle or outside of the village). But nowadays it is worshipped within the household. As artisan Shushila Jhareka says-

“*I mostly go to Chhattisgarh Rajyatosav fairs & exhibition, along with my husband. We take many god-goddess figures, including our tribal-god-goddess. There we meet many people, many of them are doing the jobs. In Bhilai steel plants and several other places, they have completely settled there. You know the city madam, there they cannot find Gudi, but they buy these Duma (ancestors) and Devi-Deo (Goddess-Gods). That's why just for those people, we make tribal god-goddess. Many other customers also buy them and even keep them in their*

[1]Moser stated that the folklore was popularized by the elite class, who started using tradition folk practice as a new trend. Moser stated that folklorism has emerged and shaped according to the political ideologies of the countries. For instance, Folklorism in the communist countries were used for the cultural-political purpose. In the North American and western European countries emerged with the expansions of capitalist economies, which boosted the advertisement industry. And in the decolonized countries in order to resist drastic changes (Moser, 1962).

puja houses, like the tortoise and a pair of elephants are popular religious items in the urban region."[1]

Above anecdote denotes the changing spaces of religious artefacts. As per the second type of folklorism, the votive offering and tribal utility artefact are used as modern lifestyle products for examples, the tortoise is used as table weight or *Kocha* (grain measurers) are used as pen holders. *Kisa*[2] is now used as 'lamp hanger'. There are many such artefacts which have not been changed structurally (few modifications or alterations may have been done). But the functions have changed completely, within the region and outside of the region as well.



Figure 6.1: Key hanger



Figure 6.2: Pen holder



Figure 6.3: Bulb holder

The third type of folklorism is 'recreation or imitation of tradition'. The use of *Dhokra* element and technique in creating different forms of the product like mobile holder, pen holder or bottle opener or key hangers etc. (see Figures 6.1 to 6.3). The designer and artist use the method and motifs of *Dhokra* to create designer product and artworks.

Other than above-given types of folklorism, *Dhokra* has another kind which is the 'customized artefacts for award competition'. This type recently emerges in the late 20th century and after the formation of Chhattisgarh, this has become more prevalent. This can be said as an extension in craft creativity as discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis. The award ceremonies and competitions are very important for artisans. Because it does not only provide the grant but also recognition which further helps them in fetching big commission work and exhibition. National & State award of master craftsman also provides the monthly pension to

[1]Shushila Jhareka,, personal interview, November 6th 2016, Ektal. She also added that mostly sometimes tribal people residing outside of their home region also give the order, pay advance for the work. We make according to their request and later parcel them; sometimes they even come another year just to buy a particular deity figure.

[2]A kind of hanger, hanged on the wooden roof of the house, for hanging dairy product to save from cat and mouse, see fig.no.- 4.49 in the fourth chapter of the thesis.

Award winner after the age of sixty. It is a matter of pride and also guaranties finical security for their old age. The details of government programs and policies have been discussed in the latter part of the chapter. Based on the above-mentioned categories of application a diagram had been given below to show the folklorism of *Dhokra*.

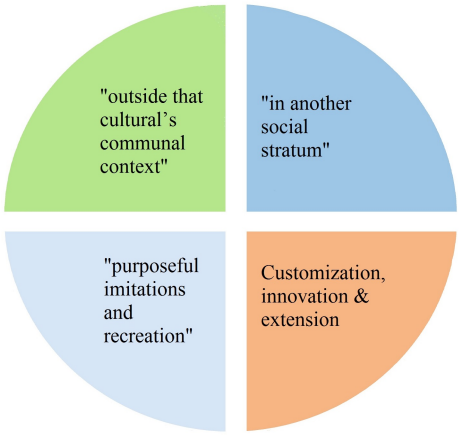

Figure 6.4: Folklorism of *Dhokra*

Above given diagram showcases the four types of “folklorism” in crafting tradition. It is not only used in a different context but the context has been created in order to fit artefact into traditional and as well as in the modern setting. In recent years there are many new craft items made by artisans, according to the demands of the consumers with the change in the lifestyle of people for example decorative items, contemporary utility items, designer items and exclusively customized[1] artefacts. Artisans have modified the old artefact with slight changes to fit for new consumers. As the consumers are not from any particular region, society, community or group and they do not share the belief and lifestyle of artisans. Consumer varies so the functions, artefacts like the pen holder, ashtray, bottle opener, key chains, and candleholder etc. do not have the structure and function of traditional *Dhokra* artefacts. However, such artefacts are as well identified as *Dhokra* because it has the necessary motifs and elements. As mentioned in the fourth chapter of the thesis (see subheading “Typology of *Dhokra* craft”), they are **Brass, wax thread and lost wax casting method**. But as it is different but still follows the elements of *Dhokra*, it is not ‘other’ or ‘second’ or ‘fake’. It is as real or as what we believe as authentic or traditional artefact is. It is a modified version of *Dhokra* craft within the ever ‘changing, continuing, adopting and incorporating tradition’, it is the practice of folklorism.

[1]Exclusive artefacts mean artefacts which are made for award ceremonies and exhibitions.

The discussion suggests that *Dhokra* artefacts are now used in several different contexts. Artisans have modified the artefacts according to global consumer's requirements. As *Dhokra* is more than a brass artefact, it holds the value of region and community. The journey of *Dhokra* artefacts from village to global market is not straight forward. Numerous institutions and folks are involved in this process that helped in creating *Dhokra* as 'renowned tribal commodity', in the subsequent section a discussion of these aspects has been done.

6.2 Commodity

The commodity is a product through which profit is gained. The process of making something as a commodity is known as commodification. By commodification, the economic value of a commodity is created. [1] According to Marx, "a commodity is a product which has exchange value" (Marx, 2007). Marx defines commodity value in two types. First, the "use value" means the utility value of the product or object, second "ex-change value" means the economic value or transactional value of the product or object. Transformation of "use value" into "exchange value" creates an object to commodity. According to Marx commodity value is often ambiguous. It is something we have created with our brain. He calls it "Commodity fetish" this is nothing but a structure of capitalism. The fetishism of commodity makes us believe that value is something of independent of human action and external reality such as the market (Marx, 2007). Marx definition of a commodity is purely based on the economic exchange of any product, as he had written about the value of the commodity, in the early period of industrialization when the product transfers directly from factory or farm to market. But now we have "Global Value Chain". And the value of the product is created by many factors like promotions, advertisement and campaigning etc. For which Baudrillard says that advertisement is the core factor for commodity value. Baudrillard defines the value of a commodity is not due to its production, but it is created by consumption. The "use & exchange value" of the product is a black and white phenomenon. Baudrillard says needs of the commodity are not inherent. It is created similarly as a sign or symbol is created in society. Because object always signifies something, the commodity has social symbols. The commodity is a sign and it signifies about the consumers who use that commodity (Baudrillard, 1981). He creates four logics of

[1] History of commodification. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://linchpinthoughts.blogspot.com/2015/03/etymology-of-commodity-early-15th.html

consumptions, "first a functional logic of use-value,[1] second an economic logic of exchange value,[2] third a logic of symbolic exchange,[3] and fourth a logic of sign value[4] or a logic of utility, a logic of the market, a logic of the gift and a logic of status" (Baudrillard, 1981, p. 67). He associates the first two types of values in relation to later two types of values. Therefore according to him, a commodity or a product cannot be seen alone with its visible or physical values, but along with its social and sign value.

Appadurai also explains the social value of the commodity from a cultural perspective. He says commodity has a social life as like person "Economic exchange creates value. Value is embodied in commodities that are exchanged. Focusing on the things that are exchanged, rather than simply on the form or function of exchange, make it possible to argue that what creates the link between exchange and value is politics, construed broadly" (Appadurai, 1988). Thus according to Appadurai, the product has the historical and contextual value; it is not merely limited to economic exchange value. Similar to what was discussed in the last chapter, other than utility value artefacts also carry socio-religious values. As *Dhokra* craft was earlier explicitly made for religious, social and mundane usage of artisans and regional consumers (see the fifth chapter of the thesis, subheading "function of *Dhokra* craft"). Thus *Dhokra* artefacts as well have the 'symbolic and social value' other than 'use and exchange value', though the significance of those signs and symbols are limited to the region. Today with an advertisement, these symbols and signs are represented and recreated in the market. With globalization and e-commerce, several terminologies like 'authentic traditional craft', 'ancient craft', 'eco-friendly craft' etc. have been attached with the artefacts. Today *Dhokra* craft is not only made for religious usage of the regional consumers but as the symbol of social status which proclaims religious and sacred beliefs of the tribal. These terminologies created a unique space in the market, for handicraft products including *Dhokra* artefacts. To understand the dynamics and

[1]The first is the functional value of an object; its instrumental purpose (use-value). A pen, for instance, writes and a refrigerator cools etc.

[2]The second is the exchange value of an object; its economic value or it is market value as a commodity (the logic of equivalence). One pen may be worth three pencils, and one refrigerator may be worth the salary earned by three months of work.

[3]The third is the symbolic value of an object, a value that a subject assigns to an object in relation to another subject i.e., as a gift (the logic of ambivalence, i.e., between a giver and receiver). A pen might symbolize a student's school graduation gift or a commencement speaker's gift, or a diamond may be a symbol of publicly declared marital love.

[4]The last is the sign value of an object; its value within a system of objects. (the logic of difference).A particular pen may, while having no added functional benefit, signify prestige relative to another pen. A diamond ring may have no function at all but may suggest particular social values, such as taste or class.

mechanics of *Dhokra* market, in the following paragraphs a discussion on the aspects of the market has been carried out.

6.2.1 *Dhokra* craft market

Dhokra craft as an economic activity today supports the livelihood of a large section of the population. Additional to the *Dhokra* artisan communities, *Dhokra* craft making process is supported through the participation of other community members. Like the potter, woodcutter, blacksmith, carpenter and welding worker etc., who are not directly involved in the craft-making process, but they can be counted as helping hands (see Section 4.2.1 subheading "techniques"). Similarly, the *Dhokra* craft market is supported by many other communities and institutions. *Dhokra* craft market has grown domestically as well as internationally and demands for tribal products are expanding day by day. *Dhokra* artefacts are sold in all major cities of the world. It has reached from a weekly village market to online forum and international showrooms. Undoubtedly to take the rural craft to such market domains, the involvements of different forces are a necessity. State Government, Central Government, NGOs, private collectors and traders have played a crucial role to bring the craft out of the region. These institutions have made a platform for artisans to sell and showcase their work in the urban and global arena.

The markets for the *Dhokra* craft products can be broadly understood by the local market, emporium, retail shops, exhibitions and fairs. Among these, local markets are still the common markets for many artisans. Still, the majority of artisans sell their items in the local market and to the local traders. For convenience to understand the market of *Dhokra*, marketing spaces has been categorized in into three types. They are-

1. Trading within the region: Traditional market of *Dhokra*
2. Trading Craft out of Region: Cosmopolitan Market of *Dhokra*
3. Trading in the virtual world: E-market of *Dhokra*.

Above given classifications are broad categorizations, there are other subdivisions within these types, which will be described afterwards. These categories will explain the dynamics and inter-relationships among artisans and various institutions engaged in the *Dhokra* metal craft marketing.

6.2.1.1 Trading within the region: traditional market of *Dhokra*

The traditional market refers to the village market and regional fair, where artisans are selling their craft since ages. They were producers as well as the traders of craft. Even when they were nomadic and their life was always in motion, but they frequently visited local markets and fairs where they reside. As mentioned previously, at present community members have permanent dwelling (see the second chapter of the thesis, subheading "*Dhokra* craft maker communities"). Now they do not have to visit houses to house and one village to another, to sell craft or take the order. But the practice of selling artefacts in *Haat* (weekly village markets) and *Mela* (local fairs) still exist. At present, in today's scenario, craftsmen families who live in rural parts of state visit weekly market. Usually, the oldest members, the man or women of the families, take craft items to *Haat* and *Mela* (see Figures 6.5 and 6.6). Few craftsmen from the town region also take artefacts to local fairs, which take place during *Dashhera*,[1] *Madai*,[2] *Janmashtami*[3] and *Rath*.[4]

Other than artisans the local small scale traders as well sell in the weekly village market and regional fair (see Figure 6.7). These local traders buy artefacts directly from the artisans and sell in the different village market. They collect all types of craft items from local artisans. Craftsmen, who cannot travel to weekly markets, give their crafts to these traders. Though these traders buy craft in small quantity, and profit is very less, but they provide instant money. Most of these traders belong to the same region or village of craftsmen and *Kochiya* come to the house of artisans, which is convenient for artisans. As artisan Chaiti bai Baghel says-

"*Kochiya (local mediators) are known people; we know their families and kith kin. Giving to them is much easier they buy the product according to pieces though they buy small size artefact that too in less quantity. And only artefacts which can be quickly sold in the Haat (village market), they are also just like us, they too do not have big Punji (money). They are our*

[1]The *Dashhera* festival is the longest festival celebrated in the Bastar region. The fair takes place almost for two months.

[2]*Madai* fairs take place in March in the Bastar region for details look at the third chapter.

[3]The *Janmashtami* fair is one of the biggest fairs happens in the Raigarh region.

[4]*Rath* is the festival of Lord Jagannath of Puri, Odisha. Festival starts with the procession of Lord Jagannath visiting his maternal home along with his elder brother Balram and sister Sumitra. They stay at their maternal house for nine days and the tenth day they return. Both days the massive *Rath* (chariot) is pulled by thousands and lakhs of devotees in the Puri, Odisha. Festival is celebrated in Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and West Bengal.

regular buyer, Shabri[1] or Seth[2] Sometimes refuses to buy but Kochiya never refuses. They go to all Haat (village markets) seven days of the week, that's why they can quickly sell their items."[3]



Figure 6.5: Craftswomen selling craft in *Haat*



Figure 6.6: Craftsman selling craft in *Haat*

Most of the craftsmen prefer to sell their craft directly to the consumers without the involvement of mediators or any institution. But the consumers in the regional market have reduced, and by selling craft within the region, artisans cannot earn a decent amount of money. Their earning is not enough to have a lower-middle-class lifestyle, as discussed previously, the economic status of artisans (see the second chapter of the thesis, subheading "Status and Prospects of *Dhokra* Communities").



Figure 6.7: Woman *Kochiya* selling crafts in Sunday market

Earlier other than craft making, agriculture and collection of forest goods were their other occupation. But now the forest has diminished and agriculture is no more beneficial. Many of Ghadwa community members used to work as agricultural labour. Besides being nomadic communities, both Ghadwa & Jhareka members do not have lands considerably. That's why

[1] *Shabri* is the name of State government emporium, instead of calling government shop they usually refer to it as *Shabri*.

[2] *Seth* is a term referred for businessmen or moneylender or a wealthy merchant.

[3] Chaitibai Baghel, personal interview, April 14th, 2016, Karanpur.

the forest was their lifeline, not only for craft making but the forest was also their source of sustenance. Now due to deforestation, lack of accessibility,[1] and the absence of another source of income crafting has become the only source of livelihood for these communities. These days they are producing artefacts in huge quantity and it is more than a regional capability of consumption. Due to that, they are forced to sell craft to mediators, businessmen and other government, non-government institutions. On the positive side, the involvement of institution has provided more prominent platforms to artisans; like National- International exhibitions, craft fairs, and workshop etc., artisans from every state of the country come together to participate, exhibit and sell their craftworks in these craft exhibitions and fairs. Therefore these institutions become the dominant players in the marketing of artefacts. In the subsequent section, a brief description of these groups and institutions and their involvement in the *Dhokra* Craft marketing has been given.

6.2.1.2 Trading craft out of region: cosmopolitan market of *Dhokra*

In the late twentieth century, artisans started trading with consumers from other states. Being nomadic communities, both Jhareka and Ghadwa artisans sold their artefacts to travellers and traders from other regions as well, but that was rare and occasional. They started selling their artefacts out of their region, after the intervention of government organizations and institutions. After independence, the Government of India began various schemes for the artisans and setup many organization for the development and promotion of Handicraft.[2] From

[1]Artisans cannot access forest good like earlier days. Restrictions for Forest goods were imposed on tribal during the British raj in 1865 after administration was transformed from East Indian Company to Crown. This was later modified in 1878 and 1894. The most famous one was the Indian Forest Act of 1927. This act sought to consolidate and reserve the areas having forest cover, or significant wildlife. To regulate movement and transit of forest produce, and the duty leviable on timber and other forest produce. After Independence forest act of the British government were followed by the Government of India. Though the forest act was slightly modified, The National Policy 1952 ("that India, as a whole, should aim at maintaining one-third of its total land area under forests." village communities should under no circumstances be permitted to use forests at the expense of the "national interest"). Forest Conservation Act, 1980 (conservation of forests and for matters connected therewith or ancillary or incidental thereto). Forest act 1992 (allowing some non-forest activities in forests, without cutting trees or limited cutting with prior approval of Central Government), the Biological Diversity Act 2002, pursuance of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity 1992 (Conservation of Biological Diversity, sustainable use of its components and equitable sharing of the benefits of biological.

[2]In 1952 the Government of India established 'All India Handicraft Board' and later several other organizations like 'Village Industries Commission (KVIC), Central Cottage Industries Emporium, Handlooms and Handicrafts Export Corporation, Regional State Handicraft and Handloom Development Corporations, the Weavers Service Centers and Design Centers etc. were established.

research to workshops, training camp, funds, loans, infrastructures, equipment, fairs, awards and exhibitions so on. This attracted many artisans to restart the work in order to save the craft traditions and generate rural skill-based employment. The government made the training and workshops open for everyone whoever wishes to learn the craftwork. Handicraft sector in the country provides the second-highest number of self-employment and livelihood to a large section of the rural population after agriculture.[1]Workshop and award ceremonies are not only for traditional craft maker but also who were interested in making a craft. Though, these benefits were earlier obtained only by artisans of the town area. Due to several loopholes and corruptions in the government policies, schemes and plans, subsidies and grants could not reach to ground level but still, rural handicraft industry has managed to expand slowly. By the end of the twentieth century after the liberalization of the market, export in the Handicraft products had increased. According to the annual handicraft report, the export has been raised in all area of the handicraft. As per a recent report published by Department of Indian handicraft development commissioner handicraft export has reached 5917 million and according to the brochure, the production has been touched 8460 million.[2] Ministry has set up the department of handicraft in every state. The state government has made many branches across the state. These state departments look after the development of the regional handicraft and textile. Every state handicraft departments have emporium and branches of the emporium. Other than home-state, these emporiums are also established in other states and major cities of the country. The emporiums are known with specific names which have contextual meanings. And name reflects the character of the state like *Shabri* from Chhattisgarh, [3] *Lepakshi* from Andhra Pradesh, [4]

[1]As per the annual report of 2017-18 published by Development commission of India.

[2]Perfect Destination for Investors. Mumbai: Development Commissioner (Handicrafts), 2016. http://handicrafts.nic.in/. Web. 18 July 2016.

[3]As per the handicraft officer Mr. C.V. Nag the name has given as *Shabri*. She was a tribal lady from Bastar who is well known for a character in the Hindu epic Ramayana. While the Rama was crossing *Dandka* forest also known as *Dandkarnya* forest in today's Bastar, he met this tribal lady call Shabri. The handicraft department decided to keep the emporium name as *Shabri* in memory.

[4]*Lepakshi* is a village in Andhra-Pradesh, a popular archaeological site. Renowned for its temples, dedicated to Shiva, Vishnu and Veerabhadra, which were built during the Vijayanagara Kings' period (1336–1646). Temples are the locations of mural paintings of the Vijayanagara kings and Kannada inscriptions. As per the tale, *Lepakshi* name for village drives from the fallen wing of "*Jatayu*" (a mythological character mentioned in Ramayana). According to the tale, *Ravana* had chopped off wings of *Jatayu*, who was chasing him, while he was abducting *Sita*. Lord *Rama* found the bird fallen right here in this village. That's why it's called *Lepakshi*.

Golkonda from Telangana,[1] *Utkalika*[2] from Orissa, *Biswa Bangla* from West Bengal, *Kairali* from Kerala, and *Rajsthali* from Rajasthan etc. These emporiums are made for the artisan. To provide a platform where they can sell their works, and also for the buyers, to buy the craft pieces without going to the regional market or house of artisans. As already mentioned, there are several organizations, which are involved in providing facilities (workshops, studio, emporium, exhibitions and craft fairs, etc.) to the artisan, here is the list and a brief description of the institution.

List of institutions-

1. Chhattisgarh Hast Shilp Vikas Board (Chhattisgarh Planning Board).
2. The Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited (Tribal Ministry of India).
3. Development Commissioner, Handicrafts (Government of India).
4. State Forest Department of Chhattisgarh.
5. Collector's Office/Zila Panchayat.
6. Saathi Samaj(Kondagaon), NGO.

The list includes only prominent institutions, especially which are working with *Dhokra* artisans from Chhattisgarh. There are many private institutes and minor NGOs who are also working with artisans (see Appendix-3). In the following section, brief descriptions and account of the above-mentioned institution are given.

Chhattisgarh Hast Shilp Vikas Board (CGHSVB)/ *Shabri*[3]

After the formation of Chhattisgarh, State Planning Board established the CGHSVB, which has been working for the artisans. Board provides assistance and subsidies to artisans for promotion of regional handicraft and textiles. In most of the village, CGHSV-Board has built

[1] *Golkonda* is fort from Hyderabad, popular for one of the ancient diamond mining and trading centre, built by Kakatiya dynasty later occupied by Bahmani and Kutub Shahi dynasty.

[2] *Utakal* refers to 'the land having excellent opulence of artists and art is called *Utkala*' made with two Sanskrit words, *Utkrishta* (Excellent) and Kala (Art). *Utkalika* drives from word *Utkal* means something or someone, who belongs to *Utkal*.

[3] *Shabri* is the name given for the handicraft emporium, established by the State Handicraft Department. As per the assistant director of handicraft department Mr. J.K Dhurve, 'Chhattisgarh is the land of simple people, it the land of *Shabri*. (A character appeared in the Ramayana, known for offering the already tasted berries to Rama, she was a tribal woman devoted to Ram. During the exile period of Rama while in search of *Seeta, Rama* along with *Laxman* visited the house of *Shabri) Shabri* refer to the simplicity and age-old traditional craft of the state.'

craft studios for artisans and facilitated major tools, equipment and machinery (see Figure 6.9). Board organizes salaried training camps and workshop for artisans; it also helps artisans in acquiring a loan from regional and national banks. Board assists artisans in travelling to various fairs/exhibitions across the country. Department funds the participating artisan's travel and accommodation expenses, travelling do not only assist them in marketing their artefacts. But it also benefits in developing contacts with traders, artisans and consumers from across the country and different sections of society. Craft fairs and exhibitions provide artisans with a platform to interact and intermingle with artisans from different states, who work with a similar crafting technique like artisans Shudhubai says-



Figure 6.8: *Shabri* emporium at Kondagaon



Figure 6.9: Women artisans studio, Ghoraghati



Figure 6.10: Shabari moving emporium bus at Raipur



Figure 6.11: Interior of the bus

"*When the first time we went to Surujkund Mela, we saw one more tent which also has displayed the same craft like ours. We thought they are from our Rajya (State) so went we start talking in Gondi, asked them that, they are from which village. Those people didn't understand, my husband knows Hindi, so he asked them in Hindi, so they told they are from Bengal. Before that, I thought, we only make this kind of craft. Later in other Melas, we met people from Orissa*

and Andhra Pradesh also."[1]

The anecdote suggests that how artisans come across similar artisans from other regions, several other artisans as well as shared similar experiences. And most of them met other *Dhokra* artisans through craft fairs, exhibitions and workshops organized by government institutions.

The CGHSVB, through *Shabri* (state handicraft emporium, see Figure 6.8), has also been playing an essential role in the marketing of the products through its retail outlets. The state handicraft department has many regional offices and emporiums, according to the density of the craftsmen in the region. Recently moving emporium has also been launched, a craft bus cum emporium (see Figures 6.10 and 6.11). The bus moves around the state, an exhibition cum sale of artefact on the wheel. According to officials of CGHSVB, the aim of moving emporium is to create awareness among the people regarding regional craftwork. Department organizes craft exhibitions, award ceremony, workshops, camps and fairs for artisans. Artisans also receive the health insurance of fifty thousand from the state government. Every year the department offers a fully-funded scholarship of artisan's children. It supports the education expanse for ten children to study graduation at the "Institute of Design" Jaipur. [2]



Figure 6.12: *Dhokra* design training camp (TRIFED)



Figure 6.13: Sirmur craft Studio (DCH)

[1]Sudhubai, Ghadwa, personal interview, June 21st, 2015, Kondgaon.

[2]The scholarship is available on a merit basis; merit is decided based on the percentage of 12th board exams result and personal interview at Raipur. Every year five to ten students are given the opportunity to study under-graduate program in Indian Institute of Craft and Design, Jaipur, Rajasthan. They can enroll in any subject and courses which are offered in the institute.

Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation of India Limited

This is established in 1987 by the "Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India". And has regional offices across the country in populated tribal areas. TRIFED supports tribal artisans in selling handicraft and textile products through their retail shop named as "TRIBES INDIA". [1] Recently "TRIFED" has also started regional training programs for the artisans (see Figure 6.8, a still from the craft design training from Nangur village organized by TRIFED Jagdalpur). The organization is also facilitating artisans to participate in the craft fairs and exhibitions. However, the department supports only artisans who hold Schedule Tribe status. TRIFED buys artefacts from artisans in better amount, as being a central government organization their paying and funding procedure is better than state government organizations.

Development Commissioner, Handicrafts (DCH)

The DCH was established by the "Ministry of textile, Government of India." The DCH is one among the prominent government organizations which are providing a national-international platform for artisans. From textile to handicraft products, DCH is performing significantly in uplifting the lives of artisans, by facilitating artisans in various ways. DCH organizes annual awards ceremony; it facilitates artisans with *Shilp Guru* Awards, National Awards and National Merit Certificates.[2] DCH provides Life Insurance known as "*Janshree Bima Yojna*"[3], Health Insurance scheme is known as "*Rajiv Gandhi Shilpi Swasthya Bima Yojna*"[4] and Marketing benefits under "*Babasaheb Ambedkar Hasat Shilp Vikas Yojna*."[5] Ministry of Textile has "India Handmade Bazar-Direct Marketing Portal for Handicraft and Handloom Product." To facilitate and provide a flexible e-commerce platform for artisans, Development

[1]TRIBES INDIA has several regional stores across the country and it is available for online shopping as well.

[2]Every year DCH, Government of India honours artisans from across the country with ten Shilp Guru Awards. It carries a gold medal, a cash award of 2, 00,000 Indian rupees and inscribed- Tamra-Patra with name and award details of artisans. Twenty National Awards among which five exclusively reserved for Women artisans it consists of a cash award of 100000 Indian Rupees and engraved Tamra-Patra. Twenty National Merit certificate award in which five are exclusively reserved for women artisans this consist of a cash award of 75,000 Indian Rupees. Chhattisgarh Hastshilp Vikas Boards provide 5000 rupees of monthly pension to National awardee artisans.

[3]It is administered by LIC; provide monetary relief in case of artisan's death or disability. It gives fellowship for Artisan's children for their High School and Higher Secondary School studies.

[4]It is administered by ICICI. Artisan, his/her spouse and two kids can get free treatment for pre-existing diseases as well as new diseases.

[5]Through this scheme, Government provides Artisan's Identity Card to participate in National and International craft fairs and exhibitions and National and International tours as well. It conducts training and workshop with the supervision of Designer to learn new design and technology. Cash loans for raw materials and tools and equipment are also provided to the artisans.

Commission of Handloom and Handicraft has collaborated with Amazon India to sell the textiles and handicrafts of artisans across the globe. DCH also helps in building museums, workshops, studios and emporium across the country (see Figure 6.9, the metal craft studio built by National Skill Development Program, DCH).



Figure 6.14: *Jhitku-Mitki*, showroom by SFD



Figure 6.15: *Jhitku-Mitki* craft studio by SFD

State Forest Department (Chhattisgarh)

As discussed throughout the thesis, that forest is the lifeline of the tribal community. After restriction on forest goods like all tribal artisans communities as well have to look for a substitute. After the independence government of India in the form of compensation made provision to provide forest goods to tribal artisans in the low price. The Forest Department of the Chhattisgarh state offers financial supports to artisans, through Self Help Group of Artisans.[1] Department provides financial support of one lakh rupees to SHG, which includes the provision of equipment, studio kiln sheds and provided some funds as a working fund. Department has also built a handicraft emporium and craft studio known as "*Jhitku Mitki*" to help this artisan community in craft making and marketing (see Figures 6.14 and 6.15, Left *Jhitku-Mitki* emporium and Right *Jhitku-Mitku* metal craft-making workshop built by Chhattisgarh Forest Department).

NGOs: *Saathi Samaj* (Kondagaon)

Saathi Samaj is a leading non-governmental organization, situated in *Kumhar Para* (potters colony), Kondagaon. The organization supports and promotes every variety of craft and craftsmen of the region. It offers working space, as studio and equipment to artisans, also offers craft and entrepreneurship training. The artisan training programs are open for everyone; whoever is willing to learn this craft. The organization sends artisans to participate in the fairs and exhibitions, across the country and sometimes outside of the country. NGO also helps

[1]The assistance is provided only once to a group of artisans.

artisans to take loans for work. It conducts policies and scheme awareness programs for artisans. The organization also undertakes commission work along with artisan. Working with NGO provides employment security for those independent artisans who do not have the capital to invest in practice. Also, artisans who do not belong to traditional craft maker family and s/he is the only artisan in the family. As Artisan Sagram Netam says-

"*I learned the craft in 'tribal artisans training program' organized by Shabri in 2009. That was one month program not good enough to learn metalwork and after that, I joined with Saathi Samaj, my family does not know this work. In NGO throughout the year, we have works; I do not need to search for work. We get orders for big works in NGO, and several foreigners also come to learn here, we teach them crafting. I want to send my kids to a big school*[1] *to learn the craft*."[2]

There are some notable NGOs, who are working along with *Dhokra* Artisan of Chhattisgarh, like *Devrai Art* village (Panchgani), Yogini handicrafts and Adivasi Art Trust etc. NGOs are working for artisan but whatever they are doing is not enough. Many of NGOs official complain regarding the lack of funding from the government and locals. The organization members in *Saathi Samaj* say that the local officials frequently harass them and try to find if they have any linkage with Naxals. The director of NGO Bhupesh Tiwari says-

"*We are trying our best to work for craft and craftsmen, but we are not getting enough funds from the government. Most of the officials are corrupt and whenever we send our report, they ask for commission. Other officials harass us with suspicions. They indirectly ask questions like; do you support Naxals? Or they will say 'In the name of tribal, there are many NGOs, who support and fund Naxals, hope you are not among them, etc.' we know what they mean, but our aim is to protect the craft tradition of this region, so we simply ignore*."[3]

The above anecdote suggests the problems NGO members face while working in Naxal affected regions. These organizations have a studio and they take care of commissions, order and selling process etc. this somewhat reduces the burden of artisans. like Sibhoshwar Kashyap says-

"*I work in Devrai village as an artisan. They give us the theme and design, based on that we create a craft. We do not need to go for buying raw materials and equipment. We*

[1]Big school he meant by Design school, the CG government provides scholarship for artisan kids to pursue graduation in design.

[2]Sagram Netam, personal interview, October 15th, 2016, Karanpur.

[3]Bhupesh Tiwari, personal interview, October 26th, 2016, Kondagaon.

handover them the list of material and they provide us with everything. The only problem is it is far away from home and I cannot take my whole family along with me, but I send them money."[1]

This reflects the migration issue among the artisans. Shobhshwar Kashyap was not the only artisan who migrates to cities for work. Many artisans move to cities in search of work they work for the designer, in furniture workshop, and in metal design workshop etc. Clearly, government institutions are not doing enough work for artisans to give a stable livelihood. Other than organizations mentioned above, there are other institutions too who patronage and provides funding for making and marketing of the craft. Like; Collector's office/Zila Panchayat of Kondagaon, Bastar and Raigarh, Museums (Manav Sangrhalaya Bhopal, Anthropology Museums Jagadalpur, National Craft Museum Delhi) and Independent Collectors.

Dhokra Craft artisans are associated with many governmental and non-governmental organizations and other than those artisans have Self Help Groups (SHGs), a cooperative built by artisans. These SHG groups of artisans usually consist of twenty to thirty people, including women. There are many artisans groups, who are structured through an informal contract with different institutions. NGOs and SHGs help artisans to have information about all the government schemes and policies which they can obtain. SHGs serve as a forum of the social and economic supporting system for the artisans, by enabling artisans to establish linkages with raw material suppliers, microfinance institutions and banks, along with traders, brokers, fairs and exhibitions organizers etc.

However, most artisans also work independently as there is a widespread lack of awareness about the advantages of being organized. Also mostly when a group was found some main members of the group start dominating other artisans. Besides, there are some cases in which loans were taken with fake names. And in some cases, money was misused by few artisans and officials. As the artisan Sunita Besra says

"*When my first child was born, one NGO madam came with these bank people and made a group of twenty-five women artisans. She took our signature and thumbprints gave each of us five thousand rupees, fifteen years back five thousand rupees was a big amount for us. She said the rest of the money would release later and it will come in instalment, the total amount was five lakhs rupees but along with government official. She took all the money and after three-four years we came to know about the cheating by the time she vanished. Most of the bank official was also transferred we filed the case. They were caught, but nothing happens?*

[1]Sibhoshwar Kashyap, personal interview, October 14th, 2016, Dahikonga. The conversation with artisans took place in his home at Dahikonga. He had come to celebrate Dashhara along with his family.

The case is still going on and we didn't get the money and now we can't get the loan. Thus it's better not to get involved with any group and ruin our name."[1]

The above anecdote clearly shows the fear of artisans to get involved with the external groups. Because most of the artisans are not educated enough to understand or have an awareness of official works, rules and regulation or terms and conditions. Directly or indirectly, all artisans are involved with some organization. These organizations have helped in expanding the market of *Dhokra* craft and also bringing the consumers and artisans together.

The interplay between artisans, market and organizations are significant. Organizations do not only provided a market platform to the artisans but have influenced the making of craft, from technique to design. By introducing equipment and technology (this helped artisans to increase the production with better results), by introducing the allied craft of other region (artisan learns and influenced by the other allied for creation of new items in term of designs and functions) and by introducing the global market, entrepreneurship and innovation to the artisans. Regional and rural consumers have decreased, over some time. To sell their craft items, artisans need organizations and traders and vice-versa. Artisans are depended on the cooperative societies, organizations and traders. Organizations exist only for artisans; they are meant for the artisans. Traders depend on artisan for the artefact, and on the organization to avail the schemes and other facilities via artisans. [2] This dependency also causes corruptions which exist among them. The traders have made such links with the office bearer and other NGOs. They manipulate the facilities and the funding which come for the artisans. Though few artisans are also involved, and they help officers and traders in the corruptions.

Several cases are found in which money has been withdrawn in the name of artisans, and consumed by the officer without the knowledge of artisans. In some case fake artisan names have produced, fake counterfeit bills, fake camps and workshop have been conducted. Corruption exists with the knowledge of everyone, and everyone is involved in it, from craftsmen

[1]Sunita Besra, personal interview, October 24th, 2016, Kondagaon.

[2]Organization and traders are the middlemen, between artisans and craft market. As much as artisans need them, they need the artisans as well. However, the traders from out of the region are not limited to the artisans of one particular region. Thus the traders are less dependent on the *Dhokra* artisans of the state. But the governmental organizations have to stick to the artisans of the region. That is an advantage for the artisans. Beside Government, organizations pay better money than the traders. Cooperative societies are bound to work for the empowerment and betterment of the artisan communities. As every government scheme meant for artisans are available via cooperative societies only. If the craftsmen want to avail these facilities, they have to maintain a friendly relationship with the office bearer. Even the traders also have to maintain friendly terms with organizations. They do compete with the organizations for artisans and markets.

and officers to traders all blame each other for such corruptions. Like Chamsigh Besra (artisan) informs-

"*What to say, madam, we all know who does such corruptions and who are the artisans who give their signature for little money. But we cannot say because who will fight with them. We have our work. Besides, if we start fighting with them, no one will come forward to support us. Because of those people's corrupted and biased behaviour, I do not like to give my work in any organizations; neither to Shabri nor to TRIFED. I have my clients from cities. If you make good work, there are plenty of people who will be ready to buy your work.*"[1]

The official has a different opinion regarding the fake, manipulation and misuse of Government policies and scheme, one of the officers said-

"*We like to conduct a workshop and training camps properly, but artisans are not interested, because the government gives very little money for training. For the whole day, each one is paid three hundred to three hundred fifty rupees but if they work on their own, in the whole day they can produce work equal to a thousand rupees. So they don't like to sit in the department centre and work, sometimes they spend their day without even working. Artisans think government money is for free, so they do not want to work so we are forced to manipulate. Artisan likes to give work to traders because they can get instant money, but government process takes time. No one will accept it but some officers to show their productivity they sell the work to traders in the government shops in the fake name of the artisans.*"[2]

And the traders say-

"*We have our artisans and clients we are not depended on any organizations. Even the artisans who work with us, we do take care of them. We give money and material in advance. We pay immediately once the product is given to us. We are business people we do not have a treasure like government. We cannot give too much money. After all, we too have a family. Beside we put a lot of money in transportation, design and marketing etc., so we do need some profit for future use as well. Organizations people come to us for work because artisans do not give polished and fine work to the organizations. But to show their productivity, they have to show good quality work, so we help them. Off course, some of the traders get into this business with the sentiment of working for tribal etc. but they do not have clients. So they take the help of government officials. Government organizations can buy their work and sell. Those*

[1]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, March 11th, 2015, Kondagaon.
[2]G. Nagpal, personal interview, October 11th, 2016, Kondgaon.

businessmen do not have to spend time and energy on marketing. They can get good money without any hustle of the market, so they get involved in corruptions."[1]

Another young craftsman says-

"*Government officers do not understand our problem. They only think of us as labour so even though the government pays us little extra money from the market price. Officers think that it's their money, so they take a commission from us. Sometimes they force us to pay commission without even realizing that they are cutting our belly. And taking money, which is hard-earned with our sweat and blood, they literally suck our blood like Raksha (devil) sucks the blood*."[2]

The anecdotes reflect the problems artisans face due to corruptions. Though this does not mean each and, everyone is corrupted or artisans do not get benefits from the organizations. Artisans do get benefited from the opportunities provided by the organizations. With the help of organizations, many artisans grew from artisans to master-craftsmen and to *Shilp Guru*, but those artisans are very few. Central and state governments have made several scheme and policies for artisans, but the majority of artisans are unable to obtain the benefits. This has already been discussed in the second chapter of the thesis (see the subheading "Status and Prospects of *Dhokra* Communities"). Merely a handful of artisans, who are residents of the city or close to regional offices or whose family members have received awards and recognitions, only they are able to gain out of schemes and policies. Though, loans and equipment were provided to artisans of rural area as well.

The loan what they receive from the bank is a minimal amount and that amount is not enough to expand their craft practice. [3] This may sound like mischief from the side of artisans.

[1]Sudhakar Agrawal, personal interview, November 118th, 2016, Raipur.

[2]Piluram Baghel, personal interview, March 17th, 2015, Khorkhosa.

[3]As per the handicraft department, a loan scheme had been made for the craftsman. According to that, the Gramin Bank (SBI) gives 10,000 rupees in the name of the head of the family. For the investment on the craft with the recommendation of regional craft organizations but mostly artisans did not use the money for starting work. Many of artisans used money for other purposes like or paying off additional debt or marriage or land or gold etc. Many artisans from Raigarh district had got the loan, but they never paid. So their new generation is not getting the loan and for the deeds of the old generation, the new generation is suffering. In such a case, businessmen and brokers become the last option. There is also some fraud where some organization came forward to help the craftsmen and took a huge amount of loan in the name of artisans. But the craftsmen never received the amount. This may look like mischief from the side of artisans. But artisans from the rural region are impoverished. When government official and Banks official comment regarding their inability to pay back loan money or expand their craft and when they ban younger generation for loans. They forget how Government has displaced them from their land and forest. The tribal community who never had the culture to accumulate property is expected to come with the property document for the loan guarantee. The attitude of government official towards tribal is very insensitive, which should be changed, to

Most of the government officials see it as misuse of money. But for underprivileged artisans who have lost the authority over their land and forest, and who are forced to live deprived life the subsidies and relaxation on loans is not a privilege. Inability to invest any capital made artisans depended on mediators or businessmen, who give them money in advance for raw materials and work but they buy work from artisans at a very low price.[1] Government-aided shops and merchants purchase according to the weight of artwork. After spending a lot of time and money on the raw material, their goods are not sold with price as expected. Thus it's not coming up to be a profitable business for artisans. Currently, the artefacts are bought according to its weight. While earlier the craftworks were retailed according to pieces, designs and sizes. At present artefacts are sold as a piece only if artisans could participate in exhibitions or exhibit in art galleries or sell in their shops independently. But everyone does not have adequate capital to invest. And not everyone gets the opportunity to participate in government exhibitions like craft fair or *Shilpgram Mela* etc. Even if they get an opportunity, some of them cannot afford to participate in fairs and exhibition because of the policy government organizations follow for the later reimbursement. So artisans have to invest first on their own, and not all of them can pay for it and travelling along with the heavy metal crafts becomes a big issue for the artisans. Thus they are forced to sell their artefacts to merchants. Since they have a lack of buyers in the local, regional market, and the government often fails to buy their works and give payment on time.

Beside artisans cannot afford lapse of time, because of the nature of the crafting technique. Government organizations do not buy artefacts regularly and to sell their work into the market is another task for artisans. To avoid the hazard of marketing and transportation, artisans prefer to sell it to mediators even if they have to bear a deficit. It is not only laborious but also lengthy and time-consuming technique, as discussed previously (see Section 4.2.1 subheading "technique").

6.2.1.3 Trading in virtual world: E-market of *Dhokra* craft

Today we live in the digital world; smartphones and the internet have reached every corner of the world and every aspect of our life. *Dhokra* craft and artisans are no exception to this. *Dhokra* artefact is sold on the online market through several e-commerce platforms.

provide better support for livelihood, the government should take a step further, to be sensitive towards their culture; their way of life, their work and needs. This should be the priority of the respective department.

[1] In the Chhattisgarh, handicraft department buy craft from artisans at 700 to 1000 rupees per kilogram as per the craft items but the businessmen buy artefacts from artisans at 500 to 700 rupees per kilogram. The difference in cost is almost 2/3rd of what the government pays to artisans.

Government organizations and traders have a huge role in taking the craft to e-market. There are plenty of online stores who sell *Dhokra* craft with a wide variety of product. Today not only the organizations but independent artisans too sell and take orders for artefacts via the internet. Visiting markets, craft fairs and exhibitions is a task for artisans. One or two people from the family have to engage in marketing. But with online marketing, the burden has been reduced. Though currently, very few artisans are selling craft online, slowly it is becoming popular. Young generations of artisans are quick with technology. The online order, marketing and transactions are not alien to them. Maybe in the coming decades, the majority of artisans will be selling craft on the online market without the middleman. The online market can give artisans a similar platform as they had in the traditional market. But with the absence of artisans; like direct virtual contacts with consumers, immediate transactions, more clarity of consumer's demand and a secure method to sell craft across the globe.

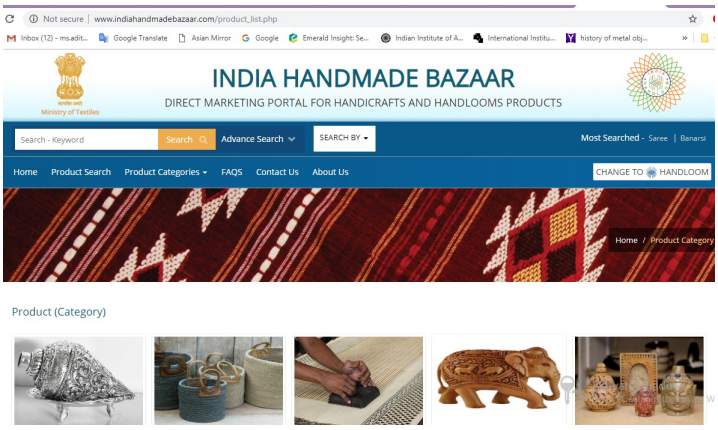

Figure 6.16: The Web page of the online Store of Ministry of Textile

E-commerce is the future of the market. It is a democratic platform, where every seller from all background and all corner of the world can sell their products. On a negative side, the online market can be a burden for rural artisans, due to lack of awareness regarding the technology, the online market, lack of command in English language, lack of financial support and planned strategies. The communication and technology are yet to be simplified for the artisan who does not have formal educations. The government Organizations can step in, to increase productivity and to help artisans in selling their craft. Currently, Government organizations have an online store (see Figure 6.17), but those are not popular and also they transport within the country, they do not ship across the globe. If someone visits the online store of "India Handmade Bazar" there is a lengthy form, which needs to be filled by the buyer to

know the details and price of the product. It seems the government has made an online store to fill the formalities of National e-Governance program. Government has to put extra efforts to popularize the online stores to increase the selling of crafts. The online store can be more buyers and seller-friendly, by adopting a simple format like other commercial online portals, where even small businessmen are selling their products.

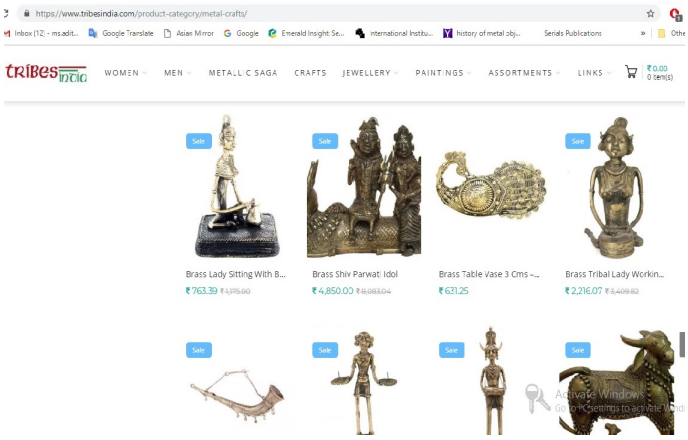

Figure 6.17: The web page of the online store of TRIFED

The three marketing spaces provide an overview of *Dhokra* markets. It also suggests that what kind of space in which artisans sell their artefacts. How these domains are changing and artisans are moving from space to others. As in the first type of market space, the traditional market artisans also play the role of trader and presences of artisans becomes predominant factors. In the second type of marketing space, the presence of artisans becomes secondary and not so prominent. In fact, artisans position become such weak that fake artisans are created in the space of original artisans. As in many of craft fairs and exhibitions, traders and middlemen attend the fair instead of artisans. And in the third type of space is the virtual market where the artisans are completely absent. Only the concept of tribal artisan exists in the virtual world. Similar is the case for the consumers as well in the subsequent part of the chapter will discuss the consumers of *Dhokra* artefacts the other vital elements of the market.

6.2.2 Consumers of *Dhokra* craft

The consumer is the one who buys the artefact or goods or receives services for private usage and not for reproduction and remanufacturing or resale. Consumers are the end-user of product and services. The definition mentioned above defines the meaning of consumer but not

the variation of consumers. All consumers are not the same; they differ based on their choices, needs and their reason to buy craft pieces. There could be several factors which make someone buy craft. According to Daniel Miller, artefact bridges the gap between the mental and physical world and the fact which makes artefacts different from the natural object is the connection with human hands. It is human-made and the reason for the relationship between the object and function is significant, but the problem is the connection between the object and its functions is not the connection, between the object and its usage in mundane life. It is beyond that like there are many variations for a particular kind of artefacts. But why consumer selects a particular artefact is related "to social rather than functional consideration, which may more convincingly account for the majority of purchases" (Miller, 1998). And the reason for a person selecting a particular piece, among all other similar kinds of the functional artefact is because of social, not the functional. Hence the connection between product and function affects the recognition of artefacts and this phenomenon exist because of the material and design process of efficiency, between artefact and usage. He also makes the statement opposite of aesthetic functionalist that modernist are the supporter of a concept called "form follows functions" but in recent centuries, designers have proof that it is not the scenario today it may be earlier, because the object was made completely based on the utility. Thus one has to look not only what an artefact's function is but also what is the significance for the consumer for any selected artefact.

Most of the craft buyers bought craft while browsing in craft fairs, exhibitions and emporiums. Something which caught their eyes, many of the buyers reasoned for buying crafts is "as a gift". According to buyers "handmade items are one of the best items for gifting and *Dhokra* artefacts are functional, beautiful and durable", few buyers said "tribal craft items are the symbol of our tradition and it is a matter of pride", few buyers like to support the artisans' community, and few buy product because these are eco-friendly products. Most of the consumers say the reason for buying *Dhokra* craft is because *Dhokra* artefacts are durable, unique and it has meaning. *Dhokra* artefacts are a reflection of tribal culture many of the buyers like to know the stories or myth behind the artefact. Usually, the buyer who visits fairs and exhibitions tend to ask artisans about the stories of the craft items and what it is the value of the item in artisan's culture. Consumers prefer to like artefacts which have religious or sacred values.[1] As artisan Santoshi Sagar says-

[1]The statement is made based on the majority of buyer's response during the fieldwork visits at Craft exhibition cum sale at Ravindra Bharti Bhavan Hyderabad on September 2015, Rajyautsov Mela at Raipur in November 2015, Madai Mela (Kondagoan) in March 2016 and TRIFED store Chentha Bhavan, Nampally-Hyderabad in September 2016 etc.

"*We once went to Suraj Kund Mela, me and my husband, Kiris Sagar. There, people used to come and ask us why we have made this craft. Earlier, we did not understand what they are asking. So we used to reply like its Devi, its Deota, it is animal and its dancing figure etc. but later we realized that they want to know what is 'Kahani' (story). So we used to tell them in our broken Hindi that this Kachuwa (tortoise) this is our Gotra Deota. This is Karma Nach (Dance) we dance like this in Madai Mela etc. They listen sometimes they record and sometimes they buy those artefacts also and they give good amounts*."[1]

The anecdote reflects that consumers like to acquire the artefacts which have sacred, religious and cultural values.

Based on interaction with artisans, consumer, traders and organizations, *Dhokra* craft consumers have been broadly categorized into three types. Though, this is very basic and general categorization because choices and needs vary from person to person. There could be detailed categorization based on class, education, gender, region etc. As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, the majority of the consumers of *Dhokra* craft are from urban areas of the country. Though there are rural consumers and foreign consumers as well those are lesser than the urban consumers. For a convenience understanding *Dhokra* craft consumers are divided into three major categories, following is the list and description of consumers types.

6.2.2.1 Regional consumers

The consumers mostly belong from the same region of artisans, from a rural area and small-town area who buy the artefacts as per their religious and mundane necessity. These consumers are fixed consumers because their belief (votive and scared items), occupational (dancer's ornaments) and mundane practices (utility items) are connected to the craft items. Though most of the earlier consumers of the regional area have decreased and the demands of *Dhokra* craft items have declined. For these consumers artisan's name matters, they select artefacts based on the artistic and aesthetical skill of artisans. Because they mostly know the artisans, like Chilkuti's artisan Jamunabai, is famous for *Mawali Mata* goddess. Khorkhosa artisans are renowned for votive object likes snake and elephant. [2] These consumers buy

[1]Santoshi Sagar, personal interview, October 27th, 2016, Karanpur.

[2]Like Clifford Greetz said, in his article Bazar economy about the importance of regular consumers and how this simplifies the marketing, the fixed market and fixed consumers is beneficial for both parties. "There is a high degree of spatial localization and 'ethnic' specialization of trade in the bazaar which simplifies the process of finding clients considerably and stabilizes its achievements. If one wants a kaftan or a mule pack made, one knows where, how, and for what sort of person to look. And, since individuals do not moves quickly from one line of work or one

directly from artisans in the traditional market or houses of artisans. The craft carries social and historical values for them. As mentioned in the third chapter of the thesis. Numerous utility artefacts are made by artisans, which are used by tribal for religious and household purpose.

6.2.2.2 Urban consumers

The second type of consumers mostly buy the artefact as per need and also because they want something different than other casual items. They have direct and indirect contact with artisans, directly through craft fairs and exhibitions and indirectly via emporium, craft showrooms and online portals. These consumers are very dynamic; they may have connections with craft items or they may not depend on their individuality and background. These types of consumers are mostly from an urban area, belongs to the middle class or upper-middle class. They can also be a tourist who buys artefacts as token or memory of their trip. They can be art and craft enthusiastic, environment and culture lovers etc. the variations are extensive. For these consumers, the artisans do play a significant role. But the craft medium and regional or community identity become a major factor. Like *Dhokra* craft of Bastar or famous artisans of Raigarh, crafts of tribal or craft of Chhattisgarh or a *Dhokra Shilpguru* of Chhattisgarh etc.

6.2.2.3 Global consumers

The third type of consumers buys the artefacts mostly for decoration purpose. These are the consumers who come from elite background mostly from metro cities of the country and aboard. They are the modern day's patrons; a few of them buy crafts as an investment for futures and few to safeguard the traditional craft. These consumers are spread across the globe. Many of them collect these artefacts as "primitive art".[1] The aesthetical value of craft becomes more prevalent and primary factor; consumers are purely interested in the artefacts. The craftsmen and region become secondary factors. These consumers also commission the custom-designed and monumental crafts.

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place to another. Once you have found a particular Bazaari in whom you have faith and who has faith in you, he is going to be there for a while. One is not constantly faced with the necessity to seek out new clients. Search is made accumulative" (Geertz, 1978).

[1]The term Primitive art was widely used by western scholars like Franz Boas and Ernst Gombrich. Since the late 20th century, several scholars like Richard Anderson (1989), Rubin William (1984), Susan Vogel (1997) objected the usage of term primitive art. They find it problematic as well as derogatory. Though it is widely discussed in academia, but the term has been used for marketing. Instead of "primitive art" nowadays academics use the term like "nonwestern art", "Tribal Art", "the art of small scale society" and "ethnographic art"(Myers, 2006).

Among these three categories; the second types of consumers are in the majority. Artisans and traders always try to create or showcase the artefacts which fulfil the needs of these consumers. The awareness regarding the consumers' categories and ways for satisfaction of consumers[1] are more with the traders, but this awareness is not provided to the artisans. Earlier when the artisans have regional consumers, they were aware of the demands and needs of consumers. Presently Artisans do not have direct contact with the consumer. Mostly middle man and organizations are involved in the marketing of the craft items. Even though artisans sell their artefact directly to the consumers in the Craft fairs and craft exhibitions. They hardly come across the consumers, to create an artefact it is necessary to know the belief, lifestyle and requirement of consumers. Artisans do not have such communications with their consumers. Though, slowly, artisans are getting engaged in knowing the requirement of consumers and marketing. They have started making changes in the crafts according to the market and needs of the different types of consumers. As craftsmen Baldev Baghel says-

"*We always made craft according to consumers, but now the market and consumers both are different. We cannot make artefacts just for one type of consumers so whenever we go to exhibition and fairs, we take all type of craft pieces. We don't know which types of people come there and what will interest them. Though, we mostly try to understand, because artefacts which are small, functional and beautiful are more saleable. We try to know the market of that place; accordingly, we make and take artefacts. If we do not have any idea about the place, we make a few sellable artefacts. Like pen holder and paperweight one pair, earring and locket one pair, male god and goddess one pair etc.*"[2]

The organization which are involved in the marketing mostly use market strategies as they frequently come with discount and sale of craft items and organize the exhibition cum sale of the craft items. Now consumers, who buy artefacts via these organizations or middlemen, do not have the contact with the artisan. Recently government organizations have made this mandatory to write the name and contact number along with the artefacts. This way, the

[1]"The marketer needs to know such consumers and accordingly try to satisfy their needs by producing a product that they maybe need either immediately or in the near future, Setting a competitive price for its goods; Providing for appropriate channels of distribution, and Launching promotional activities"(McColl-Kennedy & Schneider, 2000).

[2]Baldev Baghel, personal interview, June 5th, 2015, Dahikonga. During conversation, when asked why do make a pair of the god and goddess, there are very few pairs of god-goddess in the region. He laughed and said those people do not know and they are not even going to worship. So what is wrong is saying its pair of god and goddess. And way we can sale two items together.

consumer will know the artisan's name and it will easier for them to contact the artisans. This initiation brought many consumers to artisans, as Ramlal Jhareka says-

"*Earlier we used to make a product and give to Shabri and Traders. The buyer does not need to come to our home. We can meet them if going to an exhibition but nowadays they come to our home also. Sometimes they call and give orders, sometimes they give money in advance but madam these things only work if you are honest. You see those people send money in advance but if we don't deliver the items or we refuse to give them money back, who will come next time now it is not like earlier. If you do anything, wrong people send on the internet, what if they paste on the internet our name will be spoiled in the whole world. Buyers are coming, not because they got our contact number from the department. But also because we are maintaining our honesty and we are national awardee we have a reputation to maintain*."[1]

The anecdote shows that artisans are getting to know the consumers. And they are also learning about technology. But this is not enough to expand the business of their craft. They do not have thorough knowledge regarding marketing and consumers. To create new artefacts or new design and to explore their creativity according to consumers, artisans need to have interaction with consumers. Government organizations do conduct designer workshop and training camps for artisans. To learn new designs and artefacts, but as mentioned earlier, due to several loophole and corruptions, these workshops are mostly organized as formalities to fill the papers. This does not mean organizations have entirely failed, as mentioned in the first part of this chapter; organizations have played a significant role in marketing and trading of the craft items.

At present, these institutions are prominently affecting the value chain.[2] They help artisans to have direct contact with consumers by conducting craft fairs and exhibitions in cities inside and outside of the country both. Organizations are trying to expand the market and consumer of the craft. Though their policies are outdated and unable to cope-up with frequently changing trends. As discussed in the previous chapter, from technology to designs and market. Similarly, changes in the value chain of the *Dhokra* craft has also emerged. *Dhokra* craft's value

[1]Ramlal Jhareka, personal interview, October 22nd, 2016, Ektal.

[2]Global value chain or commodity is generally known as a network of the institution involved in manufacturing and selling good, from producer to consumers. Foster mentioned about the two popular definitions of the commodity chain. The first is given by Terence Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein, "a network of labour and production processes whose end result is finished commodity". Second by Gary Gereffi "A Global Commodity Chain consist of sets of inter-organizational networks clustered around one commodity or product, linking households enterprises and states to one another within the world economy" (Foster, 2006).

chain is neither a completely the producer-driven[1] nor a buyer-driven[2]. Though it is somewhat in between and a little fragmented slowly it is becoming more like "Buyer-driven chain". *Dhokra* craft value chain is a multi-layers chain; to form a one particular commodity chain *Dhokra* craft industry is not possible because of the complexity of the market. The *Dhokra* market is highly decentralized; they sell in the periodic market. As seen in the first part of the chapter also, the organizations involved in craft marketing are unable to provide a platform to all artisans. The artisans give their artefacts to many institutions; like government emporiums, NGO showroom, traders, artisans work independently, as well as in groups. Few works for traders based on their demand and few works in craft studio of traders, as a daily wager, there is not any fixed way of working and selling. It is difficult to fix in one standard value chain. Thus *Dhokra* craft industries have fragmented value chain. It is not like a factory-made commodity and it does not have a fixed market area and not even fixed consumers. That is why the value chain is as diverse as the consumers of *Dhokra* craft. There are varieties in the working process of artisans, in the production, in the sale and the consumers. Though, slowly this variation is merging due to globalization and open market. In the subsequent section of the chapter, a discussion on the effect of this phenomenon has been done. It explores how these are changing the craft, craft market and consumers. What are the things which are emerging due to globalization? Is it a threat to the uniqueness of the craft, or is it making a separate place for craft in global space?

6.3 Globalization and commodification of *Dhokra* craft

The thesis would like to start this part with a quote by M.K. Gandhi also known as Mahatma Gandhi, which metaphorically places the opinions of the many craftsmen of today.

"*I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any*" - Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. [3]

Globalization is a movement of economic, social, political and cultural integration, across the world. Due to the advancement of transportation and communication technology,

[1]Commodity chain where the producer of the goods have the prominent institution and the producer controls commodity chain (Foster, 2006).

[2]Commodity chains where institutions are involved in the sale of goods becomes the prominent institutions and control even the production of the goods (Foster, 2006)

[3]Mukherjee, A. (n.d.). Gandhi and Globalization: Articles On and By Gandhi. Retrieved from https://www.mkgandhi.org/articles/globalisation.htm.

Globalization is rapidly expanding across the globe. The "international monetary fund", "World Bank" and "World Trade Organization" are the three significant institutes involve international trade. Trading with minimum involvement of local government, the fluidity of capital, movement of goods and services are the features of the Globalization. Globalization is like the elephant in the house, seen by scholars of all the disciplines, from all different points of view and they explain according to their perspectives. Several scholars believe that Globalization is nothing but the expansion of capitalism. Globalization is connected with several environmental issues like global warming, water pollution, air pollution, ocean pollution and recently the sky or space or galaxy pollution. [1] Many scholars believe that Globalization is the reason for the exploitation of natural and human resources. Many believe Globalization strengthen the world economy, which will eventually decrease the economic inequality between rich and emerging countries. These aspects will be discussed later and getting into details of the positive and negative aspect of Globalization, a brief chronology of the development of globalization is required.

6.3.1 Tracking globalization

Globalization is now part of our life, not just in academics, but it is widely used in our daily life conversation.[2] Though the term was popularized in the late 20th century, it seems it is a new phenomenon or has occurred recently, but it is an age-old phenomenon. Many scholars believe that Globalization had started since the colonization of European countries to African and Asian countries and many believe Globalization is as old as human civilization. The history of Globalization is divided into three periods. The first period is known as the Archaic Globalization. Trade between early civilizations and famous "Silk route"[3] and "spice route"[4] are

[1]Debris in space is called space junk or orbital debris because they orbit the Earth. They are made up of items such as used-up rocket stages, loose fragments from rocket explosions and collisions, launch canisters, dust and paint flakes. Objects or tools lost during a space repair and spacewalks, such as cameras, garbage bags, wrench, pliers and even an astronaut's glove are now part of the extraterrestrial litter. Abandoned satellites are also considered as space junk. (What is Space Junk and What Causes It - Globalcom. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.globalcomsatphone.com/hughesnet/satellite/space_junk.html)

[2]We live in the digital world and most of us are well aware of social, political and economic activity of the world. Globalization is part of the school curriculum and not to surprise the new generation are well aware of the advantage and disadvantage of Globalization.

[3]From China to Rome 130 B.C.E. to 1453 A.D. Editors, H. (2017, November 03). Silk Road. Retrieved from https://www.history.com/topics/ancient-middle-east/silk-road.

[4]The Spice Routes, also known as Maritime Silk Roads, is the name given to the network of sea routes that link the East with the West. They stretch from the west coast of Japan, through the islands of Indonesia, around India to the lands of the Middle East via red sea and from there, across the Mediterranean to Europe.

examples of early trading and economic transaction. Via this route, religion, culture, folklore, food habit, clothing, art and craft, every aspect of life was exchanged among people (Frank, 1998). [1] The second period is Proto globalization, also known as early modern Globalization, age of discovery and time of European colonization. [2] The third period is known as Modern Globalization. Though, in the first two periods, changes and integration did not take place with this speed, as it happens now. The advancement of scientific technology and communication and arrival of the internet has rapidly increased (Bayly, 2004). The term globalization becomes popular since the late 20th century, after the liberalization of the market and establishment of the world trade centre.

6.3.2 The emergence of heterogeneous society in homogeneous world

Since the last decade after the usage of smartphone, the internet has reached every corner of the world. It has created a borderless world, where everyone is connected to everyone or one is linked to others everywhere. From East to West and north to south, people are connected via several social media apps, the distance of geography does not exist in the virtual world. The world is virtually interconnected and economically depended. Globalization has provided freedom for trading across the globe, transportation of goods and services and exchange of values and ideas. Though having several benefits and advantages, it is criticized by scholars of different field, due to the dominance of rich countries. Many scholars see Globalization as a threat, for social-cultural individuality of peoples and diversity of the world. Several scholars critic for domination of western culture around the world, in particular, the American culture and Western Europe, the term McDonaldization, westernization, Americanization and coca-colonization is used. Globalization is seen as neo-colonization or western cultural imperialism. Due to rapid social and cultural changes in the world, which is turning the world into a homogenous society, where American culture dominates. Sociologist George Ritzer writes in his book "*McDonaldization of society*" about the world moving towards a homogenous global society, by taking the example of the fast-food habit of American culture and its influence across the globe.

[1] Many scholars believe that economic transaction among, the early civilizations took place like Indus valley had trading relations with Sumerian (Mesopotamia), Persian (Rome) and Egyptian (Egypt).

[2] The term was first introduced by historians A. G. Hopkins and Christopher Bayly, the term describes the phase of increasing trade links and cultural exchange that characterized the period immediately preceding the advent of so-called "modern globalization" in the 19th century.

Ritzer expanded the theory of "Rationalization" [1] Max Weber described the modernization process and rationalization of society by taking the example of bureaucracy. Ritzer describes four significant components of McDonald world (1) "efficiency" means to meet the end, quick and standard method to create (2) "calculability" means it focuses on the quantity of product rather than quality. It emphasizes on to create the illusion of quantity the visibility of product become the priority, and it tends to reduce the production and service process to numbers, (3) "predictability" means uniform service, around the world people, prefer to know what to expect in most setting and most times. This turns everything from consumption; work, to management, into mind numbering routines. Means you may receive the same product everywhere in the world despite being in a different region or culture. The difference in time and place does not matter. (4) "Control" means uniform and standard employees increased control through the replacement of human with nonhuman technology (Ritzer, 2008). Geroge Ritzer's theory was implemented by several scholars in various fields, like in education, [2] music,[3] films,[4] fashion[5]

[1]Rationalization is the process of replacing traditional and emotional thought with reason. The rise of scientific study development of capitalism and the introduction of bureaucracy are an example of rationalization. Max Weber used the model of the bureaucracy to represent the direction of this changing society. Weber described the four types of rationalization. (1) Practical- task and activities are done inefficient way. (2) Theoretical- to understand the world around you, deductively and inductively. (3) substantive- choosing between right and wrong based on our values and morality. (4) Formal- choosing between right and wrong based on rules and laws. Kalberg, S. (1980). Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History. American Journal of Sociology, 85(5), 1145-1179. doi:10.1086/227128

[2]The format of education is more and more similar in the world. Various countries are adopting the one standard education pattern. The international school to university everywhere the syllabus, classes, exam, grades is almost the same.

[3]The MTV music, rock band and pop music are similar everywhere. The South Korean rock band, Chinese rock band and Indian rock band Etc. They may be singing in their native language, but the instrument they use, the form of music they use is primarily borrowed from western music. Though Globalization has given birth to fusion music's the mixer several musical forms.

[4]Hollywood Movie Companies dominates the world of film entertainment like Netflix, Walt Disney Studio, HBO, Sony Pictures, 20th-Century FOX etc. Though now Netflix produces the movies and webs series from different part of the world. Like popular Korean Drama series, Indian Movies and Web Series, Documentaries, Chinese Movies and Drama Etc can be seen on Netflix.

[5]The Globalization has changed the world fashion, now the Clothing Brand like Levis, Vero-Moda, GAP, H&M, Zara, C&A etc. are ruling the fashion market all over the world. During colonization, tremendous changes occurred in the Indian clothing though it was adopted along with Indian dresses like- shirt with lungi, blouse with Saree and skirt. Dressing purely into western-style was limited to the elite class and upper-middle-class men. Though this changed rapidly in the late 20th century. In the west "Haute couture" dress was in Fashion. Brands like Christian Dior, coco channel were popular only among the elite class, which changed n late 20th century after the rise of Globalization. "In the early 1900s, Fashion and trendy clothes began to appeal to more than just the upper class. More and more stores opened that sold ready-to-wear clothes catered to the lower classes. This trend increased rapidly throughout the

and sports[1] etc.

Several scholars have positive opinions regarding the Globalization like Jagdish Bhagwati and Arjun Appadurai. Bhagwati makes a debate regarding the anti-globalization movements, the issue of technology advancement in the developing countries, international agreements, for regional and global trade, labour migration, their rights and security, child labour etc. Bhagwati says in response to the opponent of Globalization that our problem does not start or increase due to Globalization instead Globalization can have the solutions of problems. He further discusses the economic and labour issues of third world countries or developing countries. [2] Bhagwati says maybe Multinational company pay less to the employees compared to their home country but often it is better than the local and domestic companies of third world countries. According to Bhagwati the poverty, illiteracy, lack of democracy, pollution and population can be solved with economic growth and which can improve and become stable only with economic integration and free flow of capital. He says "that trade enhances economic growth, and that growth reduces poverty" (Bhagwati, 2004). Bhagwati discusses widely on economic Globalization and Appadurai discusses mostly on cultural Globalization.

Appadurai discusses the Globalization as "Global Cultural Flow". According to

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20th century, especially in the 1980s during the rise of Globalization. During this period, consumers were introduced to transnational corporations, cyber technology, and electronic mass media. These forces have profoundly changed the way Fashion is produced, marketed, sold, bought, worn, and thrown away. Globalization has thus opened a new clothing market with a massive demand for fashionable and trendy clothes, a demand that traditional fashion collections and stores were unable to keep up with. People wanted trendier clothes at lower prices; thus, fast Fashion was born." (Ledezma, 2017). Globalization and Fashion: Too Fast, Too Furious. Laurier Undergraduate Journal of the Arts, 4, 2. Retrieved from `https://scholars.wlu.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.co.in/&httpsredir=1&article=1052&context=luja`

[1]Sport is not exceptions as well, sports like football, rugby and golf are examples of widespread domination American games, and India is not the exception to this. Ice hockey which was majorly played in North America and rugby is the famous American game these games are now played in India as well. Cricket and hockey are results of British colonization and ice hockey and rugby is the result of Globalization.

[2]He addresses the sensitive issue of child labour; Bhagwati says "Poor parents, no less than rich parents, generally want the best for their children. Poverty is what drives many to put their children to work rather than into school. Parents will choose to feed their children instead of schooling them if forced to make a choice. When incomes improve, poor parents can generally be expected to respond by putting children back in school." He also merely says demanding that emerging countries eliminate child labour can easily backfire. Bhagwati gives the example of the Bangladeshi textile industry in 1993. That year, Congress seemed poised to pass Sen. Tom Harkin's Child Labor Deterrence Act, which would have banned imports of textiles made by child workers. Anticipating its passage, the Bangladeshi industry dismissed 50,000 children from factories. Most of those children did not end up in school but instead fell into prostitution and other "occupations" far more degrading than weaving cloth in a factory (Bhagwati, 2004).

Appadurai, Globalization is not the one-way movement. It flows in several forms, according to him Globalization consists of five different Scapes[1] (1) "Ethnoscape"- the movement of people and groups, as labours, immigrants, tourist, refugees and guest workers, who move around one country to another as south Asian-African worker move to the Middle East, European and North American countries. (2) "Technoscape"- technology now moves at much greater speeds across national boundaries, mechanical as well as informational. Multinational companies do not just hire people from across the globe. But they also make their product in different countries; like Apple and Microsoft product make their parts in China or south Asian country. (3) "Financescape"- the global capital and finance through currency market, stock exchange and community speculation (4) "Mediascape"- worldwide production and dissemination of media and media images dor example, Martial art, worldwide wrestling creates a new culture of masculinity and violence. (5) "Ideoscape"- ideologies of state of movements could be religious movement, political movements etc.

He further introduced the idea, which he calls it Deterritorialization- as ethnic and national population move around the globe. They are no longer tied to their home country in terms of territory but only by emotional ties and attachment to the home country. [2] Deterritorialization can be applied to all the various shapes, as none have the necessary territory base or find a specific location. According to Appadurai, "globalization is not just one movement but the movement of several of these different areas that may conflict with each other" (Appduarai, 1990). This is what he means when he talks about disjuncture dor example, "Financescape and ideoscape", the ideology of national sovereignty conflict with transnational control over finances and industry. "Ideoscapes and ethnoscapes", the overseas diaspora of ethnic groups conflict with the ideology of the nationalist movement. Appadurai gives the theory of Globalization, which many of the scholars call it, the postmodern theory of Globalization. According to him, "everything is a construct, including the nation-state. There is no more border or nation-states, free movement of people and capital" (Appadurai, 1990). Appadurai received criticism for optimistic view on Globalization and for ignoring the struggle of worker class across the border.[3]

[1]Scape he means by fluidity and the notion of belonging to several places.

[2]For example, Sikh in England, Canada and the United States have the idea of Khalistan. Similarly, NRI and Indian Hindus from across the world, which are Right-wing political supporter, have the concept of Hindu Rastra. According to them, India should be a Hindu country; "Gharwapsi" (Converting non-Hindus into Hindus) is one of the examples of their ideology.

[3]Biju Mathew, critics the view of Appadurai, Mathew says - global economy operates through the state only capital and the bourgeoisie can move around freely. For the working-class border and experienced as tangible and more hostile. Appadurai's theory is an example of the post-colonial view of Globalization. In talking about

The world transferring into homogenous society is truth and domination of western culture is undeniable. But the Emergence of heterogeneous society cannot be ignored as well. The existence of heterogeneous society is not as rare as it seems. The scale is much larger; so far it is invisible in surface level due to the intangible nature of cultural forms. This heterogeneity brought the concept of Glocalization, which is an extension of Globalization, in the following section the term and concept have been discussed briefly.

6.3.3 Glocalization and commodification

The term Glocalization is coined by Roland Robertson, [1] in Harvard Business Review in 1980. Glocalization is a summation of the word "Globalization" and "Localization." [2] The term is used for modification of international and global product according to the local or domestic market and adoption of global element into the local or domestic product, in order to make it for the worldwide market. The common consumption of culture is "cultural globalization" and blending different culture together according to the consumer's culture is "Cultural Glocalization". Globalization is making both global and local product more users friendly. And it is bringing changes in every aspect of our life, including our rites of passage for example, birthday parties[3] etc. Marriage celebration, [4] and death rituals.[5] Our tangible- intangible culture and mundane products like the industrial product, [6] food habit,[7]

Deterritorialized culture, he generalizes the bourgeois experiences to all immigrants, as the upper and middle-class immigrant negotiates borders more easily. But workers lives are marked by the intense negotiation of boundaries. Mathew (2008) *Cabs and capitalism in New York City. Ithaca: ILR Press*. P.P. 165-166.

[1]Featherstone, M., Lash, S., & Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity and Heterogeneity. In Global Modernities (pp. 25-42). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

[2]Hayes, A. (2006, December 17). Glocalization Definition. Retrieved from https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/glocalization.asp.

[3]The cake cutting and blowing candle is now part of the birthday celebration. But people also follow the religious and traditional customs by worshipping in temple, church and distributing sweet, offering food and clothes to needy.

[4]Marriage ceremonies include now the destination wedding with Indian customs (Haldi, Mehndi, Sangeet, Gouri puja, garland etc). There are bridesmaids or best men, but they wear ethnic Indian dresses. In India, despite what their religious books instructs or guides for any particular rites of people but they people also follow and practice their traditional customs.

[5]The eulogy was never part of death ceremony in India, but now this practice has started in cities.

[6]Left or Right driving seat cars, every laptop brand makes different keyboard according to language and writing patterns.

[7]McDonald is available in every other city of the country. So the idly-Dose restaurant or Chinese noodles or Japanese soups or Korean Kiamichi or Israeli falafel or Mexican salad. Every major dishes of the different part of the world is available in every major city in the world. Western food is blended according to Indian food habit like spicy and vegetarian items. Even international food brand like McDonald and Pizza-Hut adopt the local and domestic

the entertainment industry like Music,[1] dance,[2] movies,[3] fashion like clothing, jewellery and accessories,[4] arts[5] and crafts.[6] Cultural blending and integration is taking place rapidly and has not spared to any corner of the world, tribal world and their craft is no an exception to this. The effect and popularity of Glocalization brought several changes in the *Dhokra* craft.

The *Dhokra* artisans like any other artist express their religious beliefs, myths, tales and culture through their craft as seen chapter three "folklore of *Dhokra* craft" their craft is a reflection of their collective identity. With the Commodification of their tribal culture, they have grown the sense of identity, as tribal artisans. Now they are well aware that, people get attracted to the craft which has some ritualistic meaning or has a myth or tale. Before the involvement of organizations and mediators, artisans made *Dhokra* craft only for the regional consumers. The demands were less and their necessity too. As Chamsingh Besra says-

"*Earlier during my grandfather and father's time, annually one to two quintals we used to melt, but now that is our monthly consumptions. During those days if someone is casting one-two quintals means, he is selling and earning good money. We had other works as well, forest goods gathering and hunting were more than enough for eating and drinking, through craft we used to earn grains and money. But now everything we have to buy with cash and crafting is the only option*."[7]

In the late 20th century, the involvement of organizations and mediators took the craft out of regions. For both sides, it was a new experience for artisans and the institutions. To make

flavour. The recent trend of Vegan food has brought a drastic change in the traditional ingredient and method of cooking. Even the pattern has changes like eating with chopstick is considered as an elite habit, which is traditional practice in East Asian countries. Steamed and boiled food is part of Asian food habit, which now recognized as one of healthiest food eating habit.

[1]Indian-western fusion music like Indian rock bands, Vidya Vox's songs.

[2]Classical Indian dance choreographed with western music. And western dance is choreographed with Indian music, which can be seen in the national and international Dance programs.

[3]Netflix movies and series are being watched by Indian and Netflix also sponsors Indian drama which is viewed by outsiders. Almost every popular TV series and movies are available with native language subtitles.

[4]Western cloths are made with Indian Handloom and embroidery, designs and motifs. Plate stitched Saree with trousers; Designer dresses with Hizab are made etc.

[5]Modern Indian art was widely influenced by western art due to colonization. The trend to follow western art stayed till the late 20th century. But after 1980s several artists influenced by traditional folk art and craft and the blended form of western and Indian tradition of art emerged.

[6]Indian craft items are one of the most exported items from India to other countries. Artisans of Handicrafts have made several changes to fit into the modern lifestyle of the people from across the globe. The Mandla art and Madhubani art is used, by international yoga gurus for art mediation curriculum. The tattoo artist widely uses the traditional Tribal tattoo Motifs. Similarly, Africans bead craft are widely used by the designer.

[7]Chamsingh Besra, personal interview, June 7th, 2016, Kondagaon.

it popular, initially the concept of "safeguarding the tradition", "saving cultural heritage" and "supporting tribal artisans" was propagated.

Today it is very common to see the folklore used in a different context as said in the first part of this chapter (see subheading "Folklorism of *Dhokra* craft"), as advertisement, designing, film, marketing, tourism (it is because the folkloric reference gives the impact of natural, traditional and authentic), or personal showcasing (people use such things to show their taste toward naturalness and tradition) for example, the image of "*Karamseni Jhhad*" (a popular *Dhokra* artefact from Raigarh which is a representation of *Karmaseni* festival of tribal, created by Govind Ram Jhareka. He received national award for this in 1997-98) is used as a logo of the Clothing brand, "People Tree".

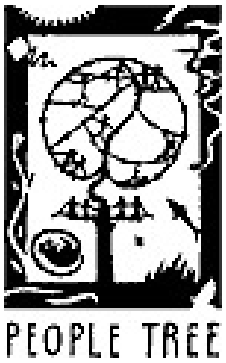


Figure 6.18: Logo of a clothing brand[1]

The description in the site about the logo reads "this symbol is inspired by the metal-cast sculpture of the tribal people of Bastar in central India. The *Pipal* is a species of ficus tree which is revered by Hindus and Buddhists alike. The tree of life is a common symbol in eastern and Islamic cultures" (People Tree home page). The item is not the pipal tree and does not even belong to the Bastar region. But things like 'invention of the tradition or folklore' are done due to the trend of commodifying culture.

As Glocalization became popular, it boosted these concepts. Glocalization gave popularity to commercialization and Commodification of culture, whether it is intangible or tangible. Culture is used as a commodity in order to pursue profit. In the world of modernity and increase, homogeneity has made people more and more anxious for loss of their culture. This "cultural anxiety" is good for marketing and campaigning as to say "crisis is our brand".

[1]People Tree home page. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.peopletreeonline.com/home.html

[1] As mentioned earlier Globalization is linked with global warming and this is entirely true. Scientist and activist are trying their best to make people aware of Global warming and to save the Earth and the environment. At the same time, the concept of natural product, sustainable lifestyle and zero waste started coming in. Commodity market and advertisement agency are flooding with the product, with the tag of eco-friendly and biodegradable. Billboard, posters, ad-movies are filled with terms like Ayurvedic, Natural, Traditional and Authentic.

Art and craft are not exceptions to this trend of marketing and campaigning. Consumers who buy the art and craft products mostly see it as a symbol of status. They showcase their aesthetic test, their love and respect for nature and traditions. And what else could be a better way? To show their love for nature and tradition by showcasing tangible tradition, as mentioned above, as people are panicking with increasing global warming. Since most of us cannot avoid the lifestyle, we follow. We tend to fill our human guilty by buying the product which claims to be eco-friendly, biodegradable, natural products, sustainable, and zero waste products etc.

The Glocalinization and Commodification of culture gave rise to handmade and sustainable products. Handmade products have become the symbol of high society; elite taste a responsible and well aware citizen, which boosted the craft industry. With the rising values of handcrafted artefacts, *Dhokra* craft of Chhattisgarh has gained popularity as a traditional tribal craft. The aesthetical and religious or sacred values of the artefacts attract the majority of consumers. Though those artefacts are now purely made for outsider as a commodity. The Materialism, world-mindedness and expression of ethnocentrism[2] is another reason for consumers to buy the product; the *Dhokra* craft artefacts are the perfect blend of modernity and tradition. The place which is popular for the craft has a huge effect on marketing. Like in Bastar region Kondagaon town is the hub or famous for *Dhokra* craft and in Raigarh region Ektal village is popular for *Dhokra* craft.

Similarly, *Dhokra* craft is popularized, though, in the case of *Dhokra*, it is majorly true. Not absolute as with time structural and functional, both aspects are changed and mentioned in the introduction of the chapter. The sign and symbols are recreated by marketing, as Commodification of the cultural aspect of *Dhokra* craft. For the rural tribal artisans, this adaptation is for their livelihood and survival of their craft. The market liberalization had started

[1]Term drives from movie which is a political comedy film directed by David Gordon Green.

[2]Ethnocentrism is the act of judging another culture based on the values and standards of one's own culture – especially regarding language, behavior, customs, and religion.

importing products. Those were cheaper, which challenged the employment of craft and crafting came under threat. For survival, few strategies were taken by the government, NGO, mediators, businessmen and also by artisans when they confronted the market. Artisans have adopted and incorporated changes to take their craft from local to a global level. The *Dhokra* artisans, along with all the organization in the handicraft industry, have used some strategies. These are some of the strategies used by the artisan community.

6.3.3.1 Changes in the aesthetic of the craft

Aesthetic here means the structure of the craft that carries size, form and design. The significant changes which came in the structure are in size. Earlier they were nomadic had temporary dwelling, so sizes of the artefacts were small. Any of the earlier artefacts were not bigger than one or one and a half feet but today as they have permanent dwelling, which facilitated them to set up bigger space. For equipment and kiln, the size of craft has increased now and artisans are making monumental artefacts, with the size of twenty to twenty-five feet. Other than the scale of the artefact, artisans have included several new motifs and designs to bring more variations in the craft items. These designs are borrowed from other allied craft like Wrought iron, Terracotta, Woodcraft and Bamboo craft. Though, most designs are made with wax thread. The craft of the region is becoming homogenous in nature, with the usage of similar motif, similar design, subject matters and theme. But the artisans have not give-up their fundamental element, like the wax thread, which is the speciality of *Dhokra* craft (for details see chapter five, subheading "Structure of *Dhokra* craft").

6.3.3.2 Changes in functionality

The function of the craft item has changed as well. The craft which was primarily made or used for religious or sacred usage is used as decorative artefacts or the artefacts of modern lifestyle. Consumers buy the craft due to several social, cultural and personal reasons as mentioned in "Glocalization" section of the chapter. And when a consumer who does not share the similar social, religious and cultural value of craft, may use it for a different purpose, which is not in the control of craft makers. But to an extent, artisans have tried to transfer craft according to global consumer's need. The designers, mediators and consumers have expanded the territory of the functions. Now *Dhokra* crafts are used in the world of design like; furniture design, utensils designs along with steel and copper, with the iron product, for bike and car

design etc. This truly shows the transformation of *Dhokra* in different stages as mentioned under the subheading "folklorism of *Dhokra* craft".

6.3.3.3 Marketing strategies

Artisans have modified their crafts as per the supplies and demand and created artefacts accordingly. They create artefacts based on their popularity. Whenever artisans attend craft fair and exhibition, they identify the region and popular artefacts in those regions for example, when they had to go to metro cities, they make crafts which have more aesthetic value mostly for decoration and slightly functional for example, big figurative artefacts like human figures, tribal mundane activity items, animals, deities etc. While visiting the small cities, they make more functional artefacts and small decorative pieces like the pen holder, boxes, candle holder, Mural, mirror frame, photo frame, Hindu god-goddess etc. While visiting a village fair, they make more religious items and utensils, like a votive animal, small tribal, local deities etc. And for the online market, they make a variety of decorative and items which matches with modern lifestyle.

6.3.3.4 Publicity and advertisement

The social, economic, political and cultural integration is taking place due to Globalization and the world is moving towards a homogenous world. At the same time, cultural differences are visible more prominently. The existence of a diverse and multi-cultural society is a reality. This has brought the concept of sustaining and safeguarding the heritage, and commodification of culture started. The government organizations (like handicraft board, tribal ministry, Museums), NGO, businessmen and the entrepreneur etc. have started popularizing and advertising craft, as an exotic product for consumption. The market is now full of products with the label of ancient or natural. Handicraft industry is not an exception to this. *Dhokra* metal craft is popularized as a custom made product of an ancient technique, specially made by tribal of central India. With a statement like *Dhokra* craft and artisans, both are unaware and untouched of the modern world. At the time of global warming, this eco-friendly, sustainable dying heritage of state needs protection and promotion. The Chhattisgarh handicraft department has made *Dhokra* craft as the face of tribal art of the state. These statements are partly true as well. The statements are partially correct as well, but not all of it. Statements like tribal identity, untouched with modernity, dying culture and heritage etc. is debatable.

The discussion suggests that *Dhokra* artefacts have reached far away from the village market to online portals and tribal household to international museums. Cultural Globalization has boosted the demand of *Dhokra* artefacts. Even in the time of machine-made goods, *Dhokra* is thriving and becoming an alternative livelihood for tribal. With timely adaptation and incorporation in method, structure, function and marketing have made this craft survive. The adaptability of artisan communities and the government policies to boost the rural small scale industries both played a significant role in this process. The policies of government organizations not only change the craft but also the artisans as well. It has made both negative and positive effect on tribal life and the globalization has escalated these challenges. This came with the cost which may say as the loss of 'traditional craft' but it also gave them the opportunity to sell new craft products in Global Platform, provided a vast market and consumer base.

The emergence of cultural heterogeneity has created a space for *Dhokra*. As at the beginning mentioned *Dhokra* has become a brand. It is not a mere brass product; it holds the value of region and community. For regional communities, *Dhokra* has the social-religious value and due to commodification of cultural elements like socio-religious values are recognized and valued by outsiders as well. Globalization and the expanding connectivity opened up digital market possibilities, this provided them new avenue and market. The application of this craft by the external artist and curators helped it to be a part of the contemporary art industry, which in turn helped the craft to reach many. *Dhokra* became a known tribal craft due to several factors. In the next chapter which is concluding the chapter of the thesis, provides the summary of discussion done throughout the thesis including the finding and conclusion of the thesis.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 A sum up

Dhokra crafting tradition is flourishing and blooming in the handicraft sectors. Interestingly it is sold with the tag line as an "endangered tradition". There is a common notion that the indigenous crafting tradition, especially from rural and tribal areas of the country is at the edge of becoming extinct, and need to be protected and maintained. This presumption became prevalent because of industrialization[1] and now due to Globalization, where machine-made and foreign goods are available in abundance. But at the same time, it brought the technology, electricity and e-commerce, which has highly affected the indigenous crafting tradition and changed more than one can assume.

To trace this transformation from tribal household to the online portal, the thesis has dealt with all the aspect of changes and continuity of *Dhokra* crafts. From changes of hereditary artisans group to occupational artisans group, changes in crafting techniques, modifications of structure and functions, and transformations of markets and consumers. Despite all the changes and dominance of external factors like government institutions, NGOs, modernization and globalization, the crafting tradition continues and artisans continue making a craft while following the characteristic of *Dhokra* craft. This present research has observed that how at present, internet and new communication facilities are changing the presentation of craft. The study has traced the journey of *Dhokra* metal craft artefacts, from the tribal household artefacts

[1]Artisans had to compete with machine made good since the time of colonization. As Britisher ruined the handicraft and textile sector of county during their regime, which forced artisans to pick up agriculture for their survival, but as Henri glassie says "the luxury goods in india like silk saree, block print, gold and silver jewelries etc. are few example that it never died and it is still flourishing across the state" (Henry Glassie & Pravina Shukla, 2009).

to display room in the international museums, from tiny travelling idol artefacts to monumental public sculpture, from simplified with minimal design figures to naturalist, intricately designed figures, and from rural tribal consumers to global patrons and consumers, the journey of *Dhokra* involves several institutions and folks. The concluding chapter of the thesis will comprise the summaries of all the discussion, which have been done throughout the research thesis.

This research thesis entitled "***Dhokra* metal craft and Communities: Tradition from Chhattisgarh**" broadly proposes to study the folklore, technique, visual structure and function of *Dhokra* Craft, with reference to the social, economic and environmental life situation of artisans. *Dhokra* craft from Chhattisgarh is believed to be an ancient craft which has been continuing without any corruption as claimed by government institutions and artisans. Tribes of India's online shopping website claim that "each metallic work is handcrafted, which tells a saga of rich cultural heritage and legacy of primitive metal craft through vibrant craftsmen."[1] However, like every other cultural elements and folklore, *Dhokra* craft as well has changed. Folklore has the characteristic of being conservative and dynamic; it is constantly evolving and continuing. Folklore always carries the synchronic and diachronic elements, and *Dhokra* craft is an adequate example of that. *Dhokra* market and consumers have grown from village space to the international exhibition and curatorial areas. The research has also tried to recognize the changes of patronages, market strategies, use of trends, and the influence of modernization, industrialization, and globalization on the *Dhokra* artefacts.

As mentioned above research focuses on the Chhattisgarh region, especially the district in which the density of *Dhokra* artisan in more. There are three districts, Raigarh,[2] Kondagaon,[3] and Jagdalpur/Bastar[4] (for maps see the Figures 1.1 and 2.1). All three regions are known for dense forest cover and protected as a prehistoric site of State. Their geographical habitat is a major factor for the flourishing of this particular crafting tradition. Dense forest makes a conducive context for artisans to settle and create *Dhokra* craft. Because for *Dhokra*

[1]Metal-*Dhokra*. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.tribesindia.com/product-category/metal-crafts/

[2]Singhanpur Cave is most popular ancient caves, situated 20 kms away from Raigarh. The rock painting of Singhanpur caves are said to be oldest sculptures on earth and this place offers wonderful trekking experience through Jungle. Gomarda Wildlife Sanctuary is situated near Sarangarh, and Gajmar Pahadi is a sub mountain range located at outskirt village of Raigarh and Odisha border.

[3]Tatamari shrine is belief to be a temple from prehistoric time and district is known for famous Keshkal Valley and forest.

[4]Kanger Ghati National Park and Indravati National Park are known wild sanctuary in Bastar District. Palaeolithic cultural implements were discovered from Bastar, such as Dandak Cave, Barsur, Chitrakot-I, Dantewada, Kailash Cave and Nalla, Michanar, Kutumsar Cave, Chitrakot-II, Erikpal, Kangoli, Metawara, Tirath-Garh and Dondrapal yielded implements which indicate cultural continuity right from the Palaeolithic up to the Meso-lithic period.

craft most of the raw material is acquired from the forest, and having the pre-historical sites in the regions gives legitimacy to the belief that *Dhokra* is an ancient crafting tradition. Like any other craft tradition of sub-continent *Dhokra* craft was also a hereditary occupation. Most of the *Dhokra* artisans from Chhattisgarh belongs to Jhareka and Ghadwa communities, but only a few members of both communities had adopted craft making. The ancestors of both communities were nomadic, but presently almost all the members have been settled. Both communities' caste names have got changed, due to misinterpretation and misspelling of their caste names in the official documents. Though caste certificate does not change their social structure, it is generally affecting their economic status. Because of that, they are unable to access government subsidies and policies. The financial condition of both communities is similar, though artisans from Bastar regions have better conditions because Ghadwa received the recognition as *Dhokra* craftsmen, earlier than the Jhareka community of Raigarh.

The socio-economic status of the *Dhokra* craft artisans gives a glimpse of social inequality which exists among the artisan's community. The artisans who come out of their comfort zone and risk by exploring medium along with the changing market are in the uppermost layer of the artisan community. These artisans are able to succeed due to support from risk maker, who are the external institutions. But these same risk maker institutions are not able to reach to the bottom layer of the community. The difference between these two groups is wide. Though there are social and economic inequalities exist among the artisans but still, they are known as 'one crafting community' because *Dhokra* crafting as the occupation has given identity to artisans communities. They were able to transform from the hereditary artisan's group to occupational group by incorporating other community members into crafting tradition.

At present, many other communities' members are adopting the crafting as occupations. These artisans receive training from master artisans personally or via Government or non-government institutes or from art schools. This transition has occurred due to government policies to expand the rural and tribal crafting industries and provide training and equipment to the rural population under self-sustaining programs. [1] Their ability to adapt and incorporate,

[1]The Government of India introduced the Craftsmen Training Scheme (CTS) in the year 1950, to ensure a steady flow of skilled workers in different trades for the domestic industry, to rise quantitatively and qualitatively the industrial production by systematic training, to reduce unemployment among the educated youth by providing them with employable skills and to cultivate and nurture a technical and industrial attitude in the minds of the younger generation. The Scheme is the most important in the field of Vocational Training. It has been shaping artisans to meet the existing as well as future workforce need, through the vast network of ITIs, spread over various States / Union Territories in the country. The day-to-day administration of ITIs under the Craftsmen Training Scheme was transferred to the State Governments/ Union Territory administrations with effect from the year 1956. From 1st April

and their method of blending artefacts according to changing times, helped them in surviving their crafting tradition. *Dhokra* craft persists with changes of time because artisans' community has transformed from hereditary to an occupational group of skilled artisans. Though external agencies mediate this transformation, but it is also because of the adaptive nature of artisans. Even though this transition has happened, the belief and practices of traditional artisans have continued in the occupational group as well. This helps the craft to retain its flavour and essence.

Their ability to adapt does not only reflect in the accommodating outsiders and technique of crafting process but folklore as well. The visual aspect of craft heavily depends on the folklore of the region, which includes the socio-religious beliefs and customs from the state. The thesis explored the context of crafting tradition through folkloric perspectives. The folklore of artisan and regional consumers influences and shapes the *Dhokra* craft's structure, function and subject matters. Artisans conceive the visuals for artefact through the folklore which are mostly oral narratives, beliefs and customs. Similarly folklore-inspired from crafting techniques the proverb, idioms and riddles are derived from the technique as discussed in the third chapter of the thesis. *Dhokra* craft has direct relation to the artisan communities and their belief system because of *Dhokra* has the socio-religious significance in the region. They value artefact as part of their lifestyle because it reflects their world view. Even though craft became a commercial commodity over the periods of time and functional aspect of artefact has undergone changes. But still, artisan communities and regional consumers, attribute reverence towards the artefacts because those artefacts are identity marker of their clan, beliefs, lifestyle and worldview. So the artefacts like tiger, tortoise, bull, deities, *Kocha* (grain measurer), *Duaa* (ladle) and *Tuma* (bottle

1969, the financial control of the Industrial Training Institutes in the States as well as in the Union Territories was transferred to the respective State Governments / Union Territory. The financial assistance was granted to them in the form of a bulk grant in consultation with the erstwhile Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance.

As master craftsmen tell about their early life and now how different it became. Every time something happens in the region or some political figure or official or celebrities visits at the district or region, they mandatorily visit the houses of artisans. It is definitely a matter of pride for them. Vocational training is a concurrent subject of both Central and State Governments. The development of training schemes at National level, the evolution of policy, laying of training standard, norms, conducting of examinations, certification, etc. are the responsibilities of the central government, whereas, day to day administration including admission in ITIs rests with the respective State Governments / UTs.

Presently, training courses under the Craftsmen Training Scheme are being offered through a network of 15,042 ITIs (Govt. 2,738 + Private 12,304) located all over the country, with total trainees enrolled 22.82 lakhs (in the trades of 1 year and 2 year durations) on NCVTMIS portal with an objective to provide skilled workforce to the industry in 138 NSQF compliant trades.

guard pot) etc. became core categories. As part of their social and cultural memory of artisan communities, it mirrors their world view and represents their habitat and lives.

As mentioned above *Dhokra* craft is part of the religious- social life of the region. Artisans take inspiration from the folklore of the region for creating a craft. Presently artisans create meticulously craft items for the selection in the award ceremonies which are heavily inspired by folktales and myths. Once any particular artefact receives award artisans create the copies of that artefact. Artisans create folklore based artefacts also because the award organizers and juries promote a craft, which is connected to the folklore and culture of the region., as they use for marketing and advertising, for example- "*Karamseni tree*" is a craft made by Govind ram Jhareka, he received State and National awards for that particular artefact. "*Karamseni tree*" made of Brass is not used for worship or any utility purpose (see appendix-3, fig-39). Now it is one among the popular artefacts created by Jhareka community artisans. *Jhitku-Mitku* is a popular artefact from Bastar region created by artisan Chamsingh Besra. He received State award for craft item title "*Jhitku-Mitku*" and at present various versions and variations are created by Bastar artisans. Similarly, Dhanmati Jhareka a woman artisan from Raigarh creates the artefact title "*Hamar Adivasi Jan-Jeevan*" means "*tribal life of Jhareka*" on which she received the National Award of master-craftsman. She used tribal's mundane activities as a motif for her craftwork. Now mural works with such motifs are popular artefacts of Jhareka artisans. Community's nomadic nature also played a role in developing an artistic and aesthetic world view; it shaped the craft. Through their folklore, they sustained belief and traditional practices.

As mentioned above the folklore as well as inspires and sustains the crafting technique, which makes this thesis to include the ethnographic account of crafting technique. By using an exhaustive list of photographic documents, along with vernacular terminology and descriptions collected from the various artisans helps the thesis to reveal the intricacies of crafting. This collection also provided an elaborated list of artefacts, which helped the researcher to create a typology of *Dhokra* artefacts. The fourth chapter contains discussion on typology and technology of artefact, which comprises account and discussion on the changes and the continuity in terms of usage of raw material, tools, equipment and technique. It attempted to understand the knowledge system about traditional craft technique. It also traces the difference and similarity in technology, from one region to another region, from one community to another community of Chhattisgarh, and from one generation to another generation over the period. It contains the diachronic and synchronic analysis of craft technique.

Artisans have made some changes in the technology for example usage of substitute materials (instead of pure bee-wax or resin, now they use mixture of bee-wax/resin along with paraffin wax and coaltar), usage of crucible (nowadays artisan melt the huge quantity of brass thus they use crucible), usage of polishing, patina and colouring (to make artefact shiny and attractive artisans have started polishing and started using colour and patina), and usage of electricity (instead of manual hand blower, now they use electronic air blowers, for polishing buffing machine and welding machine). As per the discussion in the fourth chapter, it is evident that in due course of time due to scarcity of material availability and lack of technological advancement, several crafting traditions become redundant, but *Dhokra* crafting tradition could survive and flourish. *Dhokra* artisans have timely adopted and incorporated the changes in raw materials and technology. Being nomadic artisan communities, the flexibility to appropriate the new place and materials were part of their cultural habit, which helped them in quickly adaption of drastic changes. Even though artisans are using substitute materials, tools or machinery but the craft is not mass-produced. *Dhokra* artefacts are identical but not clone which demonstrates the uniqueness of crafting, because artisans have not compromised on the basic crafting technique, like usage of clay core and mould, wax thread for modelling and lost-wax casting.

The technique and artisans groups are not the only aspects which have transformed in the *Dhokra* crafting tradition. There are changes in the structure and functions of artefacts as well. The fifth chapter of the thesis contains the classification and analysis of artefacts, to study the structure and function of *Dhokra* craft. It described how their myths, believes and folklore connects with metal craft and reflects on the motif, design, form, style, structure and function of the *Dhokra* craft. As mentioned earlier the research approached to study the structure of craft through visual semiotics theories of Erwin Panofsky and Charles Sander Pierce, to look at the world views of artisans, their perspective towards the visual structure and aesthetic of this *Dhokra* craft. Artisans conceive their concept from the folklore of regions for example idea of benevolent- malevolent, supernatural and natural, protector and malignant etc. According to their world view, they see things around them in the triadic model. They represent the supernatural being in the form of human and animals. And to signify the socio-religious elements and connotation of the artefact, artisans use indexical and symbolic elements like the mark of sun & moon and feet or palm mark of goddess etc. (see Table 5.3).

Artisans formulate the visual structure from folklore and manipulate according to functions, which is depended on the need of consumers. Earlier artefacts were primarily made for regional consumers thus the functions of artefacts are made as per the socio-religious

requirement of them. The functions of artefacts too have triadic structure (see Figure 5.36) they are; "techno-function, socio-function and Ideo function" all these have been discussed in the length with examples in the fifth chapter of thesis (see the subheading "functions of *Dhokra* crafts"). Like in the case of structure in due course of time the functions of artefacts have changed and nowadays artisans make artefacts according to the need of urban and global consumers. At present, the *Dhokra* structure and functions are conveniently manipulated in different contexts as well. As discussed in the sixth chapter of thesis. The structural elements like forms and designs, functional aspect like socio-religious functions of the artefact are modified and altered according to the present lifestyle of consumers. Today the modernity has affected the tribal lifestyle too thus the artefacts which were once used in particular space for a specific purpose are now used in different space and purpose.

As our belief, lifestyle changes we modify and alter things around us, whether it is tangible or intangible, *Dhokra* is not exceptional to these phenomena. Though the craft may have been changing, this does not mean it is redundant or something new has arrived. *Dhokra* craft, like many other forms of culture and folklore, is conservative and dynamic. It is constantly changing but enduring with the logic of change and continuity with similarity. The modification, alteration, customization and recreations of artefacts or artworks have been going on since the starting of civilizations. This will remain because change is the only constant element in the world, and continues progression and reversion is part of culture and tradition. Today the speed of transformation is rapid and visible due to advancement of technology.

These changes and transformations are not limited to technique, structure and function of *Dhokra* craft. It is visible in other aspects as well like market, consumer, supplier, and connoisseur of *Dhokra* craft. The sixth chapter of thesis discussed the advancement of technology, representation and reproduction of *Dhokra* craft, the original or unique or authentic, which are rapidly speeding up due to modernization and globalization. Within this context, it is obligatory to study folklore with its current dynamics like in the political, economic, and socio-cultural spheres of India after the arrival of the liberalization, privatization and globalization. These are the most crucial factors for the change in the structure and function of *Dhokra* craft. The growth of e-commerce and tourism industry aggregated this process. In the era of globalization tourism industry brought many changes in the art and craft of all the indigenous culture around the world including *Dhokra* craft.

Dhokra metal craft is one among the indigenous techniques that promote reuse and recycling of products and materials. The role of markets backed by globalization, commodifi-

cation and consumerism contributes to social, economic, political and cultural change. These changes have altered tribal identity and impacted their traditional social institutions as well. Changes have occurred in every aspect of craft from technology to design and marketing. Though, the scarcity of raw materials and expansion in the scale of craft forced other artisans to use alternative materials. But, *Dhokra* artisans have maintained traditional practices that are sustainable and environmentally friendly.

In general, it seems that due to consumers, the artisans changed their artefacts. It is slightly accurate but not downright. Though changes of the consumer and intervention of the many organizations changed the craft designs, but initially artisans resisted this and did not transform their artefacts. Consumers altered the function of these items (like the *Kocha* the rice bowl, used as pen holders), consumer started using the artefact according to their needs. Later with the awareness of the consumer's demand and likeness, artisans have slightly manipulated their craft items (like tortoise as key chains and paperweight or human motifs as an individual piece). Later due to the demands of their livelihood, artisans took appropriate strategies and began making artefacts, which fit for their new global consumers. Though this brought the issues of authenticity and the ethic of commodification, but infect it eventually helped the artisans to create a brand for their artefact as a "traditional tribal artefact".

Commodification and globalization have changed the worldview, society, culture, art and craft of the tribal community. At the same time, it has brought recognition to the artisans at the global level. The recognition at the international level has uplifted their social status within the region. Craft practice gave them identity and status. [1] The world is turning into a homogenous society and it has its concerns. But culture is dynamic and heterogeneous and it cannot be altered entirely.

7.2 Findings

- Being nomadic artisans, both communities' members are flexible and adaptive to changes. Because they were always in motion, and they continued craft practice wherever they move. Thus they developed the moulding ability to survive in any circumstances. They were able to adapt and incorporate according to the new environment and people. Due

[1] As master craftsmen tell about their early life and now how different it became. Every time something happens in the region or some political figure or official or celebrities visits at the district or region, they mandatorily visit the houses of artisans. It is definitely a matter of pride for them.

to this capability, they can easily incorporate and accept new people into their crafting arena. Traditional artisans of both communities do not have a problem in teaching and incorporating any outsider as a craftsman. The majority of artisans belong to Jhareka and Ghadwa communities they are a significant force of sustaining and continuing the *Dhokra* craft. They are very open to everyone who wants to learn the craft; their openness is a significant factor in the transformation of the hereditary group to occupational group.

- *Dhokra* craft's visual form is heavily derived from the folklore of artisan and regional consumers. The proverbs, idioms, riddles, and tales discussed in the third chapter of the thesis suggest their origin from craft techniques. Hence craft inspires the folklore and vice-versa.

- Typology and technology of craft have changed over the period. Significant changes are seen in the usage of substitute materials, due to lack of raw material availability, usage of machinery after technological advancement. But interestingly usage of machinery is limited. Machinery is used only for specific steps of methods like for casting and polishing. All other aspects of the process retained and remained in the traditional method of crafting. Permanent settlement in artisan's dwellings, lack of demand in the regional markets, modernity, urbanization and changes in the lifestyle of consumers etc. are some of the critical factors, which have a considerable influence in the craft practice.

- *Dhokra* craft and crafting always remained in the triadic structure like in the case of material there is (1)clay, (2) wax-thread and (3)brass, in case of form and design they create (1) supernatural (deities, clan and ancestors etc.), (2) natural (human, flora & fauna), and (3) geometrical (cone, sphere, cube, lines, and hair braid etc.). Similarly for the functions of artefacts as well, *Dhokra* artefact has three fundamental functions, that is (1) techno-function (2) socio-function, and (3) ideo functions. These functions provide a distinct identity for the *Dhokra* craft.

- Market-driven production, along with e-commerce empowered the craftsmen to find out new terrain guided by the commodification of the craft. Globalization and liberalization made the craft to the consumer-driven commodity which uses state of the art marketing technique "timely appropriate marketing strategies" to satisfy demand and supply logic.

7.3 Scope for the future research

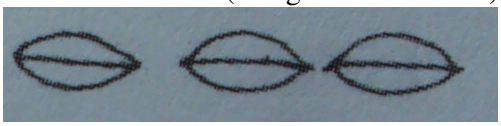
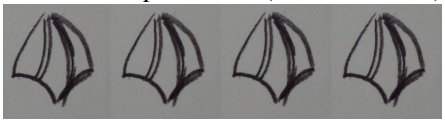
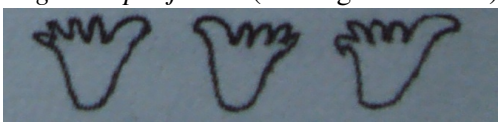
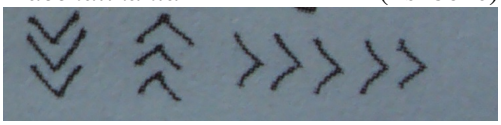
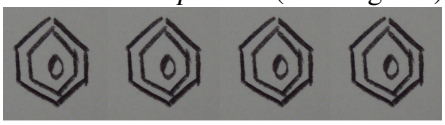
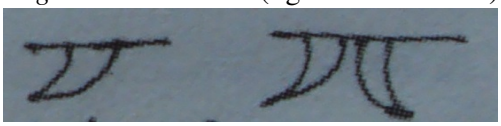
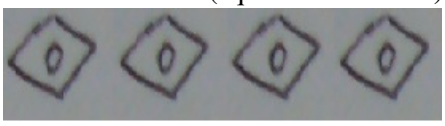
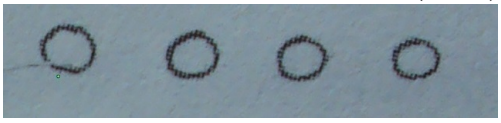
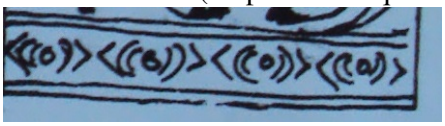
The present thesis explored the above-mentioned aspects of crafting. For further exploration, several directions and strategies can be taken-

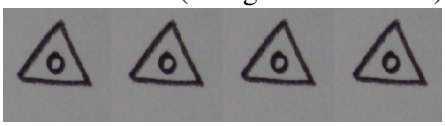
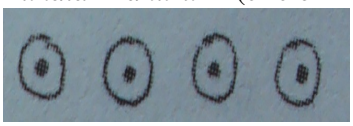
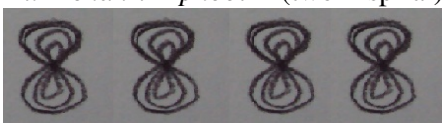
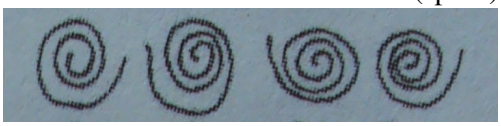
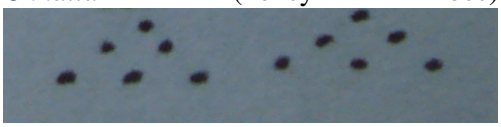
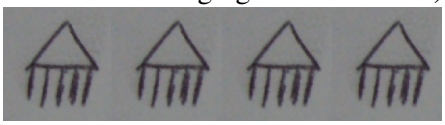
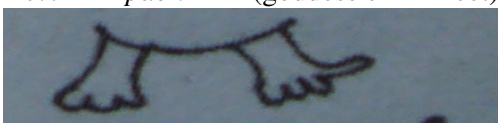
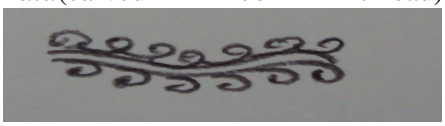
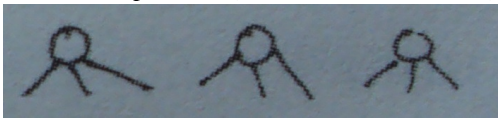
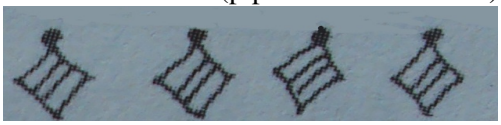
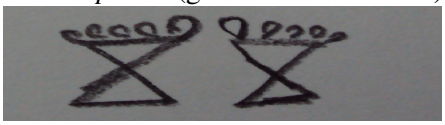
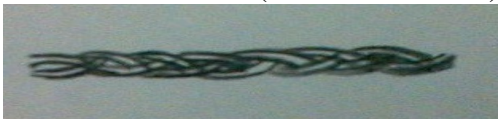
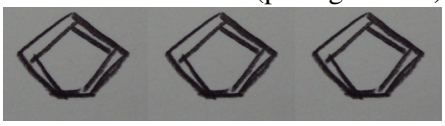
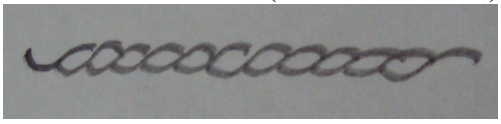
- Nowadays *Dhokra* is also done in several regions of the country by several community members, thus a comparative study of these occupational artisan communities at different centres can reveal the sustainable strategies of the craft.
- *Dhokra* casting technique is widely incorporated in the academic discipline and taught in the art colleges, studies can be conducted on the contemporary artist who works with this technique.
- Government has made several policies and scheme for the upliftment of artisan community however it is unable to reach to the ground level and trapped in the issue of social status i.e. "tribe and caste". The government can take extra measures to ensure that opportunities are provided to artisans regardless of their caste and gender, which can help them to improve their socio-economic condition and can emancipate them from moneylenders and businessmen.
- *Dhokra* artisans are creative and skillful; government institutions can come forward and take an extra effort to put forward these artisan's works in the mainstream art world.
- *Dhokra* metal crafting technique is gradually expanding thus research can be conducted to see its economic growth using a statistical method to access its contribution in providing employment, which will in turn, re-assert the necessity of this tradition.

To sum up, the crafting tradition of Chhattisgarh reflects the folklore of regional community and represents them through the visual artefact. Though the advancement of industrialization, economic-cultural globalization, advertisement, commodification and emergence of 'Glocalization', artefacts are modified and altered but it provides artisans with an identity of the occupational community, economic growth and stability, thus a way to survive and sustain the craft and crafting tradition.

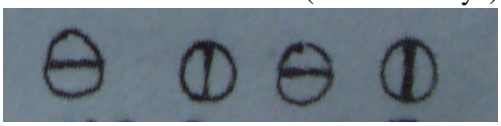
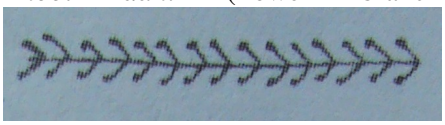
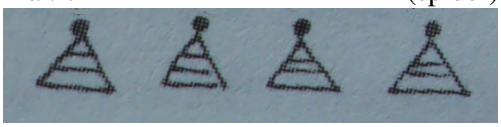
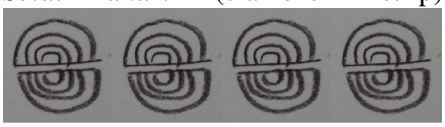
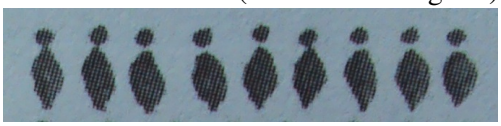
Appendix1: Thread Design Motifs

Thread Design Motifs

SN	Old motifs Thread Design Motifs	New Motifs Thread Design Motifs
1.	*Amakasi* (mango slice) 	*Batakh poan* (duck feet) 
2.	*Bagh panja* (tiger claw) 	*Chakri dor* (connecting spirals) 
3.	*Macchalikanta* (fishbone) 	*Chhe kona phool* (hexagonal) 
4.	*Jond ber* (moon and sun) 	*Chot sotai* (clamshell) 
5.	*Baghnakha* (tiger nail) 	*Dabba bundi* (square and dot) 
6.	*Bundia* (circle) 	*Dabba dhari* (strip with square 

SN	Old motifs Thread Design Motifs	New Motifs Thread Design Motifs
7.	*Karelaphool* (bitter gourd) 	*Tirki dhuru* (triangular and dot) 
8.	*Bundia dhuru* (circle with axle) 	*Du chakri phool* (two spiral) 
9.	*Chakti* (spiral) 	*Jhanjhar* (two attached box design) 
10.	*Chhatta* (honey bee) 	*Jhhalar* (triangular and hanging thread) 
11.	*Devi paon* (goddess's feet) 	*Lata*(carved hook thread) 
12.	*Hansa pai* (claw of swan) 	*Lattu* (peg-top) 
13.	*Pikri* (pipal leaf) 	*Laxmi paon* (goddess laxmi feet) 
14.	*Do Beni* (Braided hair) 	*Panch kona* (pentagon) 
15.	*Ek beni /enithi*(twisted thread) 	*Patta* (leaf) 

. APPENDIX1: THREAD DESIGN MOTIFS

SN	Old motifs Thread Design Motifs	New Motifs Thread Design Motifs
16.	*Kanwa ankhi* (crow eye) 	*Phool dahi* (flower branch 
17.	*Makri* (spider) 	*Sotai dhari* (clamshell strip) 
18.	*Gehudana* (wheat grain) 	–

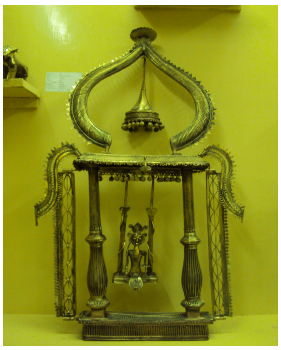
Appendix2: Structure and Function of Dhokra Artefacts

Structure and Function of Dhokra Artefacts

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
1		*Bohariya Mata*, Bastar. 2" x 2" x 8" approx. Mother Goddess belongs to Muriya tribes. They keep goddess outside of the village under the tree or on stone, which is known as *Gudi* She is known for her justice, punishes the criminal and saves the innocents. Tribal worship the goddess in all their festival. If someone falls sick, they offer her goat or hen or pig. To please as they believe that illness comes due to any mistake or sin of last birth. The goddess is in standing position, dagger in right hand and plate in the left hand, has big lips, big eyes, long ears and a small head with a round crown.
2		*Buri Mata* Bastar. 2" x 1" x 5" approx. Mother Goddess is worshipped by tribal for the wellbeing and safety from evil. It is believed that carrying her during the journey can save them from all kind of danger, like a thief, violent animals and evil spirits. Tribal believe that the goddess was born to protect the people. She carries a sword on her hand and kills all devils. Once some devils played a trick and took her both hands and killed her. But *Buri Mata* had the power of God, so her spirit saves people. An individual Simplified figure without hands. It is in standing position with legs bending at outside, minimal work on the figure with a few decorations.

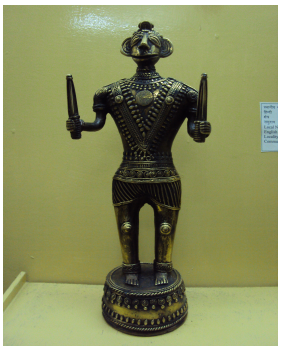
. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
3		*Handa Kankalin Mata*, Bastar. 1 1/2" x 1 1/2" x 11" approx. The mother goddess is believed as the sister of tribal goddess *Chandra Kankalin Mata* but Some say they both are same. The goddess kills the demon and evil with her sword. She is monovalent, and the aura circle is vast compared to her body that shows her power. *Handa Kankalin Mat*a is pleased with the offering of Goat or bull or buffalo. The figure has round legs, curveted towards outside, lean waist, elongated torso, broad shoulder, small and slim hands, and a small head with big aura. Even though basic features are similar to other tribal figures yet it is different as per anatomy. The breast of the figure is below the ribcage and also not covered with jewellery, like many other figures.
4		*Hinglajin Mata*, Bastar. 1 1/2" x 2" x 8" approx. The mother goddess is also believed as the form of *Parvati* also known as the sister of *Danteshwary Mata.* There is believed that the goddess is another form of goddess *Hinglaj Mata* which is in Pakistan one of the fifty-two *Shakti Peeth*. There only a few temples of *Hinglajin Mata* in Bastar region. Hinglajin Mata is worshipped by tribes and people of the region mostly during *Dashhara* and *Madiya* Festivals. The figure has a big pentagonal aura and big pedestal. It is semi-realistic and simplified has round legs, lean waist, lean hands and normal size shoulder with, round eyes, thick and long nose, thin lips and big ears with the rough texture. She holds dagger in left hand and plates in the right hand. Modelling seems bold, minimal decoration with thread.
5		*Kotgobin Mata*, Kotgoba, Bastar. 3"x 2" x 13" approx. The mother goddess is worshipped by tribal of Bastar region, she is offered the blood of goat or buffalo. Goddess has four hands, in the attire of fighter; some also refer her as the form *Durga* & *Kali*. She holds the sword in her first right hand, a dagger in the second right hand. Round shield in the first left hand and a blood plate second left hand. The name is associated with the place known as Kotgoba, where her temple is made. The figure seems influenced by medieval stone sculpture of the region. It is hard to see the goddess with four hands also, which is more realistic and dressed with the cloth. Two lion figures are attached to the pedestal, which is also uncommon. Compare to other religious figures. The sculpture is decorated with a compact design.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
6		*Nag Devi* (Serpent goddess), Bastar. 14"x 4" x 40" approx.Goddess is also known as *Sarpa kanaya* (snake Virgo). She is worshipped during the *Nag Panchami* festival for wellbeing by all the tribal communities. According to tribal belief, the goddess is also a deity of river rain and pond. So during the rainy season, tribal worship and offer milk to the goddess to have grace open them. Goddess is shown sitting over the swing with a sword in one hand and plate in another. Serpents are hanging on both sides of the swing. The goddess's shrine is always made outside of village under such a tree where termite house is also available. The figure has hardly visible forehead with crown, joint eyebrow big eyes pointed log nose big ears and thick lips. But Nag Devi has a tongue which is going out of the chin till the chest. Long torso, long thin hands, and skinny short legs. The individual figures are with decorated swings and jewellery. The swing is attached to roof stand on the two pillar roof has another leaf-shaped pillar with a small, flat round plate and hanging bell is attached to the centre. Except then figure everything is decorated with thread design. The magnificence pillar, swing and the presentation of the figure meet the function of the sculpture as the divine sculpture.
7		*Telangin Mata*, Bastar. 1 1/2 " x 1 1/2 " x 6" approx. The goddess is *Kuldevi* of many tribal families, she is the venerated by tribal during their important festival mostly on the harvesting festival. It is believed that the goddess has come from Telangana region with the traveller. They used to come earlier for a business that's why named as Telangin Mata. The goddess holds a plate with both of her hands, which is a sign of prosperity. The figure has stiffness only hands have one move as holding the plate. The figure is standing on the round pedestal, have decorated aura, flat head with a crown, and big flat leaf-like eyes, small roundish nose, and thin lips. Big ears, thick straight neck, broad shoulder, pointed breast, slim and small hands long torso, thick and short legs. The big decorated aura, crown and rice plate is a sign mark of the goddess of the region.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
8		Nag Deo, Bijapur. 2 1/2" x 2 1/2" x 18" approx.The artefact is known as *Nag Devta* or cobra. The *Nag Deo* is the totem of the tribes of the Bastar. There is believe that members of the *Nag* sept are immune to the cobra poison. These members before the beginning of the rainy season they kill cobra and cut off the head and tail, which they offer to *Nag Devta* and rest the body part they cook and eat. They believe that eating of the snake's body will protect them from eating any poisonous things throughout the years. The god is kept in the village shrine it belongs to the whole village community. The artefact is a semi-realistic figure of human and snake, standing independently on the round pedestal, Elongated body, unlike many other figures of the region this has the long legs and small torso, narrow shoulder. The face has thin neck protruding round eyes, small pointed nose, and small lips. The forehead is like other figures small and flattened skull with a rounded crown on the head. The snakehead is attached on the crown and both side of the shoulder. Thin and long stick-like hands, many masks are attached to the figure. The piece has a smooth and uneven surface with thick thread designs.
9		*Bhangaram Dev*, Bastar. 4" x 4" x 7" approx.Village god is the saviour of the traveller. According to the tale he was born with crooked hands and legs that's why he is known as *Bhanga Rao* means fractured person. He was brave and used to help people while sitting under the tree. He lost his life while saving people from thieves. Since then he is worshipped as god all over the Bastar region. For many tribal families it is also a *Kuldevta*. The figure is sitting over a throne which is on the big rectangular pedestal with a round base. The artefact has a coarse surface with figurative and animals design over the pedestal and throne. The artefact is a simplified semi-realistic sculpture, has a rough surface and designed with figurative, animal and ethnic motifs.
10		*Gobar Jodhiya*, Bastar 3" x 3" x 14" approx. Village god is also known as the ploughing god of the Gond tribe. The god is worshipped before the ploughing. There is a belief that *Gobar Jodhiya* god makes the field more fertile and saves seeds from getting decompose According to Gonds, God is known as *Gobar Jodhiya* because when farmers start tilling. They first spread the *Gobar* (cow dung) in the field and later the start *Jodhna* (ploughing). The god holds a plate of rice in one hand and a trident in another. Trident and plates are shown as a symbol of God as a protector with prosperity. The idol is worshipped under the tree which is in the field. The artefact has a strong frontal presentation, side view in linear form. The figure is simplified, semi-realistic, semi volumetric and has miniature scale.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
11		*Kaharu deo* (village god), Bijapur. 3" x 3" x 18" approx.The sculpture is the god of *Dandami madiya* community. God is known as a legend like a Raja Rao, who is the saviour of the village, but *Kaharo deo* has another version as well. The Bhatra community worships him during the harvesting festival as a form of prosperity. There is a belief that *Kaharu Deo* is the brother of *Bhairam deo*. The artefact is a simplified figure with broad shoulder and heavy leg. The god holds the sword in one hand and shield in another. That seems like attire for war or fight, on the base of sculpture near the leg. Two snakes have been represented which make figures different than common human figure and gives the sense of godly figure.
12		*Madiya Duma*, Kondagaon. 3" x 3 1/2" x 15" approx.This is ancestor god of Madiya community of Bastar. It is believed that dumas are holy spirits of their ancestor and they protect them from all kind of evil things. Duma is always shown as holding two sticks in hand, which is a symbol of their guardianship. It is a simplified figure, primarily rounded but has a strong frontal presentation. Self-contained and gesturing independently. The figure has asymmetrical anatomy, with big ears. Hardly visible forehead. Bog nose, big mouth, narrow and thin neck, broad shoulder, narrow and flat waist, short legs, in both leg round dots are to give the impression of the knee. It has a big round base with thread design which is also similar to jewellery design made on the figure.
13		*Mitu deo*, Narayanpur. 2 1/2" x 2 1/2" x 10" approx. The village god is known as the god of prosperity, worshipped by Abhujh Madiya tribes on their major festivals is also known as Raja *Mudiyal Deo*. There is believed that if you worship *Mitu deo* you would never have to face poverty. *Mitu deo* was a very well-known king of Abhujhmad. He was the king who was a very concern for his people. He used to farming and never misused his power. He was the king who gave his whole life to his people. And after death, his spirit still protects them from evil things. The god is shown as holding a rice plate in one hand and leaf on another which is the symbol of showing affection. In Chhattisgarh, people offer each other leaves of any religious tree or small plant of wheat or rice, to show their loyalty and friendly affection. It is a simplified semi-realistic figure. It has a coarse surface with thread design on the figure. Face feature are hardly visible with pinhole eyes, long thick nose, thick and big mouth, broad shoulder, narrow waist, and aura around head and shoulder.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
14		*Sapdhari Dev*, Bastar. 2" x 4" x 8" aprrox. *Sapdhari Dev* is worshipped by Mariya and dhurwa tribes for the wellbeing of the community. The Mariya community members also believe that their ancestor was a snake holder and used the snake as their jewellery, so they prefer the jewellery which has snake motifs. There is also a tale, according to that the *Sapdhari god* is a traveller. Once he happened to be travelling to Bastar. When he met the "*Icchadhari Nag*" (the snake who can transform himself into any species) who was injured. And *Sapdhari* saved his life by sacrificing his life. When Nag came to life he saw that his lifesaver is no more. He mourns for him and declares that whoever will worship *Sapdhari* god he will harm them. The god has been represented with a snake in one hand. Self-contained, semi-realistic, simplified figure with broad shoulder, big head, thin and stick-like hands, narrow waist, small legs, hardly visible palms and feet.
15		*Raja Rao*, Bastar. 2" x 5" x 6" approx. The village god is a spirit walks around the village and save the villager from thief and dacoit. There is a well-known tale is said about him. According to the tale, once the king of Bastar was taking a ride in night. To check about the wellbeing of his people. While roaming, he encounters a group of dacoits. Those dacoits attacked the village, king alone fought with them. King saved the villagers but lost his own life, since then he is worshipped people. The artefact is always shown as riding a horse along with a sword in his hand. There is a form of this item also where Raja Rao holds a dagger or spear in his hand. He always worshipped on all major festival at the border of every village. The figure is a self-contained, small-scaled, semi-realistic, simplified figure with broad shoulder. Thin and stick-like hands and legs. Bighead with a crown, small eyes, thin and pointed nose, thick lips. The animal figure is also simplified and has some significant features which make recognizable as a horse. It has long neck, long ears, a smooth and coarse surface with thread designs.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
16		*Mama-Mami*, Dantewada. 5" x 2" x 6" approx.The artefact is known as *Mama-Mami* (maternal uncle-aunty). They are worshipped only in the Dantewada area of Bastar. It saviour that *Mama-Mami* is another form of *Jitku-mitku* the legend couple of the Bastar region. According to tale found from the Dantewada. The couple was returning from the jungle and rain started on the way. They saw the broken dam, so they both slept on the broken part of the dam. To save the entire village from the overflow of the river. They both sacrificed their life, Since then they are worshipped as god-goddess. The artefact is shown two male figure keeping their one hand on the shoulder of another. The male figure is holding an axe on the right hand and the female figure holds the basket on another. The craft piece is two semi-realistic, simplified human figures (male-female), small leg, long torso, thick neck and big head, the face feature has hardly visible forehead, flat skull, big ears, protruding eyes, oblong, thick nose, thick lips and thick neck, broad shoulder, flat and elongated torso, narrow waist and small thick legs, and flat feet, thin and stick-like hands. It has uneven surface and thread designs, individual standing on the rectangular pedestal.
17		*Lohjarin Mata*, Bastar. 3" x 3" x 7" approx. Mother goddess from the place known as Lohjara. She is also known as Laikori Mata (mother with a small kid are known as *Laikori*), the goddess is the caretaker of new mothers. She is worshipped with milk, sesame and Jaggery. The people believe that *Lohjarin Mata* gives milk to the breast of the new mother and saves her from illness along with her child. The image of the goddess is always shown along with her child. Compare to other goddesses she does not have any aura, not any crown or something which indicates about her divine power. figure seems like she is breastfeeding as one hand of the child is over the breast of the lady. The goddess is worshipped mostly by the women in the house, she is purely domestic goddess and she is not taken out in public area. The figure has frontal representation but not very strong the side angular also gives the same impression. It makes a cross-view due to a child. It is primarily rounded figure with minimal and simplified work, has coarse surface. The semi-realistic figure has bog eyes, straight long nose, huge ears, and sticky hair. Dhan mala on the neck thick leg and thigh sitting over the pedestal.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
18		*Baman Devi*, Jagdalpur. 8" x 4" x 14" approx.The sculpture represents the image of a tribal goddess (*Baman Devi*) along with two more attender gods beside her. According to tribal belief, the goddess has the power to reduce the pain of human beings. She cures many other kinds of illness as well. She is short in height that's why her name is *Baman Devi*, she is one of the sisters of Budi Mata. According to villagers, two idols beside her are also god. But they do not know the names. It seems like two devotes or maybe priest who is sitting on the swing which is attached to the aura of the goddess with folding hands. The main figure's one hand is blessing posture and in another hand it carries the rice plate. Figures which are in the side sitting over the swing are small compared to the middle figure which shows the magnificence of the main figure. The work shown is semi-realistic, simplified figures designed by a few motifs. Minimal work is done in the face too have the big eyes, lips and ears with the semi-rough surface. Its semi volumetric figure with the semi-rough surface.
19		*Sat Dhangri Mata*, Bastar. 12" x 2" x 10" approx. The sculpture shown is the image of the seven sisters who were born in a normal farmer family but had the godly power. They are worship and offered hen or goat for good rain and harvest. They believe is that once a big famine came, so the farmer went to show to an astrologer for rain. The astrologer said there are seven goddesses in your home in the form of your daughter, who can save you so go back please them, Since then they worshipped. In this image, they are shown standing together in one line with the rice one plate on their hand. The *Dhangri* sisters are also known as *Dhangra- Dhangri*. Each one is holding plates on their hands towards the front side, small volumetric simplified legs, elongated torso, broad shoulder, lean hands and a small head with minimal detail of the facial features, semi-naked minimal decoration and Coarse surface.
20		*Khanda Devi*, Bastar Koitor, 7" x 5" x 12" approx. The mother goddess is also known as *Khanda Kanakalin*, venerated by Koitor and Agaira tribes. There is a belief that the goddess is a protector of blacksmith community. So for well-being, they worship her on their major festival with goat or hen as she only accepts blood sacrifice. Here the goddess is shown in all her three forms sitting over the elephant with a rider. The middle figure is holding the sword with her both hands. The other two figures are holding the plate, right side figure holding on the right hand and left side figure is holding on the left side. All figures have minimal work; every figure has similar anatomy, long torso with short and thin hands and legs and decorated with jewellery. Side figures have the impression of sitting position. Aura is an elongated oval shape with *Chhatra* on the top of aura.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
21		*Mawali Mata*, Bastar. 10" x 10" x 22" approx. The sculpture represents one the most venerated goddess in the Bastar and other parts of Chhattisgarh region. She is the goddess of prosperity and gratification, worshipped during harvesting festivals for wellbeing and prosperity. Goddess is shown along with her six sisters named *Kankalin Mata, Telangin Mata, Banjarin Mata, Hingaljin Mata, Ganga Dai* and *Dokri Mata*. Every goddess holds a sharp stick on the right hand and a plate on the other hand. The composition is primarily rounded, semi-realistic figure, hardly visible forehead, big eyes, joint eyebrow, pointed long nose, thick lips, big ears broad shoulder, elongated torso, thin and short hands and legs, minimal work with simple jewellery design. It is a semi-coarse surface. The many motifs are used for decoration. The composition shows the magnificence and monumentality of the sculpture.
22		*Sona Dai, Kanka Dai* and *Manka Dai* (three goddesses). Jagdalpur. 5" x 2" x 4" approx. (Religious figure) The three sister goddess save people from illness. There is a belief that the three sisters have the power to cure all kind of sickness the usually take the offer of hen or bird. All three goddess hold plates on both hands. The Dhurwa tribes worship them in all their major festival. The goddess is shown sitting position, but their legs are straight facing towards the viewer. One craved line is attached to the backside of the heads of three goddesses which may be an aura which also has three small, flat and round *Chhatra* just above the figure. Figures are semi-realistic, sitting over the pedestal. This has a round base and oblong from the top. The anatomy of all figure is same and size is also which makes equally valuable to all the figures. Figures are tin, have a broad torso, small hand and leg, big round eyes, narrow head, big ears, long and pointed nose and thick lips. Freehand modelling, the surface is uneven and coarse with thread designs.
23		*Betal Devi*, Bastar. 3"x 3" x 14" approx. The mother goddess is worshipped by Dhurwa tribe. It is the belief that the goddess takes care of their harvest and family, gives prosperity and felicity. The round domed crown and rice plate on the hands show the sacred or supernatural power of the figure. The artefact does not have an anatomical resemblance to many other tribal figures, only due to breast and jewellery it is identical that its goddess figure. The figure has the cylindrical form, which seems like the bust. Two palms are shown which looks like two dwarf figure. Minimal work with the impression of the human features and semi-abstract figure. Long and thin lips, pointed chin big nose and ears with typical tribal jewellery, small head with a big rounded crown. Hardly visible hands with rice plates, thick neck with jewellery. The pointed breast shows give the impression of the half-nude body. This is common to the region; the heavy jewellery on neck, nose and ears provides the figure with the tribal look.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
24		*Jhula Devi* (Mother Goddess), Bastar. 2" x 2" x 8" approx. The mother goddess is the saviour of jungle and illness, she settles in a swing that's why known as *Jhula Devi*. The figure seems like sitting on a swing and holding the rope of swing with her both hand, other forms of Jhula Devi is also made. The goddess is placed in the wooden swing mostly outside of the village. That is known as *Gudi* and tribal priest performs all ritual. The artefact is an Individual volumetric figure with the frontal presentation. Coarse surface with thread design. The figure is entirely different than many other tribal figures. There is a big round base on which the goddess is sitting. There is the only impression of the leg from knee attached to the plate and only palms are visible. It has a thick round waist as a belt, large breast with the tattoo, thick neck with tight jewellery and small straight hands with closed palm. The minimal work in the face with large, thick lips, two reverse semi-spherical eyes, pointed domed head with the small flat round slab.
25		*Pani sua* (Water Bird), Jagdalpur, 5" x 5" x 10". The sculpture is known as the goddess of water named *Pani suaa*. Tribes worship the goddess before fishing and hunting of crab. It is the belief that water has many dangerous creatures. And devil spirit which can harm and cause for death and *Pani Suaa* can save them. Almost everyone from the village goes for fishing but mostly Bhatra and Gond people belief on the *Pani suaa*. The artefact is primarily rounded volumetric figure with semi frontal presentation as a side and the angular view is also discernible. The sculpture seems like the face of a bird, and an open beak has a big throat. It may be made because the rest of the body is in water and the only the upper part is visible to humankind.
26		*Arya dev*, Jagdalpur. 5" x 5" x 7" approx. This is a water god. The god is believed to be the owner of a well, pond and river. The crab hunters offer him fish to please. It is considered being auspicious. The goddess is worship only by the side of a pond or river. It looks like a goat or animal head or maybe some amphibious creature. The god does not found within the community; there are very a few who know about this god. Other artisans do not even know the name and It is a rare and extinct figure. The goddess does not belong to any particular family or community.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
27		*Bhar sambhar Deo*, Jagdalpur 3" x 3"x 14" approx. The god is also known as the husband of betel Devi, who is a family goddess for some community member. It is the belief that God takes care of their harvest and family, gives prosperity and felicity. Image is shown with a rounded crown shows the richness and one plate of rice in the right hand that shows the prosperity. The artefact has an anatomical resemblance to the image of betel Devi. The figure has a broad face and *Kundal* (big round earring worn by a tribal man) in both ears, which make the figure identified as a male figure. Two palms are shown almost like a dwarf figure. It has minimal work with the only impression of the human features, semi-abstract figure. Long and thin lips, long pointed chin big nose and ears with an earring, small head with a big rounded crown. Hardly visible hands with rice plates, and *Dangai Kasala* (a kind of stick held by the tribal god) thick neck with jewellery.
28		*Bhima deo* and *Bhima Devi* Jagdalpur. (left) 2" x 2"x 6" (right) 2 1/2" x2 1/2" 8" approx. The god-goddess is worshipped before the rain. According to the tale, once rain did not happen in the Bastar. So king *Bheema*, along with his wife, started doing "*Tapasya*" to please the god *Indira*. God Indira was pleased with them, so he said if you till the land by urself, the rain will come. So *Bhima* and *Bhima Devi* both did the tilling of all land of his kingdom. And it rained, but due to fasting and tilling of the whole land, they both died. Since then they are worshipped for rain and tilling of the field. The god and goddess are shown as looking up words with spreading their both hands. The right figure holds a plate in one hand and Badgi (bell) in another hand. According to tribal that is the figure of Bhima dev because he has the crown in his head and has a bigger body than others. That makes as a male figure and left figure is slimmer than the right figure. That's maybe the reason it is considered as a female figure. The craft piece is bust of two folk deities. This is a semi-figurative, semi-abstract piece, Simplified figure, uneven and coarse surface, with thread design. The face feature somewhat looks scary has huge mouth and lips protruding eyes.
29		*Ganesh*, Bastar- Raigarh. 1 1/2 " x 1 1/2 " x 4 1/2 " approx. *Ganesh*, the Hindu god who is the son of God Shiva and Goddess Parvati. The item has many variations; this is one of the most popular items. *Ganesha* is believed to be the god of knowledge and prosperity. This is a semi-figurative piece with the head of an elephant and four hands, strong frontal representation with dimensions. Semilinear look from the side has a big head, thick neck, narrow shoulder, flat and square torso, long thin hands with small palms, and long, lean legs with small feet. The figure is on the round flat pedestal in standing position and hands are in a different posture with different objects. The figure has a crown on head, armlets on arms, bangles on the wrist; waistcloth is wrapped in the waist. And it hangs in between of legs. The figure has a coarse surface with thread design.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
30		*Krishna*, Raigarh- Bastar. 2" x 2" x 8" approx. *Krishna* is a Hindu god, the item is made for the religious and decorative purpose. Mostly the craftsmen make small size item and the bigger size items are made only with the pre-order. The item is the semi-realistic simplified figure and frontal representation. Unlike another figurative artefact, this has anatomical perfection. The figure has detailed facial features, body shapes and detailed hands, palms, legs and feet. The figure is standing on a round pedestal, has a smooth surface with a minimal design made with the tool. Unlike another item this does not have thread designs, also made with as freehand wax modelling. The figure is holding a flute, which is significant as the statue of Hindu god Krishna.
31		*Shiva*, Raigarh- Bastar. 3"x 3" x10" approx. *Shiva* is a Hindu god. The figure is holding *Trishul* in one hand, and another hand is blessing posture. It has a long thick bun of hair on the head, snake around the neck, *janeu* (holy thread) on the shoulder and waistcloth is wrapped around the waist. The figure has an uneven and coarse surface, with thread designs. This is semi-realistic, a figurative piece and strong frontal representation. It has a volumetric form with dimensionality. It is standing figure on the round pedestal. The figure has big head round face, protruding small eyes, thick eyebrows, long pointed nose, small lips, round jaw and thick neck narrow shoulder.
32		*Shiva- parvati*, Dantewada. 10" x 3" x 8" approx.. *Shiva-Parvati* is also called *Budadev* and *Budi Mata*. The Shiva and *Parvati* are shown as sitting over the Nandi bull. The article is made in a tiny size. In the Bastar region, many Shiva temples can be found. The item is semi-realistic, simplified volumetric figure, though it has the frontal representation, but not sharp. Both human figures are sitting over the animal figure, have a big head, thick neck, broad shoulder, elongated torso, thin and small stick-like hands, narrow waist, short legs and small feet. The animal figure also has an elongated body, short skinny legs, simplified features of bull-like hanging ears, small horn, bells on neck etc.

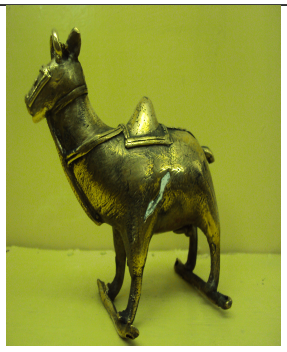
SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
33		*Budi mata* (old lady goddess), Raigarh (Image is taken from Catalogue produce by Manav Sangrhalaya Bhopal, 1984) Budi Mata means Old mother, also known as *Budgi Dai*, means an old lady. The goddess is the village mother goddess in the Bastar and Raigarh region. It is a religious item, made for worshipping. It is believed that goodness is the first human form of god came on the earth via a thunderbolt from the sky, to save the humans from *Raksha*. She is the eldest goddess, and the other tribal goddess is her sisters. The goddess with *Trishul* in one hand has long tongue big head but small body. The item is not in practice, but earlier it was possessed by a family or village community. This is a semi-figurative, it has a big head, the neck is not visible, narrow shoulder, and small thin stick-like hands. Figure's face is in triangle shape has small protruding eyes, flattened head with a crown, big thick nose, thick lips and tongue is out moon-shaped ears. The freehand wax modelling is done with various sizes and shape of the wax thread.
34		*Likorih mai* Sarguja, 3" x 2" x 10" approx. (Image is taken from Catalogue produce by Manav Sangrhalaya Bhopal, 1984). *Likorih mai* means mother of a newborn. The goddess is worshipped in the Sarguja region by many tribes for the wellbeing of newborn baby and mother. There is a belief that the goddess saves newborn baby and mother from illness and evil spirits. The goddess is represented as a breastfeeding mother long with a small child on her arms. The item is not in practice, but earlier it was in the possessed by the village community. This is a simplified form of a figure, has a big head, thick neck broad shoulder, thin and short stick like a hand, elongated torso, narrow waist, short bent legs, small flat feet. The figure is covered with crossed thread. The face is round with big round ears, round eyes, flat oblong nose, with small protruding lips, face too has the cross-thread design and has a flat skull. The coin necklace is on the neck and thick round belt is on the waist with circle designs. The piece has a rough, uneven surface; the scale of the item is small and has the curvy shape of the figure.
35		*Sur*, Jagdalpur. 6" x 7" x 36" approx. *Sur* is a dancer god. The god is worshipped the jagdalpur area. It is believed that by praying Sur, a dancer can fail on the ground. While dancing even after dancing for many hours. the craft item is now mostly made as a decorative piece. The god is represented as the head of traditional tribal male dancer with the horn of forest buffalo and other dancing accessories like earring, crow feather on the head, *Chul* etc. The crafted item belongs to a group of dancers in every village. The scale of the article is monumental. It is the semi-realistic and abstracted face of a male dancer. It has the flattened face features like pinhole like eyes, flat and hardly visible nose, two-line gives the impression of the mouth. It has longhorn on the head. A decorated stick is attached to the backside of the head. Neck also like the base of the piece

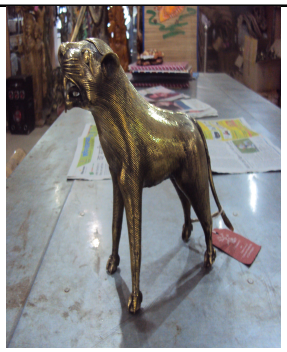
. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
36		*Shiva-Parvati*, Bastar. 12" x 2 1/2" x 20" approx. *Shiva-Parvati*, are Hindu god-goddess. The frame is based on the round pedestal, attached with another oblong pedestal, along with two pillars attached. Another small rectangular pedestal and swing are fixed between the two pillars. With the second pedestal, the first figure is on the second elongated pedestal is the figure of Shiva. The second figure which is in the swing is the figure of *Parvati* and two figures which are inside are attendees, holding *Chawar*. They are her two *Dasi* (attendees), two snakes are attached to the pillar of swing. According to Hindu believes the Shiva is the god of destruction and *Parvati* is the goddess of creation and fertility. The godly couple is also worshipped as the Shiva-Shakti. Item has monumental features, simplified work with semi-realistic figures, which are fixed in the frame surrounded by the swing. The figure of Shiva is on the sitting position with *Trishul* on the right hand and hand-holder stick on another. The second figure of the *Parvati* is sitting on the swing and holding dagger in both hands. The attendee has *Chanwar* in one hand and sticks in another hand. The piece has a smooth and coarse surface with thread design. The article has been composed like the swing of other tribal goddesses like *Mawali Mata, nag Devi* and *jhula Devi*. The other items which are attached to the piece like, snake, dagger, *Trishul* aura makes it remarkable as a religious piece.
37		*Mahishasur Mardini* Dantewada. 6" x 2 1/2" x 12" approx. She is a Hindu goddess. It is the semi-figurative piece, simplified form with frontal representation, the side view is slightly linear. The central figure is standing one leg is on the back of the animal figure (supposed to tiger according to myth). And the second leg on the chest of another figure (assumed to be mahishsur). The central figure has a small head with a crown, thick neck, broad shoulder, short, thin torso, thin stick-like hands, narrow waist, elongated legs. *Thrisul* on both hand pointing toward the second figure, which is leaning from back to the ground. Similar anatomy but has a horn on the head, dagger on the right hand, shield in the left hand. The animal figure is simplified and minimal has a big roaring mouth, alert ears, holding the second figure with another front leg. Item is made with thick wax thread and has some freehand modelling, uneven and coarse surface.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
38		*Karam seni jhhad* ,Raigarh 5" x 2" x 10" approx. *Karam seni Jhhad* means the tree of *Karamseni*. This tree is made for decoration it is the depiction of the event organized by tribals of Raigarh, Jaipur and Sarguja region. It is believed that *Karamseni* tree fulfils all demand, people take an oath to organize this five days event for three or seven years. Under the *Karamseni* tree, every evening for five days organizer listens to the stories of *Karamseni*. Whole night people dance around the tree. These days young people meet with each and offer pan if accepted the elope and get married the next morning. Artefact has represented a group of people dancing and having fun around the tree. The piece is the composition of many simplified human figures and a tree standing on a thick rectangular pedestal. The article has strong frontal representation but has three dimensions. Many small scale human figures made with thick wax thread the big head, thick neck, thin cylindrical torso, short and tiny hands and palms, short legs and feet. The figures have different gesture like standing, sitting, dancing and playing the instrument. These are composed in the frame of the tree. The piece has a coarse surface with thread designs. The curvy and organic shape has a monumental scale.
39		*Chirag Khambha* (lamp poll), Bastar. 8" x 8" x 34" approx. Artisans make the item for the award ceremony who got a state award for the best *Dhokra* metal craft piece. According to him, the poll represents the Bastar's cultural life, and the *Dhokra* craft is always made for some utility purpose. So he has made it as a lamp, this poll is made in many pieces are assembled. The bulb can be fixed on the top and wire can be taken via a poll, on the top poll. There is the head of Bastar dancer with bison horn, on-base the dancer ad musician figures are made in two levels. The item has frontal representation with dimensionality. It is volumetric, round and geometrical shape has a monumental scale. Smooth and coarse surface with thread designs.
40		*Ban Bhainsa,* (wild buffalo) Bastar. 3" x 1" x 4" approx. *Ban Bhainsa* means the wild buffalo; the item is made as religious and decorative pieces. The wild buffalo is a totem of *Karanga* and *waddar* clan. The item is made very rarely that can be seen in the shrine of those villages. The wild buffalo is the state animal of the Chhattisgarh and the buffalo motif can be found in folktales, proverb, idioms of Chhattisgarh as well. The wild buffalo is in the simple form of four-footed animals with a long thick horn which gives the identity of Buffalo. The item semi-realistic and simplified form of bison. Bighorns are significant identical of bison and it has a bell on the neck. The bent legs and slightly turned head show the movement of the piece. The item is made with freehand modelling with thread designs of different motifs.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
41		*Sambhar* (elk), Bastar, 4" x 2" x 7" approx. The *sambhar* horn is a symbol of power the horn, and there are many family clan names is also elk in Chhattisgarh. This item is also a new motif in the craft. Though Elk is found in the jungle of Chhattisgarh. The example of elk is very rarely found in folktale or myth of the regions. This is a semi-realistic and simplified form of elk. The piece has a volumetric and organic shape with dimensionality. The piece has thick and straight legs, small body, elongated neck and thick horns. The slightly bent neck give the impression of movement in the piece. The piece has a coarse and uneven surface with thread design on the body. The small scale meets the function of the article as a toy. There is some variation of the item, like in sitting position and attached along with some utility objects.
42		*Hathi* (Elephant), Bastar- Raigarh. 4" x 2" x 4" approx. The elephant is a symbol of royalty and power elephant is also used as a votive object. It is also believed to be auspicious, to keep an elephant along with the goddess. The elephant is also associated with the Hindu goddess *Laxmi*. The craft piece is a semi-realistic and simplified form of an elephant. This is made on a small scale, has a small round body, long thick bent legs with ornaments. The figure has a narrow neck, a small head and a crown. It has big thick long trunk gesturing outwards, pinhole like eyes, small pointed teeth and bent legs. There are many versions and variation of this piece can be found like an elephant with many heads and trunks, the elephant with the rider.
43		*Ghora* (Horse), Bastar. 6" x 3" x 9" approx. *Ghora* is used as a votive object for the harvesting festivals, After the festival votive objects are kept outside of the village or on the roof of the house. The motif of *Ghora* can be found to be in many folktale and myths of the region. *Ghora* is also associated with royalty and speed. The item is made in variations, some fantasy motifs like a horse with feather and half human and half horse are also made. The craft piece is the simplified and semi-realistic form with the wheel on the legs and then bent legs. The figure has an oblong-shaped body, thin neck and elongated face, small open mouth, protruding eyes, standing small ears, short length flat tails. The piece has smoothed and coarse surface with thread and bell design.
44		*Unt gadi* (camel vehicle), Bastar, 6" x 2" x 7" approx. The camel is not the animal from the region, but banjara and lambada brought this animal along with them. The motif of the camel is made not only in the brass but also in the other craft like terracotta, iron wrought, beadwork and embroidery of the region. The crafted item is a semi-realistic and simplified form of a camel. This is small scale toy item has a short leg, front and back legs joints in stick, a small tail, has a volumetric body with humpback, thick, elongated neck, small head, vertical ears. The piece has smoothed and coarse surface, miner design with thread.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
45		*Baghwa* (lion), Bastar. 14" x 5" x 14" approx. This is another popular item in their recent market. Though the lion is very much part of the folklore of the region. The being the part of craft tradition is denied by the craftsmen. The lion is associated with goddess Hindu and made for the Hindu devotees for religious purpose. The item is also made for decorative purpose with many designs have many version and variation of the form. In this item, the influence of new popular culture can be seen like polished work with patina and many new motifs etc.
46		*Garwa- Bachhwa*. (Cow-calf)Raigarh. 7" x 4" x 5" approx. The cow motif can be seen in the folklore of the region, but that's very few. Though this is made for religious purpose cow meat is also the part of food habits of tribal but many have given up maybe because of the influence of Hinduism. The piece is semi-realistic and simplified form of the cow. The artefact has smoothed and coarse surface with thread designs. Both have an elongated body, short legs, a small head and a small tail. The piece has many version and variation.
47		*Magarmaccha* (crocodile), Chhattisgarh 8"x 2"x 2 1/2" approx. The crocodile motifs are seen in the folklore of regions like many folktale and songs. The craft piece is semi-realistic and simplified form of a crocodile, The artefact is made on a small scale, large opened mouth with sharp pointed teeth which shows the movement. The figure has round eyes, bloated belly, short legs, elongated and thick tail. It has smoothed the surface with thread designs. The piece is an infrequent item, but the motif of the crocodile is used along with many utility objects.
48		*Devi geena*, Jagdalpur, 4 1/2 x 4 1/2 x 4" approx. *Devi Geena* means, the bowl of the goddess, in which the goddess is offered blood. After the sacrifice, the blood is taken on the container and offered to the goddess. It is believed that the goddess takes the fresh blood of animal when the animal is alive, so before cutting the head of the goat. The slight cut the neck and take a little amount of blood on the bowl. And later they offer head to the goddess. Item is small size bowl with has, round base. The middle part is narrow and upper is wide open, decorated with thread design has smooth and coarse surface.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
49		*Todi* (musical instruments), Bastar. 4"x 4"x 14" approx. *Todi* is also known as *Akum* in some part of jagdalpur and Dantewada. The instrument is mostly played during the ritual procession when god and goddess are taken out from their shrine to one particular gathering place. The folk performer also plays these instruments during the folk song performance. The outer part is decorated with thread design with bells on one side and hooks on the other side probably to hang the instrument in the wall.
50		*Chimni* (wick lamp), Bastar-Raigarh, 3" x 3 " x 4 1/2" Approx. The item chimney or *bati* means wick lamp. It was one of the popular items which the craftsmen make. with time this has become a rare item, now very rarely the item is seen in weekly markets The is volumetric. The round piece has tapped on the top and hooks on the middle to hold. The figure has a rough and coarse surface with some thread lines as decoration
51		*Kasla* (small pot), Chhattisgarh. 4 1/2" x 4 1/2" x 5 1/2" approx. Pot is mostly used during the ritual for water with mango leaf or *Neem* leaves for sprinkling water, sometimes used for *Diya* with leaf bowl of paddy or rice etc. Item is still made but rarely. This volumetric and primarily rounded, small-scaled item, has a smooth and coarse surface with thread designs.
52		*Jhari* (pitcher with pipe), Bastar, 4 1/2" x 6" x 5 1/2" approx. *Jari* or *tuturi* means pitcher. Item is used by many communities of the regions for rituals and especially during the marriage. This is volumetric and primarily rounded, small-scaled item, has a smooth and coarse surface with thread designs. It has the hook in the middle of the item for holding a pipe on the opposite side to pass the liquid, *Ghunghuru* (bells) are attached for design.

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
53		*Narja*, Raigarh, 1" x 1"x 18" (stick), the circle of 9" approx. *Narja* means weighing scale. The article was an old weighing scale, and the usage of this is infrequent. This was one among the other item which was earlier made by crafts maker of the region The item is assembled of two-piece attached with rope. Simple hand modelling is done.
54		*Dhan mala* (Peddy motif Necklace), Bastar & Raigarh. The item is known as Dhan mala (Necklace with Peddy motif), it is quite a fashionable necklace. One among the famous jewellery artefact used by women of the Chhattisgarh region. Other than brass, it is also made in silver and gold. Like *Dhan mala*, *pipal* leaf *mala* is also made. Pipal Patta mala (sacred fig leaf motif Necklace), Bastar. The item is assembled of same shaped motifs on one thread. The motif has an organic shape and smooth surface, small-scaled pieces.
55		*Sikka mala* (coin necklace), Bastar *Sikka mala* is one of the fashionable jewellery among tribal women. Earlier mostly it was made in brass along with the original coins. Silver was a bit expensive for the tribal, but now is it is made only in silver. The coin necklace is round shape, and thin thread designs on the surface, coin are separately cased and later assembled by the artisans. Coins are attached with thread which has hair braid designs.
56		*Suta* (thick round necklace), Bastar. *Suta* is made with different size and shapes and worn by both men and women. Mostly man wears the only *suta* in the nack but women were the other necklace as well along with *suta*. Item is made with hand and later some designs are made with the help of the tool. Probably this is the only jewellery on which artisans do not make any thread designs.

. APPENDIX2: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DHOKRA ARTEFACTS

SN	Artefacts	Content, Context, Function & Form
57		*Khadu* (bangles), Bastar and Raigarh. *Khadu* is made in various sizes, shapes and designs also made for men but with very less design that is known as polka *Khadu*. It is still made with some modern design, in many sizes and designs, though the usage has been reduced it is still in demand. Thin wax thread designs are made on the surface. semi-coarse and textured surface.
58		*Paidi* (anklet), Bastar. This is worn by tribal women and also by male dancers. Item is made in different sizes, shapes and designs, but mostly made as a very heavy and thick piece. Though the usage has been reduced is still in demand. Thin wax thread designs are made on the surface. Items have a smooth surface, will small bells attached to out layer of item textured.
59		*Jhhap* (bell anklet), Bastar and Raigarh.Item is made for the dancers, worn by both men and women. This one among the item which has not changed so far, it is still made in the same way as it used to be. Item is made in a variety of sizes and lengths also depend on the demand and can trace in local market and shops.
60		*Khilawan* (earring), Bastar. The tribal women still wear such design earring. The usage of the brass earring has been reduced and hardly seen in the market. Artisans of both regions make the brass earring, but that has contemporary designs. item is mostly made in round shapes but in different sizes, this slightly pointed towards outs side like a cone.

Appendix3: Primary Sources: List of Places and People

Primary Sources: List of Places and People

Following are the list of villages, Museums, regional Handicraft offices, private showroom and NGOs where fieldwork was done. A list of Artisans has been given; the researcher has interacted and interviewed these artisans.

SN	Bastar region	Raigarh region
1.	Chilkuti	Ektal
2.	Nangur	Bagaindihi
3.	Dahikonga	Ghoraghati
4.	Sirmur	Kandurpali
5.	Karanpur	Vishnupur
6.	Bhelwapadar (Kondgaon)	Damdarha
7.	Khorkhosa	Dadarpali
8.	Errakot	Sukhupali
9.	Jagdalpur	
10.	Barkai	
11.	Sargipal	
12.	Baderajpur	
13.	Sonabal	

Table 3: Village visited where fieldwork took place

NGOs

1. Saathi samaj sansthan- kumharpara, kondgaon
2. Viaks mitra- sargipalpara, konda gaon

. APPENDIX3: PRIMARY SOURCES: LIST OF PLACES AND PEOPLE

Museums

- Anthropological Museum, Vijiya Bhavan, Dharmpura, Jagdalpur, Chhattisgarh
- City Museum- Raipur, Chhattisgarh.
- Tribal Museum, Dept, of Handi Craft – Raipur, Chhattisgarh

Government offices

- Chhattisgarh handicraft development board, Chhattisgarh hat parisar, pandri, Raipur. Phone- 9826583524, 0771-4016500
- Dept. of the handicraft development board, Chandani Chowk, Jagdalpur, Chhattisgarh 07782-222579
- TRIFED, Govt. of India Tribal Handicraft showroom, S.H. Jagdish (regional manager) 2nd floor, hall no. 4, Housing board complex. Agahnpur, jagdalpur Chhattisgarh, Phone- 9479058453
- Chhattisgarh handicraft development board, House no.216, Bangla para, Uttar chakradhar Nagar. Raigarh, Chhattisgarh. Phone- 07762-223113
- Shabri emporium, C.R. Nag (regional manager) Chhattisgarh handicraft development board. The cultural centre, Bhelwapadar para. Kondagaon, Chhattisgarh
- Hastshilp Uddyog Sahkari Samiti. Main Road, Beside Police station. Kondagaon, Chhattisgarh. Phone- 7805079402

Private showroom

- Nag Bandhu's Art gallery, Forest colony, main road, Kondagaon Chhattisgarh Phone- 8959312643, 9329264954
- Bastar Arts, Saraswati hospital compound, Ashwini Nagar, Mahadevghat road. Raipur Chhattisgarh. Phone- 9424208882, 9303333306

List of artisans interviewed during different phases of the interview:

	Bastar region		**Raigarh region**	
SN	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**
1.	Aartibai Baghel, 44/ F	Khorkhosa	Ahilyabai Baghel, 47/F	Damdarha
2.	Bhagntin Nag, 50/ F	Barkai	Amritlal Baghel, 38/M	Damdarha
3.	Bholanath Sagar, 49/ M	Chilkuti	Balmukunda Induwar, 38/M	Baigindihi

	Bastar region		Raigarh region	
SN	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**
4.	Bhonduram Netam, 70/ M	Aalwahi	Bhogilal Jhorka, 41/M	Ektal
5.	Bhupendra Baghel, 38/ M	Kondagaon	Dhaniram Jhorka, 45/M	Ektal
6.	Bijuram Kashyap, 60/ M	Dahikonga	Dhanmati Jhorka, 42/F	Ektal
7.	Budruram Soni, 53/ M	Sidmud	Gomti Jhareka 38/F	Baigandihi
8.	Chamsing Besra, 64/ M	Kondgaon	Gopi Nath Induwar, 44/M	Ghoraghati
9.	Fagnuram Sagar, 67/ M	Chilkuti	Govind Baghel, 37/M	Damdarha
10.	Gabduram Nag, 60/ M	Aalwahi	Govindaram Jhara, 68/M	Ektal
11.	Gajruram Kashyap, 57/ M	Khorkhosa	Hemkumari Induwar, 33/F	Ghoraghati
12.	Gajruram Sagar, 58/ M	Karanpur	Kiyabai, 65/F	Ektal
13.	Ganesh Soni, 72/ M	Sidmud	Lagni Jhara, 56/F	Ektal
14.	Ganeshram Kashyap, 47/ M	Khorkhosa	Madan Jhara, 64/M	Ektal
15.	Hastibai Baghel, 39/ F	Khorkhosa	Madhav Baghel, 32/M	Damdarha
16.	Hirabai Sagar, 48/ F	Karanpur	Meena Bai Induwar, 35/F	Baigandihi
17.	Jairam Nag, 54/ M	Barkai	Meenabai Jhorka, 39/F	Ektal
18.	Jamunabai Sagar, 52/ F	Chilkuti	Mogra Bai Induwar, 35/F	Baigandihi
19.	Janki Ram Nag, 52/ M	Chilkuti	Mohan Induwar, 38/M	Ghoraghati
20.	Jankibai, 58/ F	Errakot	Nanhuram Baghel, 78/M	Damdarha
21.	Jheruram Baghel, 49/ M	Khorkhosa	Padmabai Jhara, 47/F	Ektal
22.	Jhimturam Sagar, 83/ M	Karanpur	Phulbai Jhara, 58/F	Ektal
23.	Jitendra Baidh, 59/ M	Pharsagaon	Radheshyam Baghel, 52/M	Damdarha
24.	Jitendra, 47/ M	Barkai	Ramjawati, 58/F	Ektal
25.	Kejuram Besra, 85/ M	Kotgaon	Ramlal Baghel, 56/M	Damdarha
26.	Keshwati Kashyap, 54/ F	Dahikonga	Ramlal Jhara, 58/M	Ektal
27.	Kotri Bai Soni, 60/ F	Sidmud	Ranjit Induwar, 32/M	Baigandihi
28.	Lakheshwar Kashyap, 46/ M	Dahikonga	Sampurandas Induwar, 67/M	Ghoraghati
29.	Lakheshwar Nag, 36/ M	Aalwahi	Santosh Baghel, 27/M	Damdarha
30.	Laxmin Kashyap, 42/ F	Khorkhosa	Santoshi Induwar, 25/F	Baigandihi
31.	Ludruram Sagar, 54/ M	Aalwahi	Sarvshatin Baghel, 29/M	Damdarha
32.	Nekram, 54/ M	Karanpur	Satya Narayan Jhara, 50/M	Ektal
33.	Mahendra Besra, 41/ M	Kondagaon	Satyakumar Jhara, 59/M	Ektal
34.	Maheshram Nag, 57/ M	Barkai	Savita Baghel, 25/F	Damdarha
35.	Mangli Kashyap, 58/ F	Khorkhosa	Shashikant Baghel, 46/M	Damdarha
36.	Mangluram Sagar, 73/ M	Errakot	Shouki Lal Induwar, 61/M	Baigandihi
37.	Mani Ram Soni, 51/ M	Sidmud	Smt. Vedmati Induwar, 63/F	Ghoraghati
38.	Mohan Netam, 54/ M	Kondagaon	Sonkumar Jhareka 40/M	Kandurpali
39.	Nadguram Kashyap, 68/ M	Errakot	Sudan Jhara, 50/M	Ektal
40.	Naniram Nag, 52/ M	Dahikonga	Sulochana Induwar, 39/M	Ghoraghati
41.	Naniram Sagar, 47/ M	Errakot	Vijay Induwar, 38/M	Baigandihi
42.	Narsingh Baghel, 46/ M	Khorkhosa	Vijay kumar Jhareka, 27/M	Ektal
43.	Omwati Kashyap, 39/ F	Dahikonga		

. APPENDIX3: PRIMARY SOURCES: LIST OF PLACES AND PEOPLE

	Bastar region		Raigarh region	
SN	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**	**Names-Age/gender**	**Village**
44.	Panchuram Sagar, 60/ M	Kondagaon		
45.	Phuldai Sagar, 42/ F	Kondagaon		
46.	Phulsing Sagar, 44/ M	Kondagaon		
47.	Pilibai, 52/ F	Khorkhosa		
48.	Piluram Baghel, 27/ M	Khorkhosa		
49.	Raghunath Sagar, 50/ M	Errakot		
50.	Raiyla Nag, 27/ F	Chilkuti		
51.	Rajendra Baghel, 50/ M	Kondagaon		
52.	Rajendra Sagar, 28/ M	Kondgaon		
53.	Rambai, 50/ F	Aalwahi		
54.	Rambati Baghel, 23/ F	Khorkhosa		
55.	Ramcharn Poyam, 47/ M	Kondagaon		
56.	Ramsing Besra, 65/ M	Kondagaon		
57.	Rinibai Sagar, 23/ F	Karanpur		
58.	Savita Sagar, 40/ F	Kondgaon		
59.	Savtri Nag, 35/ F	Aalwahi -		
60.	Shankar Kashyap, 57/ M	Khorkhosa		
61.	Shankar Nag, 55/ M	Barkai		
62.	Shantibai, 54/ F	Dahikonga		
63.	Shri Samuram Sagar, 59/ M	Errakot		
64.	Sibeshwar Kashyap, 44/ M	Dahikonga		
65.	Subati Baghel, 42/ F	Khorkhosa		
66.	Sukhchand Ghadwa, 74/ M	Kondagaon		
67.	Sukhwati Nag, 45/ F	Dahikonga		
68.	Suktaram Soni, 68/ M	Sidmud		
67.	Sundar Sagar, 42/ M	Chilkuti		
69.	Sunita Besra, 45/ F	Kondagaon		
70.	Tijanbai Besra, 50/ F	Kondagaon		
71.	Tumi Kashyap, 78/ F	Khorkhosa		
72.	Vishweshwar Kashyap, 43/ M	Dahikonga		
73.	Yashoda, 22/ F	Karanpur		

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