A research report on

Protection of "Jamdani" as a Geographical Indication in Bangladesh

Iftekhar Iqbal
Department of History
University of Dhaka
Dhaka 1000, Bangladesh
iftekhar@du.ac.bd

1. Executive summary:

- Jamdani is a surviving variety of the world renowned muslin from ancient period. The brand name of Jamdani was first applied around mid-16th century or perhaps earlier.

- Ecological context of production of cotton and finished Jamdani products is unique in the greater Dhaka region of Bangladesh.

- Jamdani has formed part of national culture and history of Bangladesh and such cultural integration of Jamdani is not matched anywhere in the world.

- Jamdani’s Dhaka connection is clearly reflected in many global trade and exhibitions in both historical and contemporary times.

- Jamdani is quintessentially a Bangladeshi brand with specific GI locale of Dhaka. There has been no mention of the generic term “Jamdani” elsewhere in the world to denote this hand-made textile product.
2. Background of the study:

The Government of Bangladesh enacted the ‘Geographical Indicative Products (Registration and Protection) Act 2013’ on 15 July 2013 and it was passed in National Parliament on 5 November 2013. Until the passing of this Act, Bangladeshi products were vulnerable to abuse by other parties. The Act will now enable the registration process of Bangladeshi products under the national and global GI regime.

However in the meantime India had registered a few items with its GI regime that distinctively originate in Bangladesh. One of these items include the “Jamdani” sharee of Dhaka, which is registered by India as “Uppada Jamdani”. This report deals with the question of reclaiming and protecting of Jamdani as a Bangladeshi product in light of the GI regime. It is hoped that the report will help to register Jamdani as a Geographical Indication in Bangladesh. This report is complemented by another report (Annex 1), which is based on data found through extensive field works.

3. Methodology:

This study is a result of 4-month long intensive qualitative and quantitative research between September and December 2013. Various types of primary and secondary sources, including official publications, creative literature, and research works from premodern and modern times, have been consulted. Data from extensive fieldworks by two research associates in the major Jamdani production sites enabled us to corroborate and engage textual analysis. A workshop in Dhaka attended by about 50 weavers, their helpers and mahajans offered the opportunity of a cross-cutting professional insight into the industry. The on-going research has been guided by a team of advisors who have excelled either in their professional engagement in the weaving or textile sector or in their erudition on the subject.
4. Introduction:

South Asia has at least 4000-years of textile heritage. Of all the regions in South Asia, the Bengal Delta, or what makes up most of today’s Bangladesh, occupies a prominent place in terms of cultivation of cotton and production of varieties of extraordinary fine clothes with the generic name of ‘muslin’. Within the Bengal Delta, greater Dhaka (“Dacca” in colonial literature and used until 1983) was a premier site of production and trade in muslin since ancient times. It is estimated that there were 36 varieties of muslin products in the region (Talukdar 1971: 57) and Jamdani was one of the very best varieties of the muslin. The art and skill of making of Jamdani was “exclusively possessed by the weavers of Dacca aurung” (Mitra 1978: 42; Gillow and Barnard 2008). Of the 1400 samples collected in the mid-nineteenth century by Watson (1866: nos. 253 and 254), the 25 samples from what is today’s Bangladesh contains at least 2 samples specifically titled “Jamdanee”. There is no such term “Jamdani” used to introduce any similar items from anywhere across South Asia or the world.

The distinctive character of designs, techniques and textures of the rich variety of South Asian textiles are often determined by “geographic factors and cultural influences” (Else 1988: 73). In the light of the GI law, this report attempts to locate Jamdani within the geographical, historical and cultural contexts of the Dhaka region in particular and Bangladesh in general.

5. What is Jamdani?

Jamdani is most possibly derived from the Persian word “Jama(e)”, which means clothes. “Jamedan” in Persian means a closet or wardrobe.¹ In the textile history of

¹ Conversations with Dr Nematollah Iranzadeh, Visiting Professor of Persian Language and Literature, University of Dhaka. Also see Ali Akbar Dehkoda ed. 1338 AH. Loghatname’ Dehkoda, vol. 16. Tehran, 1338, p. 71.
Bangladesh Jamdani generally refers to the “share”, most popular garment of Bengali women. Here are the three authoritative definition of Jamdani:

A. “A kind of cloth in which the flowers are woven in and not worked” (generally muslin.) (Hunter, 1808)


C. “A Dacca muslin woven with figures of flowers and other ornaments” (Knight 1881)

Beyond the definition of Jamdani that highlights flower, there are other intricate issues that must be noted in understanding its specialty. The patterns are generally geometric and designs can contain items other than flowers, such as plants and living species like fish. The range and varieties of Jamdani are quite extensive and numerous, but there seems to be three basic layouts: jaal, the most intricate, is an all-over design covering the entire ground, terchi denotes floral or geometric diagonal, and buti is a combination of individual floral motifs and springs scattered across the fabric. (Ghuznavi 2006: 47; see also Gillow and Barnard: 186).

The weaving process and the types of implements are also unique. In short, richness of designs, skills of weavers and availability of raw materials made the Jamdani a quintessentially Dhaka product. Watson (1866a: 79) asserts:

The Jamdanee or loom-figured muslins, from the exquisite delicacy of manipulation which many of them display, may be considered the chef-d’oeuvre of the Indian weaver. From their complicated designs they have always constituted the most expensive productions of the Dacca loom.

6. Geography and ecology of production:

The Geographical Indicators for Jamdani can be studied from at least two vantage points offered by Dhaka. First, the location and ecological context of production of raw cotton in the region. Second, ecological conditions of production of Jamdani
itself. We will focus here on to what extent these geographical factors aided the emergence and development of Jamdani industry in Dhaka region.

6.1 Geography and Ecology of cultivation of raw cotton

To understand the development of Jamdani in Dhaka region, we need to understand the context and conditions of cotton cultivation, as cotton was the crucial backward linkage for muslin in general and Jamdani in particular.

Cotton, from Arabic “qutn”, is perhaps the oldest commercial crop of Bengal. Of the four kinds of cotton that Basu (1955: 281-82) mentions, *Gossypium Barbadense, Gossypium Herbaceum, Gossypium Arborium or Hirsutum and Gossypium Peruvianum*, cotton of South Asia and China falls in the second category. In this category, from one root, a number of plants grow like bush, growing upto 3 feet. This type of cotton was called *Karpass* in Sankrit and *Kapas* in Bengali (Roxburgh 1832: 184). Although this variety was cultivated all over Bengal and Coromandel, Dhaka variety, according to Roxburgh, differed from other common *G. Herbaceum* and furnished “that exceedingly fine cotton wool employed in manufacturing the very delicate, beautiful muslins of that place.” Of the four characteristics that Roxburgh ascribes to this variety, one refers to “staple of the cotton being longer, much finer, and softer” (Roxburgh 1832: 184).

The Bengal Delta in general and the Dhaka region in particular was famous for production of Kapas. Many competent authorities from precolonial and colonial times have suggested that the Dhaka cotton yarn of unique quality meant for use in the production of muslin grew “only along the banks of the Brahmaputra and the branches of the Meghna” (Ghuznavi: 38). By the turn of the nineteenth century John Taylor specified the following areas where cotton was produced historically: Firingi Bazar, Rajendrapur, Idilpur, Bikrampur, and Kartikpur. The region around Rajendrapur on the bank of river
Shitalakhya is still called Kapasia and it is a well known sub-district (Upazilla) of the country. 6

Map 1
In other words, the cotton production found its most fertile ground in the regions around the connecting points between the Old Brahmaputra and the Meghna rivers (Map 1) (Talukdar: 57). Hunter suggests that a special kind of cotton fibre, desi, had been produced in the northern areas [around Kapasia] of the Dhaka Division from “time immemorial” (Hunter 1877: 84). In these regions, John Taylor suggested that the finest cotton (Kapas) in the world was produced (quoted in Ghuznavi: 84-85). More recent authoritative works suggest that the quality of Dhaka muslin resulted greatly in the quality of raw cotton grown in the region.

In terms of the specific soil ecology, it was observed by colonial officials that the water of the rivers of the region contained siliceous and calcareous earth mixed with iron, which might have aided the better cultivation of cotton (Allen 1912: 8; Taylor 1851). Basu (1955: 289) notes that more the root of the plant of Kapas goes underground, the better the quality and quantity of cotton. The quality and quantity is further enhanced if the soil is loamy or which contains maximum moisture and heat. The central Bengal Delta, or the regions around Dhaka, seems to have ideally and uniquely fit for such condition.

The geological process was climatically aided as the freshness of sea air nourished the Kapas cultivations. A favourable combination of geological and climatic condition offered the Dhaka region a production site for cotton, which was unique to this region only. This is reflected in the fact that the British attempt to cultivate the Kapas elsewhere in 1790 and 1791 failed completely (Ghuznavi: 84-85).

6.2 Geographical and ecological context of the location of Jamdani production sites

James Taylor suggested in the mid-nineteenth century that in almost every village of Dhaka district there were some sort of weaving establishment, but the major manufacturing zones/centres were Dhaka city, Sonargaon, Dhamrai, Titabadi, Jangalpur
and Bajitpur. At present the production sites are concentrated in Sonargaon. Historically, a chain of production sites were located around the water networks of Dhaka. Sonargaon was perhaps the earliest sites of production and it expanded northward along the banks of river Shitalakhya. From north to south along the river, the Jamdani production sites exists in Kapasia near Narsingdi (Ghorashal), Rupganj (Kazipara, Under Rupganj’s Tarabo Municipality, along the banks of Shitalakhya, are Pabankul, Morgakul, Rupshi, Noapara), then Siddhirganj. Further south, on the Meghna drainage basin is the Sonargaon. Glassie (2000: 403) was informed that there were two to three thousand Jamdani looms in the region, “nearly half of them in the villages that run together, north of Tarabo, along the bank of the river”. Sayeedur (1993: 33-34) named about 26 Jamdani villages along both sides of the river with more than 5480 looms.
What are the reasons for concentration of Jamdani on these sites? First of all, it is understood that these production centres were located in the middle of sites of production of cotton specifically suited to prepare Jamdani. Secondly, the river system greatly facilitated the supply of raw cotton and distribution and marketing of finished products. All the markets (aarongs) were, therefore, on the river banks. Hossain (2010: 141-144) and Allen (1912: 7) mentioned the following markets: Barmi, Kapasia, Lakhipur, Jamalpur, Kaliganj, Rupganj, Murapara, Demra, Siddhirganj and Narayanganj.

A third issue relates to the quality of waters and climate of the region. Hunter noted that the water of the Shitalakhya river, with a length of about 50 miles, had a high and wooded bank, which never overflowed and that it was “remarkable for the purity and coolness of its water” (Hunter 1877: 21). Since water was needed for processing cotton and other production contents, it may be assumed that the water of Shitalakhya had something to do with Jamdani production. It is also well known that for dying, bleaching water with appropriate mineral content is crucial.\(^2\) (For details on this see Basu 1955: 373-385; 465-69). One of our interviewees and mahajan from Sonargaon, Osman Gani, noted that pre-dye cleansing of cotton thread in the water of Shitalakhya and Meghna brings such a glaze to the finished products that are not possible in any other regions. He also reported that many who left for preparing this in other places have actually come back to this region because of failure to produce Jamdani of the same quality. This is corroborated by another veteran weaver interviewee, Abu Taher, who had tried to recreate Jamdani in Chittagong, but it didn’t work.\(^3\)

Fourth, in terms of climatic issues, some writers refer to the level of moisture of the region. There were many processes of weaving which were dependent on the right level

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\(^2\) Interview taken in Panam Nagar (Sonargaon) by Sahida Khandaker and Abdus Samad. 20 September 2013
\(^3\) Interview taken in Panam Nagar (Sonargaon) by Sahida Khandaker and Abdus Samad. 20 September 2013.
of humidity and moisture. For example, lack of humidity could be a cause of warp breakage (Basu 1955: 75).

Fifth, the unique criss-crossing of rivers offered internal navigation and connected ports to cater the transaction for the wider world and the region through the Bay of Bengal. In other words the greater possibility of connecting to the oceanic trade network made the region a lucrative one for textile production.

Sixth, the implements for the making of muslin are easily available in the region. Taylor lists 126 different implements, including *maku* (shuttle), *shana* (reed), that are required to prepare the finest muslins and all of these are either made of bamboo or reeds (Taylor 1840: 174). Most of these implements are still used by the Jamdani weavers, as our field survey suggests (Annex 1).

Seventh, the local ecology inspired most of the Jamdani designs. It seems that in terms of design Jamdani was not a static weaving practice. Over the times the floral designs gave way to a diverse pool of designs, focusing on local flowers and plants, signify local orientation. Designs are drawn from the lived life and the natural environment of Bangladesh in general and Dhaka in particular. Following are a list that reflects this enormous diversity of designs used by the Jamdani weavers:

*Pati* (petal); *Angti* (ring); *Baghnoli* or *bagher paa* (tiger claws or paws); *Shankha* (shell) *Dubla* (tender grass); *Sabudana* (barley); background of peacock border and jasmine flower base/background (jamin); tree border; kolka par/border; kalmi lata; six-petal flower; Shankha border; pona parh (small fish?); baghnali flower; peacock parh and fish on the base; grapes parh; motordana parh; lata; kakra; geda flower: merrygold; tekatta, banka; bettle leaf and kochu leaf border; snake border; rose border; dalim parh; chalta; banana kandhi; korola and so on (Sayeedur 1993: index pages; Ghuznavi 2006: 47)
7. Locating Jamdani in local and national cultural heritage

Although there are reasons to believe that the precursor of Jamdani existed in Dhaka region from time immemorial as alluded to earlier, the name of Jamdani became a popular brand with the arrival of Muslim rulers in India. Persian connection to Bengal seems to have been established even before the arrival of the Mughals in the subcontinent. According to Odoardo Barbosa, who travelled in Bengal during 1516-21 AD, mentioned (quoted in Lamm 1937: 189) that the Arab and the Persians used white clothes made of cotton used for hijab (veils/tocche), white perhaps being an allusion to Jamdani background.

In course of time Jamdani and Dhaka became synonymous. Not only had it begun to appear in authoritative research work such as in Basu (1955: 210), but also in popular expressions and creative activities. A grand example comes from the Nobel laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore. In a famous poem titled ‘Banshi’, Tagore writes this:

এ গান যেখানে সত্য
অনন্ত গোধূলিলল্লা
সেই থানে
বাহি চলে ধলেশ্বরী,
তীরে তমালের ঘনবাহ্য-
অধিনাতে
যে আছে অপেক্ষা করে, তার
পরে ঢাকাই শাড়ি, কপালে সিংদুর।

Where this song is true
In the meadow of infinite dusk
There
Runs the Dhaleswari [river],
On its banks are the dense shadow of tamals [tree]—
And in the courtyard
Who waits [for her beloved]
Is wearing Dhakai Sharee and vermilion on the forehead
More recently, in one of his popular novels Amitabh Ghose deals with Jamdani. Through his main character, a master weaver, we got to understand the futility of learning the secret of Dhaka’s Jamdani craft by an outsider: ‘We know what we know, they said when he tried to teach them the secret of jamdani, and we want to know no more. A crow falls out of the sky if it tries to learn peacockery’ (Ghose 2005: 68).

8. Jamdani’s regional and global outreach

The centrality of Dhaka in the regional and global circulation of Jamdani is well documented, which can be briefly mentioned here. This is important from the GI perspective since the origin of such circulation could be invariably traced to Dhaka. One example is Pocahontas, also known as Rebecca Rolfe (1595-1617), a female American-Indian from Virginia who was a negotiator with English settlers. As one Rev. Whittaker narrates about an English delegates’ meeting with Pocahontas: “All the people of Jamestown were pleased spectators. The chapel was trimmed with evergreens, wild flowers, and scarlet-berried holly. Pocahontas was dressed in a simple tunic of white muslin from the looms of Dacca” (Lossing 1902).

As late as early nineteenth century, at a time when textile trade were at their lowest ebb in Dhaka, Dhaka muslin were still being used in Arabia (Jeddah, Makkah), Iraq and parts of Mediterranean coastal countries. Earlier Dhaka muslin had a monopoly in various trading zones of Asia and Europe and North Africa (Karim 1965: 1, 130). It may also be noted that the last influential emperor of India, Aurangzeb, was fond of Jamdani and offered Rs. 250 for each piece of Jamdani (Taylor 1851: 48).

During the colonial times, when Jamdani lost royal patronage from local rulers, it continued to grace many international exhibitions of Indian products. For example, “Jamdanee scarf, from Dacca” was displayed on the “Great Exhibition of the Works
of Industry of All Nations" (Ellis 1851: 159). The London Exhibition of 1862 displayed “Jamdanee Scrafs” (Dowleans: 1). The Dublin International Exhibition of 1865 displayed “Jamdnee muslin” and “Jamdanee scarf, plain” under item no. 679 and 680 respectively (Executive Committee 1865: 52). The New Zealand Exhibition of 1865 displayed “Jamdanee Sharee” under item no. 847. (Watson 1864). A catalogue of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers (1876) described Jamdanee, listed on no. 318, as “a figured muslin of Dacca, of exquisite delicacy; and, by reason of the complicated designs of such fabrics, they are considered the greatest work of the weaver, and are the most expensive production…” (National Association of Wool Manufactures 1876: 187).

9. Antiquity and evolution

Since Jamdani was one category of the fine cotton products of Dhaka muslin, and historical literature don’t pinpoint a time for the emergence of Jamdani, we have to trace its antiquity through tracing the references to Bengal muslin. The following quotation is from a Greek text by Diogenes Laertius of the 3rd century CE:

When Demetrius of Phalerum sent him loaves of bread and some wine, he reproached him, saying, "Oh that the springs yielded bread as well as water!" It is clear, then, that he was a water-drinker. When the police-inspectors found fault with him for wearing muslin, his answer was, "I'll show you that Theophrastus also wears muslin.” (Hicks 1972: 91).

The passage suggests that among the intellectuals of the ancient Greek muslin was widely used, perhaps under certain restriction. It is not certain if this relates to muslin from Bengal, but there are suggestions that the Greeks used the finest cotton clothes from Bengal (Gilroy: 334). Kautilya’s Arthashastra (Book of Economy) mentioned the fine cotton clothes of Eastern Bengal. It is also suggested that during the time of Ptolemy, the
Bangladesh textile products had good reputation in Rome and Egypt. Arab geographer Sulaiman in the 9th century, Moroccan world traveler Ibn Batutta in the 14th century and some Chinese authors in the 15th century and Mughal imperial author Abul Fazl in the 16th century highly praised the muslins of Bangladesh (Karim: 3-5). In particular, Sonargaon was mentioned by Abul Fazl and Ralph Fitch about the end of the sixteenth century as a place “where the finest cotton cloths are made”. In this place, thin-textured muslins and flowered fabrics were manufactured by Muslim weavers in the “town [Dhaka] and in the country around it” (Taylor 1851: 8). Testimony to the muslin’s quality and spatial connection to Dhaka became all the more clear in the colonial literature.

There might be a fine line between classical muslin era and the medieval Jamdani era, but it might be possible that forms of Jamdani emerged even before the Mughal’s arrival. I would suggest it came up at a time of the most global moments in Bangladesh history. Tome Peres, who was in India around 1510 AD, notes that:

> The Bengalees are merchants with large fortunes, men who sail in junks. A large number of Parsees, Rumes, Turks and Arabs, and merchants from Chaul, Dabhol and Goa, live in Bengal (Peres 2005: 88).

The above observations indicate that Bangladesh was an important emporium of Indian Ocean during the Muslim rule and not only the major Asian merchants were having residency here, but also the Bengalis themselves were going places. It was in this cosmopolitan moment of Bengal, that Jamdani made its debut in Sonargaon, the Golden Port, which was also China’s entry point to India (Mukherjee 2011 :43). The Mughals perfected the production of Jamdani which was already in place in the global commercial and ecological crossroads in Dhaka.
10. Trading in Jamdani

A historical understanding of trade statistics is important in identifying the original GI credential of a product. We do not have clear trade statistics for Jamdani from medieval times and have some scattered data only from British colonial times, when the trade was declining. In the early colonial periods, as Hossain (2010: 151) shows from Bengal Commercial Records of 1795-1802, varieties of muslins including Jamdani was clearly an important export item. Anisuzzaman (1981: 165) enlists an archival item from the British Library for the year 1799 which mentions that 5000 pieces of clothes comprising plain [?] and Jamdani was received in Dhaka Aarong. One needs to remember that this was a period when glorious days of Jamdani were slowly coming to an end. Following major decline of the muslin trade in early nineteenth century, Taylor (1840) found only 1700 weavers family in the region concerned. In the following century, the Jamdani industry experienced further fall. A survey conducted in1961-2 revealed 1459 Jamdani production units in Tarabo in Narayanganj, and another survey in 1967 found only 1173 left, showing a decline by 20% (EPSIC 1967: 9).

Despite all odds, Jamdani has survived its most challenging time in the colonial period and slowly revived in postcolonial times, especially since the liberalization of Bangladesh market in the early 1990s. A newspaper report suggested that in the year 2000, the number of Jamdani weavers were 1600. As of 2013 it is estimated that around 15000 people from 3000 families are involved in the Jamdani industry, which employ about 15500 weaving units (Suman 2013). According to the government organization Bangladesh Handloom Board, the total number of Benarasi/Jamdani weaving unit is 12383. It is estimated that about 2000 pieces of Jamdani sharees are being produced per week in the region. The price of sharees ranges between Tk. 5000 and Tk. 40000. Specially made sharees can attract as much as Tk.150000. In addition to meeting domestic demands, the Jamdani industry is supplying sharees to South Asia, Europe,

Middle East and North America. The increasing demand of Jamdani from Dhaka is corroborated by the report that in the International Jamdani Taant Bastra Mela (Handloom Textile Fair) organized in 2011 by Bangladesh Weavers Product and Manufacturing Business Association (BWPMBA), only a spot order was worth Tk. 0.12 billion. It needs to be particularly noted here that it has been India itself which has been the leading importer of Jamdani from Bangladesh. In the fiscal year, Bangladesh’s export to Jamdani was worth $6.12 million as against $1.49 million in the fiscal year 2008-9. For the first 10 months of the fiscal year 2011-12, the value of export of Jamdani to India was $5.21 million.\(^\text{5}\) It is widely believed that there are much more export of Jamdani in India for which there is no official data.

All these figures testify to and reflect on the once flourishing Jamdani industry of Dhaka.\(^\text{6}\) Without a strong historical and geographical base, such revival of a goods made of unique intangible cultural practice wouldn’t have been possible.

11. GI policy implications: Jamdani, “Dhakai Jamdani” or Uppada Jamdani?

India registered Jamdani as “Uppada Jamdani Sarees” (serial number 106 and application number 122) from Andhra Pradesh in 2009. However the above discussions in this report clearly suggest that there is no combination of geographical, ecological, historical or commercial conditions elsewhere in the world except in Dhaka, where Jamdani would be produced and traded on such vast scale both nationally and internationally (Shahed: 58). At the same time, there has been hardly any mention of “Dhakai Jamdani” in the existing literature except in a couple of publications that came up in recent years. What seems to be the case is that Jamdani has been marked as “Jamdani” with reference to its origin in


Dhaka. So Jamdani has to be a generic name whose geographical locational indicator must be Dhaka, but not “Dhakai Jamdani”. In other words, Dhaka and Jamdani are synonymous. Hence, India’s registration of ‘Uppada Jamdani” under its GI law is illegal and a violation of existing TRIPS regulation.

We strongly disagree with the term “Dhakai Jamdani” for a number of other reasons. First, greater Dhaka region was the earliest and sole site of Jamdani production, so Jamdani automatically means made in Dhaka and doesn’t need an additional geographic locator. Secondly, the term “Dhakai jamdani” encourages other countries/places to call Jamdani prefixed by other place names attaching confusing geographical indicators. Thirdly, Dhaka had many physical reincarnations in different historical periods and we are not sure if Jamdani existed at a time when this region was yet to be named Dhaka (Iqbal: 2011).

Jamdani’s Dhaka GI credential is also corroborated by stakeholders in Indian itself. Mr Ghanshyam Sarode, who was instrumental in creating the new brand of Uppada Jamdani, in his weblog clearly mention that Jamdani is originated in Dhaka.7 The UNESCO has also recently recognized Jamdani as an ‘intangible cultural heritage of humanity’.8

As far as “Uppada” is concerned, this village in Andhra Pradesh is well known for silk products, but we haven’t found any historical link of Jamdani with it. In fact it appears that in the past two decades, Jamdani motifs and designs have been applied to some of the silk products of Uppada and therefore the term of “Uppada Jamdani” must have originated fairly recently, although Jamdani had no prior existence in Uppada village. This is supported by the following remark in a book on the traditional industry in Andhra Pradesh:

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7 http://sarode1.wordpress.com/2009/05/07/ghanshyam-sarode/
A second change that has taken place is the use of techniques like jamdani to produce designs in saris. This has been introduced in Uppada, where motifs are woven into the body and the pallu of the sari is woven in real zari. This has proved extremely popular.\(^9\)

Considering all historical, geographical, commercial and cultural contexts of the Jamdani, our research suggests that Dhaka was and still is its only true centre of production. Now that the GI law has been introduced in Bangladesh and that the global community has recognized Jamdani as Bangladesh’s own, it is hoped that the Government of Bangladesh and international trade regime will take effective measures to restore Jamdani as Dhaka’s own product and heritage.

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