



## ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPER

## Textile Design

### MIXED IKAT TRADITIONS OF INDIA: A STUDY OF REGIONAL DIVERSITY, STRUCTURE, AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

**KEY WORDS:** Ikat, Mixed Ikat textiles, Mashru, Sangi, Gulbadan, Resist dyeing

**Dr. Priyanka Kumari**

#### ABSTRACT

Indian handloom textiles carries enormous importance - culturally, socially & economically since past. It serves as a vital occupation for a large set of population. It has been profoundly supported by diversity of material, climatic condition, craftsmanship and tacit knowledge of artisans. That is why every region developed its distinct style and product based on need and visual richness of the surrounding. It has evolved with time embracing changes like shift in patronage, religious belief and influence of foreign trade. Mixed Ikat tradition of India can be seen as amalgamation of religious belief, appropriation of weave, material and dyeing technique to fulfill the aspiration of wearing silk without actually touching the skin of wearer. Apart from aesthetics & mere use of covering body, it hold immense symbolism, social & community identification. In Muslim community, silk is prohibited to wear, therefore mixed textiles came as a solution of wearing silk. This has led to development of wide variety of mixed textiles where different mode of embellishment like, weaving, printing, dyeing and surface embellishment has been used. The variety of mixed textiles where Ikat were used for embellishing the fabric were termed as mixed Ikat textiles. Ikat textiles has been widely studied by several scholars. However, the collective study of mixed Ikat textiles like Mashru, Sangi, Gulbadan has not been done much. This was a qualitative exploratory study with a descriptive orientation where the objective of the study was to trace the historicity of mixed Ikat textiles, their regional diversity, structural variations, and cultural significance across major production centers in India, including Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, and the Deccan. The study also tried to explore the reason behind its decline and contemporary design intervention for its survival. The study indicates that regional variations in structure, material combination, and embellishment techniques contributed to distinct identities across centres, while changing market dynamics, material substitution, and reduced adaptability have led to its decline. It further highlights the need for focused documentation and design-led interventions for sustaining this traditional textile practice.

#### INTRODUCTION

Handloom products are an essential component of India's socio-cultural fabric and livelihood system. It has undergone significant transformation over time, embodying the cultural plurality and richness of its geographic regions having undergone political wave of changing reigns, dynasties and colonialism (Singh, Joshi, Khazanchi & Kulkarni 2025). It is known for its richness and diverse textile throughout the world. For centuries, export of Indian textiles and patterns have influenced demand around the world (Alcorn, 2024). India was virtually supposed to cloth entire world by mid of 18th century Hatanaka (1996). Its credit goes to our artisan's age old proficiency in weaving, dyeing and colour fixing, material handling, their combination and their creative application. This has created variegated charms in different regions where textiles are often decorated with one or more than one technique. One such beautiful textiles where more than one technique is used to make the fabric is Ikat (Roy, 1975). In Ikats, along with weaving, resist dyeing of yarn is also done prior to weaving to create beautiful and intricate patterns.

In addition to weaving and dyeing techniques, Indian artisans have widely explored different materials. It has been strengthened by underlying geographical diversity, varied climatic conditions, religious beliefs, and availability of diverse materials. This has yielded many pure and composite textiles. In Indian textile tradition, mixed textile holds an important position. It is also because of its connection with Muslims and their ceremonial usage in Hindus. Apart from these aspects, it has been found suitable for Indian climate. It has given sheen from outside and cooling comfort from inside. Indian weavers too have shown their profound interest in the juxtaposed texture & pattern effect, resulting from mixed weaving (Goswamy, 2002). Probably this interest and acceptance of mixed textiles among Muslims might have been the reason behind mixed Ikat tradition.

Ikat has been extensively documented by several scholars, but a comprehensive study of mixed Ikat textiles like Mashru, Himroo, Sangi and Gulbadan are relatively under-researched, particularly in their regional variations, structural compositions and changing cultural significance. Most of the

existing research has either focused upon pure Ikat techniques or a specific textile traditions. Therefore, it became critical to understand the links between regions, material, technique and their socio-religious context. Hence, the objective of the study was to explore the emergence of mixed- Ikat textiles, their cultural context, technical foundation, classification, regional variations, usage, reasons for decline and recent design intervention.

#### Research Methodology

It was a qualitative exploratory study with a descriptive orientation as it was suitable to explore material, technique and cultural context of mixed Ikat textiles. This approach allowed the study of reading mixed Ikat as an outcome of the interplay of religious practices, regional traditions, and technological adaptations. As per the objective of the study, the secondary data were collected from books, journal articles, blogs and archival records. It was used to trace the historicity of mixed Ikat textile, its cultural context and regional variations. The primary data collection was collected from artisans and Weaver Service Centre, Ahmedabad to understand its material culture, technical aspects and recent development. The tool used for the study were observation and informal discussion. The clusters selected for the study were Patan and Kutch-Bhuj. Here purposive sampling was used to select weaving cluster as these clusters have been major centers of mixed Ikat textile production in past. Convenience sampling was used for selection of artisan due to lesser number of artisans practicing mixed Ikat. Total five artisans were selected for this, two from Patan and three from Kutch-Bhuj. Among these artisans, one artisan from Patan and one artisan from Kutch-Bhuj has practiced Ikat in past and others are practicing non-Ikat version of mixed textiles. During discussion with Weaver Service Centre official, it was stated that they have recently trained few artisan in Ikat weaving under mixed textile category. The outcome for those development has been enclosed in Fig. 5. Researcher has also interviewed one artifact collector from Bhuj to observe older mixed Ikat pieces. The analysis of collected data were done through visual and contextual analysis. Although the undertaken study tried to look into region variations and similarities, it was more focused to Gujarat region.

## Emergence of Mixed Textiles and Cultural Context

Cotton has served as a medium of compromise in perspective of South Asia's religious plurality. This adaption took place on a material level to avoid Islamic prohibitions on the use of silk fabrics. Due to this, artisans devised a composite fabric using cotton warp and silk weft known as Mashru which means "permitted," conveying that cotton could reduce the perceived violation associated with silk (Ali, 1900; Lari, 2010 & Naqvi, 1983, Bayly, as cited in Hough-Gertner, 2017, p. 290, ). In Bahar-i 'Ajam (s.v. qutn), qutni has been described as a type of silk fabric known in the Indian vernacular as Mashru, derived from qutn (cotton) with the suffix -i denoting association. The fabric is made from a combination of cotton and silk in its warp and weft, rather than pure silk, which makes it permissible to wear under Islamic law (Habib, 2003). Desai (1988) also stated that it was worn by orthodox Muslim men who were prohibited to wear pure silk by their prophet. Today also, many orthodox Muslims stand by this tradition of not wearing pure silk. Basically, it represents mixed fabric that is not of pure silk but mixed with any other material preferably cotton due to its abundance in India (Kumari, 2021). It's a silken fabric with far lesser consumption of silk (Dhamija & Jain, 1989). Persian textile culture largely assimilated Indian characteristics by quantity as well as variety by generating broader variations of cotton admixtures i.e. cotton-silk mixed which were principally silken. So, development of mixed textiles were an Indian innovation. (Naqvi, 1983, as cited in Kumari, 2021). It has also derived from Sanskrit word 'misru' meaning mixed (Bühler, Fischer & Nabholz, 1981). In the great epic Mahabharat (BC 1200–sixth century AD) there is reference that the king of Kamboj (Balkh) brought beautiful silk textiles as a present for the Rajsuya Yagna of King Yudhishtir, which did not have a trace of cotton. This description suggests the possibility of mixed fabrics in those days (Kamal, 2017).

The earliest samples of mixed textiles, *Mashru* came from Western India and the larger samples of mixed cloths relating to 19th century seemed to be coming from Banaras and Murshidabad (Lari, 2010, as cited in Kumari, 2021). Till mid 17th century, Gujarat was a primary silk-producing and exporting region of India. Later by 1661, English established silk industry in Madras by relocating silk weavers from Bengal. By late 19th century, silk and silk-cotton fabrics were made nationwide. Mention of silk-cotton mixed textile like Mashru and Inru, among others were found in Forbes Watson catalogue (Mukund, 1992). Banaras had emerged as a thriving centre for the production of a wide range of cotton and silk textiles by late eighteenth century where mixed piece goods primarily constituted *Susi* and *Mashru* (Mishra, 1987). Rai (2011) stated that during late nineteenth & early twentieth century, Azamgarh, Mubarakpur, Mau, Kopa were popular mixed textile centers in Eastern United Provinces where Mubarkpur focused upon mixed textile variety of *Tasar* silk and cotton. The Islamic prohibition on pure silk led to a sustained demand for mixed textiles. Mashru was among the fine textile products of the looms of Banaras.

## Historical Evolution and Technical Foundations of Ikat in Mixed Textile Traditions

It is one of the oldest and highly developed fabric making tradition. It has been practiced in several parts of the world. However, mixed Ikat has been more popular in Asian nations. The historical evidence suggests that although cotton warp ikats similar to those found in Egypt and attributed to Yemen may have been produced in Yemeni workshops, the absence of evidence regarding the origin of the ikat technique in Yemen points towards a probable Indian origin, further supported by the resemblance of textile motifs depicted in the Ajanta Cave paintings (Crill, 1998) and Central Asian artefacts to the Nahal Omer and Fustat fragments; this indicates that the technique likely disseminated from India both westward and eastward through established trade routes (Bühler, 1972; Shamir & Baginski, 2014).

The global popularity of Indian Ikats have rested mainly on unrivalled dyeing skills of artisans that yielded bright and fast colours. India dyers was pioneer in art of dyeing and dye fixation technique. Indian textile colours were permanent. It can be understood from this statement that till 17th century Europeans werenot aware of techniques of fixing dyes, due to which their fabric colour bled or peel when washed (NCERT, 2023).

Although Ikat varies in certain details throughout the geographically dispersed regions but the basic technique of dividing yarn into small bundles, tying with waterproof materials and dyeing remains the same (Crill, 1998). Resist dyeing imparts blurred-edge colour patterns to the yarn which later appears on the surface after weaving. The clarity of the design depends upon the precision of binding of yarn to create resistance while dyeing. The warp or weft yarns are dyed after binding. After completion of dyeing process, the yarns are unwrapped. The portion of yarn that underwent binding contains original yarn colour while remaining portion contains the dyed colour. The term 'Ikat' has derived from Malay-Indonesian word "mengikat" which means "to tie" or "to bind," referring to the resist process (Ginsburg, 2015). Ikat under mixed textiles group constitutes of different materials in warp and weft, usually silk and cotton. In terms of weave, they majorly uses satin for ground structure and supplementary yarn for motif development if needed. Due to use of satin weave, the blurred-coloured patterns becomes prominently visible on surface with distinct lustre. Otherwise, classic Ikats patterns with plain weave gives a matte texture on surface. These mixed fabrics are known as Mashru, Himroo, Sangi, Atlas, Gulbadan, Alacha, Kotni, Misru, cuttaneey, or tapseil, etc. in different Indian regions (Ali, 1900; Goswamy, 2002 & Kumari 2021, Agrawal 2001, Kacker, 1994, Ali 1900). Aspiration to wear silk without violating the religious norms of prohibition of silk had given origin of several mixed textiles (Kumari, 2021) which were further embellished with other ornamentation techniques like Ikat and supplementary yarns. Traditionally Ikat has been done on several materials like silk, cotton, or both silk and cotton in the same fabric (Ali, 1900 & Goswamy, 2002) with varied yarn placement like cotton ground with silk Ikat borders, a silk ikat ground with plain cotton borders or silk warp and cotton weft (Crill, 1998). Historically, mulberry silk has been majorly explored in Ikat under silk variety; with lesser attention to other indigenous varieties like *Tasar*. However, in today's time indigenous varieties like *Tasar* are also getting increased attention (Kumari, 2021). Another, interesting aspect about Ikat is that being a complex and expensive techniques, it has been judiciously leveraged for various products ranging from everyday *Lungis* to royal attire. This diverse usage has enabled Ikat to be used in simple to complex pattern or lesser to more design coverage in fabric. In this context, we can refer Birch-Bark Mashru (Ali, 1900) which are short and distant arrowheads compared to Khanjari Mashru (Ali, 1900) which are intricate and often continuous arrowhead pattern.

Khanjari as one of the most common pattern has been explored with huge variations. In this regard, Lari (2010) stated that Khanjari were produced in two ways, one with resist dyeing of yarn and other by weaving, using coloured silk and cotton weft yarn. For making resist dyed Khanjari pattern, the total number of yarns in one bunch differed from region to region. In Uttar Pradesh, it is usually 10-14 and in other regions it is 4-20. The quality of Khanjari pattern depended upon the number of wave lines per square unit of fabric. Like, a regular Mashru may have thirty waves per span of the material, but in finer variety, it can go up to forty five. The making of Khanjari is a complex process. After resist dyeing of yarns in blocks, the warp yarns are first adjusted and then drawn onto the loom. The portions of resisted warp yarns are moderately stretched to produce arrowheads positioned adjacent to each other in such a way that the arrangement forms a fine horizontal pattern of Khanjari (Ali,

1900). To reduce processing time in the resist process, the yarns of identical patterns, either from the same fabric or from different fabrics, are prepared together by grouping them. Of course, this necessitates complicated folding and separation of the threads (Crill, 1998), but it significantly reduces the time required for resisting.

### Classification and Regional Variations of Mixed Ikat Textiles in India

Ikat is primarily classified in three types based on the set of yarn which is resist dyed.

When warp yarn is resist-dyed, it is called warp Ikat, when weft yarn is resist-dyed it is called weft Ikat and when both warp and weft yarns are resisted it is called double Ikat. In classic plain woven Ikat designs, either warp or weft or both warp and weft are resist dyed (Tjahjono, 2019). However in mixed textiles, usually it is done in one direction depending upon predominance of yarn. In warp satin, it is done on warp yarn and in weft satin, it is done on weft yarn. Under mixed textiles category, warp Ikat is more common, Mashru is one of such textiles. The major regions of its production has been Gujarat and Maharashtra- western part of India, Bengal-eastern part of India, Uttar Pradesh & Chamb- central part of India and Deccan - the southern part of India (Ali, 1900, Goswamy, 2002 & Kumari, 2021). This distribution shows that it has been widely prevalent throughout India, available in all major directions. In each region, it has evolved with identifiable regional style reflecting unique cultural expressions, technicality, and aesthetic choices. However, Gujarat is considered as the principal centre of Ikat technique due to presence of iconic Patola (Crill 1998). Gujarat and Southern India Ikat weavers had some connection as Gujarati artisans were involved in Mashru production centers of Madurai region. Probably, due to reason *Kutnu* - a local term for *Mashru* is commonly used in Gujarat. Later on Hyderabad became a prominent centre of Mashru weaving probably due to reign of Muslim rulers: Mughals and Nizams. Despite, these regional differences, many Ikat-Mashru designs are common to more than one centre (Crill, 1998). Also, satin is the most common weave among Mashru of each region; however, the weave repeat of satin has differed across regions. In the Patan and Kutch-Bhuj regions of Gujarat, it has been eight- and seven-end satin; in the Varanasi and Murshidabad region of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, it is four- or five-end satin; and in the Deccan region, it has been either seven- or eight-end satin, respectively (Crill, 1998; Ali, 2000; Hatanaka, 1993; Lari, 2010; Kumari, 2021). These variations made Varanasi and Murshidabad Ikat Mashru compact compared to Deccan and Gujarati Mashru.

Gulbadan as a variant of mixed ikat textiles has been produced in Punjab during Muhamaddan period. It was mixture of weaving process of Mashru and Sangi. In Gulbadan, warp yarns were partially tie and dyed and the weft never (Roy, 1975). Also, the major colour combination of Gulbadan were red or green ground with white chevron. Sangi were made with silk warp and cotton weft or vice versa. However, it was assured that silk lies on surface and cotton below it to touch the skin. Sangi was also considered as a cheaper version of Mashru. This fabric was usually made with green or yellow warp with red weft, and adorned with Khanjari, buttis, and occasionally with dotted lines and checks. Ajamgarh in United provinces - present day Uttar Pradesh was an important centre of its production (Roy, 1975). Lari (2010) gave a wider list of places for production of Gulbadan. She stated that earlier it was woven in several centers throughout the country like Bahawalpur, Lahore, Patiala, and Amritsar in Punjab; Surat and Ahmedabad in Gujarat; Aligarh, Banaras, Allahabad, Merut, Jalaun and Badayun in Uttar Pradesh. In Gulbadan, Sangi and Atlas the usage of Tasar silk has been found (Ali, 1900 & Kumari, 2021). Atlas is another variant of mixed textiles in Ikat which is also known as satin. It were usually made in deep red, yellow,

scarlet, pink, green and violet colours with resist dyed-Ikat pattern. There has been many other mixed textiles like *Ghalta*, *Doriya*, *Khara*, *Khara I ata'l*, *Taja e haft rang*, *Barad I kaminar* popular during Mughal period (Kumari, 2021). Irwin (1995 & 1996) stated that *Alacha*, *Alleja*, *Allegais*, *Elatches*, *Turki alcha*, *alacha*, 'stripes' belonged to one of the significant mixed handloom textiles of Gujarat. A similar fabric was also woven in Bengal but Gujarati *Alachas* contained higher proportion of cotton compared to Bengal. They were also considered as calicos due to higher cotton proportion in fabric. There is huge possibility of use of Ikat in above stated mixed textiles based on their similarity with Mashru, one of the most popular mixed textiles with Ikat, however, use of Ikat in these fabrics can not be assured in lack of visual and detailed textual references (Kumari, 2021).

The global similarity of Indian mixed Ikat textiles can be linked to Turkey and Syria. In this context Crill (1998) stated the satin *Ikats* of Turkey & Syria evolved as a variant of Indian/Yemini tradition, replacing all - cotton fabric with a silk warp and cotton weft'. She further specifically adds about similarity of *Tangadu* - a satin *ikat* fabric in red, yellow and black woven in Gujarat with Turkish & Syrian satin weave (Atlas). Charlotte (2004) states that as The wearing of silk next to the skin was impious for Muslims. They enjoyed it as a colorful satin cloth which had cotton as inner face and silk as outer face. This textile was extensively used in the Islamic world under name of *kutnu* in the Near East, and *Mashru* in Northern India and Pakistan. *Kutnu* fabric is widely using Ikat in its design, *Mashru* fabric also had extensively used Ikat in past. These reference suggest a possibility of wider use of Ikat in mixed textiles that might have been reduced later owing to cost, extensive labour, falling demand etc. The traces of late 20<sup>th</sup> century Ikat Mashru can be seen in Fig. 1, 2, 3 & 4 which was collected by researcher during visit to Kutch-Bhuj while doing this research.



Fig. 1 Tangadu - Ikat Mashru fabric, possibly from Mandavi region of Gujarat, it was sourced from Mr. Wajir, an artifact collector from Bhuj

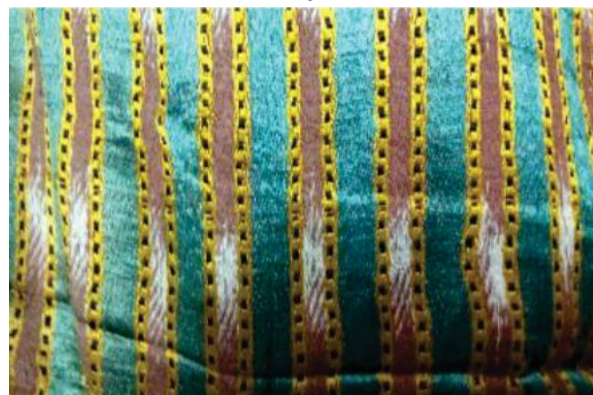
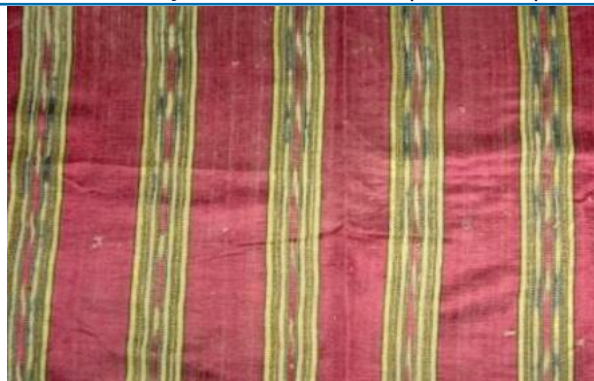


Fig. 2 Ikat Mashru fabric with rayon warp and cotton weft, possibly from Patan region of Gujarat, it was sourced from Mr. Wajir, an artifact collector from Bhuj



**Fig. 3 Ikat Mashru fabric, possibly from Mandavi region of Gujarat, it was sourced from Mr. Wajir, an artifact collector from Bhuj**



**Fig. 4 a. & 4b. Ikat Mashru fabric with silk warp and cotton weft, possibly from Mandavi region of Gujarat, it was sourced from Mr. Wajir, an artifact collector from Bhuj**

#### Applications of Mixed Ikat Textiles

One major reason for its promotion has been its acceptance in Muslim community. However, several Hindu communities have also embraced it in their everyday clothing as well as rituals (Kumari, 2021). In this context Fischer (2013) states that in Gujarat, red and white Mashru, silk-cotton mixed fabrics produced in Patan and Mandi, Kutch are traditionally used to encase *chandavot*, a ceremonial textile canopy representing goddess. Hatanaka (1996) stated that it were used for both apparel and home purpose, offering several usage like imperial robe, *Cholis* of tribal women of Gujarat, covers for cushion and bolster. Traditionally, *Mashru* were used as garments such as shirts & trousers (Gaatha, n. d.). Edwards (2011) stated that it had been used by pastoral women for blouses and skirts and for Rabari men in ritualistic occasions like weddings in form of red turbans, *angarkha* and ceremonial wraps in Kutch-Bhuj. Khawani (2018) stated in 17th century, Britishers shipped mixed Ikat fabric called "Tapseils" to West Africa. Kumari (2021), has suggested its scope in product diversification like coat for men's wear. It has

been also seen as a favourite material for blouses. Mixed Ikat textiles has been widely used by the royal family of Bhuj in products like *Kanchalis*, *ghagra* worn during daily like as well as festivals and ceremonies (Kalaiya & Saran, 2016).

#### Decline and Transformation of Mashru and Mixed Ikat Tradition

Under company rule during 17th–18th centuries, textile tradition associated with Muslims dwindled. The *Mashru* and *Himroo* weavers who were renowned for weaving cotton and silk-based fabric under the *Qutbshahis* and *Nizamshahis* died in large numbers during 18th century famines. *Mashru* began to disappear by the 18th century in absence of patronage. Today they are found as antique pieces in the Salar Jung and the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Hyderabad (Ramaswamy, 2014). According to Murphy & Crill (1991), among the defining characteristics of *Mashru* - admixture of silk & cotton, satin weave and Ikat, only satin weave has remained present. Silk warp has been replaced by other substitutes and Ikat are no more introduced. The designs of *Mashru* have become simpler with time (Kumari and Karolia, 2015). Shift in preference of users as well as the changing lifestyle has also been a major reason for downfall of traditional textiles. In context of changing lifestyle, Gupta (2018) stated that the younger generation in India adopted Western fashion habits to signal modernity and distance themselves from traditional practices. Traditional culture and Indian aesthetics are best conveyed in handlooms while modernization and cost effectiveness are conveyed in powerlooms and jet-looms. Many distinctive Indian handloom varieties like *Mashroo*, *Telia*, *Jamdani*, and *Ilkal*, along with the weavers of these fabrics got place in Indian Festivals while their indigenous market diminished drastically (Kumar, 1996). Similar to other traditional textiles, mixed textiles like *Mashru* has also experienced shift from natural to man-made and synthetic materials (Kumari, 2021). Handloom fabrics face a competitive disadvantage against powerloom products due to low value addition, limited productivity, and rising input costs which lead to the adoption of rayon-silk as alternative (Kumar, 1996). This adaptation further exacerbates the problem by enabling powerloom products to be misrepresented and sold under the guise of handloom. The significant capital investment required for raw materials and design increased the authority of merchants. Although artisans possessed the skills that made the fabric appealing and commercially viable, they remained unable to achieve independence or move beyond their occupational roles. The high cost of materials, yarn, designs, and dyes further reduced the value of their craftsmanship, ultimately reducing many to loomless weavers. *Mashru* production in Tamil nadu region has been hampered by downfall of Thanjavur's court support. By end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Gujarat also its production has declined. Today, Mandavi is making small quantity of this Ikat and Patan has switched to non-Ikat *Mashru*. This shows that the beautiful Ikat is losing its presence in its own places of origin (Crill, 1998).

#### Contemporary Revival and Design Interventions in Ikat Mashru

In current time, Ikat *Mashru* is regaining its popularity among mindful, conscious consumers. Many initiative for design development has been done by government and individual to re-imagine *Mashru* in today's context for its sustainability. Some of the recent development done by Weaver Service Centre, Ahmedabad along with *Mashru* artisan from Patan can be seen in Fig. 5 where mulberry silk has been used in warp and cotton in weft. In Fig. 6 also, a recent development of *Mashru* fabric done by Priyanka Kumari in collaboration with Janakbhai, a *Mashru* artisan from Patan can be seen where mulberry and Tasar silk has been used in warp and cotton in weft.

**Fig. 5 Mashru Fabrics developed by WSC, Ahmedabad in collaboration with Mashru artisan from Patan**



**Fig. 6 Mashru Fabric developed by Priyanka Kumari in collaboration with Janakbhai, a Mashru weaver from Patan**



## CONCLUSION

The study reveals that mixed Ikat textiles is an outcome of cultural adaptation and technical innovation. These products shows the ingenuity of artisans in blending Ikat and mixed-material weaving. Though, it has evolved with regional diversity, they share several similarities with respect to technique, structure and overall design language. Historically, Gujarat remains as its major centre and in modern time, it is mainly surviving as non Ikat mixed textiles. It has faced severe decline due to loss of patronage,

industrialization, replacement of constituent materials and changing consumer preferences. This has resulted into decline of Ikat from most of the mixed textiles. Today mixed textiles are mainly known as satin or multicoloured satin fabric whose face and back are different. The revival efforts of Weaver Service Centre and collaborations with artisans gives a possibility for resurgence through design intervention and material innovation. It can be concluded that mixed Ikat textiles are evolving but endangered tradition whose endurance depends on effective integration of traditional knowledge and contemporary market and design practices.

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