

How Textiles Underpin Movement in Performing Arts

Image no: 1

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kathak dancer Ashavari Majumdar wearing a cotton angarkha kurta with a handwoven dupatta from Chanderi, Madhya Pradesh, 2008, Kolkata, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 2

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Shloka Vaidialingam wears a nine-yard Kanchipuram silk sari that is draped between the legs in the manner required for the Kuchipudi style of dance, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 3

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancers wear cotton dhotis of unstitched cloth, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 4

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharat Sevashram Sangha members wearing their coloured robes, sing and dance while performing aarti, a Hindu ritual of worship, during Durga Puja, when the Hindu goddess Durga is celebrated, 2008, Varanasi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 5

IMAGE CREDITS

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Prithvija Balagopalan drapes the cotton Kalakshetra 'half-sari' tightly against her body for a practice session, 2008, Chennai, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 6

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Odissi dancer Madhavi Mudgal draped in a silk Sambalpuri sari from Orissa, 2009, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kathak dancer Ashavari Majumdar wearing a cotton angarkha kurta with a handwoven dupatta from Chanderi, Madhya Pradesh, 2008, Kolkata, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 8

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kathak dancer Vijay Sahani wears a white cotton dhoti and a gamcha both as a waistband and turban, 2008, Varanasi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 9

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mohiniyattam student Jyothis is draped in a kasavu-mundu set in pale cream cotton, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 10

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancers wearing handwoven dhotis, seleng sadars and gamosas with white cotton pagris*, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 11

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Manipuri dancers preparing to perform at the Ras Leela festival*, 2011, Imphal, Courtesy of the artist.

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Image no: 13

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya monks at the Uttar Kamalabari Satra prepare for a performance of the Anika Bhaona, a story based on Krishna's life*, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 14

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Lavani dancers and singers Akshay S. Malvankar (right) and Anand Anant Satam (left) in Virar East in preparation for a performance Lavani is a Marathi folk dance. These male performers are taking on the role of female characters*, 2019, Palghar, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 15

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Sharmila Desai experiments with a handwoven blue silk Kanchipuram sari*, 2010, New York, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 16

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Assamese Sattriya dancer Baburam Saiki, draped in a dhoti handwoven from muga silk, an Assam-made fabric. Muga silk is valued and treasured, with associations that go far back into the textile history of Assam. It is also the chosen fabric of the Sattriya monks on ceremonial occasions. The Sattriya dance tradition itself dates back over 500 years*, 2010, Uttar Kamalabari Satra, Assam, Courtesy of the artist.

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Caption: *Self Portrait of Briana on the balcony of her studio in Sarvapriya Vihar*, 2019, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Gair dancers at the Sheetala Saptami Mela before the festival of Holi*, 2009, Balotra, Rajasthan, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharat Sevashram Sangha members wearing their coloured robes, sing and dance while performing aarti, a Hindu ritual of worship, during Durga Puja, when the Hindu goddess Durga is celebrated, 2008, Varanasi, Courtesy of the artist.*

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Prithvija Balagopalan drapes the cotton Kalakshetra 'half-sari' tightly against her body for a practice session, 2008, Chennai, Courtesy of the artist*

Link: N/A

Image no: 21

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kalaripayattu dancer Sujith S. has draped a piece of cotton cloth in the form of a minimal undergarment, 2008, Thiruvananthapuram, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 22

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Nimmy Raphel, draped in a Kanchipuram khadi sari, performs at the Thalagiriswara Temple built in the Chola dynasty, 2008, Panamalai, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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IMAGE CREDITS

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Seraikella Chhau dancers Kuna Samal and Rajesh Gope wear five-metre-long tribal dhotis, and cummerbunds from Jharkhand, 2008, Seraikella, Jharkhand, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 24

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Priyadarsini Govind practices in a cotton Kalakshetra 'half-sari' worn over cotton pyjamas, 2011, Chennai, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mayurbhanj Chhau dancer Susanta Behera wearing a yellow cotton dhoti with a red cummerbund from Orissa, 2008, Baripada, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Sharmila Desai, trained in Bharatanatyam and Kalaripayattu as well as Ashtanga Yoga, 2010, New York, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 27

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Baul singer Parvathy Baul wearing a Bhagalpur tussore silk sari in atpoure drape, 2012, Thiruvananthapuram, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 28

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Nimmy Raphel draped in a Kanchipuram khadi sari performs at the Thalagiriswara Temple built in the Chola dynasty, 2008, Panamalai, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 29

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mayurbhanj Chhau dancers Gopal Yadav and Susanta Behera wearing white cotton dhotis with handloom cummerbunds from Sambalpur, Orissa, 2008, Baripada, Courtesy of the artist.*

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mohiniyattam student Jyothis is draped in a kasavu–mundu set in pale cream cotton, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kathak dancer Namrata Pamnani rehearses in a cotton angarkha tailored with an extra flare that enhances the dancer's movements, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kathak dancer Namrata Pamnani rehearses in a cotton angarkha tailored with an extra flare that enhances the dancer's movements*, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.

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Link: N/A

Image no: 35

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Odissi dancers Jaya Mehta and Swaati Vivek are draped in Khandua dhotis in the tradition of the region of their gurus, Surendra Nath Jena and Pratibha Jena Singh*, 2010, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Detail of a Varanasi cotton sari with a silver zari border and circular flowers or butis, worn by Namrata Pamnani*, 2012, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

IMAGE CREDITS**Image no: 37**

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Contemporary dancer Shilpika Bordoloi, trained in many dance forms, choreographs a movement with the pallu of a Gadwal cotton sari with a Pochampally design on the silk border, 2012, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 38

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Odissi dancers Bijayini Satpathy and Pavithra Reddy in handloom cotton 'half-saris' woven at Kalakshetra, the national academy of dance and music in Chennai, Tamil Nadu, 2012, Hesaraghatta, Karnataka, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 39

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mohiniyattam dancer Vidyamol T.P. wearing a white handwoven Kerala mundu set edged with gold, with an extra shawl of the textile draped over her shoulders, 2008, Thrissur, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Contemporary dancer Shilpika Bordoloi, trained in many dance forms, choreographs movement with the pallu of a Gadwal cotton sari with a Pochampally design on the silk border, 2012, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 41

IMAGE CREDITS

Caption: Briana Blasko, *The Vrindavani Vastra, woven by Assamese weavers, is considered a craft masterpiece. Dancer and choreographer Bhabananda Barbayan expresses his hope that this rich tradition of weaving fabric replicating the Vastra continues throughout Assam. He wishes that all actors and dancers of Bhaona would use such fabric for their costumes. This would go a long way towards promoting and providing supply chains for all those weavers who weave Krishna's mythological stories into fabric, 2012, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 42

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Nimmy Raphel draped in a Kanchipuram khadi sari performs at the Thalagiriswara Temple built in the Chola dynasty, 2008, Panamalai, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancers practise Kalaripayattu, they tie the red kacha over the black unstitched tharu, 2011, Calicut, Kerala, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Shloka Vaidialingam wears a nine-yard Kanchipuram silk sari that is draped between the legs in the manner required for the Kuchipudi style of dance, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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IMAGE CREDITS

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Prithvija Balagopalan displays the pallu of her cotton Kalakshetra 'half-sari' while standing against the wall of a temple, 2008, Kanchipuram, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Manipuri dancers preparing to perform at the Ras Leela festival. A white cotton thabak yet is stitched over a velvet- sleeved resham phurit, 2011, Imphal, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Mundita dancing with silk yarn around her body, 2008, Pochampally, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 48

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancers wearing handwoven dhotis, seleng sadars and gamosas with white cotton pagris, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 49

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Contemporary dancer Shilpika Bordoloi, trained in the dance traditions of Manipuri, Bharatanatyam and Mayurbhanj Chhau, uses a part of her costume to enhance her movements, 2012, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Justin McCarthy and his students choreograph contemporary movement inspired by the flow of Kanchipuram silks*, 2011, New Delhi, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Lavanya Ananth, trained in the Vazhuvoor Bharatanatyam style, dances in the Kapaleeswarar temple in Chennai draped in a cotton Kanchipuram 'half-sari'*, 2008, Chennai, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: John and Gill, *Turmeric*, 2008, Flickr, [CC BY-NC 2.0](#).

Link: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/johnandgill/2671661858/>

Image no: 53

Caption: Mckay Savage, *Red tikka powder*, 2007, [CC BY 2.0](#)

Link: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Red_tikka_powder.jpg

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Haldi and kumkum are auspicious powders used in temple prayers*, 2008,

Panamalai, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Uduthukettu of the Kathakali character, backstage in preparation for a performance*, 2009, Cheruthuruthy, Kerala, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Kottakkal Kesavan Kundalayar, backstage in India at the Changampuzha Park show of the Kathakali Kuchelavrittam (Story of Kuchela, the Poor Brahmin)*, Kerala, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancers wear cotton dhotis of unstitched cloth*, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 58

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancer Maniram Gayan shapes eight metres of unstructured white cotton fabric into a pagri*, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 59

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Sattriya dancers wearing handwoven dhotis, seleng sadars and gamosas with white cotton pagris*, 2010, Majuli, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 60

Caption: Briana Blasko, *A dyer prepares hanks of silk yarn for a temple cloth which will have the words of the Gita Govinda*, 2009, Nuapatna, Assam, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Typically, women are the spinners in the process of handloom weaving*, 2008, Mangalagiri, Andhra Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 62

Caption: Briana Blasko, *A woman laying warp threads on a handloom at Maheshwar*, 2009, Madhya Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 63

Caption: Briana Blasko, *A woman helps a weaver settle the muga silk yarn on to the handloom frame. Boko is an important centre for the production of muga silk in Assam*, 2010, Boko, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam dancer Prithvija Balagopalan holds up the talappu of her Kanchipuram silk sari*, 2008, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *A worker prepares warp threads at Rehwa Society, a cooperative weaving establishment that continues the tradition of handwoven saris from Maheshwar*, 2008, Madhya Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 66

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Silk thread on a handloom is weighed down to ensure it remains taut and stretched*, 2008, Thrissur, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 67

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Woman weaver at loom in Maheshwar at WomenWeave*, 2009, Madhya Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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IMAGE CREDITS

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dancer Devaki Rajendran poses behind a loom in the Kerala Nadanam style, which combines both the Kathakali and Mohiniyattam dance forms*, 2008, Balarampuram, Kerala, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dyers in Akola*, 2009, Udaipur, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Indigo makers oxidize the dye by using a technique of vigorously kicking their legs in a water-filled vat*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Indigo makers oxidize the dye by using a technique of vigorously kicking their legs in a water-filled vat*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 72

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Women harvesting the indigo plant*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 73

Caption: Briana Blasko, *On the first day of the indigo dye making process, the indigo plants are submerged under water, covered with long pieces of wood and soaked overnight*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *On the first day of the indigo dye making process, the indigo plants are submerged under water, covered with long pieces of wood and soaked overnight*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

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Link: N/A

Image no: 78

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Indigo cakes are cut into cubes to be dried in the sun in the final stage of production*, 2010, Tamil Nadu, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 79

Caption: Briana Blasko, *A woman laying warp threads on a handloom at Maheshwar*, 2009, Madhya Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 80

Caption: Briana Blasko, *A Kathakali dance guru teaches in a handwoven cotton mundu*, 2009, Kerala, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

Image no: 81

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Dyer washing cloth in Akola*, 2009, Udaipur, Courtesy of the artist.

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Bharatanatyam and Kathakali dancer and choreographer Mrinalini Sarabhai, draped in a silk sari from Kornad, Tamil Nadu, 2009, Ahmedabad, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

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Caption: Briana Blasko, *Hand spun Noile silk yarn hanging in the sun to dry after Marigold flower dye bath, 2016, Andhra Pradesh, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Image no: 84

Caption: Briana Blasko, *Gair dancers at the Sheetal Saptami Mela before the festival of Holi, 2009, Balotra, Rajasthan, Courtesy of the artist.*

Link: N/A

Tunics twirling in the air, vibrant silk saris, serene white dhotis — can these textiles be considered co-performers in a choreography?

Moving with the dancing body, woven or stitched fabrics worn by performers enable them to narrate stories through their various designs and colours, textures and flows. In the South Asian context, costumes are crucial to most performing arts practices. In fact, alongside movements, gestures, speech and facial expressions, ‘aharya’ — Sanskrit for costume, makeup and body ornamentation — is considered one of the four major modes of ‘abhinaya’ or expression. Rather than simply serving aesthetic purposes or creating visual spectacles, textiles also become a means to express and embody the emotions of the performance. In her book *Dance of the Weave*, published in 2013, American photographer Briana Blasko documents the centuries-old interaction between handwoven textiles and traditional movement practices in India. Let’s hear from Blasko herself and delve deeper into her work.

In a way, the making of Dance of the Weave is a culmination of years of my research. I started the project with a very open mindset — looking at folk dancers, hereditary dance communities, and also explore classical dances and martial arts. I began the book trying to document as much as I could, and then a couple of years into the process, with this very expansive mindset, I then tried to be more discerning and limit my photography to mostly classical dance and martial arts. And then, in the later part of the book-making process, I began to open back up again as I wanted to include other forms like contemporary dances and figures like Parvathy Baul.

Tactile Choreographies

Across her photographs, Blasko’s lens captures a sense of movement and materiality, in conversation with each other. How do these images decipher the tactile negotiations between dancers and their costumes? Let’s take a closer look.

In her photograph of dancer Ashavari Majumdar performing the ‘chakkar’, or spins, quintessential to Kathak, a classical dance form from North India, Blasko brings our attention to her angarkha. Tied around the waist, the traditional cotton tunic floats in the air, creating circles in space as it twirls with her body. On closer

inspection, one can almost feel the weight of the dancer transfer onto the light fabric of the moving angarkha. The feeling is elicited yet again in her photographs of Kathak dancer Namrata Pamnani in her studio. In these, along with a play of stillness and fluidity, we observe the entire body engaged in a sensory exercise, as the dancers allow the textiles they wear to weave their own choreography.

In another one of her images, featuring two Odissi dancers, Blasko directs the viewers' gaze towards the pleats of the white Khandua, a traditional ikat sari from Odisha. The repetition of colourful 'temple' border motifs, butas, and the pleats on the sari, draped in the dhoti style, add a certain rhythm to the image. As we see here, the ways in which the drapes flow or make creases also accentuate, shape or mask the contours of the dancers' bodies, thereby elevating and complementing the postures that are integral to the form. The relationship shared by dancers and their costumes is therefore an intimate, tactile one — the textile 'inhabits' performing bodies, tracing and defining their silhouettes.

As you may have already noticed, many of these photographs that survey drapes, textures and patterns of the textiles used in Indian dance, are captured backstage, outdoors, or during rehearsals and practice sessions.

My intention in the making of Dance of the Weave, a book about Indian textiles and dance, was to capture as much handwoven textiles as I could. But that wasn't always the reality. Many dancers in rural areas and cities are wearing synthetic materials on stage. Rather than photographing dancers on stage and in performance, I chose to work with them in an intimate, collaborative way, and you'll see how they're practising in cotton dhotis and saris.

Let us now shift our focus for a moment onto the significance of colour in textiles. In this photograph, we see Bharatanatyam dancer Lavanya Ananth wearing a practise sari while posing in a temple with her back against the camera. The shades used in the costume — of 'haldi' or turmeric and 'kumkum' or vermilion — are regarded as auspicious and significant in ceremonial practices of women from certain communities in India.

In forms like Kathakali, colours have also been used, traditionally, to determine a character and define their attributes. For instance, the actor portraying Krishna, one of the most revered deities in Hinduism, is depicted wearing a heavily layered yellow skirt. He wears the 'pacha' or green makeup, indicative of his noble, pious traits. Similarly, in line with its monastic origins, Sattriya dancers wear a white attire, often accompanied by long metres of undyed cotton cloth wrapped around their heads as turbans. Much like the off-white costume used in the Mohiniyattam dance form, the colour reflects a certain simplicity and subtlety that the forms display.

Rhythm and Blues: Collaborating with Textile-Makers

In addition to focussing on the postures and movements of the dancer, Blasko also captures processes of textile-making to further emphasise ideas of rhythm and synchrony. In one such image, we see a dancer pose with her brightly coloured pink sari, with wooden looms from the weaver's studio in the background.

I love to photograph the effort and beauty that goes into making something. The weavers' studio felt like the perfect backdrop that first year of photographing for the book. The weaver was often present working on the loom, while we were taking pictures. With no music, other than the rhythm of the loom in the background, the dancer improvised while we explored the movements of textile.

Blasko also captures the intricate processes of dye-making in a series of photographs. Her lens brings our focus onto the indigo dyers and their movement, as they work in the vats. These highlight the time- and labour-intensive processes of textile production.

I spent a couple of days photographing the indigo labourers. On the first day of harvest I was with women workers who were chopping down the thick, shrub-like indigo plant. After the harvest, the indigo leaves and stems were brought back to the main dyeing area and the plants were immersed in large vats of water and soaked overnight. The next morning the plants were removed from the water and male labourers entered the pool of turquoise blue water. They started to move their legs in a synchronised movement: a process of oxidation which is central to the making of this brilliant blue

colour. With their legs in dramatic motion, the pacing and timing of their movements had a simple rhythm. After the oxidation was complete, the blue liquid thickens, the indigo cakes are made and they are finally set in the sun for drying.

Conclusion

Foregrounding the work of textile-makers alongside those of dancers, Blasko highlights the different forms of labour and artistry that go into the creation of a performance. Across her photographs, spanning many geographies and traditions, she offers a sensitive lens through which we can view textiles in the context of movement practices.

Postscript

Briana Blasko is a San Francisco-born portrait photographer who shares her time between India and California. Previously based in New York, her career began with research for Annie Leibovitz and Susan Sontag, and her photographs have graced publications such as The New York Times, The Washington Times, Marg and NPR. Since 2013, she has been travelling extensively to document South Asia's rich traditions of textiles and dance. Her work has culminated in the production of a series of photographic books, including 'Dance of the Weave' and most recently, 'Within Without: The Path of the Yogi'. In 2018, selected works from 'Dance of the Weave' entered The Metropolitan Museum of Art's permanent collection.

It is important to note that while Blasko takes a broad approach to the dance forms, covering a spectrum of traditions, the categories of 'classical' and 'folk' are commonly employed to delineate these forms today. These were established by the Sangeet Natak Akademi, India's apex institution for performing arts constituted under the Ministry of Culture in 1953. Several dancers and scholars of performance, including Nritya Pillai, Anita Cherian and Brahma Prakash have critiqued the move, arguing that they produce a hierarchy in forms and among their practitioners, often reproducing caste hierarchies and urban-rural divides.

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