Global Threads: The Influence of British Calicos on Traditional Kalamkari Textile

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The Barcelona Conference on Arts, Media & Culture 2025
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This study examines the historical development of Indian Kalamkari, a traditional hand-painted and dyed textile art form, in the context of British colonial trade. Rooted in religious and cultural narratives, Kalamkari once portrayed Indian Hindu mythological and spiritual scenes from epics such as the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (Divakala & Vasantha, 2014). However, European market demands during the colonial period initiated a transformation in Kalamkari in its surface design print direction, favoring floral and geometric motifs in its historically rooted narrative compositions. These adaptations gave rise to what is now commonly known as calico, a printed cotton fabric tailored for export, marking a crucial turning point in the evolution of Indian textiles. To trace these shifts, this research adopts a two-method framework of comparative visual analysis supported by surface design observation in liaison with the tracing of historical texts and documentation. By examining the colonial-era calicos and Kalamkari prints, the study identifies compositional and iconographic modifications that reveal how colonial aesthetics displaced indigenous narrative structures. The analysis demonstrates that while the craft's technical processes endured, its narrative essence was gradually replaced by decorative repetition. The findings from this research indicate that many contemporary artisans, often unknowingly, reproduce surface designs derived from colonial calico templates. This continuity reflects an enduring legacy of cultural erasure, in which colonial design values persist in modern craft production. By uncovering these transformations, the study emphasizes the importance of educating towards Kalamkari's narrative integrity and recognizing the colonial residues embedded within its current visual identity.

Keywords: Kalamkari, textiles, calicos, surface design, cultural continuity

Introduction

Kalamkari, derived from the Persian words kalam (pen) and kari (craftsmanship), is one of India's most storied textile traditions (Chandra, 2015). Practiced for centuries in the southern regions of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, Kalamkari production embodies a unique blend of artistry, spirituality, and cultural storytelling. Historically, artisans used bamboo or palm pens to sketch intricate designs on cotton cloth, applying natural dyes in meticulous layers to bring mythological scenes to life (Chandra, 2015). These textiles, especially those created in the Srikalahasti style of kalamkari, use freehand drawing (with a kalam, or bamboo pen) and multiple layers of natural dyes to depict mythological scenes. Originating in the temple town of Srikalahasti in Andhra Pradesh, this hand-painted form contrasts with the block-printed Machilipatnam tradition (Chandra, 2015; Sengupta, 2013). The Srikalahasti style served as a visual scripture, illustrating episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, two major Sanskrit epics of ancient India that narrate moral, philosophical, and mythological tales central to Hindu culture (Dehejia, 1997; Michell, 1989). Beyond their aesthetic appeal, these textiles played an essential role in Hindu temple rituals and communal religious practices in South India, particularly within the Shaivite temples of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. They were used as temple hangings, narrative scrolls, and chariot banners depicting episodes from Hindu epics and Puranas, thereby transforming cloth into a sacred medium of devotion and instruction (Dehejia, 1997; Divakala & Vasantha, 2014).

However, this narrative tradition did not remain untouched by external influences that reshaped its production and purpose. With the arrival of British traders in the seventeenth century, Kalamkari entered the global arena of commerce and underwent profound transformations (Gächter, 2009). As the British East India Company expanded control over Indian textile exports, artisans adapted their printed surface designs to satisfy European tastes (Gupta, 2009a). Floral, geometric, and symmetrical motifs replaced traditional depictions of gods, epics, and moral parables (Lemire, 2003). These adaptations marked the rise of calicos, a new identity for Indian cotton textiles that prioritized decorative appeal and commercial viability over cultural meaning (Douglas, 1969). What was once sacred narrative art became commodified fabric, stripped of its original spiritual resonance.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the historical trajectory of Kalamkari under British colonial influence and to investigate how these colonial transformations continue to shape contemporary perceptions of the textile art form. This research asks: how did British colonial trade practices alter Kalamkari, and what are the lasting effects of these transformations on artisans, designs, and modern audiences?

This question is significant for two reasons. First, it highlights the process of cultural erasure, showing how colonial trade redefined indigenous artistic traditions to serve foreign markets. Second, it reveals how these historical interventions remain embedded in current practice. Many artisans and designers today unknowingly reproduce colonial-era calico motifs, unaware of their departure from traditional storytelling roots (Chamarty, 2024). The persistence of these patterns highlights the enduring cultural legacy of colonialism, prompting urgent questions about authenticity, preservation, and cultural identity.

Beyond reconstructing how Kalamkari was transformed under colonial pressures, this study emphasizes why these questions matter today. The persistence of floral and geometric repeats introduced for colonial export has led to a widespread conflation of calico aesthetics with indigenous tradition, resulting in cultural erasure that obscures Kalamkari's origins as a sacred

narrative art (Hows, 2020). By explicitly distinguishing between narrative Srikalahasti cloths and calico-derived repeats, this research supports artisans' creative agency, strengthens educational and archival efforts, and equips consumers and institutions with the knowledge needed to recognize and value Kalamkari as a living heritage with both spiritual and artistic dimensions. In this way, the study positions itself not only as a historical analysis but also as an act of cultural recognition and education.

To address these aims, the paper focuses solely on the printed visual surface of textiles and employs a comparative visual analysis, supported by surface design observation, that links historical evidence to contemporary practice.

Literature Review

Origins and Traditional Practices

Kalamkari, rooted in the Persian terms kalam (pen) and kari (craft), has historically been more than simply a decorative textile tradition. Its original narrative-driven imagery depicted episodes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata Hindu holy scriptures that chronicle divine and moral narratives central to Indian culture, serving as a sacred form of storytelling for temple rituals and community gatherings (Dehejia, 1997; Ramabadran, 2016). The Kalamkari surface decoration process was highly labour-intensive, involving the pre-treatment of cotton cloth with organic mordant and milk solutions, the freehand drawing of outlines using bamboo or palm pens, and the application of natural dyes in carefully controlled layers. The result was both durable and deeply symbolic, with motifs representing gods, epics, and cosmic principles (Rani, 2021).

Within this larger tradition, two primary stylistic schools developed: Srikalahasti and Masulipatnam. The Srikalahasti style relied on freehand drawing, enabling intricate depictions of mythological narratives directly on cloth (British Museum, 2010). These textiles were primarily linked with temple settings, where they acted as visual scriptures and devotional tools (Divakala & Muthian, 2017b). The Masulipatnam style, by contrast, employed block-printing techniques influenced by Persian aesthetics (Kalamkari Rumal, 1640). Its repeating floral and geometric motifs lent themselves to trade, as designs could be easily reproduced for commercial use (Ghosh, 2018). Museum collections illustrate this divide clearly. A Late 19th-early 20th century kalamkari hanging: A large textile featuring Vishnu and scenes from the *Mahabharata* in a comic strip format housed at the British Museum depicts epic narratives in layered detail, while a contemporaneous Kalamkari Masulipatnam rumal (1640-50) at the version housed in the Metropolitan. Museum of Art features stylized vines and floral repeats, reflecting Kalamkari's adaptability to foreign markets (British Museum, 2010; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.).

The coexistence of these two traditions demonstrates the dual nature of Kalamkari: as both a sacred, narrative art and a commercial product. This tension between devotion and commerce laid the groundwork for how colonial forces later transformed the craft (Interwoven Globe, 2023).

The East India Company and Colonial Restructuring

The establishment of the British East India Company in the early seventeenth century marked a profound turning point for Indian textiles, including Kalamkari. With its monopoly over trade

in the subcontinent, the East India Company prioritized exports to Britain and Europe, reshaping production to align with foreign tastes (Douglas, 1969).

As demand grew, artisans were pressured to simplify complex mythological designs in favor of symmetrical, decorative motifs such as floral borders and repeating geometric patterns. (Rani, 2021). Large-scale production centers were established to meet export quotas, often under exploitative conditions. Skilled artisans who had once worked in temple settings or small workshops were forced into regimented labor structures (Watt, 2016). The emphasis shifted from artistry and spirituality to uniformity and speed. While the Srikalahasti style suffered marginalization due to its narrative complexity, the Masulipatnam style gained prominence, as its block-printed motifs were easier to standardize for trade (Lemire, 2003).

The economic effects were equally devastating. While Britain reaped immense profits from the booming textile trade, Indian artisans were left with declining local markets and exploitative wages (Watt, 2016). The East India Company's policies redirected local economies toward export, leaving artisans dependent on foreign demand while stripping away the cultural depth of their craft (Gupta, 2009b).

Calicos in Britain: Fashion, Domesticity, and Influence

The British reception of calico underscores how deeply Indian textiles penetrated European culture. Calico, derived from the city of Calicut (now Kozhikode) in Kerala, India, quickly became a staple of British fashion and domestic life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term was used by the British to describe the printed and painted cotton fabrics imported from India (Riello, 2010; Thomas, 1924). Lightweight, versatile, and vividly patterned, these cotton fabrics were accessible across social strata (Sengupta, 2019). Initially hand-painted or block-printed, calicos adapted Indian artistry to align with European preferences for symmetry and repetition (Baines, 2002).

Influential figures accelerated their popularity. Queen Charlotte of Great Britain (1744–1818), the wife of King George III, embraced printed cotton fabrics, giving calico royal endorsement and making it fashionable in aristocratic circles (Smith, 2007). Jane Austen's novels, which often referenced the everyday use of calico dresses, embedded the fabric into the literary imagination of Britain's middle class (Fennetaux, 2018). Dorothy Wordsworth's journals, written between 1798 and 1820, provide further evidence of calico's ubiquity in daily life, documenting its presence in household wardrobes and interiors (Fennetaux, 2018). Collectively, these examples illustrate calico's versatility as both a fashionable and practical material.

The immense popularity of calicos created friction with domestic textile industries. The Calico Acts of the early eighteenth century attempted to restrict the importation and use of Indian printed cottons to protect Britain's silk and wool markets (Eacott, 2012). Ironically, these restrictions only underscored calico's desirability, prompting local industrialists to replicate Indian designs through mechanized processes (Baines, 2002). This transition signaled a broader cultural and economic shift: the gradual replacement of artisanal Indian textiles by British industrial production, which both commodified and overshadowed traditional craftsmanship.

Cultural Erasure and Colonial Legacy

The transformation of Kalamkari into calicos during colonial rule represented not only economic exploitation but also cultural dilution. The deeply symbolic and narrative-driven textiles of the Srikalahasti tradition were supplanted by decorative motifs devoid of spiritual content (Ramabadran, 2016). What had once been visual scriptures telling the stories of gods and heroes was reduced to fashionable cloth designed for foreign consumption (Khare, 2021).

This shift exemplifies a broader colonial pattern in which indigenous cultural practices were commodified to serve imperial economic interests (Divakala & Vasantha, 2014). The long-term consequences of this transformation are evident in contemporary design. Believing these motifs to be authentic, they inadvertently replicate calico aesthetics while marginalizing mythological storytelling. For example, designers who claim fidelity to Kalamkari often focus on floral repeats or simplified geometric structures, unaware of their colonial origins (Iftikhar & Tariq, 2024). The result is a subtle yet pervasive form of cultural erasure, where colonial influences are naturalized and traditional practices are forgotten.

Another challenge lies in the limited documentation of pre-colonial Kalamkari. Unlike other Indian art forms that benefited from textual or visual archiving, much of Kalamkari's early repertoire was passed down orally or through practice (Ghosh, 2018). This lack of documentation has made it difficult to reconstruct its full narrative richness, leaving artisans vulnerable to reproducing colonial patterns under the guise of tradition.

Economic pressures further compound these cultural challenges. In today's globalized textile markets, mass-produced fabrics often overshadow handcrafted Kalamkari, which is more labor-intensive and expensive. To remain viable, artisans frequently adapt to market tastes, which favor simplified decorative designs reminiscent of colonial calicos (Sengupta, 2021). This creates a cycle where colonial adaptations persist not only through historical legacy but also through present-day economic necessity.

The reviewed literature highlights four essential points. First, the dual traditions of Srikalahasti and Masulipatnam illustrate Kalamkari's origins as both a sacred and commercial practice. Second, the East India Company reoriented production toward export, privileging simplified motifs over mythological storytelling. Third, the reception of calicos in Britain underscores how Indian textiles reshaped European culture while simultaneously marginalizing Indian artisans. Finally, the legacy of colonial adaptations continues to shape contemporary design practices, as artisans unknowingly perpetuate motifs introduced during colonial rule.

Methodology

This study adopts a focused qualitative framework, grounded in comparative visual analysis and surface design observation, to examine the transformation of Kalamkari's printed surface designs across three key periods: pre-colonial narrative practice, colonial adaptation into calicos, and contemporary reinterpretations (Onwuegbuzie & Weinbaum, 2017).

The first phase involved surface design observation, in which historical and contemporary Kalamkari textiles were closely studied through high-resolution images, museum archives, and published catalogues. The observation focused on identifying the visual characteristics of printed surfaces, including motif construction, compositional layout, color palette, and stylistic execution. Particular attention was given to detecting the transition from asymmetrical

narrative compositions characteristic of Srikalahasti to the modular repeats and symmetrical layouts that became prominent during the colonial period. This stage provided the descriptive foundation for a structured comparative analysis.

The comparative visual analysis systematically compared printed surface designs from three chronological and stylistic categories. First: pre-colonial narrative cloths from the Srikalahasti tradition characterized by hand-drawn mythological scenes and sacred storytelling; second: colonial-era calicos that display floral and geometric repeats developed for European markets; and third: contemporary Kalamkari prints that often merge or misinterpret colonial and traditional motifs. Each textile was analyzed through a visual rubric encompassing five parameters: composition, iconography, line and contour, color scheme, and border treatment. Through this lens, the study identified formal and aesthetic continuities across time, revealing how colonial export aesthetics reshaped the visual identity of Kalamkari and how these motifs persist in present day.

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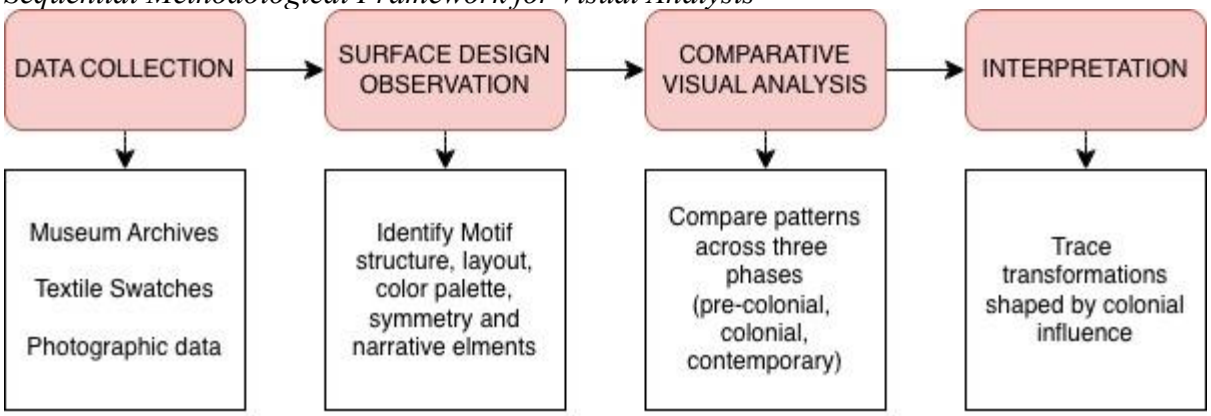
Figure 1

Sequential Methodological Framework for Visual Analysis



Sampling and Documentation

Sampling followed a purposive strategy designed to capture stylistic and chronological diversity. Fifty-two Kalamkari samples and forty-five calico textiles were examined in total as seen in Tables 1 and 2, located in the Appendix section. The dataset included museum collections, archival imagery, and physical swatches sourced from textile stores in the United States, the United Kingdom, and India (British Museum, 2010, Kalamkari Rumal, 1640). The selection ensured representation of both temple-based narrative cloths and export-oriented printed cottons. Each sample was photographed and catalogued with descriptive notes on motif structure, color scheme, and compositional arrangement, symbolic theme and technique to ensure analytical consistency and transparency. Patterns emerging from this dataset were then cross-referenced to trace recurring motifs, formal parallels, and aesthetic transformations across the three chronological phases (see Table 3, included below). This process allowed the

comparative visual analysis to move beyond stylistic observation toward identifying, more profound structural continuities and disruptions shaped by colonial influence.

Table 1

Visual Analysis of Kalamkari Samples

Sample ID	Motif Structure	Color Scheme	Compositional Arrangement	Symbolic Theme	Technique/ Material Notes
S1	Floral lattice with central deity	Indigo, madder, alum mordant	Symmetrical temple panel	Divine protection	Hand-painted, natural dye
S2	Mythological scene (Ramayana)	Iron-black outlines, vegetable dyes	Narrative scroll	Devotion and moral virtue	Kalam on cotton
S3	Stylized floral repeats	Red, yellow, blue	Export pattern	Adaptation for trade	Hybrid natural/chemical dyes
S4	Cosmic mandala	Earth tones with contrast borders	Circular composition	Creation and order	Late 19th c. Srikalahasti

Recognizing the colonial history of many museum collections, interpretive caution was applied to acknowledge curatorial bias and the potential overrepresentation of export pieces. The study privileges the visual surface as both evidence and argument, using design comparison as a decolonial strategy that reveals how colonial taste redefined indigenous aesthetics. Access to pre-colonial Kalamkari remains limited, as surviving examples are primarily housed in colonial-era institutions. Nevertheless, by centering its analysis on visual evidence rather than oral or material data, the study mitigates interpretive bias and remains focused on identifying stylistic shifts within printed surface design.

This refined methodological approach enables a deeper understanding of how British colonial trade aesthetics displaced the narrative functions of Kalamkari, transforming it from sacred storytelling into a decorative commodity. It also provides a replicable model for future textile scholarship focused on visual transformations within postcolonial contexts.

Results and Discussion

The findings of this study reveal a layered transformation of Kalamkari, beginning with its pre-colonial roots as a sacred narrative textile and culminating in its contemporary practice shaped by colonial trade aesthetics. Drawing from surface design observation and comparative visual analysis, three major themes emerge: the dilution of mythological storytelling into decorative motifs, the privileging of block-printed Masulipatnam designs over pen-drawn Srikalahasti cloths, and the enduring presence of colonial aesthetics in modern Kalamkari. Collectively, these findings demonstrate that British colonial influence not only disrupted but also permanently redefined the visual and cultural identity of the craft.

Transformation of Narrative Into Ornament

A visual comparison of these historical textiles shows a clear shift from narrative compositions to ornamental repetition. Traditional Srikalahasti textiles depict scenes from the holy Hindu scriptures, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* in asymmetrical, story-driven layouts filled with layered figures, symbolic color use, and spatial rhythm (Modi, 2024). These cloths functioned as visual scriptures, guiding religious storytelling and temple performance. In contrast, the Masulipatnam block-printed samples, particularly those produced under colonial trade, emphasize floral vines, rosettes, and repeating geometries (Chamarty, 2024). The transformation from sacred story to surface decoration marks the displacement of narrative meaning by pattern repetition.

The comparative analysis shows that the British East India Company accelerated this transition. Export demand required designs that could be standardized and quickly reproduced, leading artisans to replace figural compositions with modular floral patterns. This was not a neutral change in style but a realignment of purpose: Kalamkari shifted from a communicative medium of devotion to an object of visual consumption.

Colonial Restructuring of Production

Surface design observation also revealed material and technical changes accompanying this aesthetic shift. Traditional Kalamkari used natural dyes such as indigo, madder, and myrobalan to create layered tonal depth. Under colonial influence, artisans increasingly adopted block printing and synthetic dyes to meet export quotas. Archival images of Company workshops depict hierarchical production structures where repetition and uniformity replaced individuality and spiritual authorship (Interwoven Globe, 2023).

This restructuring marginalized the Srikalahasti narrative tradition, which could not easily conform to mass production, while elevating the Masulipatnam style that aligned with the demands of the export market. The result was a fundamental transformation of Kalamkari from a sacred textile to standardized commodity.

Calicos in Britain: Adoption and Popularity

Analysis of surviving calico samples, as seen in tables 1 and 2 from the British and European museums, confirms how Indian motifs were adapted into Western fashion and domestic use (British Museum, 2010). The visual record shows consistent simplification and repetition of motifs suited for mass appeal. These patterns, originating in Indian craftsmanship, became key references for early industrial printing in Britain.

The widespread presence of calicos in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain is evident across both visual and literary records. Queen Charlotte’s portraits, Jane Austen’s novels, and Dorothy Wordsworth’s journals all point to calico’s integration into everyday life. These fabrics embodied modernity and refinement for European consumers, yet their popularity obscured the colonial hierarchies that produced them. Calico thus became a site where Indian artistry was aestheticized but detached from its cultural and spiritual context.

Persistence of Colonial Aesthetics in Contemporary Practice

The comparative analysis of contemporary Kalamkari textiles sourced from India, the United Kingdom, and the United States revealed the endurance of colonial-era motifs. Many recent samples display floral and geometric repeats nearly identical to those documented in eighteenth-century calicos. Only a small number of modern pieces preserve figural, or narrative imagery linked to the Srikalahasti tradition.

This continuity demonstrates that colonial design values, which are symmetry, repetition, and decorative neutrality, remain embedded within present-day practice. The persistence of these visual patterns underscores the long-term impact of colonial design interventions and highlights the importance of educational engagement in tracing their origins. Recognizing these motifs as colonial inheritances allows scholars, educators, and consumers to read the surface design of Kalamkari with greater historical awareness and interpretive accuracy.

The Role of Education and Critical Awareness

The significance of these findings lies in their potential to reshape how Kalamkari is taught, curated, and understood. This research emphasizes the need for educational frameworks that reveal the colonial imprint on the visual language of Kalamkari. When students, designers, and consumers learn to identify the differences between narrative compositions and colonial calico repeats, they gain tools to distinguish adaptation from authenticity. Such awareness has broader implications for textile education and cultural interpretation. By tracing how colonial trade aesthetics displaced indigenous storytelling, educators can frame Kalamkari not only as an artistic tradition but also as a historical document of cross-cultural exchange, power, and redefinition. Through this lens, understanding becomes an act of preservation, ensuring that the visual legacies of colonialism are acknowledged rather than unknowingly perpetuated.

Implications

The implications of this study extend to both education and cultural literacy. First, the findings invite a re-evaluation of how Kalamkari is represented within art history curricula, museum exhibitions, and design education. Presenting it solely as a decorative textile obscures its narrative and spiritual dimensions; acknowledging its colonial transformation, however, allows for a more comprehensive understanding of its evolution.

Figure 2

Colonial Trade and Aesthetic Transformation of Kalamkari

Second, the study highlights the importance of teaching visual literacy within design education. By learning to identify the characteristics of colonial calico aesthetics that are symmetry, repetition, and decorative neutrality, students and practitioners can engage critically with inherited design traditions. This approach moves beyond celebration to contextual understanding, fostering design practices that are historically informed and culturally responsible.

Finally, these insights contribute to decolonial education by positioning Kalamkari as a case study in how art and commerce intersect under empire, as shown below in the Figure 2. Recognizing its layered history encourages ongoing dialogue between historians, educators, and artisans, ensuring that the craft's visual language continues to be studied, taught, and interpreted with clarity and respect.

Limitations

This research acknowledges certain limitations that shape its scope and findings. Access to pre-colonial Kalamkari textiles remains limited, as surviving examples are primarily preserved within museum collections established during the colonial period. These holdings may overrepresent export-oriented pieces while underrepresenting domestic or ritual cloths. The visual comparisons, therefore, rely on available documentation, catalogues, and high-resolution imagery rather than direct access to every extant sample.

Another limitation concerns the interpretive focus on visual and compositional features. While this approach provides clarity in tracing formal transformations, it does not account for the intangible cultural dimensions of Kalamkari practice, such as ritual use or oral transmission. Future research may integrate technical dye studies, regional ethnographic work, or digital pattern analysis to expand this foundation.

Despite these constraints, the study's emphasis on comparative visual analysis provides a consistent, replicable framework. By centering on the observable transformation of printed surface designs, it contributes valuable insight into how colonial aesthetics became naturalized within Kalamkari. It establishes a foundation for further educational and curatorial research on textile heritage.

Conclusion

This study traced the visual transformation of Kalamkari from its pre-colonial origins as a sacred narrative textile to its colonial adaptation into calicos and its continued reinterpretation in contemporary practice. Through comparative visual analysis and surface design observation, it was demonstrated that British colonial trade fundamentally restructured Kalamkari's printed surface designs, replacing narrative storytelling with ornamental repetition and aligning production with European market demands.

The findings show that colonial aesthetics marked by symmetry, standardization, and decorative neutrality became deeply embedded within the visual language of Kalamkari. This transformation extended beyond form to meaning, shifting the textile's role from a medium of religious narrative to a product of global commerce. The survival of these motifs in present-day Kalamkari reveals how colonial influence persists visually and conceptually, often mistaken for authentic tradition. Understanding how colonial systems shaped Kalamkari's design vocabulary enables a more informed interpretation of its visual history. By

distinguishing between sacred narrative structures and colonial export aesthetics, educators, researchers, and consumers can engage with the textile not only as an art form but also as a document of cultural negotiation.

Kalamkari becomes a vital educational resource one that teaches how visual traditions can embody complex histories of adaptation, resistance, and redefinition. Recognizing these layered influences allows the craft to be valued for its aesthetic richness and its role in revealing the intersections of art, culture, and colonial history.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-Assisted Technologies in the Writing Process

The authors declare that Grammarly, an AI-assisted writing software, rephrasing applications were used solely for proofreading and refining the language of this manuscript. Additionally, Gemini was used to rephrase tabular headings and organize the structure of visual elements for clarified reading. Their use was limited to correcting grammatical and spelling errors and rephrasing statements for clarity and accuracy. Apart from the above-mentioned tools, no other generative AI or AI-assisted technologies were used to generate or alter the manuscript's content. All ideas, research design, methodologies, findings, analyses, and discussions presented in this paper are the original work of the authors, derived from the careful and systematic conduct of the research.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Kalamkari Textiles Samples

KALAMKARI TEXTILE SAMPLES			
ITEM	NAME	LOCATION	STYLE
1	Visnu lying on the serpent Ananta	The British Museum	Srikalahasti
2	The Kalamkari Rumal	The Met Museum	Masulipatnam
3	Hanging, 18th century	The Met Museum	Masulipatnam
4	Forms of Vishnu, c.1900	Harvard Art Museum	Srikalahasti
5	Textile, Canopy - Dasaravatara	The British Museum	Srikalahasti
6	Wall Hanging, prayer Mat, AD.1789	MFA Boston	Masulipatnam
7	Kalamkari Panel with Niche, c.1700	The Met Museum	Masulipatnam
8	Temple Cloth, c.1900	Victoria & Albert Museum	Srikalahasti
9	Rama and Sita	University of Manchester	Srikalahasti
10	Mat (Kalamkari), c.1700	RISD Museum	Masulipatnam
11	Scenes from a South Indian Court	ROM Museum	Srikalahasti
12	Tree of Life, c.1850s	Kalamkari Museum in Pedana	Masulipatnam
13	Coronation of Rama, Rumal	Museum of Art, Bangalore	Srikalahasti
14	Lifestyle and Riches, 17th century	The Met Museum	Srikalahasti
15	Ritual Hanging showing a dancing lady, c.1700	Asian Civilizations Museum, Singapore	Srikalahasti
16	The Vedic Scriptures, c.1850	The Textile Museum, GWU	Srikalahasti
17	The Tree of Life, c.1700s	Children's art museum, India	Masulipatnam
18	Floor spread	Victoria & Albert Museum	Masulipatnam
19	The Mahabharata War – Gita, c.1720	Salar Jung Museum, India	Srikalahasti
20	Lord Vishnu and Goddess Lakshmi c.1820	The Textile Museum, GWU	Srikalahasti
21	Katamaraju Katha Scroll, c.1850s	Salar Jung Museum, India	Srikalahasti
22	Religious Cloth of the Gods c.1760s	Salar Jung Museum, India	Srikalahasti
23	Ramayana and the Tale of Lord Rama c.1987	Ethnographic Museum, Zurich	Srikalahasti
24	The Tales of Indian Myth, c.1850s	Victoria & Albert Museum	Srikalahasti
25	Miniature paintings of Gods, c.1800	The Calico Museum, India	Srikalahasti
26	A NamaVali textile (woven with the name of Lord Ram)	The Calico Museum, India	Srikalahasti
27	Vrindavani Vastra	The Calico Museum, India	Srikalahasti
28	Mahishasuramardini, c.1950	The Vimor Museum of Living Textiles, India	Srikalahasti
29	Kalamkari fabric samples from India c.1985	Powerhouse Collection	Srikalahasti
30	Lord Vishnu and his Avatars	Author's family heirloom	Srikalahasti
31	Temple Hanging Depicting Scenes from the Indian Epic Poem Rāmāyana, c.1800s	Saint Louis Art Museum	Srikalahasti
32	Kalamkari Kurtha, 2017 collection	Author's personal collection Sourced from Andra Pradesh	Masulipatnam

33	The Visvakarma interventions 2010	National Institute of Fashion Technology	Modern Srikalahasti
34	The Story of Lazarus, 2014	National Institute of Fashion Technology	Modern Srikalahasti
35	Buddha flanked by Bodhisatvas 2014	National Institute of Fashion Technology	Modern Srikalahasti
36	Crafts Maps of India - Andhra Pradesh, 1993	Sanskriti Museum of Indian Textiles	Modern Masulipatnam
37	Ganesh Puja, 20th century CE	Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS)	Modern Srikalahasti
38	Ceremonial cloth (kalamkari) 1875	Asian Art Museum	Masulipatnam
39	Altar Hanging, 18th century	Tokyo National Museum	Masulipatnam
40	Cover (Rumal) first half 17th century	The Met Museum	Masulipatnam
41	Detail of Temple Cloth, c.75-1886	Victoria & Albert Museum	Srikalahasti
42	Kalamkari Costumes, c.1720	The Calico Museum of Textiles and the Sarabhai Foundation Collections	Masulipatnam
43	Export Textiles, c.1850	The Calico Museum of Textiles and the Sarabhai Foundation Collections	Masulipatnam
44	Textiles from the Mughal Court, c.1800	The Calico Museum of Textiles and the Sarabhai Foundation Collections	Masulipatnam
45	Ramayana Visual Wall hanging	Author's Family Heirloom	Srikalahasti
46	Kalamkari Chanderi Cotton Dupatta	Kalamkari Design Studio	Modern Masulipatnam
47	Black & Orange Colour Crepe Silk Saree	Kalamkari Design Studio	Modern Masulipatnam
48	Kalamkari Art, Tree of Life (KIA13)	San Francisco Museum	Modern Masulipatnam
49	A Timeless Tapestry: The Sacred Union of Rama and Sita	Curated from Exotic India	Modern Srikalahasti
50	Kalamkari Fabric Samples	Sourced from Hyderabad, India	Modern Srikalahasti
51	Designer Saree featuring Gods	Sourced form Pothys Fabric Store	Modern Masulipatnam
52	The Tale of Lord Krishna	Kalamkari Art Museum	Srikalahasti

Appendix B

Calico Textiles Samples

CALICO TEXTILES - SAMPLES		
ITEM	NAME	LOCATION
1	An Anglo-Indian Wall Hanging	The Met Museum
2	Fragment of Kalamkari, c.1855	Victoria & Albert Museum
3	A palempore, c.1850 - with tree of life motif	RIJK museum, BK-1971-118
4	The Floral Spread – 19th -20th century	Museum of Art Bangalore
5	A Rumal Coverlet	Victoria & Albert Museum
6	Kalamkari mat made for Iranian Market, c.1900	National Taiwan Museum
7	Temple Hanging Depicting Scenes from the Indian Epic Poem Rāmāyana,	The Met Museum
8	Vices (Vanity), 2012	Origins of Mumbai, Museum of Art
9	Door Curtain, late 19th to early 20th century	Sanskriti Museum of Indian Textiles
10	Crafts Maps of India - Andhra Pradesh	Sanskriti Museum of Indian Textiles
11	Thalposh or Tray cover, 1775	Golconda Exhibit, India
12	Jaa-namaz (Prayer Carpet), early 19th century	National Museum – New Delhi
13	Chasuble, ca. 1725 - Chintz	The Met Museum
14	Floral Decorated Textile, early 18th century	The Met Museum
15	Hanging or Bed Cover/ Palampore	The Met Museum
16	Kalamkari Hanging with Figures in an Architectural Setting, 1640	The Met Museum
17	Morning dress, 1850 - 65	The Met Museum
18	Export Textiles, c.1850	The Calico Museum of Textiles and the Sarabhai Foundation Collections
19	Lavender and blue calico cotton dress with floral pattern, c.1997	Gilcrease Museum
20	Textile Panel of Chintz, 18th century	The Met Museum
21	Chintz: Cotton in Bloom, 18th century	Fashion textile museum
22	Jacket, ca.1750	Victoria & Albert Museum
23	Textile Panel, ca, 1640-1650	Victoria & Albert Museum
24	Chintz, ca.1715 - 1725	Victoria & Albert Museum
25	Chintz Strip, Indian for the European market, c.1700	The Met Museum
26	Young girl's jacket in red ground chintz.	Fries Museum, Netherlands
27	Detail of a kraplap, Indian chintz with a white ground. c.1780	Fries Museum, Netherlands
28	Overdress of a Robe à l'Anglaise, English dress Ca.1780	Royal Ontario Museum of Canada
29	The Japanese robe (japonese rok) derives from the kimono	RIJKS museum
30	Jacket of an English dress, ca.1780	Royal Ontario Museum of Canada
31	Milk & blood chintz on a kassekijntje, or cassaquin from Hindeloopen c.1780	Fries Museum, Netherlands

32	Man's Morning Gown (Banyan), mid-18th century	The Met Museum
33	Chintz Dress; India, c. 1770 -1790; Jacoba de Jonge Collection in MoMu	Fashion Museum Province of Antwerp
34	Bed Hanging; India; 17th Century	Smithsonian Design Museum
35	18th century chintz petticoat and jacket	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
36	Madame de Pompadour in a chintz gown c.1850	National Gallery, London
37	Detail of a Wentke from Hindeloopen c.1780	Fries Museum, Netherlands
38	The Pride of Jewel in the crown	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
39	Calico Print – fabric Samples 6'' square	JOANNS Fabric Store, Texas
40	Oost-indisch bont / east-indian motley	Fries Museum
41	Wentke for lighter mourning. c.1780	Fries Museum, Netherlands
42	A printed Indian chintz open robe, English, 1795-1796	Kerry Taylor Auctions