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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME VIII

MADHYA PRADESH

PART VII-A

HANDICRAFT SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

No. 2

HANDLOOM SARI INDUSTRY OF MAHESHWAR

BY

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PLATE I



Illustration 1

AHILYA BAI HOLKAR
The Founder of Maheshwar Sari Industry

1961 CENSUS PUBLICATIONS, MADHYA PRADESH

(All the Census Publications of this State will bear Volume No. VIII)

PART I (in Sub-Parts)	General Report including Subsidiary Tables.
PART II-A	General Population Tables.
PART II-B (in Sub-Parts)	Economic Tables.
PART II-C (in Sub-Parts)	Cultural and Migration Tables.
PART III	Household Economic Tables.
PART-IV (in Sub-Parts)	Housing and Establishments Tables (including Subsidiary Tables) and Report.
PART V (in Sub-Parts)	Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
PART VI	Village Survey Monographs. (A separate Sub-Part for each Village surveyed).
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FOREWORD

One of the first steps to be taken in the First Five Year Plan was the establishment of six Boards for the promotion of handicrafts, village and small industries: (1) The Khadi and Village Industries Board; (2) The All India Handicrafts Board; (3) The All India Handloom Board; (4) The Central Silk Board; (5) The Coir Board; and (6) The Small Industries Board

The rapid expansion of the activities of these Boards which concentrated not only on production and techniques, but also on organisation, extension, credit, marketing and export, consolidated and enlarged the position that the household industries sector had so long enjoyed in the nation's economic life. It was this fact that forced itself upon the preparations for the 1961 Census and demanded that household industry should be separately investigated for a proper accounting of the nation's manpower resources and its specific contribution to the national income. The 1961 Census therefore asked a special series of questions on household industry, input of family and hired labour, and the periods over which household industry is conducted. It was felt, however, that an enumeration of the total number of establishments and their industrial classification would be incomplete without a proper description of what they produce and how they produce. It was important to make an assessment of the limits of rigidity within which traditional skill operates. This could be obtained by studying the caste, occupational, social and economic stratifications, the limitations of credit and marketing facilities, the dominance of custom over contract, the persistence of traditional tools and design forms, the physical limitations of transport, communication and mobility, the inability to adopt new lines or adapt to changing circumstances. It was important also to make an assessment of the limits of flexibility that traditional skill is capable of, because the transformation of traditional skills to modern skills is easier said than done and a thorough study may well reveal that it is perhaps cheaper from the social point of view to develop industrial skills from scratch than to try to graft traditional skill on alien soil. A rather tragic case of failure to make what would on the face of it seem a minor adjustment cast its heavy shadow on the nation when it was discovered that goldsmiths used to working on 22-carat gold all their lives felt sadly helpless when asked to work on 14-carat, so narrow and unadaptable were the limits of their skill and proficiency and so rudimentary the tools and equipment with which they and their forefathers had worked. This fiscal accident revealed that tools are even more important than skills.

An early opportunity was therefore taken in February 1960 to suggest to State Census Superintendents, that the Census provided a unique opportunity for conducting and documenting a survey of this kind. As such a survey was quite outside the usual terms of reference of Census work it was thought prudent cautiously to feel one's way with the thin end of the wedge of what would, it was hoped, prove to be an exciting pursuit. It was, therefore, considered the wiser course to wait until the State Census Offices felt so interested that they would no longer take the inquiry as an imposition but rather want to do it on their own and ask for necessary staff and equipment. This office, too, in its turn, could make use of the interval to organise and elaborate the design of inquiry in order to feed the appetite that work in progress would serve to whet. Because it was a labour of love, sought to be unobtrusively thrust on one's colleagues and because the inquiry itself was so vast that normally it would demand in any country as big a set-up, if separately established, as the Census organisation itself and that over a much longer

period, and because it was almost a pioneer venture, nothing like it having been undertaken since the 1880's, it was decided to move towards a build-up by stages, to let the inquiry unfold itself only as fast as my colleagues chose to ask for more.

Thus, in the first circular of 18 February, 1960, it was suggested that the inquiry might be conducted through the agency of the Development Department, the State Director of Tribal Welfare, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, and other organisations concerned with the promotion of household industry. A draft questionnaire containing 30 questions in three parts was recommended for canvassing. It was suggested that information on this questionnaire, village by village and area by area, might either be obtained through the regular departmental channels of the State Government, or through the newly set up Census organisation, or through the hierarchy of the newly created Panchayats. Stress was laid on the need of photographic documentation and illustration of designs, shapes and forms not only by photographs but with the help of line drawings or sketches together with a full description of the materials used.

Almost the whole of 1960 and the first half of 1961 were spent in organising and taking the census count, although several States even during this period had not allowed the grass to grow under their feet but made exploratory studies and decided in their minds how the inquiry should be organised. A series of regional conferences held in Trivandrum, Darjeeling and Srinagar in May and June 1961 revealed much enthusiasm among State Superintendents to proceed with the survey, but the need of separate staff and equipment was felt at the same time as the realization dawned that this was much too serious an inquiry to be treated casually and left to be achieved through the usual administrative channels and State Census Superintendents proceeded to augment their staff with qualified research and investigating officers, technical persons, photographers, artists, draughtsmen and other trained personnel.

This was followed by rapid progress in coordination between the Central and State Census offices in the matter of exchange and processing of information, documentation and investigation, of assisting each other with trained investigators and in editing and finalizing drafts, layouts, presentations.

Mention has been made of a questionnaire in three parts and thirty questions. The idea was to make a beginning with empirical, analytical studies based on a structured questionnaire which would replace general descriptive accounts that had obtained so far. The primary aim was to obtain a picture as much of the artisan himself as of his craft, to obtain a perspective of the artisan and his craft in his social and economic setting, the extent to which tradition bound him and the winds of change ruffled him, the extent of his mobility and immobility, the conditions of market, credit, new contacts and designs in which he operated, the frame of new as well as traditional producer-customer relationships in which he still worked, and how far he was ready to pierce his own caste-tribe socio-economic cocoon and make a break through the new opportunities promised by the Five Year Plans. The aim was to hold up the mirror to hereditary skills struggling with the dialectics of tradition and change.

Thus the first part of the questionnaire, purporting to be a village schedule, sought to take account of the size and population of the village, its remoteness from or proximity to centres of trade and commerce, in short, the degree of isolation in which the artisan worked, and the relative strengths of various communities in the village which would afford clues to social interdependence and the prevalence of the *jajmani* system. The se-

cond part was devoted to artisan communities in the village: the several castes of artisans, the number of families in each, the total number of workers, males and females, the extent of co-operative activity among them, the extent of dependence upon employers and of wage or contract labour. There were questions on the raw materials used, the means of their procurement, the possible extent of dependence on others for raw materials, the extent of the material that artisans can handle within the limits of their skill. There were other questions on the exchange and flow of designs, the use of colours, the ancientness of the craft and legends associated, the colonization of the craftsman, on patrons and customers and on social and economical contact with the world inside and outside the village. There were specific questions on the workshop itself and particularly the tools and the source of supply of these tools, because it was felt that tools decide everything and are the surest index of inertness or flexibility. Separate blocks of questions were designed to bring out the ramifications of artisan castes throughout the country and the ways they sustained themselves, the type of clientele they catered for, the extent to which they operated on money or barter or service, how specialized their craft was, how wide the market, how dependent they were on their socially preordained clientele and how restricted the latter was by the seemingly unalterable laws of social custom; the extent to which they could operate in the open market, the range of their wares and the sizes to which these were ordinarily restricted either by the limits of their own skill or the length of the customers' pursestrings. Inquiries were to be made about the operation of middlemen and of co-operative societies, the people who gave new designs and demanded new products. Finally the several stages of production of the articles themselves were to be fully described including the final and finishing stage and a list of very skilled craftsmen of each community was to be furnished. The third part was devoted specially to tribal communities and designed to find out how self-sufficient or dependent they were on the production and supply of manufactured goods, the extent to which they produced themselves or depended on others, their contacts with other communities and the specific forms of production and commerce through which these contacts were maintained.

Particular emphasis was laid on the need of obtaining as full an account as possible of unique regional design differentiations as they reflect not only the very culture patterns of the country but the persistent inventive faculties of the craftsmen. The importance was emphasised of giving full attention to articles of domestic use as it is in their shapes, designs and forms that the culture patterns and traditional skills persist most tenaciously.

Simultaneously with the investigation of specific crafts, State Superintendents proceeded to compile a comprehensive list of all types of handicrafts obtaining in their State. As for the specific crafts to be investigated several tables were devised from the structured questionnaire in order to guide investigators towards pointed observations and analysis, to enable them to write, not just general descriptions, but with their eye on the object and on facts.

Investigations conducted between September 1961 and May 1962, including a study group of all States and the Social Studies Division in December 1961 at Delhi, stimulated many of the States into going in for a much enlarged schedule. The revised village schedule itself, the counterpart of the first part of the February 1960 schedule, contained 19 large sections containing elaborate and probing questions. The Family Schedule for practising artisan families similarly contained 19 main questions each subdivided into many questions. The Family Schedule for non-practising artisan families contained 21 questions. There were schedules for the study of co-operative societies, of production-

cum-training centres, and of consumer's preference. This enlarged schedule of investigation, in the formulation of which the States themselves actively assisted, was greatly welcomed. The surveys that will appear in this series will therefore consist of two main types: (a) those based on the original short schedule and (b) those based on the much enlarged schedule. In some cases Census Superintendents felt enthused enough to scrap the work based on the original short schedule and do it over again on the enlarged schedule. In the meantime much experience was gained on the analysis of facts and figures to clothe each observation with plenty of authentic information so that the reader could make his own judgement instead of being expected to see all the time through another pair of eyes.

This programme of survey of handicrafts and household industries has been fortified by several ancillary surveys, each one of which would deserve major attention. Along with the survey, a compilation has been made of all handicraft centres in each State and an inventory prepared of skilled craftsmen. Photographic and other documentation has been built up to constitute what may now be regarded as the most considerable repository in the country. Elaborate and accurate maps of craft centres in talukas, tahsils and districts are either ready or under preparation. A full census of all fairs and festivals, weekly hats and markets, throughout India, has been taken and is being published for the first time. Andhra Pradesh has embarked upon a project of chronicling the social and religious antiquity and uniqueness of every fair and festival. A separate volume will be devoted to each district which promises to be of the utmost value to sociologists and orientalists. A full and complete inventory, replete with sketches and measurements of every object, has been prepared of exhibits in museums of tribal crafts in India. There has been a fairly satisfactory survey of houses and buildings, indigenous architectural designs and use of local building material of the whole country. All this has been entirely a labour of love, patiently organised and executed under great strain and in disregard of health and comfort, for which I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and grateful thanks to my colleagues.

Asok Mitra

New Delhi, July 30, 1964. *Registrar General, India.*

PREFACE

Madhya Pradesh may, of course, not be able to claim having such eminent centres of *sari*-weaving now as Benaras, Madurai or Kanchipuram but there is little doubt that it had flourishing centres in Chanderi and Maheshwar as back as the Maurya period. An attempt was, therefore, made to take up these two centres — Chanderi and Maheshwar — for the study of the craft of handloom *sari*-weaving. The survey was first started in Maheshwar not only because it was more easily accessible but also because it contained a smaller number of artisan households. It was considered desirable to first get a training in survey in the smaller centre and then go to the bigger one — Chanderi. This surmise, however, proved to be an underestimate, because, what initially appeared to be a smaller centre proved to be arrestingly engaging and looking to the prospects that lay ahead it was ultimately decided to concentrate here only and leave Chanderi to more competent hands of those who may also have the further advantage of having more time at their disposal.

Shri H. C. Jain, Research Investigator, was associated with me from the beginning and it was he who has done most of the field work. The work consisted in collecting information for Maheshwar town and also an intensive survey of each weaver's household. The questionnaire were devised under the guidance of Shri Jagathpathi, Superintendent of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh. The work started sometime in June 1962 and could only be concluded in April 1965 and during this time Shri Jain paid many visits to Maheshwar and I also went and stayed in Maheshwar for four days contacting as many weavers as I could. I must admit that I could not devote my entire self to this work because I had also to pay attention to other Census projects like Fairs and Festivals, Ethnographic notes, Village Surveys and Consanguineous Marriage Surveys and I still have the feeling of having done so little and having left so much. The only satisfaction one gets is that something has been done.

We, in the Census, are extremely grateful to our Registrar General, Shri Asok Mitra, for having given all of us this rare opportunity to venture into many fields in addition to our primary work here — Census enumeration and tabulation. It was he who inspired us to take up these manifold projects purely as a labour of love and he let the enthusiasm develop itself. In the State we were fortunate in having Shri Jagathpathi as a friend, philosopher and guide and we could go to him any time with all sorts of difficulties that we felt we had. He took pains to devise the questionnaire given in the Appendix, read the first draft of the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions. I must admit that the monograph has come nowhere the standard envisaged by him and this is entirely due to my own shortcomings. I am also very thankful to the Textile Expert of the Government of Madhya Pradesh for kindly supplying many of the statements given in this monograph. To Shri M. D. Karembelkar, Manager, Shri S. S. Patwardhan, Weaving-Master and Shri G. B. Deshmankar, Dyeing Master — all of Government Handloom Factory, Maheshwar, I am specially indebted for giving me an insight into the fundamentals of handloom weaving. All the weavers of Maheshwar ungrudgingly cooperated in our venture and gave us time whenever we intruded in the midst of their engaging work. It is difficult to name them singly because all of them were so generous and the work has been possible only because of their help. Shri B. L. Parganiha, Research Investigator has done the line-drawings and sketches given in the monograph.

To Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Handicrafts and Social Studies Section of the Registrar General's Office, I am deeply indebted for suggestions and guidance that he gave from time to time.

I must place here the gratitude that I owe to Shri H. C. Jain, Research Investigator. He conducted the entire field survey unassisted and also prepared the first draft of some chapters. Before I went to the field he also taught me all that he had himself learnt. The Monograph has become what it is entirely because of his labours. I must, however, squarely accept responsibility for any error that may have crept in the presentation through inadvertence or ignorance.

This work is thus the result of loving guidance and ungruding co-operation of many and I am extremely grateful to all of them. I only cherish a hope that some scholar may some day take up a more detailed and comprehensive study of this handicraft.

Thanks are also due to Shri M. G. Mohril, Research Investigator for assistance in preparing the Volume for the press and reading proof and to Shri Amritlal Parwar of Singhai Printing Press, Jabalpur, for bringing out this Report in the best form and within shortest period.

Bhopal, K. C. Dubey

The 3rd April 1965.

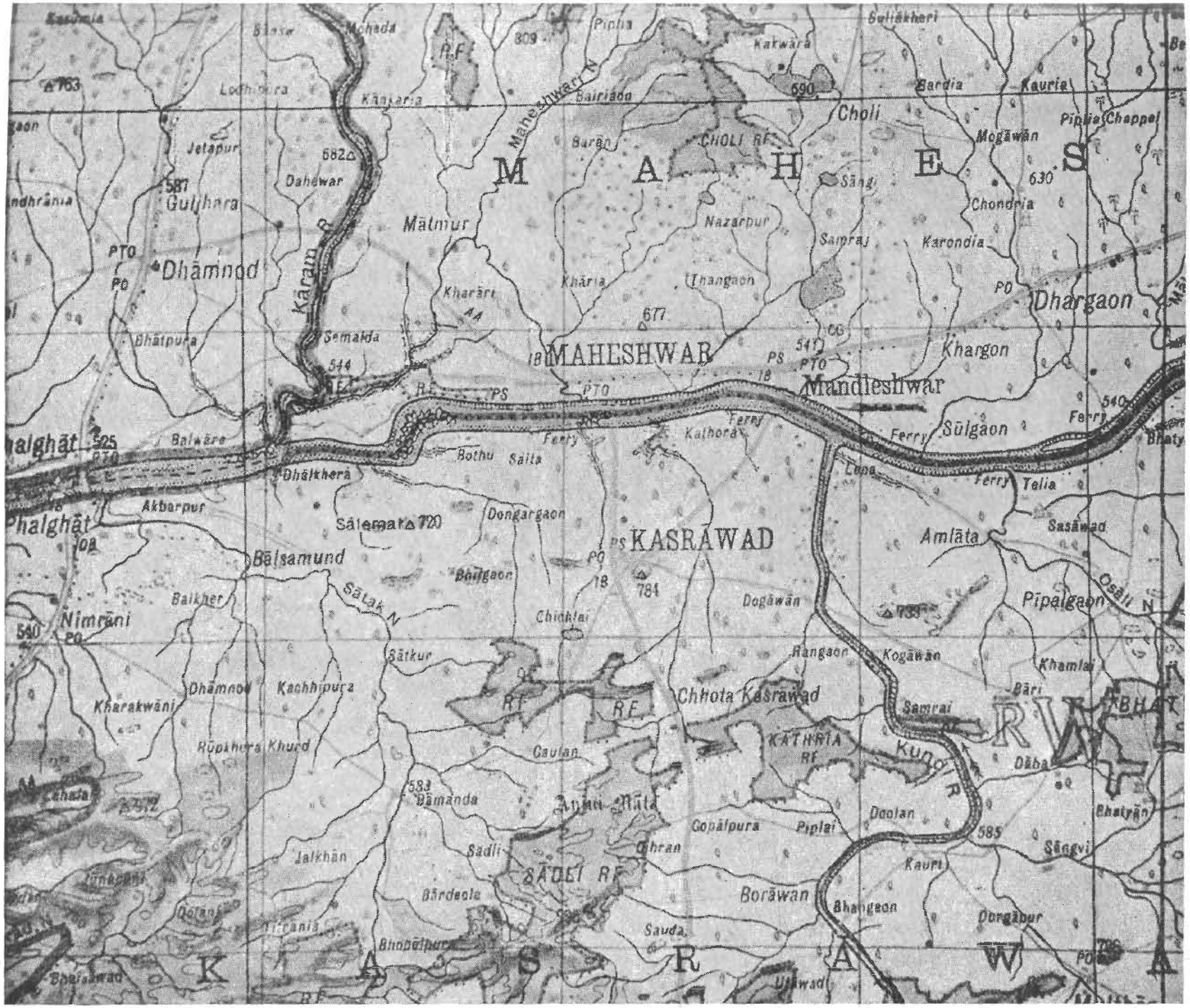


Illustration 2

The Geographical Setting of Maheshwar

PLATE II

PLATE III

'MUST-SEE' PLACES IN AND NEAR MAHESHWAR



Illustration 3

A view of Ahilyaghat from the river



Illustration 4



Illustration 5

Sahasradhara, the place connected with the legend of Sahasrarjun.

INDIAN WEAVERS

"Weavers, weaving at break of day,
Why do you weave a garment so gay?
Blue as the wing of halcyon wild,
We weave the robes of a new born child.

Weavers, weaving at the fall of night,
Why do you weave a garment so bright?
Like the plumes of a peacock purple and green,
We weave the marriage veils of a queen.

Weavers, weaving solemn and still,
What do you weave in the moonlight chill?
White as a feather and white as a cloud,
We weave a dead man's funeral shroud."

— *SAROJINI NAIDU* —

CHAPTER I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Maheshwar, the home of handloom *sari* weaving, is a town (1961 population 8,089) in the district of West Nimar in the south-western corner of Madhya Pradesh. Lying on latitude 22° 11' N and longitude 75°35' E, the town is 24 miles north of the district headquarters — Khargone. There is a road from Khargone to Maheshwar straight in the northerly direction and thus is the nearest approach to this town. On this route, however, one has to cross the Narmada river — which is fordable by ferry. There is another route also — from Khargone to Kasrawad, then turning westwards to join the Bombay-Agra road 10 miles away, going on this road in the north-eastern direction for some six miles and then from Dhamnod turning to the east again and covering nine miles to reach Maheshwar: the Narmada is bridged on the Bombay-Agra road at Khalghat. The nearest railway station is Barwaha, 31 miles to the east on the Indore-Khandwa railway line. Maheshwar is easily accessible from Indore from where regular buses ply daily to Mandleshwar and Barwaha through Maheshwar; the distance from Indore to Maheshwar is 57 miles.

Maheshwar is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name. It has a municipality; it is also the headquarters of the Tahsildar, of the Block Development Officer and has a Police Station. It has its own Posts and Telegraph Office but has not yet been connected by telephone. The nearest wholesale market is Indore (57 miles).

Maheshwar is one of the two towns of Maheshwar tahsil, the other being Mandleshwar. Mandleshwar used to be the headquarters of British Nimar during the British rule in India and was received by the erstwhile Holkar State in exchange of territory along with other tracts now forming parts of Maheshwar, Barwaha and Kasrawad tahsils. Whereas Maheshwar showed a decline in population from 1911 to 1931, Mandleshwar recorded an increase during the period. Although a much smaller place, Mandleshwar has some administrative importance, a factor that has worked in its favour probably at the cost of Maheshwar. In the erstwhile Holkar State, Maheshwar had only the Sub-divisional Offices whereas Mandleshwar had the Divisional Offices of the District Judge for (the then) Nimar, the Deputy Inspector General of Police for the South Range and the Divisional Engineer, Out-station Division. At present, Maheshwar has only the tahsil headquarters whereas Mandleshwar has the Sub-divisional Offices.

Historically speaking, Mandleshwar was far less important than Maheshwar which used to be the capital of the Holkar State but, as would be pointed out later, the political turmoil of the period that ended with the battle in Mahidpur in 1818 settled the fate of Maheshwar; thereafter, Indore became the capital of the Holkar State. Ever since then, Maheshwar went on declining and has shown signs of coming up again only in 1951 though the recuperation has been extremely slow. It was, however, certain that, to whatever extent it may decline, Maheshwar was destined to remain a town on account of its being a distributive centre in the western portion of the densely populated and fertile Narmada valley. A town in such a tract is an economic need and the extension of the Barwaha-Maheshwar road to join the Bombay-Agra road gave some impetus to the development of this town.

The area of Maheshwar town is 589 acres or 0.92 sq. miles. There are, according to the 1961 Census, 1590 houses and 1615 households. These houses* were being used as follows at the time of Census House-listing operations in September-October 1960:—

Purpose to which put	*Number of houses*
1 Number of houses used only for residential purposes	1388
2 Number of houses used for residential purposes and also as workshop or factory—	
(a) Weaving establishments	139
(b) Non-textile establishments	84
3 Number of houses used only as workshop or factory—	
(a) Weaving establishments	18
(b) Non-textile establishments	35
4 Number of houses used as temples, mosques, hospitals, dharmashalas, etc. and other like purposes	453
5 Number of houses lying vacant	246

*The definition of a Census house in 1961 was as below:—
"A census-house is a structure or part of a structure inhabited or vacant, or a dwelling, a shop, a shop-cum-dwelling or a place of business, workshop, school etc., with a separate entrance".

Maheshwar municipality was one of the 9 municipalities to be constituted in 1914 after the passing of the Indore District Municipalities Act on the 15th June, 1914 (Act III of 1914). In 1951 Maheshwar town was divided into two portions, viz. municipal wards and the non-municipal urban area referred to as revenue portion in the District Census Handbook, 1951. There were then 9 wards comprising 1508 houses and the revenue portion consisted of 26 houses. In 1961, there were 7 wards in the town and a non-municipal urban area.

The old names of the wards suggest that in the former days there used to be clusters of houses, a particular caste occupying a particular ward wholly or being predominant therein. Such ward-names are Marupura, Salipura and Mominwadi. These clusters persist to this day with the only difference that people of other castes have also built their houses in these areas. There are two areas in the town viz., Malharganj and Choukhandi which are away from the town proper, the former being about half-a-mile away across the Maheshwari river and the latter, though contiguous, a little cut off and situated on a big mound on the banks of the Narmada. Unless specially pointed out, these areas may be left out by visitors to this town since they are slightly out of the way.

Caste-wise segregation is even now noticeable in the town. There is a small stream in the town (which has now been reclaimed and a road has been constructed over it) on the north of which the Marus or the Khatris live and generally the Khatri houses are not found to the south of the *nala*. It is also observed that the so-called 'low castes' do not live in the town proper but away from it — the Khangars, Balahis and Alias live in the area known as Malharganj whereas the Bhamis and the sweepers live in Govindpura, the Kolis and the Mahars are also cut off from the town proper in Choukhandi and below the fort. A notional map of the town roughly showing these caste clusters is given at the end of this monograph.

There are many buildings of interest in Maheshwar, though except one, none are of any special architectural merit. Just on the banks of the Narmada and on the sides of Maheshwari river, there are two old temples known as the Kaleshwar and Jaleshwar temples; in the latter there is an inscription which was undeciphered so far. A copy of this was sent to Prof. K. D. Bajpai of the Department of Ancient History, University of Saugar who very kindly deciphered it for us. The inscription relates to A.D. 1569 when the renovation of the temple was carried out by a Patel family of Maheshwar. These temples are crumbling and it would not be very long before the river undermines the foundations and brings them down. On the high ground by the side of the Jaleshwar temple are found traces of some old structures indicating that this area was once inhabited. The fort of Maheshwar, as it stands today, seems to be Muslim architecturally but it is quite likely that there was some earlier structure here which was remodelled. There is here the *samadhi* of Mandan Misra, that great scholar who had discussions with Sankaracharya; also inside the fort is a part known as Mandal Kho, where, it is said, Sahasrabahu kept the captive Ravana, the demon king. Within the fort there are some mosques with three inscriptions dated 1563, 1682 and 1712. The most interesting part of the fort is the Ahilya Ghat. There are some carvings here on the stone gates and arches which probably inspired the weavers and provided *motifs* for the border-designs of *saris*. One such example which is said to have inspired them is the carving at the entrance of Ahilya Ghat.

Among the numerous temples and shrines the most prominent is the *Chhatri* (mausoleum) of Ahilya Bai. A fine flight of steps leads up from the river to the richly-carved shrine which contains a *lingam* (idol of Lord Shiva) with a life-size statue of Ahilya Bai behind it. An inscription dedicates the shrine and the ghats to the memory of Ahilya Bai, who resembled the Ahilya of the ancient days (i.e. the wife of Sage Gautama). The inscription says that the construction of these was commenced by Yeshwant Rao Holkar in Samvat 1856 (A.D. 1799) and was completed in Samvat 1890 (A.D. 1833) by Krishna Bai, his wife. Other notable buildings are the shrine of Vithoba or Itoji, Yeshwant Rao's brother, and the palace with the *kul-devata* (family gods) of the Holkars. There is also a temple dedicated to Sahasrabahu or Sahasrarjuna, the myriad-armed one, who is said to have founded this town in the days of the hoary past. This temple is known as the *Rajrajeshwar ka mandir* (the temple of the king of kings). Among the new buildings are the schools, the tahsil office and the Government Handloom factory. The town, however, presents a rather depressing look as one wanders through it. There are many old, dilapidated buildings, which even as they are, speak of a glorious past. These old structures have largely given way and stand as relics of the golden days of Maheshwar: the new ones have not come up yet.

A weekly market is held at Maheshwar on every Tuesday. Two religious fairs are held here every year:

one in honour of a Muslim saint named Biyabani and the other in honour of a Hindu Goddess Vindhyavasini. The former fair lasts for four days and the latter lasts for a fortnight. The fair of Vindhyavasini is of commercial importance for the area.

Climate and Rainfall

The climate of Maheshwar is characteristic of West Nimar — hotter and drier in summer and less cold and less malarious in winter. The average temperature ranges between 102° F. in summer to 62° F. in the winter months. The average rainfall is about 26.60 inches in the year.

Geographical Setting

Geolithologically Maheshwar is situated on the rock-formations known in Indian geology as the Deccan trap, which on weathering give the characteristic black cotton soil and on the landscape carve out the flat-topped hills, two small ones of which may be seen just to the north of the Maheshwar-Mandleshwar road.

Maheshwar has a picturesque setting: on the banks of the Narmada, the 'virgin river' of the Hindu mythology, which rising in the Amarkantak hills runs westwards to lose its identity in the Arabian Sea. Narmada is held to be a sacred river; for some even more sacred than the Ganga. It is holier since it is the 'virgin river'. It, so says the mythology, rejected the marriage proposal of the Sonbhadra and preferred playing in the laps of its uncles — the Vindhyas and the Satpuras. It is said that Narmada, because of her virginity, has a fast current — so fast that even the great sage Kapil could not hold it back. Everyday, right from Amarkantak down up to Broach, thousands of people bathe in its holy waters singing *'Twadiya pad pankajam namami Devi Narmade'* (Literally: My obeisance at the feet of goddess Narmada). Narmada is the river that is considered to bring forth happiness and prosperity, for that is her name (*Narm* means happiness or pleasure and *da* means giver). It is because of this geographical setting that Ahilya Bai, the great Holkar Chief and mother of the Handloom weaving at Maheshwar, established her capital here.

Maheshwar is situated in the valley of the Narmada, bounded on the north by the Vindhya mountains and on the south by the Satpuras. In the north, the ranges of the Vindhyas stretch roughly in the east-west direction about 9 miles north of Maheshwar; the Satpuras are much farther down in the south.

Maheshwar town is about 550 feet above the mean sea-level. Towards Choli, in the north-east, the ground rises gradually to 677 feet about 2 miles from Maheshwar and on the other side of the river, in the south, the ground again rises to 784 feet at Kasrawad. About a mile to the east of the town and to the north of the Maheshwar-Mandleshwar road, there are two small hillocks.

The countryside is generally barren and treeless, stretching drearily for miles together and making the summer rather trying. One mile to the west and along the river, there is a small narrow belt of forest, if it could be so called, otherwise scrub jungle is all that one can see.

The northern bank of the Narmada, on which Maheshwar is situated, is steep varying in height from 30 to 40 feet, whereas the southern bank is gently sloping. Just opposite to the confluence of Maheshwari river with the Narmada, there is a huge rocky bed which is exposed above the water level by about January. The ordinary width of the river Narmada near Maheshwar is about 3 furlongs but this swells to frightening proportions during the rainy season and, in the great flood of 1961, the bed of the river had assumed terrifying proportions.

The rivulets and streams joining the Narmada from the north have eroded the terrain on which the town is situated and everywhere one may find undulating country and mounds of silt. The river is cutting its banks rapidly and it is apprehended that before long the area known as Choukhandi would have to be abandoned and the wall of the fort by the side of the river would probably fall down in about two decades.

A little less than two miles downstream from Maheshwar the bed of the Narmada is interstrewn with projecting rocks which are exposed in the summer season when the water-level goes down; the river flows through these rocks which have been cut at places in the form of arches and gates. In so doing the river divides itself into many small branches and gushes through the rocks. This is the place known as the Sahasradhara, where, according to the mythology, the myriad-armed Sahasrarjuna playfully dammed the river with his thousand arms to frighten his lovely wives bathing in the upstream.

Through the town, between the area known as Malharganj and the town proper, flows the Maheshwari river, a tributary of the Narmada. Actually speaking it

is only a big stream that flows over a hard rocky bed of Deccan trap formations and makes a small waterfall. Even in the month of January, the river gets dry and then the people dig small pits in its bed and take drinking water from there. In Maheshwar, which has electricity and a water-supply system, this old and unhygienic mode of getting drinking water still persists and the reason obviously is that the tap water supply is insufficient. The confluence of the Maheshwari with the Narmada is to the south-east of the town: it was near here that Maheshwar flourished in the olden days. The present town is situated in the triangle made by the Narmada and the Maheshwari rivers.

The town is situated in a cotton-growing region but this does not in any way explain the location of handloom weaving here at present, it may have been the reason in the past but even for this there is no evidence. The main reason for the location of this industry here was the patronage given by Ahilya Bai, the great Holkar, and in the days past the reason lay in the situation of Maheshwar on the main trade route joining north with the south.

The Historical Setting

Maheshwar has a glorious past and there may actually be but few places in India which can lay claim to such glory if the historical reconstruction is correct. The history of Maheshwar relevant in the context of the present Report commences about the year 1730 when it passed into the hands of Malhar Rao Holkar. However, the town did not come into prominence till 1767. In that year, on the death of Malhar Rao, Ahilya Bai became the Holkar and the devoted religious lady that she was, she selected Maheshwar as her capital. There could not be any better place as the capital of Ahilya Bai's government. Here was the 'sacred river' — Narmada — and many temples dedicated to her favourite deity—Shiva. Under her administration, Maheshwar became a place of political and commercial importance and many temples, palaces and ghats were constructed here. It is said that these constructions started in 1791 and were completed in 1833 and the expenditure incurred on them was Rs. one crore.

It is reported by the weavers of Maheshwar that their ancestors were invited here from Mandu by Ahilya Bai but there does not appear to be any corroboration of this in historical records nor has it been possible for us to get hold of any authentic reference to the fact that weaving was a developed industry at Mandu. Be as it may, Ahilya Bai had made all efforts to raise Maheshwar to the eminence of a beautiful and important city.

Ahilya Bai died on the 13th August 1795 and the rule of the Holkar State devolved on Tukoji Rao, a distinguished and very able commander of Ahilya Bai. He maintained the capital at Maheshwar. His death in 1797 proved disastrous to the affairs of the State and during the confusion that followed his death, the prosperity of Maheshwar declined rapidly. Yeshwant Rao, who ruled from 1798 to 1811, plundered the treasury in 1798 and shifted the capital to Rampura and Bhanpura. After his death in 1811 and according to the treaty of Mandsaur on the 6th January 1818, Indore became the seat of the Holkars and the importance of Maheshwar greatly declined, though Malcolm states that in 1820, the town still had 3,500 houses and approximately a population of 17,000 persons.

After this, there was a period of chaos and confusion, which need not be described here. The only point of importance is that in 1819, one Hari Rao Holkar, an insurrectionist, was imprisoned here in the fort by Malhar Rao at the instance of Tantia Jog, a Minister of the Holkar State.

Between the death of Malhar Rao II on the 27th October 1833 and Tukoji Rao III ascending the throne in 1903, nothing remarkable happened in Maheshwar except that Malhar Rao had settled the area now known as Malharganj and at this time the Khangars and Balais had migrated to this area from outside. The importance of Maheshwar went on declining and in 1901, the population had fallen down to 7,042. The names and periods of reigns of the Chiefs of Holkar State after Malhar Rao II may be given here:—

Martand Rao	...	...	1833-1834
Hari Rao	...	...	1834-1843
Khande Rao	...	...	1843-1844
Tukoji Rao II	...	...	1844-1886
Shivaji Rao	..	...	1886-1903
Tukoji Rao III	...	...	1903-1926

During the reign of Tukoji Rao III, the administrative machinery of the State was toned up under the supervision of Rai Bahadur Nanak Chand; all the departments of the State were reorganised and a number of reforms were introduced. It was Tukoji Rao III who again turned his attention towards the weaving industry at Maheshwar for which his ancestor had done so much and which was almost on the verge of extinction because of the First World War. He set



Illustration 6

Here lies, in eternal sleep,
One who had seen Maheshwar in its glory

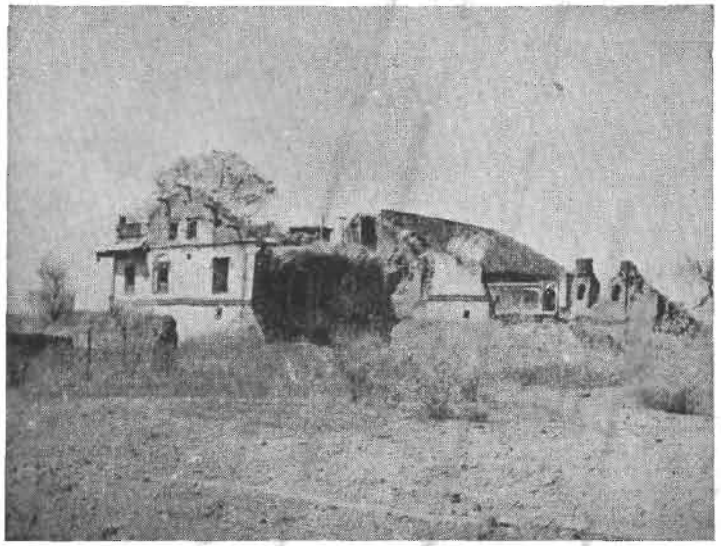


Illustration 7

Ruins of the glory that once was Maheshwar



Illustration 8

The fairest things have fleetest end their scent
survives their close

PLATE V

'THE GLORY AND THE FRESHNESS OF A DREAM'

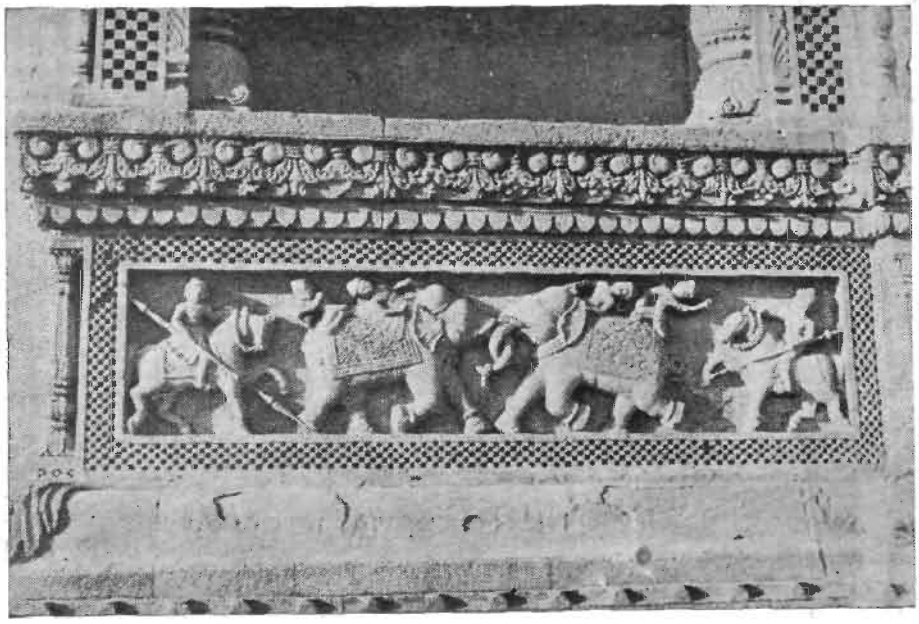


Illustration 9

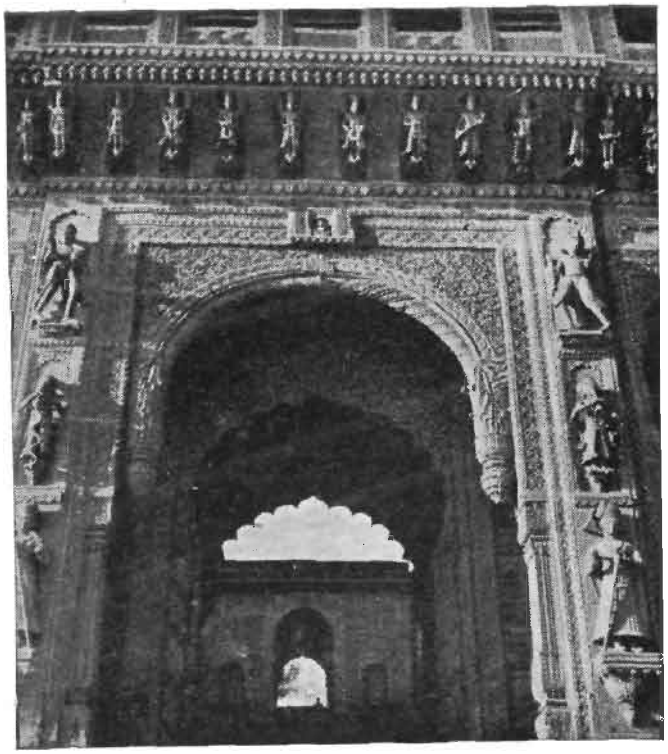


Illustration 10

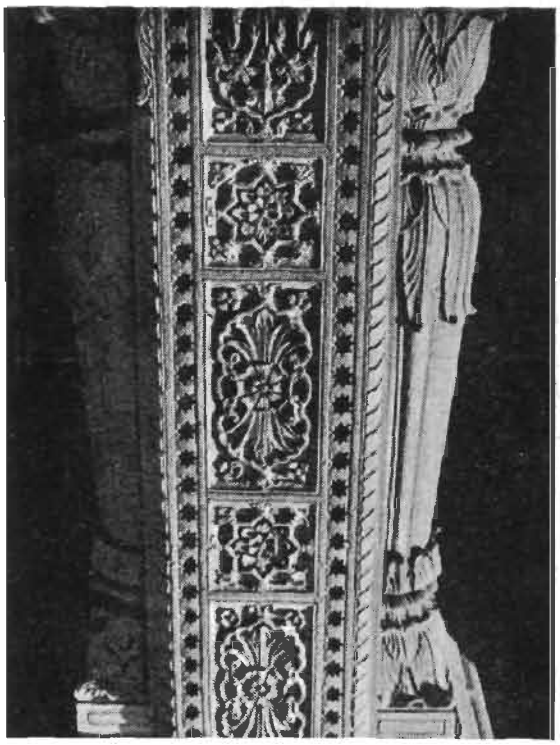


Illustration 11

Three Specimens of Sculpture, Ahilyaghat, Maheshwar

PLATE VI

THE INSPIRATIONS OF THE WEAVERS

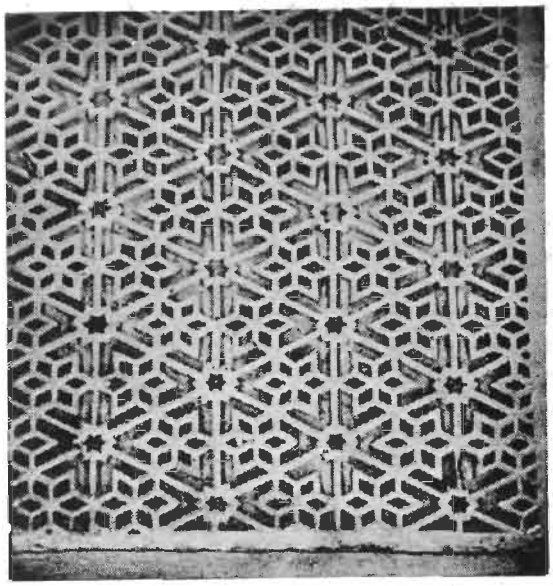


Illustration 12

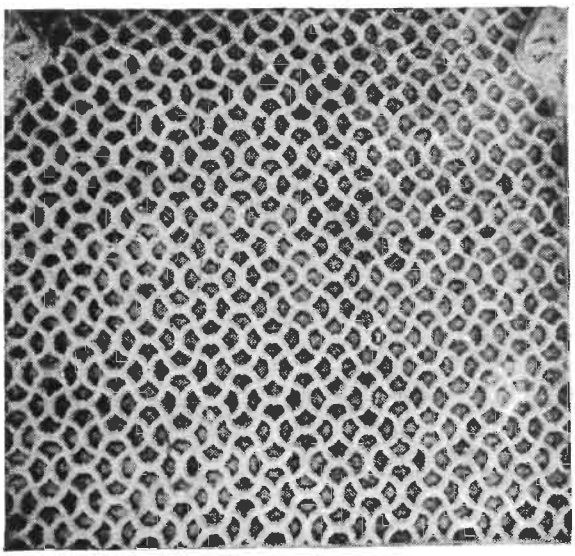


Illustration 13

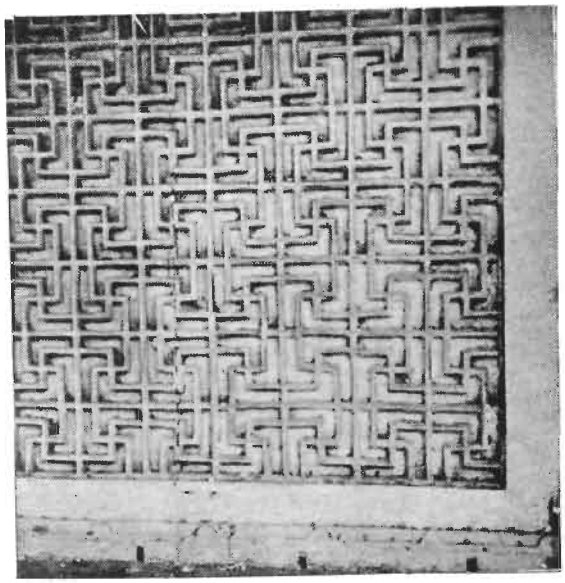


Illustration 14

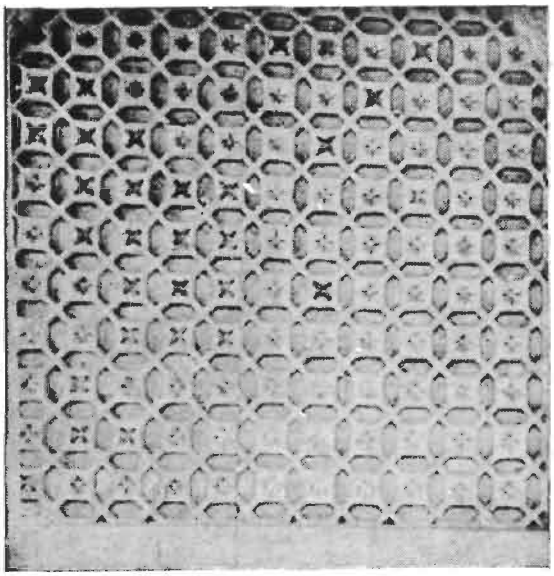


Illustration 15

PLATE VII

THE INSPIRATIONS OF THE WEAVERS

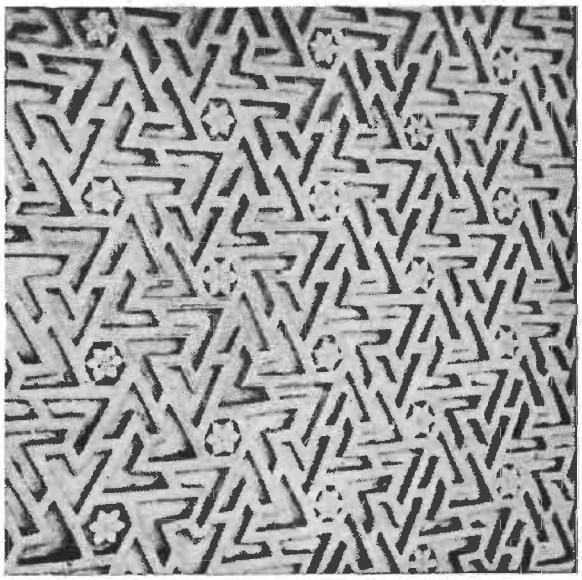


Illustration 16

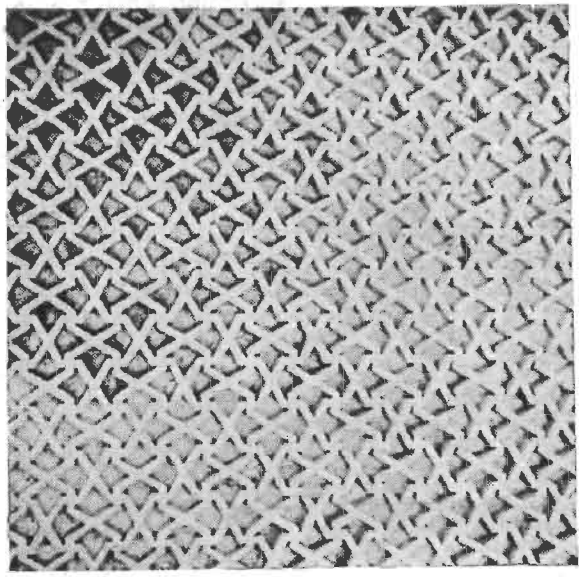


Illustration 17

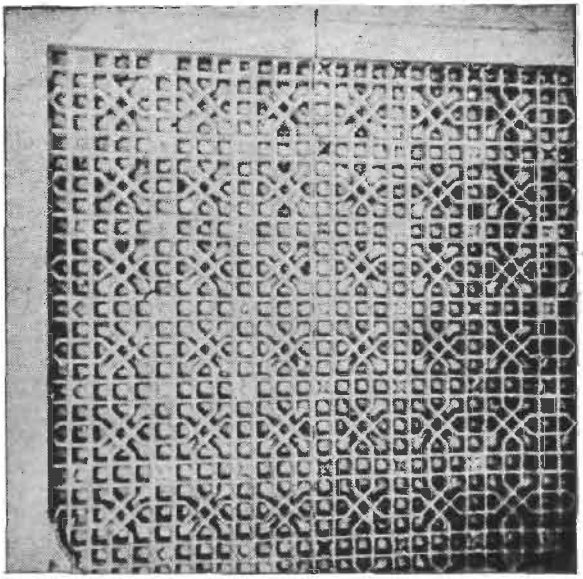


Illustration 18

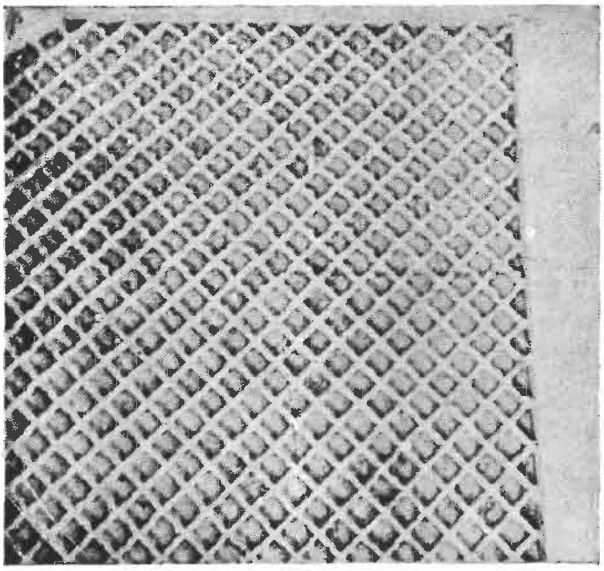


Illustration 19

up an enquiry into the causes of this disorganization and tried whatever he could do to bring it to its former eminence. After his abdication in 1926, Yeshwant Rao II came to the throne, and under the able supervision of Sir S. M. Bapna, the administration was further improved. A Rural Development Department was created by the amalgamation of the existing Agriculture and Cooperative Societies Department.

Yeshwant Rao II was the Chief of the Holkar State when on the eve of the merger of Indian States in May 1948, Indore State along with Gwalior State and other smaller States, was constituted into Madhya Bharat, a Part B State of the Union. Consequent on the reorganization of States, Madhya Bharat was abolished and merged into the present State of Madhya Pradesh.

Mention may be made here of a family known as 'Reshmiwale' (*Reshmi* means silk and *wale* means owners) because it shows the attention that was given to the weaving industry of Maheshwar by Ahilya Bai Holkar. The founder of this family of 'Reshmiwale' was one Sakharam Dhongade, a Maharashtrian Brahmin, who after his father's death came to Maheshwar as a child. On growing up he attracted the attention of Ahilya Bai and was soon placed in charge of her silk business. It is on account of this that he came to be known as 'Reshmiwale', an appellation that still continues in the family in place of their original surname — Nigoskar.

THE MAHESHWAR SARI WEAVING INDUSTRY —THE PHOENIX

Art of Weaving in India

For centuries past, cotton has been the staple article of clothing in India and other countries of the east, and it appears that cotton manufacture was known in this country from very early ages, as the following extract from Romesh Chandra Dutta's[1] "Ancient India" would show:—

"It would appear from many passages in the *Rig Veda* that many arts were carried to a high state of excellence, weaving was well-known of course, and deft female fingers wove the warp and the woof in ancient times as in modern days. In one curious passage, the *rishi* laments his ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites by saying, 'I know not the warp, and I know not the woof' of religious rites; and in another place, the weaving and bleaching of sheep's wool is attributed to the God Pushan who as we have already seen is the god of the shepherds".

Subsequent to this early period, mention of fibre is also made in the Institutes of Manu. The present vernacular *kapas* is probably derived from the word *karpasi* mentioned in the Institutes of Manu: *karpasi* being the fibre from which the Brahmanical thread was prepared. At the time of Manu, not only was the weaving well-known, but also were starching and other operations connected with the manufacture of cloth

It is seen from Watt's *Dictionary* of Economic Products that reference to fibre was first made by Herodotus. Dr. Watt states[2]:—

"In his account of India, he (Herodotus) writes: 'The wild trees of that country bear fleece as their fruit, surpassing those of sheep in beauty and excellence; and the Indians use cloth made from these trees".

Ancient Indian literature, as well as the Greek literature, are a proof to the fact that the cotton garments of the Indians were almost as elaborate as they are today. Romesh Chandra Dutta says in his book mentioned earlier: "The time-honoured *dhuti* and *chaddar* (which latter served as a *pagri* also) formed the national dress in Ancient India". He adds further: "Arian (who lived in the first century after the birth of Christ) quotes a passage from Nearchus, and says that the Indians, *wear an under-garment of cotton which reached below the knee half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment, which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head*". It may be remembered here that Arian was a traveller as well as a merchant and as Watt mentions in his book, he was the first to make mention of Indian cotton as an article of commerce in his time. In India, Broach, Masulipatam and Dacca were the centres of the cotton textile industry.

The journey of cotton-textiles from India to other countries is a fascinating one. From here it spread to Persia, Arabia and Egypt and thence gradually to southern Europe, where, about the 12th century, delicate fabrics began to be manufactured. By about 17th century, the craft spread to England. In 1769, Arkwright obtained his patent and in 1779 Cromption invented the mule. The manufacture of cotton in England took such gigantic strides that it more or less completely supplanted the Indian industry, though in this other factors also had a great role to play.

1. Hari-Vamsa; R.C. Dutt, 1937.
2. Dictionary of Economic Products; Watts.

In Spons' Encyclopaedia of the Industrial Arts, Manufactures and Raw Commercial Products edited by Charles G. Warnford Lock, it is stated[3]:

"The art is very ancient, having been practised in Eastern countries from times immemorial. In those lands, the methods pursued have undergone little change since their first adoption. The marvellous perfection and the beauty attained in the manufacture of Eastern textiles is the result of patient and persistent labour, continued through numerous generations, and which has led to the development of exquisite skill in the manipulation of simple instruments. This form of art is, however, rapidly declining before the vigorous competition of the modern system, which in England has sprung up and been almost perfected, during the last hundred years. The excellence of the latter is demonstrated by the fact that it has been adopted almost in every country of Europe and in America. Of late years, it has even gained a footing in India, the original home of the cotton industry, and there its remarkable development has threatened the existence of its primitive rival".

HISTORY OF WEAVING INDUSTRY OF MAHESHWAR

Though, however, the history of cotton textiles in India, can be traced back to the period of the Vedas, it is not possible to find out from the available literature as to how and when the industry of weaving came to be located at Maheshwar. The only mention about it occurs in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya — that great politician, statesman and economist of his times. The *Arthashastra* mentions Madhura, Aparanta, Kalinga, Benares and Maheshla country on the banks of the Narmada below Jabalpur as being the centres of manufacture of the cloth of the finest variety. A vague tradition was told to us by Tukaram, an old weaver from Maheshwar that in the former days when the means of communications were not developed, the cloth of Maheshwar used to be transported to other areas on camel backs and traders came here from far and near to purchase the cloth manufactured here. He was talking of the Buddhist period and said that this is what was told to him by Mahapandit Rahula Sankratyayana. It has not been possible for us to check the accuracy of his statement.

There is a complete blank between the period of *Arthashastra* and the period when Ahilya Bai reigned over the Holkar State. She may easily be said to be the mother of the modern industry of Maheshwar and the history of Maheshwar *sari*-weaving can be traced from 1754, i. e. from the beginning of Ahilya Bai's rule. She, it is said, invited skilled weavers from Gujerat and Mandu and helped them to establish themselves here in this craft. Mention is found in some books and in the accounts of the travellers who visited this place that costly cloth of the finest variety, especially *saris*, of 200 count yarn and silk with figured effects and interwoven with silver and gold threads, was being produced here in her time and continued to be produced till the recent past. Ahilya Bai, the benevolent Holkar, rejuvenated the Maheshwar industry to meet the demands of exquisite *saris* for the royal family. Records are available to show that she used to send these *saris* to other parts where girls of her family were married and in thus doing, she increased the popularity of these *saris* in other parts also.

Due to her efforts, the weaving industry in Maheshwar grew considerably in size. Business in *saris* and Maheshwar-woven cloth was recorded in lakhs of rupees and merchants and whole-sale buyers poured in Maheshwar from all parts of India. They used to stay here, sometimes for more than a fortnight to get their orders executed.

The Maheshwari *saris*, as they used to be called, were especially known for their special simple border-design which had been evolved here and which still remains their special characteristic. It is said that it was Ahilya Bai herself who had designed the simple border: it is curious to see this border still being the most liked border design in the *saris* manufactured here. Maheshwar industry had the privilege to get the royal patronage to such an extent that it came to be looked upon as the ancestral industry and a symbol of the prosperity of the Holkar Ruler and her Government.

Apart from the patronage of the Holkars, the handloom weaving industry rose to prominence for another reason — it had very few competitors during the period. But this supremacy could not long be maintained. Soon came up other centres which produced cloth of equal, if not superior, quality and catered to the local tastes and requirements. These were the weaving centres at Benares, Chanderi, Belgaum, Dharwar, Nagpur, Burhanpur and Madurai.

3. Spon's Encyclopaedia of the Industrial Arts, Manufactures and Raw Commercial Products: Ed. Charles G. Warnford Lock: 1885; p. 729.

With the death of Ahilya Bai in 1795, the patron and benefactor of Maheshwar industry was lost. The weavers here also could not keep pace with the changing times and stuck to the traditional patterns and designs. They did not imitate and improve: the result was stagnancy. When tastes and fashions changed Maheshwar found itself unable to keep its head high.

The industry continued to progress satisfactorily till about the first decade of the present century. Till this time, though there had already come other competitors in the field of *sari*-production, Maheshwar could still boast of its fast colours and of its beautiful designs. The artisans here had originally used indigenous dyes but with the development of the German dye industry and the import of their products in India, they were quick to take recourse to fast German colours and shades. But then came the bang and the boom of the War and Maheshwar weavers were deprived of the dyes that gave life to their craft. As happens at these times, spurious dyes came into the market and the weavers also took to making their own dyes from *al* roots. These fugitive dyes were the main reason for the downfall of this industry since the fast colours were no longer there.

The almost all-India market for Maheshwar *saris* soon began to dwindle and a stage came when, as it is said, merchants and consumers would not even touch a *sari* if they suspected it to be the Maheshwar one. The looms of the weavers became idle and they came to almost a hand-to-mouth existence. Many of them left Maheshwar and those that remained ran into heavy debts. It appeared that the *sari*-weaving industry was going to die after all. Matters became so bad that the erstwhile Holkar State Government had to give immediate thought to this state of affairs.

Sometime in 1920, the then Chief of Holkar State, Shri Tukoji Rao III invited one Mr. Hugeworth for conducting an enquiry into the conditions of this decaying industry and to make suggestions for its revival. Hugeworth Report is, unfortunately, not available now. It, is, however, understood that he suggested the formation of Weavers' Cooperative Societies and granting them financial aid through these societies. A Dyeing and Weaving Demonstration Factory was also started here as a result of his recommendations. The Holkar Chief himself took personal interest in the Report submitted by Hugeworth and as a result of this 19 Weavers' Societies were formed; Tukoji Rao himself contributed Rs. 20,000/- towards these. Rao Saheb S. L. Tambe was then Registrar, Cooperative Societies.

The weaving industry thus came under Government supervision and a Government Stores was started which purchased the *saris* from the weavers and arranged their sale. For some time the scheme produced very good results but very soon it became evident that all was not well. The little rise perceptible in the production and sale of *saris* was succeeded by a steep fall and the Departmental Store ran into losses. It is somewhat difficult to account for this failure but one of the main reasons appears to be the conservatism of the weavers and their inability to cope with the demands of changing times.

No records are now available from which the exact condition of the industry and the earnings of the artisans could be ascertained for this period. The Government, it is reported, started a Centre in 1921 for demonstration of weaving improved cloth but this Centre did not work satisfactorily and became almost defunct. Another change occurred in the affairs of the industry in the fourth decade of the present century.

Between 1927-1934, the industry was looked after by the Commerce and Industries Department of the Holkar Government under the Commerce Industry Member Shri C. R. Palairat. In 1934, it was transferred to the Finance Ministry under Shri S. V. Kanungo. Shri Kanungo did all that he could to rejuvenate the industry that almost appeared to be in its last lap, but all his efforts did not improve matters much. Some of the more salient features of the steps taken by the Holkar Government in the Finance Ministry may be noted here:—

(1) It was realized that one of the main causes for the downfall of the weaving industry was the use of fugitive dyes yarn. A ban was imposed on the import of *katcha* dyed yarn but the import restriction could not be effectively carried out and the import continued through post-parcel and smuggling was also resorted to.

(2) Licences were issued to weavers for the import of dyes and yarn free of custom duty.

(3) The Government Weaving and Dyeing Demonstration Factory was revived and it was decided to supply dyed yarn from this factory to the weavers. The factory took up the dyeing of yarn in a variety of shades in fast colours and supplied the same to the weavers on moderate rates.

The third step mentioned above was almost touching the core of the problem, but all these well-inten-

tioned efforts of the Government did not make any headway. They faced a stone-wall — the unwillingness on the part of the weavers. It appears that the weaving industry of Maheshwar was fated to have an inglorious death and in 1934-35 the Government decided to close down the factory and the departmental set-up. Orders were passed accordingly: looms and other equipments were to be handed over to the Education Inspector, Barwaha, for the purpose of demonstration in schools.

An All India Exhibition was held in Lucknow in 1936-37 and together with it there was an Industrial Conference. This was attended by a minister from the Holkar State. Handloom-weaving industry was having a bad time everywhere in the country and it appeared that this indigenous industry of India was going to die in the wake of factory goods if serious attention was not paid to it. The then Government of India was not completely unaware of this state of affairs in the handloom industry and there came a declaration from the Government of India sanctioning Rs. 2 lakhs for according help to the Indian Handloom Weaving Industry.

The representative of the Holkar State who attended the Conference returned with new hopes and ideas and submitted his proposals to his Government for infusing new life into the dying *sari*-weaving industry of Maheshwar in particular. The recommendations were immediately accepted and it was decided to restart the weaving department. Till 2.8.1937 the department so created worked without a Superintendent and on that date a suitable hand was ultimately selected and asked to submit his proposals. A copy of the letter this Superintendent submitted to the Government is printed as Annexure I: a summary of what he found and thought may be given here.

The Superintendent, Shri Tikekar, is said to be a zealous worker and is remembered by many people of Maheshwar. From his letter it is seen that originally, in the days of its prosperity, the weaving industry of Maheshwar engaged 600 weavers which number subsequently dwindled to 250. Even this small number found it difficult to keep their body and soul together. They had to purchase the raw material from merchants belonging to Bania or Bohara castes and more frequently from some local *sahukar* into whose clutches most of them landed themselves: these *sahukars* thus became the real masters of the industry and the indebted weavers were forced to sell their produce at the prices fixed by these *sahukars* who purchased the cloth themselves and earned large profits.

To set matters right, Shri Tikekar felt that the Government should pay attention towards the following:—

(a) to improve the present condition of the weavers and make their craft economically productive;
(b) to find suitable markets for their products;
(c) to extricate them from the clutches of the creditors; and
(d) to keep the Superintendent equipped for providing them with improved facilities.

The first proposal that this Superintendent had to make was for opening a Government Store at Maheshwar which should always have a sufficient stock of yarn, silk, colours, handloom accessories and such other material and equipment as is required by the weavers. His second recommendation was for remodelling of the Government Weaving and Dyeing Factory, equipping it with modern and improved techniques of demonstration, to provide fast colours and to bring out new designs. Other recommendations were for the extension of the Factory building, services of an expert carpenter, a well-equipped laboratory and so on.

Shri Tikekar felt that in the initial stages, the Government would have to secure orders from businessmen elsewhere for the products till the weavers themselves are in a position to stand on their own legs. And he rightly thought that advertisement was the life and blood of this industry as of any industry: it would boost up the demand and persuade the weavers who had migrated elsewhere to return to Maheshwar. For this purpose he suggested setting up a central store at Indore and also providing a mobile exhibition unit. He suggested that propaganda and advertisement need not be restricted to the State boundaries but should cover outside places also. Shri Tikekar was sure that if the steps suggested by him were implemented he would be able to produce some satisfactory results in 8 to 10 years time. This period, he said, could be lessened if greater assistance was forthcoming from the Government.

The Government, however, did not agree immediately to fulfil all the demands made by Shri Tikekar, but his main recommendation of starting a Government Store at Maheshwar, a Government Emporium at Indore and training by peripatetic demonstrations was approved. This approval of the Government, it is learnt, was published in the Holkar State Gazette under an order entitled "Shree Shankar Order". It has not been possible for us to get a copy of this order. It was also decided that in future all the requirements of the State Government should be purchased as far as possible from the Maheshwar Store.

The Phoenix was on its wings again. The product of Maheshwar was stamped by the Government thus certifying that genuine material and fast colours were used in its production. This stamped material came to be in good demand and the Maheshwar Emporium started attracting a good number of buyers. The Government Dyeing and Weaving Demonstration Factory was well furnished and equipped and the staff included a Superintendent, a Weaving Master, an Assistant Weaving Master, a Dyeing Master, an Accountant and 12 workers. Local dyers were trained in the factory in producing different shades so that they could adopt these improved techniques in their establishments. Licences were also issued to some enterprising dyers and it was thought that only these would be carrying out the dyeing of yarn. This was unfortunately not a prohibitory order and as such unlicensed dyeing continued *pari passu*. Because of this and also because of the fact that the Government Factory was meant to supply dyed yarn to only a few weavers at Government cost and was not in the nature of a commercial supplier, this counterfeit dyeing continued and probably prospered.

This Governmental set-up for Maheshwar Weaving Industry was under the Customs Commissioner who happened to be a well qualified officer who had ample funds at his disposal. It was hoped that very soon all the Government demands, which then amounted to about Rs. 50,000/- annually, would be met from the Maheshwar Store only which it was hoped, would soon develop into a commercial success and would also return substantial revenue to the State exchequer.

The number of working looms increased in Maheshwar to 500 and cloth of varying types and designs began to be produced. It is mentioned that *sari, dandia, dupatta, pagri, lungee, tukdee, lahanga,* silk coating, shirting and *pitambar* were being produced, the total production annually being about 800,000 yards and giving occupation to nearly 500 people and subsistence to another 1500. The Demonstration Factory was also producing about 3000 yards of cloth of various types worth about Rs. 3,000/-. The expenses borne by the Government on this factory were coming to Rs. 12,000/- per year. The one happy outcome of the whole effort was the increasing popularity of fly shuttles among the handloom weavers.

Whatever the handicaps may have been, the factory seems to have made headway between 1936-37 and 1942-43 as the following statement shows:—

Year	*Sanctionea Budget*	*Actual Expenditure*	*Receipt of sale*	*Dyeing charges*	*Total receipt*
1935-36	12,000	4,828-9-6	755-15-9	1,020-12-9	1,776-12-0
1936-37	12,000	6,865-14-3	976-3-3	1,337-0-9	2,312-4-0
1937-38	12,000	11,410-13-3	996-11-0	2,092-8-0	3,089-3-0
1938-39	12,000	8,505-8-3	1,572-15-3	2,184-13-9	3,757-13-0
1939-40	12,000	10,255-6-9	2,318-3-6	2,516-8-3	4,834-11-9
1940-41	12,000	9,947-14-10	2,767-0-6	1,859-7-0	4,626-7-6
1941-42	12,000	10,236-4-9	2,859-5-0	702-9-3	3,561-14-3
1942-43	12,000	10,725-12-6	6,447-4-6	240-2-6	6,687-7-0
1943-44	12,000	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1944-45	12,000	9,579-0-0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1945-46	12,000	12,189-0-0	869-0-0	597-0-0	1,466-0-0
1946-47	12,000	11,277-0-0	1,002-0-0	1,769-0-0	3,671-0-0
1947-48	12,000	12,871-0-0	6,972-0-0	7,319-0-0	14,291-0-0
1948-49	12,000	10,474-0-0	1,203-0-0	1,633-0-0	2,836-0-0
1949-50	15,500	11,843-0-0	1,515-0-0	1,039-0-0	2,554-0-0
1950-51	69,150	55,595-0-0	1,611-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1951-52	69,150	53,106-0-0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1952-53	71,887	41,369-0-0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1953-54	88,820	60,233-0-0	36,858-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1954-55	69,971	67,789-0-0	45,789-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1955-56	84,000	81,372-0-0	32,892-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1956-57	88,800	75,073-0-0	38,467-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1957-58	99,000	96,535-0-0	23,653-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1958-59	95,000	87,119-0-0	31,634-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1959-60	68,500	65,199-0-0	16,419-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1960-61	65,600	61,718-0-0	25,080-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1961-62	73,414	73,305-0-0	18,195-0-0	N.A.	N.A.
1962-63	31,300	82,776-0-0	30,128-0-0	N.A.	N.A.

Encouraged by what was happening, the Superintendent of the Handloom Factory proposed that the Factory may be split up into two independent units — the Demonstration Unit which should be a peripatetic one and the Handloom Factory which should be run on a commercial and mass-production basis. This proposal was approved by the Government and the demonstration section of the Factory was shifted to Manasa, a tahsil headquarters of Mandsaur district, which was also a weaving and dyeing centre, though, of course, not of the stature of Maheshwar.

The above table should be studied keeping in view the following historical factors:—

(a) Start of the Second World War;
(b) Independence from British rule and merger of Indian States resulting in the formation of Madhya Bharat.

The commencement of the Second World War in 1939 affected the import of cloth and whatever foreign cloth was coming to Holkar State more or less came to a stop. Widespread scarcity of mill-made cloth during this period increased the sale of handloom-cloth and that is how there is a rise recorded in 1939-40. With the end of the world war, mill made goods again showed themselves in the market and Maheshwar Factory sales went down in 1945-46 and 1946-47. In 1947 India became independent and within a year the Feudatory states were amalgamated into provinces. On 28th May, 1948, Madhya Bharat was formed. During the Holkar regime, there was a heavy custom duty on the mill-made goods coming from outside the State, thus giving an impetus to the handloom goods produced within the State. As a result of heavy custom duty, the mill-made products coming from Bombay region used to come up only to erstwhile Dhar State and very little of it came to Holkar State. But the formation of Madhya Bharat removed the barriers. The mill-made goods from Ahmedabad and Bombay flowed into Indore and other places; demand for Maheshwar cloth was reduced.

It would be necessary to comment on the receipts of the year 1947-48 when the graph suddenly goes up — there was total receipt of Rs. 14,291/-, though the sanctioned budget was the same as before. No definite reason for this spurt is ascertainable but it appears to be mainly due to the formation of a co-operative society on 22-7-47 (Registration No. 1078). This society whose name is Maheshwar Handloom Weavers Cooperative Society, seems to have worked with a great degree of enthusiasm in the year of its inception. Apart from this conjecture, the reason for the spurt cannot be stated.

In erstwhile Madhya Bharat, Maheshwar was considered to occupy a place of pride in the handicrafts of the State and due encouragement was accorded by the administration. The sanctioned budget was increased from Rs. 12,000/- to Rs. 15,000/- and then finally to Rs. 88,820/-. After the formation of new Madhya Pradesh, Maheshwar continued to receive the same patronage from the State: the phoenix is on its wings again.

Cooperative Movement

The history of the weavers cooperative movement at Maheshwar is hinged to the rise and fall of its handloom weaving industry and has been briefly commented upon in the preceding pages. It would not be out of place here to give a more detailed description.

The cooperative movement in Maheshwar weaving industry owes its inception to the passing of the Indore State Cooperative Societies Act, 1914. When, as a result of the First World War and the consequent stoppage of the import of foreign fast colours and dyes, the *sari*-weaving industry of Maheshwar was directly hit and complete breakdown was appearing imminent, the then Holkar Maharaja Tukojirao took active steps for improving matters. Upon the recommendations of Hugeworth, recourse was taken to cooperation and a Cooperative Central Bank was established at Maheshwar under the name of "The Cooperative Central Bank Limited, Maheshwar" in 1918, the Maharaja himself giving a loan of Rs. 20,000/- towards its formation. Loans from this bank were to be given to the weavers through cooperative societies and not on individual responsibility. As a result of this 17 societies sprang up almost immediately on 11-1-1919 and 2 more were established about eight-and-a-half years later. The names of these societies, their registration numbers and the dates of inception are shown below:—

S.No.	*Name of the Society*	*Registration No.*	*Date of Registration*
1	Martand Weavers Cooperative Society	72	11-1-1919
2	Narmada Weavers Cooperative Society	73	-do-
3	Phanse Weavers Cooperative Society	74	-do-
4	Hinglaj Weavers Cooperative Society	75	-do-
5	Shrikrishna Weavers Cooperative Society	76	-do-

S.No.	Name of the Society	Registration No.	Date of Registration
6	Ganesh Weavers Cooperative Society	77	-do-
7	Islam Weavers Cooperative Society	78	-do-
8	Govind Weavers Cooperative Society	79	-do-
9	Shitla Weavers Cooperative Society	80	-do-
10	Maha Laxmi Weavers Cooperative Society	81	-do-
11	Satyanarain Weavers Cooperative Society	82	-do-
12	Rewa Weavers Cooperative Society	83	-do-
13	Radha Weavers Cooperative Society	84	-do-
14	Rajeshwar Weavers Cooperative Society	85	-do-
15	Gopal Weavers Cooperative Society	86	-do-
16	Saraswati Weavers Cooperative Society	87	-do-
17	Ahilya Weavers Cooperative Society	88	-do-
18	Ganga Weavers Cooperative Society	314	24-6-1927
19	Renuka Weavers Cooperative Society	312	-do-

The majority of these societies, i.e. 16 belonged to the Khatri community, 2 to the Balai community and 1 belonged to the Momins. It is very interesting to see that caste-loyalties played a great role in the formation of these societies and that the societies belonging to the Balais, a community rather low in the social hierarchy, were the last to be formed. The Khatris and the Momins who immediately took advantage of the passing of the Act, were already good and substantial weavers. The real class that was probably in desperate need of help was that of the Balais: they were the last to take advantage of this and this also they could not utilise to the full. This is seen from the fact that the Balais have given up weaving altogether now and have taken to other occupations.

The formation of cooperative societies and according financial assistance were, however, not the end of their problems. They did not have marketing facilities and they therefore proposed that there should be opened a *sari*-store which should purchase the articles manufactured by them and give them the cost after deducting the cost of the raw material supplied. It was thus implicit that the raw material should be supplied by this store. By this process, they stressed, they would not be left with unsold finished goods and consequent blocking of their money.

This request of the weavers was granted and an unregistered *sari*-store was established to provide the weavers with the necessary raw materials and to arrange to sell their finished goods. For some time the scheme produced good results. Because at this time, the price of the cloth had considerably gone up, the weavers got good returns. But in 1929-30, the handloom industry also got hit by the economic slump that swept the country. The price of *saris* and cloth went down by about 60%. The weavers could not get enough wages and their creditors began to press for recovery. The cooperative societies became almost defunct, there was large-scale emigration of weavers and in the *sari*-store, there was a heavy loss.

Large amounts were outstanding against these weavers who had left Maheshwar and legal steps were taken for effecting the recovery. These steps, however, proved to be of no avail since no bidders came forward to bid for the attached property. A representation was made to the Government through the Revenue Department to remit the interest on the dues advanced by the Government and to write off both the principal and the interest on the loan given by the Holkar himself. Revenue Department Sicca Order No. 7600 dated the 8th August 1935 was, therefore, passed vide which the interest on the Privy amount was remitted in full, the Government dues were ordered to be treated without interest from the date of issue of this Sicca Order (See Annexure II).

As stated above, the Cooperative Societies became defunct and the amount advanced to them by the Cooperative Central Bank could not be recovered. The enactment of the Debt Conciliation Act and want of proper coordination between the Revenue and the Cooperative Departments of the Government were some of the main reasons for the non-recovery of loans. The bank stopped functioning in 1945, and out of Rs. 79,429/- advanced, Rs. 29,822.74 remained unrecovered. At the time of its liquidation a loan of Rs. 25,964.69 and Rs. 23,481.98 (including interest) was due on the weavers cooperative societies and the *sari*-store respectively. The accounts of this bank are given in Annexure III.

In 1947, a Weavers Cooperative Society was reformed and named as "The Maheshwar Weavers Cooperative Society, Limited". This was registered (Registration No. 1078) on 22nd July 1947. One more cooperative society, namely the "Momin Weavers Cooperative Society Limited" was registered on 25th August 1954 (Registration No. 194). The position of these two

societies in 1961 is shown below:—

Description	*Maheshwar Society.*	*Momin Society.*
Registration No. and date of registration	1078; 22-7-47	194; 25-8-54
No. of members	279	57
Looms working	100 of society 150 others.	50
Share capital	Rs. 4,610.13	Rs. 816.50
Working capital	Rs. 60,000/-	Rs. 6,423.57
Reserve Fund	Rs. 6,545.38	Rs. 2,715.88
Total other fund	Rs. 14,036.07	...
Loan due to Society	Rs. 30,000/- State aid Rs. 12,000/- State Society.	Rs. 350/- Share capital. Rs. 4,000/- State Society.
Power-loom loan	Rs. 16,056.16	Rs. 16,056.16
WORKING POSITION IN 1960-61		
Production	Rs. 82,996.12	Rs. 13,128.12
Sale	Rs. 81,338.54	Rs. 18,848.00
Wages paid	Rs. 22,471.11	Rs. 851.97
Gross Profit	Rs. 6,505.46	
Net Profit	Rs. 1,982.59	Rs. 169.57

These societies seem to have had greater luck than their predecessors. But even these are facing many difficulties and the greatest of these is the competition that they have to face from the Master Weavers. There are 10 of these Master Weavers who engage the weavers in the season by not only giving them higher wages but also by giving advance loans. Smaller weavers are obliged to them because it is they who help them with credit in times of need. Another difficulty of the societies is that the payments from the Government for the goods supplied on order are not prompt.

However, it appears that all is not well with the cooperative movement — and here caste seems to be an important factor. The Momin Cooperative Society is composed of members belonging to only one community — the Momins. They have their own leaders who are also the office-bearers of their society and they do not seem to have any complaints against them. As against this, Maheshwar weavers cooperative society does not have its membership restricted to a particular caste and here, according to some persons, there is a little 'party politics' sometimes also based on caste-prejudices, for example, community A does not support persons belonging to community B and as a result of this persons belonging to community B fail to become office-bearers of the society. Also, in the election of office-bearers allegiance to some one or the other political party also plays a role and members belonging to community A will not vote for persons who belong to any party other than his. The result of this is that there is some heart-burning and ill-will in the society which is not conducive to a healthy and smooth working.

8 weavers were asked whether or not they were satisfied with the working of the cooperative society. 3 of these were satisfied with the society, 1 was not satisfied before but expressed satisfaction now because the persons he backed had been elected and 4 were not satisfied with the society. The reasons of these 4 weavers who are not satisfied with the society may be given here:—

1 The society is no good since it does not give any work during the rainy season.
2. The society is not working satisfactorily and its future does not appear to be bright.
3 The society is not working satisfactorily. The persons who are in charge of its affairs do not know anything about weaving and they do not know what the life of a weaver means.
4 The society does not make part payment, but the master weaver does it. It is not possible to get any assistance from the society till the *sari* is complete whereas the master weavers come to our help whenever needed.

In addition to this an old and experienced weaver was also contacted and asked about the society. He was formerly an office-bearer of the society and is now a master-weaver. His opinion is therefore to be taken with a pinch of salt:

"Government interferes in day to day working of the society. Some undesirable elements who are not connected with weaving in any manner, enter the society and manage to occupy positions of authority. It is these persons who are responsible for the downfall of the society. The average member of the society has no other interest therein except to get the work and wages and as long as these are available, they are not interested in the higher principles of cooperation.

If the management of the society is in the hands of persons who know the job of weaving, then there are no chances of misuse of materials — like yarn, *jari* and silk belonging to the society. But an office-bearer who tries to keep a check on the fraudulent practices becomes unpopular. The weavers, by and large, prefer such persons in the society who do not know anything and who try to please everybody to keep their position secure".

Whatever the shortcomings may be, Maheshwar *sari*-weaving industry is now again on its legs and the increasing demand for Maheshwar *saris* is evident enough. The All India Handicrafts Board is also giving due encouragement to the industry and to the societies.

CHAPTER II

THE POPULATION OF MAHESHWAR AND THE ARTISAN CASTES

The Population Trends

As is evident from the foregoing account, Maheshwar occupied a place of some eminence in ancient and medieval India and in some respects it may even claim to be the oldest town in the State. But, whatever its importance may have been in those distant days, it seems to have declined slowly but continuously and this decline is reflected in the population trends of the town.

There are no records available to show the population of Maheshwar in the Buddhist period when it was a station on one of the important trade routes between Paithan and Sravasti, and the earliest record of its population is that given by Malcolm. In 1820 Malcolm found 3,500 houses here and estimated a population of 17,000 persons. In 1961, there are in Maheshwar 1,590 houses and a population of 8,089 persons. The population variation of the town from 1891 onwards may be given :—

Year	No. of houses	Population			Variation	
		Total	Male	Female	Net	Percent
1820	3,500	17,000*	NA	NA	...	...
1891	NA	9,230	4,670	4,560	—7,770	—45.7
1901	NA	7,042	3,544	3,498	—2,188	—23.7
1911	3,283	9,599	4,708	4,891	+2,557	+36.3
1921	NA	6,788	3,391	3,397	—2,811	—29.2
1931	NA	6,399	3,202	3,197	— 389	— 5.7
1941	NA	6,946	3,549	3,397	+ 547	+ 8.5
1951	1,534	7,525	3,789	3,736	+ 579	+ 8.3
1961	1,590	8,089	4,137	3,952	+ 564	+ 7.4

In 1901, Maheshwar records a decrease of 23.7 per cent in its population. This decrease was a general feature in the decade 1891-1901, practically all over the Indian sub-continent because of the severe famine of 1896-97. In Malwa, there was a severe famine in 1899-1900 just before the count of 1901 took place: there was a decrease of 20.8 per cent in the population of Holkar State in this decade.[1]

In the 1911 Census, the population of Maheshwar registered an increase of 36.3 per cent as against the increase of 16.3 per cent in the population of Holkar State as a whole. This increase, as states the Indore State Gazetteer, "represented the natural rebound of the population which followed the severe famines which occurred during the early part of the decade. Various other causes contributed to swell the number of people in the State, the most prominent amongst them being the salutary effects on the economic well-being of the people exercised by the administrative reforms that were introduced during the decade".[2]

In 1921, the population of Holkar State registered an increase of 9.4 per cent though the decade 1911-21 was not one that can be said to have been favourable for population growth. A number of bad seasons coupled with the heavy toll of life taken by the ravages of plague, cholera and influenza tended to bring down the population in other areas of India. Then, this was also a period of economic crisis because of the First World War. But various ameliorative measures and a very liberal land-revenue policy had beneficial effects and despite the adverse conditions the population of Holkar State registered this increase. The population of Maheshwar pargana, however, decreased by 5 per cent.[3]

But, during this decade 1911-21, the population of Maheshwar town went down by 29.2 per cent. Apart from the unhealthy effects of the various diseases that raged in the country, one of the main causes of this decline in population was the emigration of weavers from Maheshwar. Weaving, which had attained some height in the period preceding the First World War, was immediately affected by it because the import of fast dyes and colours, that had given so much glamour to Maheshwar *saris*, was stopped. The weavers at first took to alternative materials but the results were disastrous for the industry. The prestige and popularity of Maheshwar *saris* was reduced to zero and as they were not able to keep their bodies and souls together, many families of weavers left Maheshwar. All these factors combined were responsible for the decrease of 29.2 per cent in the population of Maheshwar town.

*The population of 1820 is an estimate; the number of houses is based more or less on an actual count.

1. The Indore State Gazetteer, Vol. I; L.C. Dhariwal, 1931 p. 63.
2. Ibid; p. 64.
3. Census of India, 1931; Vol. XVI, Pt. I; p. 40.

In 1931, the population of Holkar State went up by 14.6 per cent and that of Maheshwar pargana similarly went up by 19.2 per cent. but the population of Maheshwar recorded a decrease of 5.7 per cent. As the Census Report of 1931 mentions. "its population today is the lowest ever recorded".[4] One reason of this decrease in the population of Maheshwar was possibly the growth of the nearby town of Mandleshwar at its cost. But a more important factor for this decline was the continued emigration of weavers from this place. The handloom *sari* industry of Maheshwar was severely hit by the economic depression of 1930 and the price of *saris* went down by 60 per cent. The weavers could not get even to lead a hand-to-mouth existence and because of the oppression of their creditors, large numbers of them left Maheshwar.

Looking at the lowest population figures ever recorded for Maheshwar in 1931, the Census Officer of Holkar State has prophesied that "probably it will decline further".[5] This has, however. not happened and though the growth has been very slow, Maheshwar has shown increase of 8.5, 8.3, and 7.4 per cent in the decades 1931-41, 1941-51 and 1951-61. One of the reasons why the population of Maheshwar did not decrease any further is probably extension of the Barwaha-Maheshwar road to join the Bombay-Agra road. That this may have an effect on the development of Maheshwar was already supposed to be likely by the Holkar State Census Officer in 1931 when he stated, "The road from Barwaha ends at Maheshwar and the traffic of the pargana is attracted by Barwaha, and not by its headquarters, Maheshwar. The proposed extension of the road as far as the Bombay-Agra road to the west is likely to increase the importance of Maheshwar as the new route will bring Indore much nearer and divert traffic and trade towards Maheshwar".[6]

Characteristics of the population

In the Censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931, religion-wise breakup of the population of towns is available and it would be of some interest to refer to here. In table below[7], some columns occurring in the different Censuses have been combined or rearranged to make the figures comparable e. g., Sikh religion is not found in all the Reports and therefore the figures, if any have been amalgamated with 'others'.

Year	*Total population.*	*Hindu*	*Muslim*	*Jain*	*Tribal*	*Others*
1911	9,599	8,265	1,136	109	86	3
1921	6,788	5,526	1,165	40	50	7
1931	6,399	5,104	1075	216	—	4
1961	8,089	—	—	—	—	—

In 1931 Census, Table X showed the occupation of the population of divisions, parganas, major towns and main religions. The following table has been based on the information contained in the above quoted table in the 1931 Census.[8]

Description of the occupation of the population of Maheshwar Town	*Population*		
	Total	*Male*	*Female*
Population	6,399	3,202	3,197
Workers	2,572	1,941	631
Earners (Principal Occupation)	2,402	1,900	502
Non-earners (Working Dependents)	170	41	129
Non-Workers (Non-working dependents)	3,827	1,161	2,566
Non-earners	3,997	1,302	2,695
Earners having a subsidiary occupation	249	205	44
Production of Raw Materials — Class A			
Workers	363	268	125
As subsidiary occupation	24	21	3
Class B			
Preparation and supply of material substances-Workers	1,371	1,031	340
As subsidiary occupation	120	95	25
Sub-Class III—Industry —			
Workers	845	654	191
As subsidiary	46	33	13
Order—5 Textiles			
Workers	467	336	131
As subsidiary	16	8	8
Order—7 Wood—			
Workers	55	44	11
As subsidiary	3	3	—
Order—8—Metals			
Workers	21	19	2
As subsidiary	3	3	—
Order—9—Ceramics Group 63-65 Potters etc.			
Workers	24	18	6
As subsidiary	3	3	—

4. Ibid, p. 62.
5. Ibid; p. 62.
6. Ibid; p. 62.
7. Central India States Census Series, Vol. II, 1911, p. 51 (of list of villages)
   Central India Census Series, Vol. I, 1921, p. 10
   Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, p. 14
8. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, p. 70

Order—10—Group 66-67-68-70 Manufacture and refining vegetable oils			
Workers	20	20	—
As subsidiary	3	3	—
Order—11—Food Industries —			
Workers	40	29	11
As subsidiary	6	3	3
Order—12—Industries of Dress and Toilet			
Workers	84	79	5
As subsidiary	5	4	1
Order—14—Building Industries			
Workers	23	22	1
As subsidiary	2	2	—
Order—17—Miscellaneous and undefined Industries			
Workers	110	86	24
As subsidiary	5	4	1

Reproduction of this somewhat long table has been considered necessary to show the occupational pattern of the population of Maheshwar in 1931. As is seen from the table, 52.2 per cent of the workers engaged in industry of all kinds were engaged on textiles only and the number of the workers in textiles formed 18.1 per cent of the total workers of Maheshwar in 1931.

In 1951 the livelihood-classes of the Maheshwar population were as below:—[9]

Description	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Total number of persons including inmates of Institutions and House-less persons	7,525	3,789	3,736
Literates	2,210	1,691	519
AGRICULTURAL CLASSES			
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	477	261	216
Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	179	86	93
Cultivating labourers and their dependents	486	230	256
Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	75	29	46
NON-AGRICULTURAL CLASSES			
Production other than cultivation	2,741	1,374	1,367
Commerce	1,405	688	717
Transport	273	142	131
Other Services and Miscellaneous	1,889	979	910
Number of Non-Textile Establishments	107		
Number of Textile Establishments	204		
Number of Handlooms	446		

Employment in textile establishments for the rural and urban areas of West Nimar district has also been given in the District Census Handbook.[10] From this it is seen that in the urban areas of the district, there were 337 textile establishments. Thus 60.5 per cent of the textile establishments in the urban areas of the district were located at Maheshwar only and if an estimate of the persons engaged in textile establishments is made in the same proportion, there were approximately 561 persons (312 males, 248 females) in Maheshwar who were engaged in textile establishments.

In the decennial period 1951-61, the population of Maheshwar increased by 7.4 per cent but literacy went up by 44.6 percent. The livelihood pattern of the population of Maheshwar town in 1961 is shown below:—

Description	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
Total number of persons enumerated	8,089	4,137	3,952
Literates	3,197	2,242	955
Total workers	2,947	2,504	893
As cultivators	382	252	130
As Agricultural Labourers	88	52	36
In mining, quarrying, livestock, fishing, plantation, orchards and allied activities	231	146	85
At Household Industry	597	313	284
In manufacture other than Household Industry	325	265	60
In construction	71	59	12
In Trade and Commerce	357	312	45
In Transport, Storage and Communication	97	97	—
In other services	799	558	241
Non-Workers	5,142	2,083	3,059

The Artisan Castes

It is indeed curious to find that weaving has been regarded as a 'low' occupation and weavers regarded as 'impure' castes. The Gandas, Pankas, Mahars and Maharas, Koshtis, Kolis, Koris and Julahas, all weaving castes, rank low in the social hierarchy, not only of the Hindus but also of Muslims. This stigma of impurity is not only attached to weaving but to all artisans and occupational castes — the Dhobis (washermen), the Telis (oil-pressers), the Barhai (carpenter), the Lohar (blacksmith) and the Sunar (Goldsmith). One of the possible reasons may be that according to the canons of the caste-system, rendering service was the duty of the *sudras*. Another reason may be that the

9. Census of India, 1951, Madhya Bharat, District Census Handbook, West Nimar, 1955, pp. 164-165.
10. Ibid p. 47

Aryans used fire only for two purposes — for cooking food and for sacrificial fire; its use for any other purpose was regarded to be derogatory and those who used fire for any other purpose were regarded to be impure. If these are the possible reasons, then it is still more curious to find that even the most primitive societies, like the Hill Marias for example, who cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be said to be influenced by the *varna* system or by the ideas of restricted use of fire, regard such occupations as impure. Among these Hill Marias, members of the tribe are not allowed to live in the same settlement if they take to blacksmithy. Same is the case with the Dorlas and Koyas. Writing about the Hill Marias, Grigson says: "Yet for some reason the aboriginal everywhere looks down on the smith, and as soon as a Maria takes to this occupation he must live with his fellow-smiths either in a separate village or hamlet or segregated in a separate part of the village".[11]

Not only this, but practically all these artisan castes have been the subject of ridicule not only in India but elsewhere also (for example the tailor in England). During the course of village surveys undertaken as a part of the 1961 Census programme, such ridicule in respect of Telis (oil pressers) and Pankas (weavers in Chhattisgarh) was noted.[12] The weavers also have not escaped the ridicule of society and some illustrative aphorisms are given in the Appendix 3.

It is not at all clear why the weavers should have been the subject of all this ridicule. Their appearance certainly does not justify even a part of what has been said about them in the stories. The weavers of Maheshwar say that other persons have coined lots of such stories about them and subject them to various kind of ridicule. They, however, had nothing to add to the information already given. As said above there is nothing to show that the weavers are as ignorant of the world and its ways; it is of course true that they weave 45 inches and accept payment for 36 inches. This, however, is a different story as we will see later in this monograph.

The Weavers of Maheshwar

There are nine castes of weavers in Maheshwar and their efficiency in weaving very much differs, for example, the Khangars have not specialised themselves in weaving *saris* and mostly weave coarse cloth. The number of households and population of the weavers of Maheshwar are shown in the table below:—

Caste	Religion	Number of Households	Population		
			Total	Male	Female
Khatri	Hindu	73	377	192	185
Momin	Islam	23	179	94	85
Khangar	Hindu	15	82	43	39
Koli	Hindu	9	44	24	20
Sali	Hindu	8	57	28	29
Koshti	Hindu	2	6	4	2
Bhami	Hindu	2	10	5	5
Dhobi	Hindu	1	3	2	1
Mabi	Hindu	1	8	6	2
Total		*134*	*766*	*398*	*368*

Out of the above, the Kolis are a scheduled caste as per Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956. Brief notes on each of these castes are given below:—

Khatri

There are 73 Khatri weaving households in Maheshwar out of whom about 7 claim to have been living here since very early times. They say that they are the direct descendents of the great Sahasrabahu (the myriad armed one) and so call themselves as *Sahasrarjun Somvanshi Khatri*. These 7 households are more advanced than the majority (i. e. 66). Other households say that they have come here from Gujarat when invited by Ahilya Bai Holkar. Writing about the Khatris of the neighbouring district of East Nimar, Russell and Hiralal say: "The Khatris of Nimar in the Central Provinces are also weavers, and it seems not unlikely that they may be a branch of these Gujarat Khatris of the inferior class, and the well-known gold and silver lace and embroidery industry of Burhanpur may have been introduced by them from Surat".[13] In the 1931 Census Report of Holkar State, there is a mention of the Hindu Khatris and it is stated that "the Hindus are probably mostly recent immigrants, ... all Hindu Khatris have come from the Punjab....."[14] Mention is also found of the Khatris in the 1911 Census Report of Bombay wherein it is reported that the Khatris there have come from Gujarat in the 16th and 17th Century in response to a strong European demand for

11. Maria Gonds of Bastar, W. V. Grigson, p. 175.
12. Tilaibhat—A Village Survey, Madhya Pradesh; Census of India 1961, Vol. VIII, Part VI, No. 3, 1963.
13. The Tribes and Castes of C. P. & Berar; Vol. III, R. V. Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 460.
14. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 265.

their cloth.[15] It is known from the description of the caste given by Russell and Hiralal[16] that the Khatris of Gujarat belong to two groups — the Brahma-Khatri and the Dasa-Pancha groups, the latter being weavers, and it was these who formerly prepared the fine cotton cloth of Surat and Broach. As stated earlier, the descent from Sahasrabahu is only claimed by the more literate and advanced Khatris of Maheshwar and the rest say they are immigrants having come to Maheshwar in the 18th Century. On the basis of their own statements it appears more likely that the Khatris have come here from Gujarat and not from the Punjab, as the Census Officer of 1931 says.

The Khatris of Maheshwar are referred to as *Maroos* by other people though the Khatris themselves dislike being addressed and referred to as such. But that, in the past, the Khatris were popularly known by this term is evident from the fact that the old name of the ward of the town where they live is *Maroo-pura* (Ward of the *Maroos*).

The Khatris say that they were referred to as *Maroos* because of their handsome features; *Maroo* being the rustic word for 'extremely beautiful', or 'overwhelming beauty'. Whether they like it or not, other residents of Maheshwar always refer to the Khatris as *Maroos*. There is no doubt that the Khatri men and specially women have rather handsome features and a very fair complexion. 'A Khatri woman would be fair without fine clothes or ornaments', and 'only an albino is fairer than a Khatri woman' [17] so runs the proverb.

The Khatri claim that they are Kshtriya by caste and the name of their caste is a corruption of that word. They have been described in ethnographic literature as a trading and mercantile caste and in Maheshwar, they almost monopolize the weaving business and, apart from the large number of weaver-households, headed by Khatris, they are also in a majority among the master-weavers: 7 out of 10.

The Khatris of Maheshwar belong to 12 exogamous groups known as *gotra*. These *gotra*-names are based on saints and sages like those of Brahamins and each *gotra* has a family goddess to whom flowers of distinctive colours are offered. In the table below are shown the *gotra*-names, the surname, the family goddess and the colour of the flower offered.

Gotra	Sur-name usual	Name of the family deity	Colour of the flower offered
Valmik	Teekadiya	Chamunda	Red
Kashyap	Palanpure, Sooddande	Bageshwari	Red
Vashishta	Kharela, Chaturbhuj, Chouhan	Amba Devi	Red
Bachchas	Nidol Chouhan	Bijaseni	White
Angiras	Kadawade, Sonecha	Chamunda	White
Bharadwaj	Bichhawe, Patiband, Pawar	Brahma	White
Sanskrat	Sonwane, Katwa	Peethad	White
Vatsa	Chamundiya	Chamunda	Red
Gautama	Muley	Narayani	Red
Markandeya	Makwade	Kaleshwar	Red
Parashar	Orpha	Chamunda	Red
Birpara	Sankhala	—	—

Apart from the others there are other family deities and it appears that the deities are not the *gotra*-deities but rather the family deities. These other deities are — Bhawani, Sing Bhawani, Mahamaya, Mahishasur, Limbaj, Mamba Devi, and Bhagkali Devi. In addition to these deities, all the Khatris worship at the temple of Sahasrarjun or Sahasrabahu. The role of these various deities appears to have no bearing on the craft and no worship or propitiatory ceremony is performed before starting a new loom or taking up a new work. The worship of these deities is done during social events like marriage etc.

Momin

Momin is the more sophisticated term for Julaha, and the term seems to have been adopted as a caste-name in the recent past. The term Julaha means weaver probably from Sanskrit *julaya* (*jee* = motion or to go; *li* = to join) referring obviously to the constant motion of the shuttle and the perpetual mending of the threads which are two very noticeable features of the indigenous weaver's work. Julaha originally appears to be a purely functional term which has crystallized into a caste-name.

The term Momin means 'orthodox' or 'faithful' and has been adopted as the caste-name evidently because the word Julaha is considered derogatory by everybody.

15. Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 270.
16. Op. cit. pp. 459-460.
17. The Tribes and Castes of North West Province & Oudh. Vol. III, W. Crooke p. 273.

That this adoption is fairly recent, is clear from the fact that in 1921, there were no returns for Momin in the erstwhile Indore State and as stated by the Indore State Census Officer in 1931, 'the term then used was Julaha'.[18] But the term Momin had not been common even in 1931, because out of 2812 Momins returned in that Census from Indore State only 45 were found to be living in areas apart from Indore City and North Malwa though the Momins of Maheshwar claim to be living here from much before that and in 1931, there were 1075 Muslims in Maheshwar.[19] If not all, many of the present families of Momins were living then: they were probably returned as Julaha.

The Momin of Maheshwar claim that about 1300 years ago their ancestors lived in Holy Medina as Ayub Ansari and practised the craft of weaving. How they travelled from Arabia to India is, however, not known. But they state that they came to Maheshwar from Chanderi and Madhopur; the former is an important weaving centre. Russell and Hiralal also say about the Julaha that they "claim Adam as the founder of their craft, inasmuch as when Satan made him realize his nakedness he taught the art of weaving to his sons. And they say that their ancestors came from Arabia".[20]

The Momins of Maheshwar do not tell this story of the origin of their craft, though as said earlier they claim to have come from Arabia. The Momins live in a particular part of the town which is known as Mominwadi. They are generally not very clean in appearance and their women do not observe *pardah* as is common among other sections of the Muslims. The Momins are very industrious weavers and have prospered well. It is they who have taken to the installation of power-looms and among them both men and women weave. It is said that the earning of a normal Momin household is more than it is among weavers of other castes.

Khangars

The Khangars are a scheduled caste in Sagar district and Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils of Hoshangabad district. Elsewhere in the State, they have not been notified as scheduled castes. Traditionally they are a caste of village-watchmen and field-labourers and the origin of the caste name is variously explained. According to one explanation, the origin of the word Khangar is from *khand* meaning pit and *gar* meaning the maker or digger. This explanation is based on the unfortunate reputation that this caste has for burglary and dacoity. According to another explanation, the word is supposed to have come from *khandgahar* meaning a Kshatriya who earns his livelihood by means of his sword. This caste has in the recent past made determined attempts at social climbing and all of them now say that they are Kshtriyas: they call themselves as Khangar Kshatriyas. In Maheshwar also the Khangars call themselves Khangar Kshatriyas and repudiate any affiliation with dacoity and burglary.

In the 1931 Census Report of Central India, Venkatachar says: "Whatever be their claims, it is certain that the Khangars are a pre-Aryan indigenous people of Bundelkhand and like the Bhars, a Hinduized section of them, the Raj Khangars held Bundelkhand in that period of tribal rule between the collapse of the Chandel power and the rise of the Bundelas".[21] Russell and Hiralal also say that "the caste is almost certainly of non-Aryan origin, and there is little doubt that Bundelkhand was its original home".[22] The Khangars of Maheshwar trace their origin from Lalitpur in Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh and say that before coming to Maheshwar during the reign of Malhar Rao, they were living in the nearby village of Nadra where their relatives still live.

Whatever the Khangars may regard themselves to be, they are treated as a 'low' caste by other people and, in Maheshwar, they live in the eastern and separated part of the town known as Malharganj. This part of the town is separated from the main *basti* by Maheshwari river and is stated to have been settled by Malhar Rao for them.

The traditional occupation of the Khangars is not weaving and they say that they took to it after coming to Maheshwar. At that time, there was a great demand for *tukdi-doria* cloth and the occupation being a remunerative one, they specialised in it. They, however, became so much specialised in this *tukdi-doria* weaving that even now they have not been able to take to *sari*-weaving. Their economic condition is far from satisfactory and they seem to be somewhat averse to the introduction of improved techniques and improved implements.

18. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 270
19. Holkar State Census, 1931, Village Tables, p. 65.
20. The Tribes and Castes of C. P., Russell and Hiralal, Vol. III, 1916, p. 279.
21. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XX, Pt. I, p. 232.
22. Op. cit. p. 439.

Koli

There are 9 households of Kolis in Maheshwar who are weavers. There is some amount of confusion about this caste. The Census Officer of Holkar State says in his 1931 Report: "Kolis are a caste from the Deccan, and Koris from the United Provinces. Both castes have a low status, but are probably quite distinct. The similarity of the names caused great confusion at the enumeration, and it was therefore decided to show both castes under one head. The Marathi speaking enumerator was accustomed to hear the term Koli while the one speaking Hindustani was acquainted with Kori; the Malwi-speaking enumerator was a stranger to both".[23] The Kolis proper, however, are a primitive tribe akin to the Bhils and it would be difficult to explain their taking up the profession of weaving. But in the absence of a detailed enthnographic work on this caste, it is not possible to affiliate them with the Bhils. It is, however, likely that they are Koris and this opinion also finds support from Russell and Hiralal. They have the following to say about the Kolis: "The Koris or weavers are also known as Kolis, but in Nimar* they have the designation of Khangar Koli to distinguish them from the tribe of the same name."[24] In Maheshwar, the Kolis repudiate the prefix of Khangar possibly because the Khangars are supposed to be a very low caste.

The Kolis of Maheshwar, live in a separate cluster. All their houses are built over a high ground across a *nala;* the area is known as Choukhandi and, according to a local legend, here lived a saint known as Choukhandi-wale-Baba who possessed miraculous powers and who was a weaver. When he came to participate in a magic competition with a challenger from Bengal, he came to the place of competition flying and weaving a *sari.* After the great flood of 1961, all except 3 households have left Choukhandi and now live in the town.

The Kolis state that they have been living here from before the times of Maharani Ahilya Bai and many of their caste people live in Mandsaur district.

Sali

These people refer to themselves as Gujar-Sali, the name of which caste is not available in any ethnographic literature and this is evidently a sub-caste name probably of the main caste Salvi. They say further that their caste is found in Burhanpur (M. P.), Surat (Gujarat) and Nandurbar (Gujarat). According to them they belong to the Sali caste which has five endogamous divisions — Gujar Sali, Ahir Sali, Malwi Sali, Padam Sali and Shakun Sali. It is interesting to find that in Andhra, the weaver-caste is called 'Sale' and *Padma Sale* is one of the sub-castes. They report living here for many generations past.

The Salis are the same as Salvis or Devangs.[25] The 1931 Census Report of Holkar State has the following to say about the Salvis;[26] "Salvis, also known as Marus, number 3,014. They are found mostly in Nimar, where their strength is 2,535. ..... They are by tradition of Rajput origin. At any rate they appear to have come from Rajputana. Their traditional occupation of weaving would be a low profession for a Rajput; and, if they have any Rajput blood in them, it must be mixed. The weaving industry of Maheshwar used to offer a profitable employment to these people, but its decay has caused them considerable hardship, and turned most of them into agriculturists or common labourers."

Actually speaking the Devangs or Salvis have 29 divisions;three out of five given out by the Salis of Maheshwar are from among these. The word Sali has in all probability been derived from Sal, a loom.[27] The 1911 Census Report of Bombay mentions that the Devangs are also known as Koshti, Hatkars, Jads, Salis, Vivkars, Nekars, Negros and Neyakars and are an occupational caste of cotton and silk-weavers. The two divisions given out by the Salis of Maheshwar which are not found in the list of 29 endogamous divisions are — Gujar Salis and Malwi Salis. The latter appears to be a territorial name — i. e., those Salis who have settled in Malwa, but the origin of the term Gujar Sali who live here in Maheshwar is somewhat uncertain. Gujars are an important cultivating caste in these areas and it is likely that the Salis of Maheshwar may be of mixed descent (the Gujars and Salis or Salvis). The Gujar-Salis of Maheshwar live in a ward known as Salipura and their women do the work of sizing. Because of this occupation, they are regarded somewhat low and the Khatri weavers do not accept water from them.

23. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 266.
24. The Tribes and Castes of C. P., Vol. III, R. V. Russell and Hiralal, 1916, p. 532.
*By Nimar is meant the present East Nimar District.
25. Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 252.
26. Op. cit. p. 273.
27. Census of India, 1911, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 313.

The Holkar State Census Officer of 1931 has referred to the Salvis also as Marus. The Salis here assert that they were never known by this name and the term Maru has always been used for the Khatris.

Koshti

There are 2 weaver households of Koshtis. The Koshtis are a caste of weavers of silk and fine cotton cloth; Koshti being a Marathi term which may have something to do with *kosa* or tasar silk. Salewars are a synonymous group of the Koshtis, Salewar being a Telugu word. It is interesting to observe that these Salewars are divided into 3 divisions — Sutsale, Padmasale and Sagunsale, the latter two divisions being the same as given out by the Gujarshali or Gujarsali of Maheshwar. The ethnic relationship, if any, between the Salis and Koshtis is beyond the scope of the present work, but it appears likely that they may be related. This also gets support from Mead and Macgregor who in their description of castes have regarded the Koshtis and Devangs (Salis) to be synonymous groups.[28] In his 1901 Report of Bombay Census, Enthoven has also indicated the Koshtis and Salis to be the same.[29]

Bhambi

In the Hindu Tribes and Castes, Sherring[30] has described the Bhambis (Bambi) under Megwals and says: "The Bambis: These are said to be the same caste as the Chamars of North-Western Provinces. They are workers in leather, weavers and village servants; and receive the skins of all unclaimed dead animals". The Bhambis have been said to be a synonymous group of the Khalpas or workers in leather (from *khal* meaning the outer skin) by the Census Superintendents of Bombay and Baroda.[31] According to Mead and Macgregor (Bombay 1911) the Khalpas appear to have sprung from a Rajput ancestor and a low-caste woman and the Khalpas are Chamars by caste. The Census Officer of Holkar State in his 1931 Report gives a figure of 2,880 Bhambis in the erstwhile Holkar State, majority of them living in South Malwa. He says further:[32] "The Bhambis are a low caste, ranking with the Balais. Their traditional occupation is the weaving of coarse cloth, and it is still followed in rural areas to a small extent".

The Bhambis of Maheshwar refer to themselves, and are referred to by others, as Bhami. They live in Govindpura a ward of Maheshwar town which is about one-and-a-half miles away from the town proper, and is inhabited mostly by Chamars, Basor and the Bhambis. Only 2 Bhambi households are engaged in weaving and they weave mostly coarse cloth.

Dhobi

The Dhobis are the caste of washermen. There is only one household and one old person who carried on weaving. This old man says that he learnt weaving from other weavers whose clothes he used to wash and when his traditional occupation of washing became unremunerative, he took to weaving. His parents did not follow this occupation nor does his son assist him in it. He carries on his weaving single-handed and alone. It is not considered necessary to give any detailed description of the Dhobi caste.

Mabi

There is one household of a caste known as Mabi, which carries on weaving. The name of this caste is not traceable in any earlier ethnographic literature and since ethnographic investigation falls outside the scope of the present work, the exact nature of this caste has to remain uncertain. These Mabis live in Govindpura with the Chamars, Mehtars, Basors and Bhamis and it is therefore likely that the Mabis may be one of the 'unclean' castes. Enquiries from the Bhamis and from the Mabis show that they do not have any commensality of food or drink between them and both repudiate the idea that they were one and the same community in the past, though the fact that the Mabis used to weave the same kind of cloth as the Bhambis, suggests that these two castes may be related in some way.

Caste and Craft

It is very interesting to see the connection between caste and craft. Till very recently, different weaving castes used to weave different kinds of clothes. Whether this division had something to do with the social hierarchy — 'higher' castes weaving cloth for higher communities — or whether the division had something to do with economic status, socially higher castes be-

28. Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 252.
29. Census of India, 1901, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 210.
30. The Hindu Tribes and Castes; Vol. III, M. A. Sherring, 1881; p. 63.
31. Census of India, 1911, Vol. VII, Pt. I, Bombay p. 270.
    Census of India, 1911, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, Baroda p. 299.
32. Census of Central India, 1931, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, p. 258.

ing also economically better-off and thus able to invest more in the craft, or whether it was a result of both these factors, it is difficult to say, but there used to be an accepted caste-wise division in the weaving of Handloom cloth in Maheshwar. This division was as below:—

Caste	Kind of cloth produced
Khatri or Maroo	Maheshwar *Sari*
Momin, Koli	Turban (*Pagri*)
Khangar	Cloth for the skirt (*Lahanga*), used by the tribal women, coarse cloth (*Tukdi doriya*)
Salvi or Sali	*Sari, Sizing*
Bhami, Mabi	Turban (*Safa*) and *dupatta* (country towels)
Balai	Coarse cloth and *Niwar*

In the days past, the women in this region used to put on *tukdi-doriya* (i. e. skirt and dupatta) and the Khangars, who were settled here by Malhar Rao Holkar did well as weavers. That their weaving of *tukdi-doriya* was substantially remunerative is clear from the fact that they took up weaving as their occupation; weaving is not the traditional occupation of this caste. Times changed and the fashion of *tukdi-doriya* declined and now, except in some of the tribal communities in this area, the use of these garments has been more or less completely given up by other sections of the people. The result has been that the Khangars, who, as Tikaram Khangar said, used to weave even silken and costly cloth for these garments, have become poor weaver of mostly coarse cloth. They have left their traditional occupation and the new occupation that they changed to has decayed. The result has been that they have so far not been able to adopt themselves to this change and appear to be badly off. When asked why they do not take to some more paying occupation, Tikaram Khangar said: "Sir, what can the young one of a mouse do? He is good for nothing except gnawing holes". The Balais have on the other hand reacted to the changing circumstances differently. Their traditional occupation is weaving but though there are 82 Balai households in Maheshwar, they have entirely given up weaving, since it was uneconomic, and have taken to labour and other occupations.

The Salis are considered to be a low caste by the Khatris and others and they do not accept water from their hands. One of the reasons for this is reported to be the sizing operation that is done by this caste. Sizing is regarded to be an unclean operation because it involves the use of starch prepared from cooked grains like maize.

There are 3 or 4 households in Maheshwar of a certain caste known as the Alia. This caste is actually a sub-caste of the Kachhis (vegetable-gardeners) and the name of their caste has evidently come from the word *al (Morinda citrifolia)* a kind of shrub. It is reported by the weavers in Maheshwar that, in the former days, there were about 100 families of these Alias here and they cultivated this shrub and prepared a red dye from it. Manufactured dyes have forced out the indigenous dye and the Alias left Maheshwar for good. As stated earlier, only 3-4 families are left now and a look at their houses shows that their economic condition is by no means satisfactory.

Omens and beliefs about the craft

Describing the Koshti caste, Russell and Hiralal say: "Before beginning work for the day the Salewar makes obeisance to his loom and implements, nor may he touch them without having washed his face and hands. A woman must not approach the loom during her periodical impurity, and if anybody sneezes as work is about to be begun, they wait a little time to let the ill luck pass off. In Nagpur they believe that the posts to which the ends of the loom are fastened have magical powers, and if any one touches them with his leg he will get ulcers up to the knee. If a woman steps on the *kuchi* or loom-brush she is put out of caste and a feast has to be given to the community before she is readmitted".[33]

The weavers of Maheshwar do not know anything about many of these superstitions described by Russell and Hiralal. However, they start the day's work on their looms only after washing their face in the morning and almost everybody makes an obeisance to the loom before starting the work. As far as possible, the loom is not touched with feet because, as they say, it gives them their daily bread. But there is no penalty involved and no expiation made if this is unintentionally done. The loom is not approached with shoes on the feet, but this restriction does not appear to be applicable to outsiders and we were allowed to go to the looms with shoes on. The weavers, whose houses we visited, said that there was nothing wrong with our going there with shoes on: they themselves observe the restriction. The women do not work on the looms for 3-4 days during their monthly periods but they do other jobs like binding.

Certain omens are observed before starting the work. If there is a sneeze at the time of starting the work,

33. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provices, Vol. III, R. V. Russell and Hiralal; 1916, p. 587.

they wait for some time. If, at the time of starting the work, the donkey brays once, the omen is good. But if the braying is repeated, it is regarded as a bad omen, because, if the work is started then, the shuttle will frequently fall that day thus affecting the output. Flapping of dog's ears is a bad omen because, if it is not observed, the threads of the warp would break.

The Hindu weavers close their work at the time of Holi and do not restart it till an auspicious time is given by the Brahmin pandit. On the day after Holi the loom is worshipped. Vermilion mixed with oil is applied at the centre and borders of the beam and incense is burnt. Practically all the looms of Maheshwar except those at the Momins' households are closed for 4-7 days during Holi.

The craft and the legend

Russell and Hiralal have stated in connection with the description of the Julaha caste that there is a legend that the art of weaving was taught to them by Adam when Satan made him aware of his nakedness. The Momins of Maheshwar do not know this legend. Persistent efforts were made to find out if the weavers know any legend connected with their craft but the results were negative. The Salis, however, stated that there is some legend but they did not know it and said that the legend is contained in an old book about their caste. Fortunately this book was traced out in Maheshwar in the house of one old Sali. Since the cover and inner cover of the book are not available, it is not possible to know the date of its publication. The condition of the paper, however, suggests that it may easily be about 75-100 years old. The legend about the craft as given in the book is very vaguely remembered by the Salis and they could relate it only when leading questions were put on the basis of the information contained therein.

According to this book, Brahma created Brahmin, from his tongue (*jiwha*) and this first creation of Brahmin appeared with folded hands before him. His body was covered with leaves and barks of the trees. Lord Shiva protested to Maya (Illusion) that the beauty of this fine creation was lost by the leaves and barks with which he was covering his body. Maya agreed with this and requested Lord Shiva himself to give origin to a person who would be able to produce cloth. Girija, the consort of Shiva, was also keen to get fine clothes and she was very much attracted to the idea. Shiva, therefore, created a man from his tongue. This man was the first *Sali* and he was entrusted with the task of making cloth for humanity. The first Sali requested the Gods to provide him with implements and the Gods themselves took the shape of those implements. The book then described the different parts of the loom, the working of each part and the process of weaving. The book is, however, written in old Marathi and it is not quite easily understood. This book not only describes the creation of the first weaver but also how the Gods gave him the various tools and implements needed in the craft.

लें मायेनें ॥ २७ ॥ म्हणोन करितां विचार ॥ शोध करोनी अंतर ॥ निमार्ण करावा साचार ॥ असें वाट-
तें अंतरीं ॥ २८ ॥ तंव गरिजी बोलें प्राणपती ॥ मजलाहि असें वाटतें ॥ उंच वस्त्रें नेसावितो ॥ नेसावें
असें वाटतें ॥ २९ ॥ अनेक रंगाचें सुंदर ॥ काळे हिरवे शेंदुराकार ॥ देवा माझेही अंतर ॥ असेच असे
जाणपां ॥ ३० ॥ मनुष्याचें वैभव जाण ॥ वस्त्रच असें पूर्ण ॥ नाहीं तरी कंदवस्त्र जाण ॥ शोभा न दिसे
कीं ॥ ३१ ॥ या करितां शंकरा ॥ तुह्मी पुरुष उत्पन्न करा ॥ माझ्याहि अंतरा ॥ हेचि वाटतें चांगलें ॥ ३२ ॥
शंकर हर्षित होऊन ॥ तात्काळ जिव्हें पासून ॥ पुरुष केला उत्पन्न ॥ तेजस्वी जैसा प्रती सूर्य ॥ ३३ ॥
दोन्ही जोडोनिया कर ॥ उभा राहिला समोर ॥ नमस्कार करी वारंवार ॥ शंकरा प्रती तेधवां ॥ ३४ ॥
धन्य धन्य आजि दिन ॥ झाले शंकराचें दर्शन ॥ पार्वती समोर जाऊन ॥ घातला साष्टांग नमस्कार ॥ ३५ ॥
पार्वतीनें सत्वरी ॥ माझेंच मूल नीर्धारीं ॥ ह्मणोन घेतलें मांडीवरी ॥ मुख कुरवाळी आनंदें ॥ ३६ ॥
मज नव्हतें पुत्र संतान ॥ अकल्पित दिधलें देवानें ॥ मजला आजपासोन ॥ बरीच झाली करमणूक ॥ जन्म झा
ला तो दिवस ॥ सोमवार श्रावण मास ॥ प्रातःकाळ होता प्रदोष ॥ त्रयोदशीसी जन्म झाला ॥ ३७ ॥ आतां काय
उणे वस्त्रासी ॥ घडोघडी तयाचे मुखासी ॥ विलोकन मानसीं ॥ दृष्टीभर पाहतसे ॥ ३८ ॥ तंव शंकर ह्मणे
तयासी ॥ याला नेऊ भातेपाशीं ॥ जें सांगेल माया तुंशीं ॥ तें कार्य करीत जा ॥ ३९ ॥ तंव उठोनी पुरुष ॥ बोल
ता झाला शंकरास ॥ जें सांगाल तुम्ही आह्मांस ॥ तें कार्य करीत तुमचे कृपें ॥ ४० ॥ तंव उठोनिया झडकरी ॥

१ एकएकी.

(मु. खा. म. पु. अ० ७ पान ६)

PLATE VIII

Illustration 20

देतील द्रव्य पवित्र ॥ आप्त इष्टमित्र ॥ सम समान राखावे ॥ ७० ॥ ऐसें ऐकतांच जाण ॥ केलें मायेसी नमन ॥ अवश्य ह्मणोनी पूर्ण ॥ केलें नमन तिन्ही देवा ॥ ७१ ॥ आह्मासी झाला साह्य जाण ॥ ह्मणोनी नांव ठेविलें पूर्ण ॥ चौघांचे विचारानें ॥ साळी ह्मणोन ह्मणती तया ॥ ७२ ॥ साह्य झाला आह्मांसी ॥ ह्मणूनच साळी ह्मणती तयासी ॥ उत्तरोत्तर कल्याण होसी ॥ ऐसा आर्शिवाद चौघांचा ॥ ७३ ॥ स्वकुळासी झाकील ॥ सर्व जनासी वस्त्र देईल ॥ कोणाचा मनोरथ न भंगील ॥ असा निश्चय दिसला ॥ ७४ ॥ मायेनें नांव ठेविलें साळी ॥ तंव शंकर बोलें तें वेळीं ॥ म्यां उत्पन्न केला मुळी ॥ मी ठेवीन एक नांव ॥ ७५ ॥ स्वकुळासी देईल वस्त्र ॥ ह्मणोनी स्वकुळ नांव स्वतंत्र ॥ ऐसें ऐकून शंभू पुत्र ॥ मस्तक ठेवीले चरणावर्ग ॥ ७६ ॥ दोघांनीं ठेविलें दोन नांव ॥ तंव ब्रह्मदेव बोलें स्वयंमेव ॥ माझी कांहीं असावी ठेव ॥ गोत्र नांव यासी देतों ॥ ७७ ॥ हा झाला सूर्य उदयीं ॥ येथून चालवी पदवी ॥ सूर्यवंश चालूं द्यावी ॥ हें ब्रह्म निरोपण पै माझे ॥ ७८ ॥ साह्य झाला ह्मणून ॥ साळी नांव ठेविलें मायेनें ॥ स्वकुळ झाकील ह्मणोन ॥ शंकरें नांव ठेविलें स्वकुळ ॥ ७९ ॥ ब्रह्मदेवानीं गोत्रासी ॥ दाखवून दिधले तयासी ॥ आतां विष्णूचे ऐका वाक्यें कैसी ॥ काय उत्तर बोलला तो ॥ ८० ॥ हें कोरडे देऊन नांव ॥ कायते वैभव ॥ आह्मी तेहतीस कोटी देव ॥ राबू तुझे घरीं कीं ॥ ८१ ॥ जळम्य पृथ्वी पर्यंत ॥ राबू जाण तुझें येथें ॥ म्हणोनी मारिला हातावरी हात ॥ तया साळीयाच्या ॥ ८२ ॥ मी बोललों सत्य वचन ॥ पुढील भविष्य जाणोन ॥ यांत न करा-

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१ गुण.

(मु. ज्ञा. म. पु अ० ७ पान ६)

PLATE IX

CHAPTER III

TOOLS AND RAW MATERIAL

"First, the term being used in its broadest sense, what is of primary importance is to remember that the hand as the principal organ of action, is the master-tool, and that through agency of mind, which is atonce an organ of action and of perception, it is linked to the transcendent — Intellact, hand and mind together, as it were, bridging the gap between the thing being made and the intellect without which nothing whatsoever can be made that contains the slightest spiritual meaning. This bridge must, therefore, be the first and last consideration of every artist when choosing his tools".

Aristide Messinese in "A Craft as a foundation of grace and a means of relization".

In early times, Egypt, Persia, Assyria, Greece and India had attained to great skill in the textile arts which they practised with very simple equipment and here, as in any art, what was required was imagination and unlimited patience. Known for the variety, beauty and fineness of texture of its textiles, India in those days did not have elaborate equipment for weaving. The equipment those pioneers employed was very simple: the thread being spun by the distaff and spindle, or the single thread wheel, and the shuttle being passed through the open warp from hand to hand. It is not necessary here to trace the descent of advanced looms from these simple progenitors but the loom is a machine which is as characteristic of manufacturing as the mule is of spinning, and claims an equal if not greater antiquity.

As time passed, the loom went on undergoing modifications — the early loom, the throw-shuttle loom, the fly-shuttle loom, the power-loom and so on. The loom requires working of the treadles by foot and that is why the weavers make a pit and sitting on the ground operate the treadles in the pit. It is this posture that has given birth to the saying of Orissa: "You make a hole in the ground and put your legs into it like a cow with rinderpest struggling in the mud". Because of this the handlooms are also often called pit-looms. Thus here, the weaver sits on the ground and so the position of the treadles is below the ground level. There can be only one variant: the treadles being at the ground level, the seat of the weaver is high. This variant is seen in the Government Factory where a cement bench is constructed for the weavers to sit for operating the treadles. This variant is not seen in the houses of the weavers and barring the Government Factory all handlooms in Maheshwar are pit-looms. According to an old weaver, Shri Deep Chand Mukati, design of the frame of the loom has not undergone any major change. The material out of which it is constructed has, however, changed: in the former days it used to be made of *shisham* wood and now *sagoun* or teak wood is used in construction.

There are two types of pit-loom in Maheshwar — the throw-shuttle loom and the fly-shuttle loom. These may be briefly described here.

Throw-shuttle Loom

The throw-shuttle loom is an antiquated appliance but it has withstood competition from innovations and is still in fairly wide use in Maheshwar. In this age-old loom all operations are performed by hand: the shuttle is driven to the shed by one hand and received at the other end by the other hand. In the nature of things, it is not possible to weave a fabric of more than 52 inches width. Again, the output is very small. As enquiries conducted in Maheshwar show, nearly two yards of cloth can be woven by a weaver in a day on the throw-shuttle loom provided he works full time i.e., eight hours.

The common defect of the throw-shuttle loom is that the shuttle keeps on dropping now and then because there is no provision for its rests at the sides of the loom. Thus the propulsion of the shuttle at a uniform speed and pressure is not ensured. There are some obvious good points also in the throw-shuttle loom. First, it lasts longer and easily lasts more than a generation and in a good number of cases, for two or three generations. Secondly, the parts are not costly and are easily replaceable. The parts of the loom except sley are made from *saji* wood or bamboo and sley is made from seasoned teak.

In Maheshwar the throw-shuttle loom is locally known as *Hath-ka-kam* or *Hath Kam* literally meaning handwork.

Fly-shuttle Loom

The other type of loom is known as fly-shuttle loom. This type of loom was introduced in England by John Kay towards the end of the 18th century. This removes the defect of its primitive predecessor — the throw-shuttle loom i.e., limited width of cloth and poor output. The output per day (8 working hours) in fly-shuttle loom is easily 4 to 5 yards of cloth. There is no limitation of width and cloth of any desired width can be woven by changing the beam and the sley. In Maheshwar, weaving on fly-shuttle loom is known as *"Shuttle ka Kam"*.

Despite its obvious advantages, the fly-shuttle has not been able to displace the traditional throw-shuttle loom. The weavers of Maheshwar say that they have taken to fly shuttle only for 15-20 years. There are in Maheshwar 103 throw-shuttle looms and 120 fly-shuttle looms. Of the latter 17 are in the Government Factory and 6 in the Maheshwar Weavers Cooperative Society Factory. Thus actually speaking, the weavers of Maheshwar are using 103 throw-shuttle and 97 fly-shuttle looms. There is no adequate explanation for the fly-shuttle looms not becoming more popular. Many weavers using throw-shuttle looms were asked this question and almost everybody gave the same answer: 'they cannot work on the fly-shuttle; throw-shuttle is easy'. The use of throw-shuttle and fly-shuttle looms in Maheshwar is shown in the table below:—

S. No.		No. of households	No. of looms (Throw = T Fly = F)
1	Households using only throw-shuttle looms	65	T 87
2	Households using only fly-shuttle looms	57	F 82
3	Households using both throw shuttle and fly-shuttle	12	T 16 F 15

Throw-shuttle versus Fly-shuttle

8 expert weavers were asked whether or not the fly-shuttle was of any advantage. Of these 3 said that it was definitely advantageous, 2 said that though the work on fly-shuttle was faster, it had no other advantage over the throw shuttle where the work, though slow, is of a better quality and 3 weavers were of the view that fly-shuttle has not proved to be of any advantage to them. Even those who said that fly-shuttle has proved advantageous were of the view that more expenses are involved in its use, both in the initial investment and in more frequent replacement of parts. The shuttle, bobbin, dobby and sley are often required to be replaced whereas a throw shuttle once set up, lasted at least a life time. Following are given the opinions of these 8 expert weavers:—

Ramchand Bichhwa

(Has 2 F. S. and
1 T. S. looms)

There is greater output in the fly-shuttle loom and there is not much fuss in taking out designs. Even big designs can be taken out conveniently. But fly-shuttle is costly. It requires greater investment initially and frequent replacements later. A throw-shuttle loom lasts at least a life-time.

Jhingur Bai

(Has 1 F. S. loom)

Work is definitely faster and there is no need to work with foot in taking out designs. Since I am using fly-shuttle only since last year, it is not possible to say what its bad points are.

Jankilal

(Has 1 F. S. loom)

One hour's work can be completed in half an hour's time on the fly-shuttle and the designs can be conveniently taken out without foot-movement. The shuttle of the fly-shuttle loom, however, requires change at least 2-3 times every year and the dobby also gets broken. Throw shuttle loom does not require any replacement.

Hukamchand

(Has 1 T. S. loom)

The fly-shuttle requires money and only they who can invest frequently can use it. As far as I am concerned, I do not see much advantage in the fly-shuttle.

Radha Bai

(Has 2 T. S. looms)

I have not tried to find out whether the fly-shuttle is a time-saving device but the cumbersome foot-work in the use of the throw-shuttle is not required to be done here. It, however, needs some training to work on the fly-shuttle and this also requires more investment.

Punamchand

(Has 1 F. S. loom)

I have set up a fly-shuttle loom for the last six months but it has not proved to be of any advantage so far. My output is almost the same. I experience some difficulty in working on the fly-shuttle loom.

Chhogalal

(Has 1 F. S. and 2 T. S. looms)

In my opinion, the throw shuttle is better because it brings out a cleaner and better quality.

Motiram

(Has 2 F. S. looms)

The fly-shuttle has not proved to be of any advantage to me. The output is only very slightly more. The fly-shuttle requires replacements on and often.

Thus, it appears from this that there are 3 main objections against the use of the fly-shuttle:—

(1) That it requires more investment initially and frequent replacements subsequently;
(2) That it requires some training to work efficiently on the fly-shuttle; and,
(3) That the quality of work on the throw shuttle is better.

There is some truth in what these expert weavers of Maheshwar say. In the brochure *Handlooms of India* (Pamphlet No. 2, All India Handloom Board) are described the advantages of throw shuttle over fly-shuttle loom and it may not be out of place to quote from this pamphlet to bring out the observations of these expert weavers in some better perspective.

"Even today, the finest varieties of fabrics known for their beautiful designs and textures are produced on these throw shuttle pit looms. The famous brocades of Varanasi, the *Jamdanis* of Tanda, the *Patola sarees* of Patan, the *himrus* of Aurangabad, to mention only a few of large beautiful varieties of handloom fabrics of India, are all woven on the simple throw shuttle pit looms ..... . The throw shuttle pit loom has many advantages. Its price is low and it offers an unlimited scope for fabrics having a large variety of extra weft designs. This loom is more suitable where designs necessitate change of weft for every pick. It helps in adjusting the pre-dyed weft for the exact formation of tie-dye weft patterns. Fabrics with solid coloured borders requiring three or more shuttles and which have well defined selvedges, can be more easily woven on a fly shuttle pit loom. Fairly long warps can be used on this (throw shuttle) loom. It puts minimum strain on the warp and is, therefore, very suitable for weaving finer counts of yarn. It has no vibrations while weaving, its frame being firmly fixed despite its simple construction."

Parts of the Loom

The fly shuttle loom is only an improvement over its primitive rival and to make this improvement, two pillars and a complete fly-shuttle sley are the only additional requirements. The different parts of a handloom may be described here in brief—

Sley

The sley of a throw shuttle loom consists of two grooved wooden plates between which the reed is fixed. The grooves run through the length of these plates and hold the reed in order to enable the weft elements being placed in the required position during weaving operations. The lower plate is known as *taneti* and the upper one is known as *pan* (Illustration 28). The function of the sley is to properly beat up the weft ends to the fall of cloth. The sley is drawn up by the weaver towards him after each 'race of the shuttle' to beat up each successive weft element which is called 'pick'.

The only proper description of the movement of the shuttle through the groove in the sley is 'race of the shuttle' because it just dashes this way and that. The beating requires more care and skill in the case of throw shuttle looms because the weaver draws the sley by hand and there is every possibility of its remaining loose on either side. If this happens, the result would be a defective fabric.

The fly shuttle sley (Illustration 32) is a major improvement in the flyshuttle loom. A shuttle-race with a shuttle-box at each end have been provided in the improved sley. There is also an arrangement for holding the reed and to keep the warp ends in proper position. A little pull to this type of sley beats the weft smoothly, swiftly and uniformly. Thus the inherent defect of the throw-shuttle sley are removed here. One precaution is, however, very necessary here: the sley must be straight and the shuttle-race must be as smooth as possible.

It is not necessary to have different sleys for coarse and fine cloth weaving in case of throw-shuttle looms but in the fly-shuttle looms, a heavier sley is used for weaving coarse counts and a lighter one is required for weaving fine counts yarn. The sley is made of seasoned teak wood. The size of sley depends on the width of the cloth to be woven and therefore there are

different sleys for different width-sizes. Normally the sley is of 40 to 52 inches length in Maheshwar and the local term for it is *Hattha*.

Fly-shuttle Sley with Drop-Box

It was the son of John Kay, the inventor of the fly-shuttle loom, who invented the 'dropbox' for the loom. The mechanism was to place at one or both ends of the sley, more than one shuttle-box, lying horizontally upon each other. This is, therefore, a device to change the shuttle according to the required number of coloured picks in the pattern. The change in the shuttle is effected by a lever connected to the end of the shuttle but fitted to the centre of the sley cap for the easy movement of the shuttle. The use of the drop box is very useful in the weaving of furnished fabrics and check-patterns. The use of sley with drop-box is, therefore, confined to the two factories mentioned earlier. It has not yet been adopted by the weavers.

Shuttle-Box

Known locally as '*peti*', the shuttle-box is a wooden box of a particular size placed on each of the two ends of the sley, its function being to provide a place of momentary rest for the shuttle as it races from one end to the other with the blow of the 'picker'. The normal size of these boxes is $19'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ but it varies according to the size of the shuttle, the consideration being that the box should be just big enough to hold the shuttle.

Picker

The picker is a cube of *shisham* wood fixed in each of the shuttle boxes. Instead of *shisham*, leather is also sometimes used for the picker. The picker has two holes and a leather strap is tied to it, the strap being connected with the picking cord which in its turn is tied to the top of the sley. A pull at the picking cord makes the shuttle fly from one box to the other. The term used for picker in Maheshwar is *pikkas*.

Shuttle

"The shuttle is that elegant and charming creature which can hardly be called an implement, so nearly does it come to possessing a life of its own. Carrying the weft, it darts in and out of the warp threads like a streak of lightning or an arrow speeding to its mark; like a ship it plies from shore to shore, out and home again; like Lakshmi casting flowers into Krishna's lap, it adorns and nourishes its Lord".[1]

The shuttles in Maheshwar are made of seasoned timber, the weight of the shuttle depending on its size and the kind of timber used; the usual weight in Maheshwar is 16 to 20 tolas. For finer weaving shuttles of small weight are used. The local terms for shuttles are *Katla* or *Dhota*. But usually the former term is used for fly shuttle and the latter for throw shuttle.

For making the shuttle a hollow is made in the middle of a piece of wood, about 13-15 inches long and with tapering ends. At one end of this hollow space is fixed a screw to hold the weft pirn and at the other end there is an opening called the 'eye' (known as *Manka* in Maheshwar) through which the weft yarn passes. As the shuttle races across the sley, the weft yarn becomes interlaced with the warp shed. The throw shuttle is smaller in size, (about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length) and is not so elaborately made as the fly-shuttle. These are made locally by carpenters who have become expert for these. The pirn used in throw shuttle is 2" part of the stem of *jowar* plant whereas that used in fly-shuttle is made from timber. These shuttles are shown in the diagrammatic sketch (Plate XIX).

It is very necessary to see that the surface of the shuttle is highly finished, so that there is no friction or obstruction. In order to prevent the pirn from slipping off the fast moving shuttle, there is a spring attachment in the shuttle which is known as the 'shuttle tongue' (*jeebh*). The shuttle requires a little lubrication now and then.

Side-Bar or Side-Frame

These are the wooden or bamboo bars fixed on both sides of the sley. These side-bars are known as *Ghodi* by the weavers in Maheshwar. These bars add to the strength of the sley and the top-rest of the sley rests on these side-bars to which it is fixed by wooden nails.

Top-Bar or Sley Top-Rest

This is a wooden beam fixed horizontally on the top of the sley. It holds the side-bars into position. It is parallel to the sley and from two iron pins projecting from the ends of the top bar, the entire body of the sley is suspended. This arrangement provides easy motion to the sley.

Sley Cap

The sley cap is the thick piece of seasoned wood 2 to 3 inches thick with a semicircular top and a flat bottom. There is a groove similar to that in the shuttle

1. Aristide Messinese (Greace).



Illustration 22

Thow-shuttle pit loom

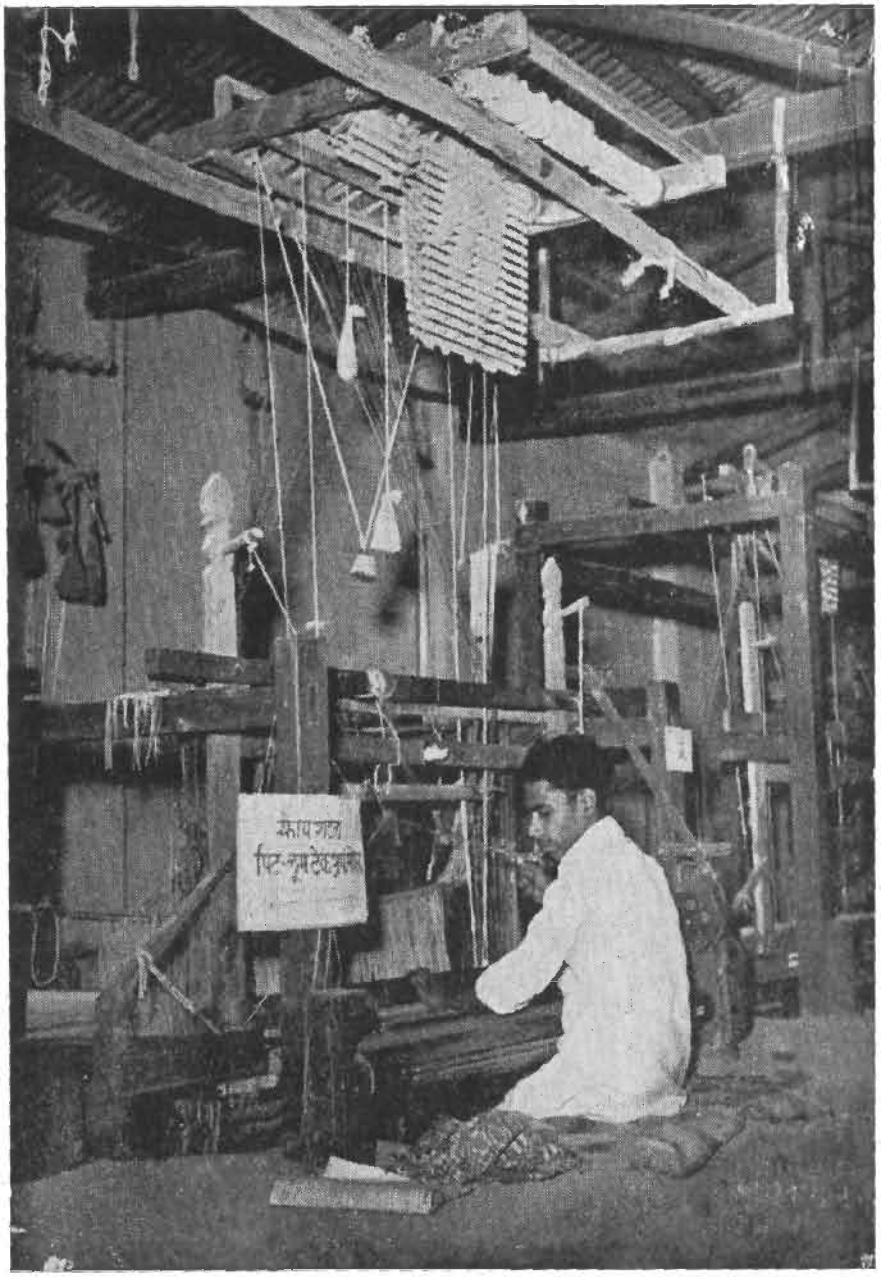


Illustration 23

Fly-shuttle sley pit loom

PLATE X

race at the bottom portion. It is placed parallel to the shuttle-race and loosely tied to the sley so that it can be moved up and down as required. The sley-cap helps to keep the reed in proper position.

Reed

Called as *'Fani'* by Maheshwar weavers, the reed is the most essential part of the loom without which weaving is not possible for it separates the warp threads and keeps them at the equal and desired distance from one another. Beating up the weft threads, it serves as a guide for the shuttle also.

Looking like a big comb, the reed consists of a series of parallel strips which are secured at their end by a cotton cord between the dents and round two semi-circular wooden bars. The reed is made of very thin strips of cane or bamboo but now brass and iron-wires are being increasingly used. The reed is known in terms of number e. g., 1000, when the reed consists of 1000 slits in between 40 inches of space. This number also indicates the quality of weaving because on the interval between the strips depends the density of the fabric to be woven. A higher-number reed is for finer weaving and the smaller-number one is used for weaving coarse cloth. Frequent lubrication is necessary, for smooth passage of the threads and also for ensuring longer life to the reed.

Heald

The local term for heald in Maheshwar is *'Baya'* or *'Rach'*. The indigenous heald consists of a series of twine loops, each passing a warp thread and fastened to a wooden bar. This age-old heald has been replaced by the modern one which is made of strings having eyes in the centre. This modern arrangement also reduces the strain on warp threads which used to be caused by the twine loops in the primitive heald.

The healds are placed just after the reed. The warp threads pass through them on their way to the reed. With the motion given to the healds by alternate pressure and release of the treadles, they move up and down creating a passage known as 'shed'. It is through this shed that the shuttle is plied.

The string connections to the healds as well as top roller are called heald cords.

Treadles

These are the two wooden pedals beneath the frame of the loom, connected to the healds with strings. Pressure is applied to each of these alternately like pressing the accelerator of a motor car. The attachment so works as to divide the warp threads into two parts, thus forming the shed mentioned earlier, through which passes the shuttle. The local term for treadles is *Panwadi*.

Beams

There are generally two beams in each loom — the weaver's beam locally known as *toor* and the warper's beam. The weaver's beam, also known as cloth roller, is fixed just in front of the weaver's seat whereas the warper's beam is fixed at the other extreme of the loom. Seasoned teak wood is used for making both of these beams at Maheshwar and the beams are either round or hexagonal. The length of the beam depends on the width of cloth to be woven and is generally equal to the width of the frame. Beams have to be very carefully fixed to the frame so that there is no 'play' and the beam is able to freely rotate on its axis.

After weaving about 2 feet of cloth, it is wound up over the weaver's beam. The warp threads are wound over the warper's beam, which is also known as the back-rest. The invention of warper's beam was an improvement over the primitive system of ball warps in which the weaver had to release the warp threads from these balls after weaving every four to five yards of cloth.

Beam Winding Rods

The weaver's and warper's beams have to be rolled, the former for winding the woven cloth and the latter to release the warp threads. For this purpose a small rod is fixed at the right extreme of the weaver's beam in the hole provided in the beam, the rod serving as the handle to roll the beam. This attachment is locally known as *gherni*. A similar attachment is fixed to the warper's beam.

The use of warper's beam is, however, not universal in Maheshwar. It, of course, is there in the two factories — the Government Handloom Factory and the factory run by the Maheshwar Weavers Cooperative Society, but no weaver has so far installed the warper's beam and are still content with the primitive ball warp system. The weavers give three reasons for not adopting the warper's beam in their establishments:—

(1) It requires sufficient space and the rooms in their houses where the looms are installed are very small.
(2) Beam winding requires money and at least five rupees have to be spent for this.

Take-up Motion Attachment

Take-up motion attachment (Plate XX) is again an improvement which the weavers of Maheshwar have refused to adopt; it is to be seen only in the Factory. It is actually an improvement over the winding rods and helps to wind up the woven cloth automatically on the weaver's beam, at the same time releasing the warp threads. There are thus two advantages—time saving and production of more even textured cloth. The latter is made possible because in case of the take-up motion attachment, the picks are regulated automatically by giving motion to the wheels of the attachment by the sley. Standardization in quality is thus brought about by the introduction of uniformity of picks.

The attachment consists of three indented cast iron wheels — two placed one over the other on one side of the frame which is tied by thread to side war. These are connected to the third wheel on the inner side of the frame which gives them motion and these in turn rotate the weaver's beam. The attachment is placed on the right hand side of the frame.

Dobby

The age-old lever system for producing designs in *sari* borders has been replaced by the introduction of dobby, which like other improvements, has yet to find access in all the establishments. The weavers are convinced of its usefulness in taking out designs and the use is slowly becoming more popular.

Dobby is a small device fitted above the loom to give motion to the healds for forming shed. In the antiquated lever system only a limited number of warp ends can be lifted while with the dobby, the weaver can lift as many warp ends as required for producing the desired border design. The number is limited to 40 to 50. A greater number of healds may, however, be worked out with one treadle only.

Verla Birrel in her book: 'The Textile Arts' has defined dobby as a mechanical wooden (chain) heddle-harness hoist. And the dobby loom as one which contains a series of pieces of wood, called a chain containing projecting pegs. When the chain revolves, the pegs come in contact with the levers which control the harness. The projecting pegs arranged on each piece of wood control one pick of weft throw on the loom. Patterns can be altered by changing the position of these pegs in the pieces of wood. This can be done without changing the treading of the heddles.

Dobbies are made both of wood and steel. Wooden dobby is used only for producing designs in *sari*-border, but for producing figure-effects, steel dobby is used, since the wooden dobby is not strong enough to bear the strain of heavy shifts.

Jacquards

Again restricted to the Factory, the jacquard is a further improvement over the dobby. Whereas the dobby can at the most lift 50 warp ends, the jacquard may lift as many as 600 ends at one time. The most common jacquard is the 400 hook machine and the capacity of this is equal to 400 separate healds. The introduction of jacquards for developing figured designs in the woven cloth is a great improvement towards bringing down the cost of production. The jacquard is fixed at the top of the loom and gives motion to the healds for forming shed.

The complaint of the weavers is that they have not been given jacquard so far from the Factory and they are of the view that suitable training in its use must be given by the Factory.

Frame

The size of the frame depends on the size of the sley and beams. Grooves are provided on both the side bars of the frame so as to adjust the sley up or down as required.

Saji wood is used for making the frame at Maheshwar and the frame is kept in position with a wooden batten fixed on its top and bottom.

Minor Parts of the Loom

These are the shafts and levers. The levers are connected by strings to the healds and treadles and give motion to the healds helping it to form the shed for production of a design. As already stated, the dobby and jacquard are improvements over this primitive method. Shafts are required to help the healds in giving up and down motion during weaving.

Other Tools and Implements

In addition to the loom and its accessories, the weavers need only two other simple implements —creel (locally known as *padta* and *padti*) and winding wheel (locally known as *charkha*). These are required only in the preparatory stages. The hank of cotton is unloosened by just spreading it around the knees in sitting posture and the yarn is transferred to the *padta* or the creel and from the *padta* to the bobbin with the help

of the *charkha* or the winding wheel. Silk yarn requires more delicate treatment. Silk yarn hank is unloosened by opening it on a frame known as *dhepada*. It is a very simple implement. It consists of three smooth sticks (*sarni*) fixed over sufficient weighty supports (*dhepada*). These sticks are placed in a triangular form (Illustration 46) and the hank is unloosened by fastening it on these.

Creel

Two types of creel are seen in Maheshwar — the bigger one which is known as *padta* (Illustration 48) is used for cotton yarn whereas the smaller one — *padti* (Illustration 47) is used for silk yarn. The *padta* is placed over a frame known as *adda* (Illustration 38) and this arrangement allows smooth revolutions. No such frame is required for *padti* in which case the *padti* is taken in hand and revolved by hand-motion. Both, the *padta* and *padti* are made of bamboo wood.

Winding Wheel

Three types of winding wheel or *charkha* are seen in Maheshwar. In the improved type of *charkha*, cycle wheels are used in the place of wooden framework. Because of bigger wheel, the working on the improved *charkha* is faster but many of the weavers still use the old-fashioned *charkhas*. These 3 types of *charkhas* and the names of their constituents are shown in Plate XXII.

Sizing Brush

The name for sizing brush is *koochada* (Illustration 37). This consists of fibrous wood of *khajur* (a variety of palm) tree made into the form of a huge brush with the help of leather and a wooden handle.

Raw Materials

Obviously the only principal raw material required in handloom weaving industry is yarn. For the processing of this yarn prior to weaving, two minor, but none the less important raw materials are required — starch and dyes.

Yarn

The yarns required in weaving of Maheshwar *saris* may be classified into four types. These four types of yarn and their sources of supply are shown below:—

Name of the yarn	Nature of the yarn	From where obtained
Cotton	Vegetable	Bombay, Ahmedabad
Silk	Animal	Bombay
Art Silk	Artificial	Bombay, Indore, Ahmedabad
Gold and silver threads	Mineral	Surat

Cotton Yarn

The cotton yarn may be classified in two ways: first, on the basis of counts i. e. fine counts, medium counts and coarse counts. These three types of counts are also stated numerically as below:—

Fine counts	60's	80's	and	100's
Medium counts	30's	40's	and	50's
Coarse counts	20's and below			

('s' denotes counts for the yarn)

The other classification of cotton yarn can be into single, double or twisted and mercerised.

Before the Ambar Charkha Kendra was established, all the yarn required by Maheshwar weavers used to be imported. The Ambar Charkha Kendra manufactures yarn of the desired count size but practically all the yarn manufactured by them is used by themselves: the weavers import the yarn from places shown above.

For the weaving of Maheshwar *saris* only fine or medium count yarn is used. In the weaving of the body of *saris* single yarn is used for both the warp and the weft. The single yarn requires sizing treatment which imparts the desired strength to the yarn. In the weaving of the border of the *sari* double (twisted) or mercerised yarn is used for the warp. No sizing treatment is necessary for double and mercerised type of yarn.

The prices of cotton yarn in November, 1962, and in the past periods were as below:—

Price of yarn per lb.

Count of Yarn	1931	1941	1951	Nov. 62
60s	00.90	1.30	5.80	N.A.
80s	1.30	1.80	6.60	7.60
100s	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	11.20
Mercerised	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	9.25

Silk Yarn

The traditional *saris* of Maheshwar are cotton but in the *Neemreshmi* variety silk is used in the warp instead of cotton, the weft being of cotton. The silk used

in Maheshwar *saris* is pure silk 20/22 and 13/15 denier: of these the former variety is more commonly used.

The silk yarn is imported from Japan through the Central Silk Board of India, Bombay. In November, 1962, the price of silk was Rs. 41.00 per lb. as against Rs. 35.00 per lb. in 1951, Rs. 11.36 per lb. in 1941 and Rs. 6.80 per lb. in 1931.

Art Silk

Art silk is used in combination with mercerised cotton yarn to produce better effects in the *sari* border and *sari palla*. Art silk is imported from Bombay, Ahmedabad and Indore and the price in November, 1962 was Rs. 6.40 per lb.

Gold Threads

The weavers of Maheshwar use gold threads for the *saris* and the gold threads are locally known as *jar* or *jari*. Actually speaking the term gold threads or gold yarn is a misnomer as the threads are not really gold threads but consist of the following:—

(a) Silk thread;
(b) Silver lametta, and
(c) Gold polish (22 carats)

This *jari* known as golden *jari* contains 50% silk yarn, 49% silver lametta and only 1% of gold as polish. For the production of this yarn, silk thread is covered by silver threads and polished, first by silver and then by gold liquid which imparts it the golden hue. The *jari* used in Maheshwar is imported from Surat.

The kind of *jari* required is designated by the length of yarn per *tola* e. g. 2500 yards, 1600 yards and so on. Maheshwar weavers use 2500 yards *jari* for producing effects in the border and *palla*. The traditional *bugdi* border having the characteristic reversible design is known as *jari patti* if added with *jari*. In November, 1962, the price of *jari* in Maheshwar was Rs. 3.75 per *tola*

Starch

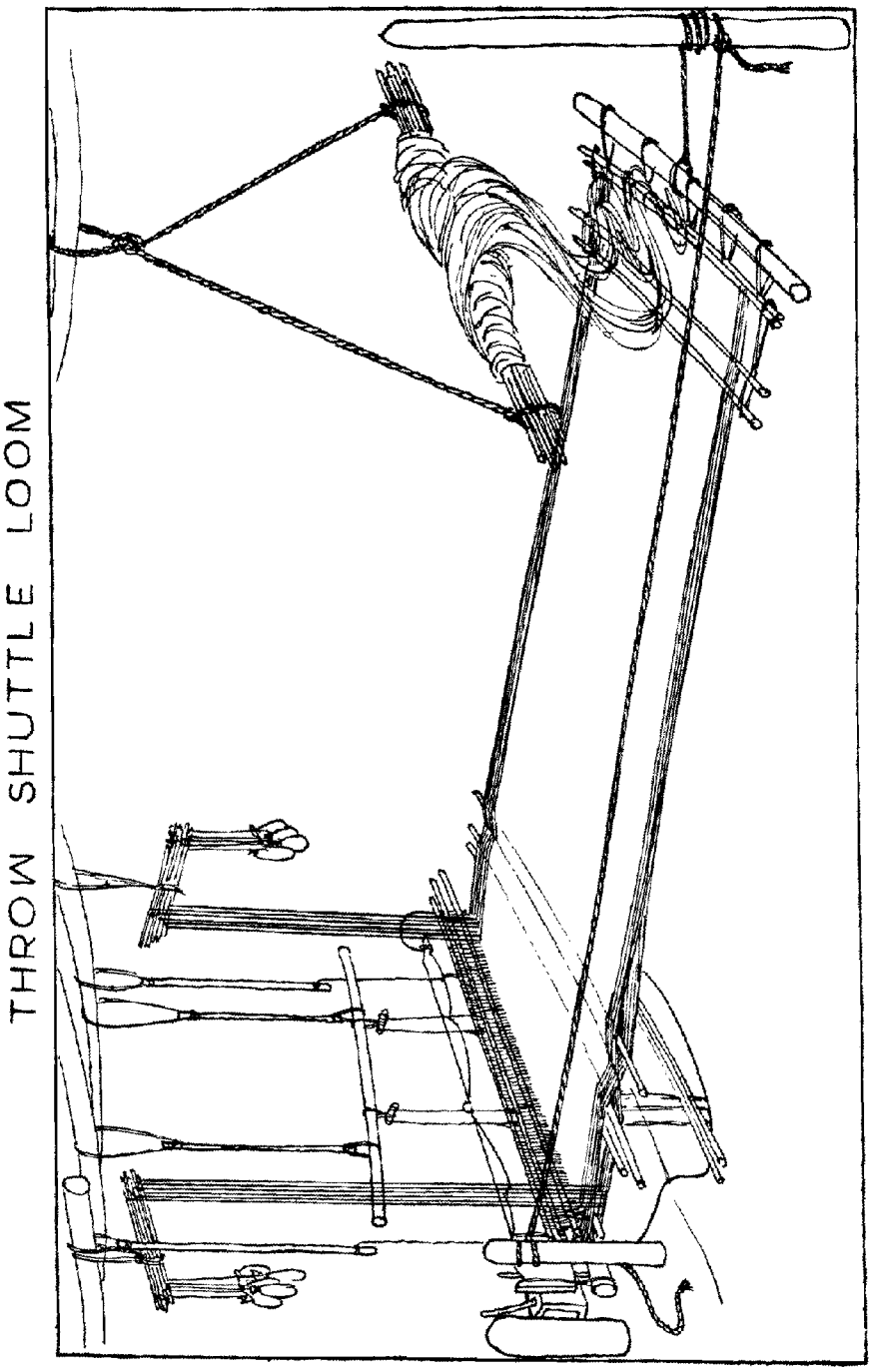
The starch for sizing the yarn is locally prepared at Maheshwar. For this *jowar* flour is used. The flour is first boiled with a sufficient quantity of water and then oil is mixed in it and the mixture is thoroughly stirred. All the ingredients — *jowar* and oil are locally available.

Dye

In the former days, the dye used to be locally prepared from *al* plant and a particular caste, known as Alia, used to extract the dye. Now, the weavers use the ICI dyes which they get from Bombay.

By a series of processes these raw materials are converted into materials of desired quality and shade and then by a series of processes and patterns the weavers of Maheshwar, most of them working in the dimly lit rooms of their humble dwellings ultimately succeed in the production of exquisite *sari* — the Maheswar *sari*.

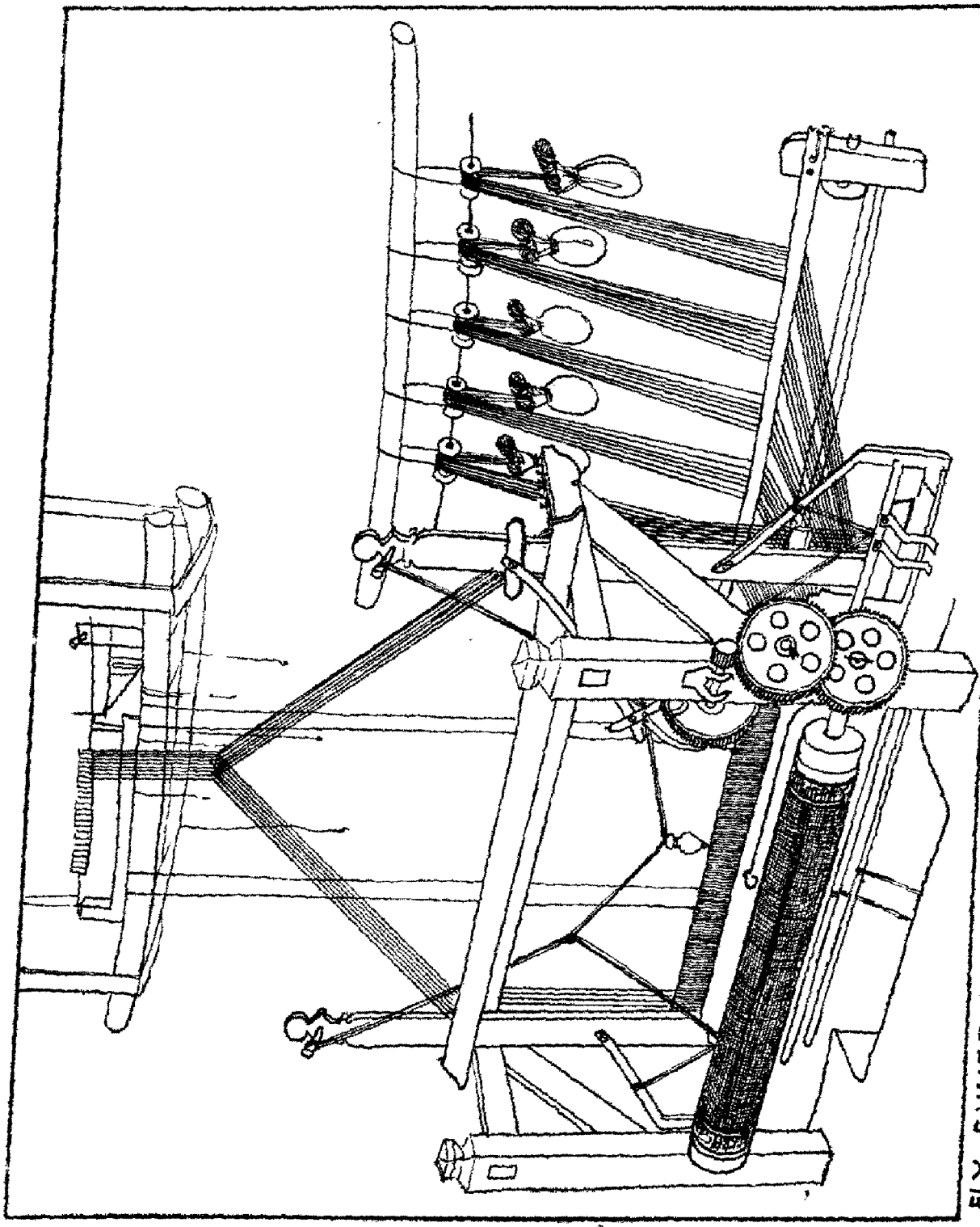
PLATE XI



THROW SHUTTLE LOOM

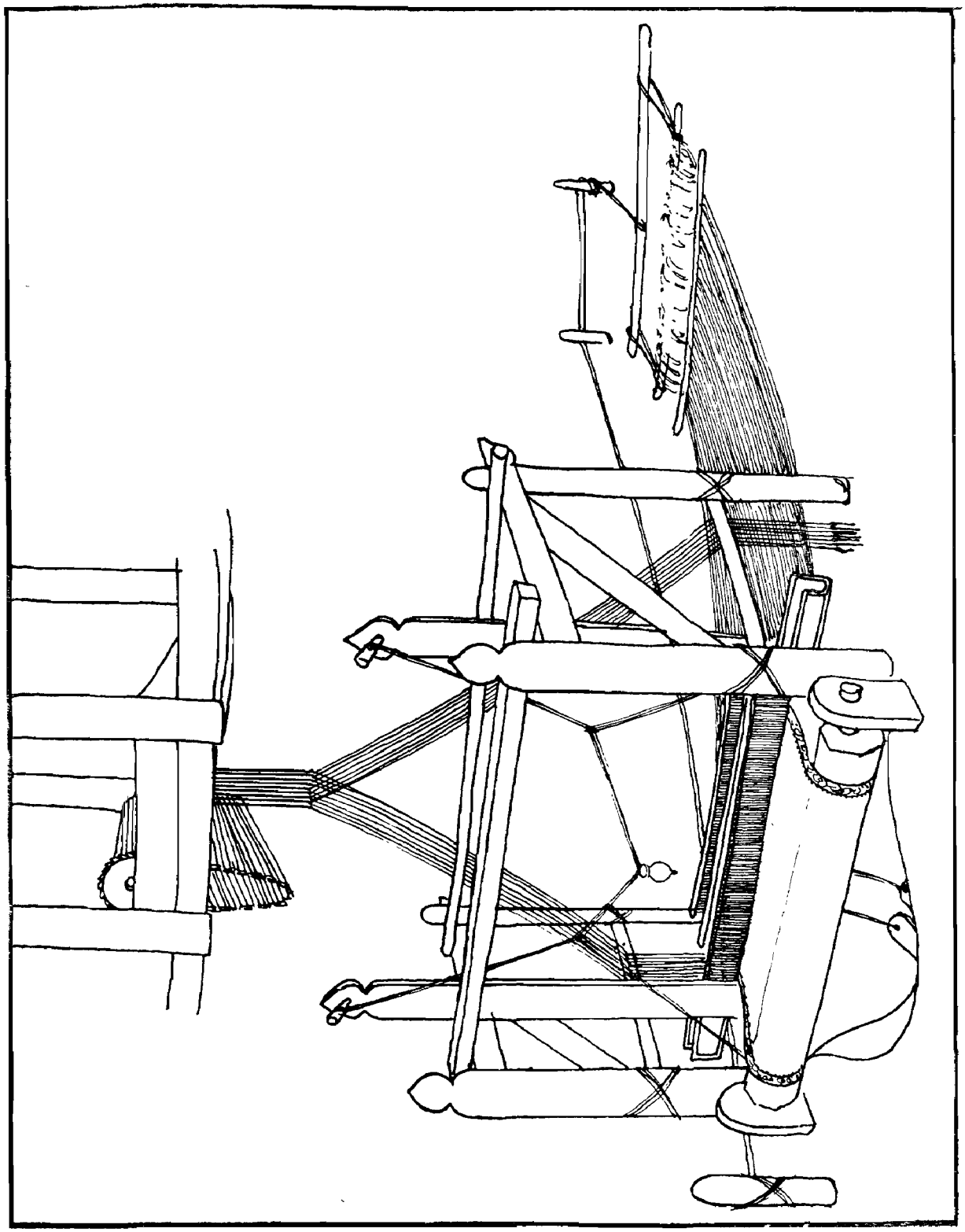
Illustration 24

PLATE XII



FLY SHUTTLE LOOM WITH DOBBY AND TAKE UP MOTION ATTACHMENT —
Illustration 25

PLATE XIII

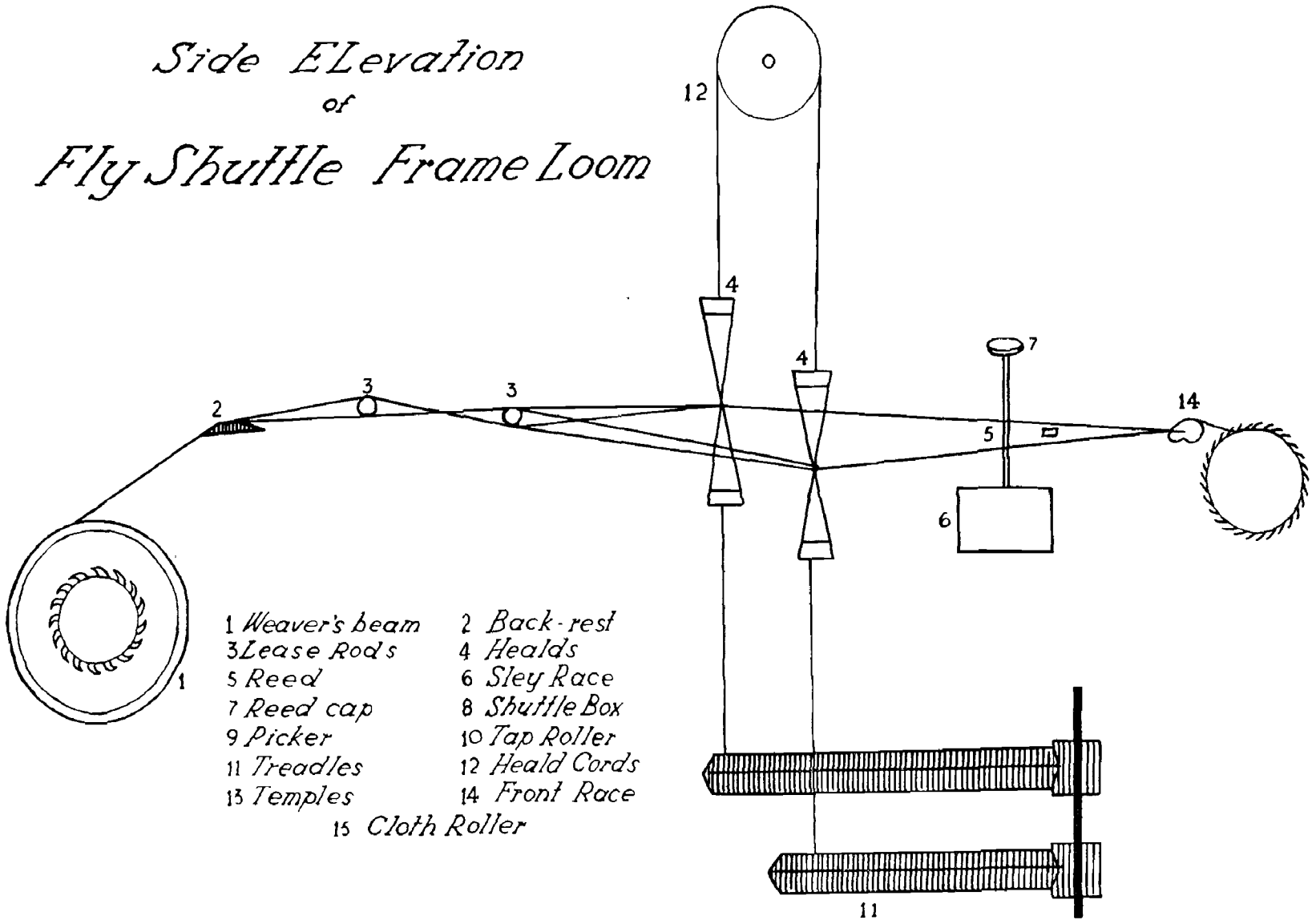


FLY SHUTTLE LOOM WITH DOBBY

Illustration 26

PLATE XIV

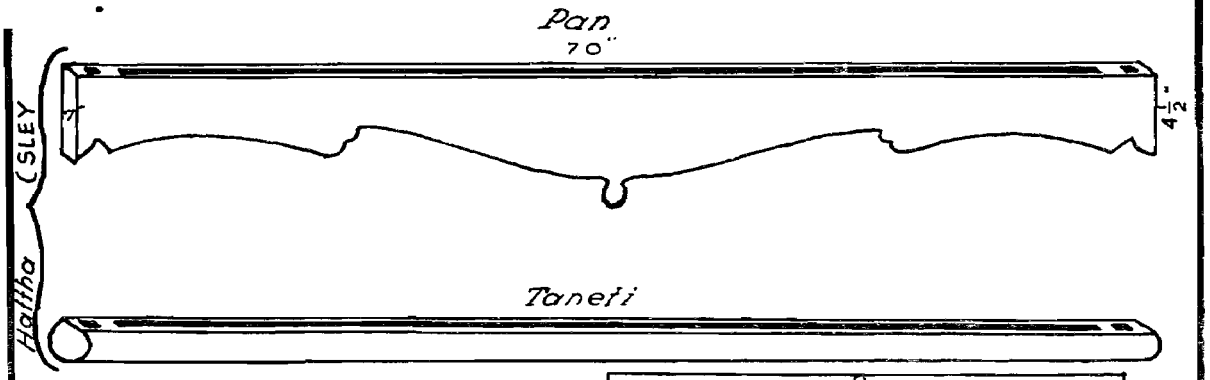
Side Elevation of Fly Shuttle Frame Loom

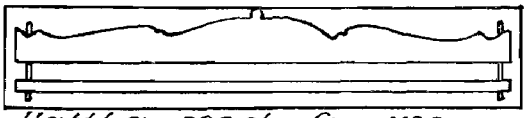


1 Weaver's beam
2 Back-rest
3 Lease Rods
4 Healds
5 Reed
6 Sley Race
7 Reed cap
8 Shuttle Box
9 Picker
10 Tap Roller
11 Treadles
12 Heald Cords
13 Temples
14 Front Race
15 Cloth Roller

Illustration 27

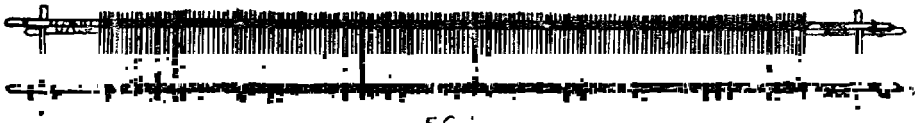
Illustration 28





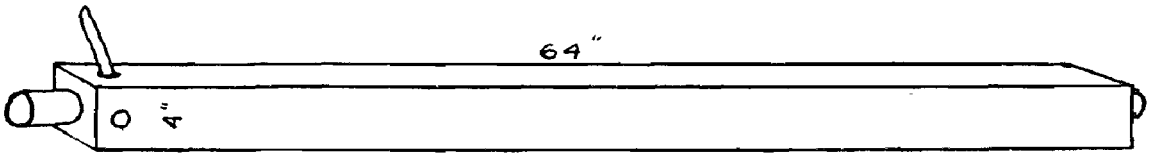
Hattha ready for use.

Illustration 29

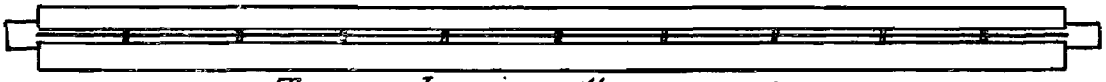


Phani (REED)

Gherni (BEAM-WINDING ROD) Illustration 30



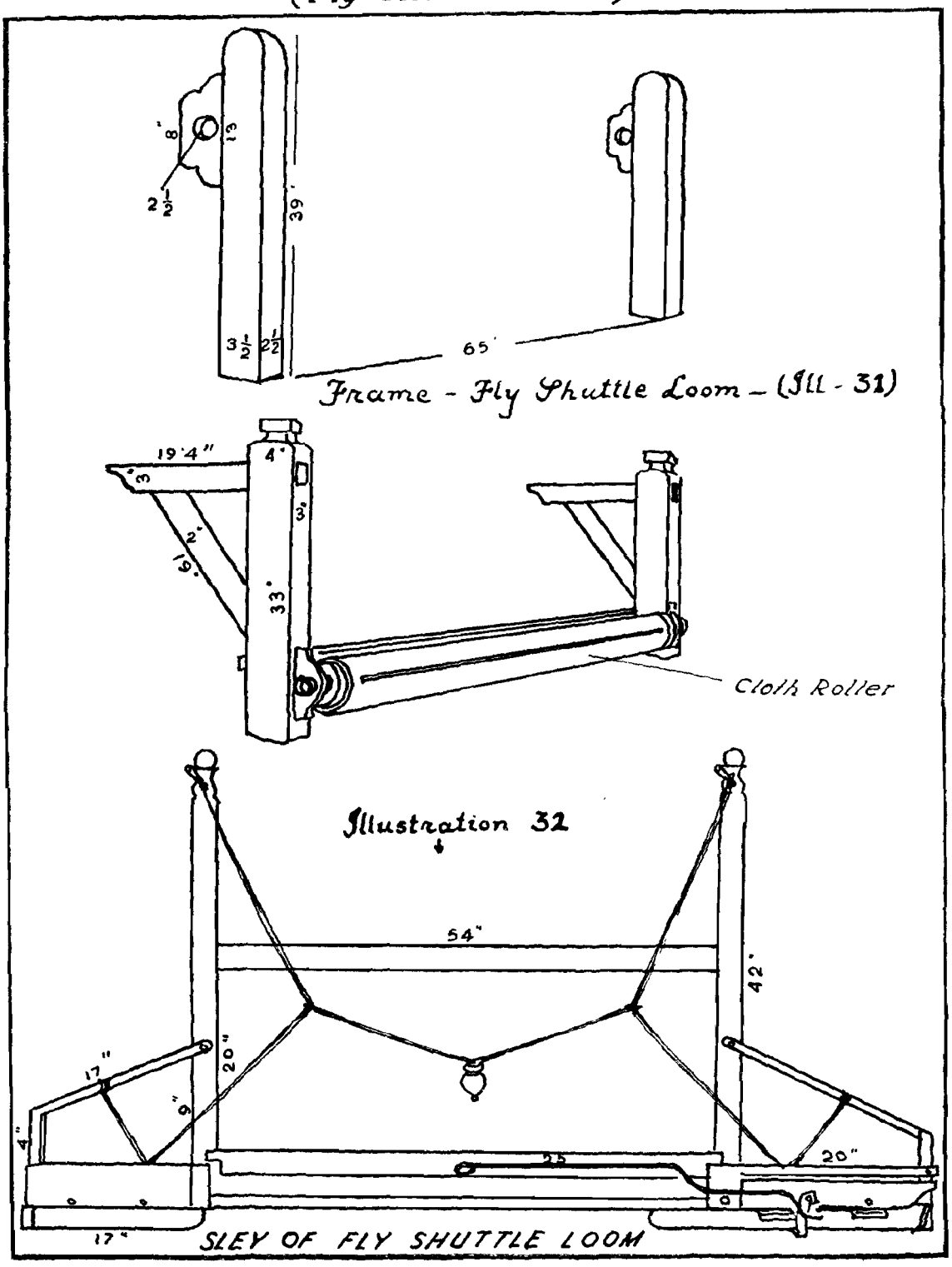
Toor (CLOTH ROLLER)



Toor showing the groove.

PLATE XVI

FRAME
(Fly Shuttle Loom)



Frame - Fly Shuttle Loom - (Ill - 31)

PLATE XVII

Illustration 33

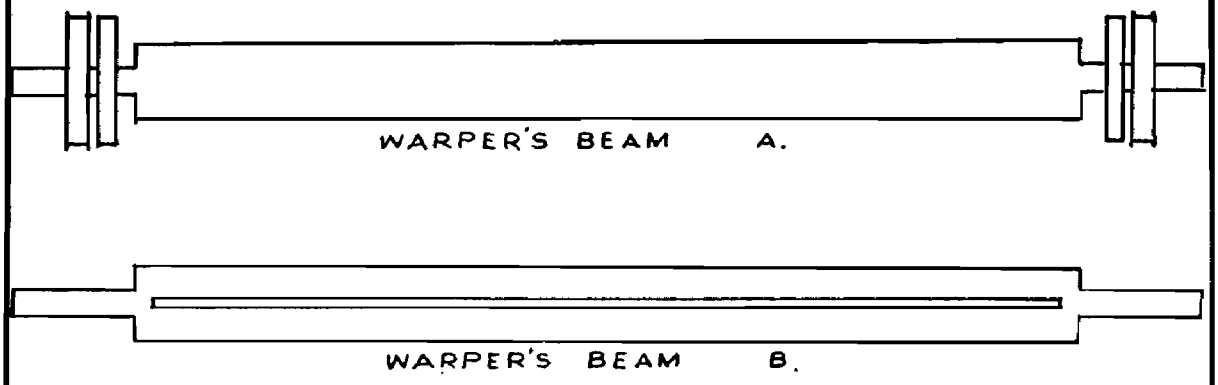


Illustration 34

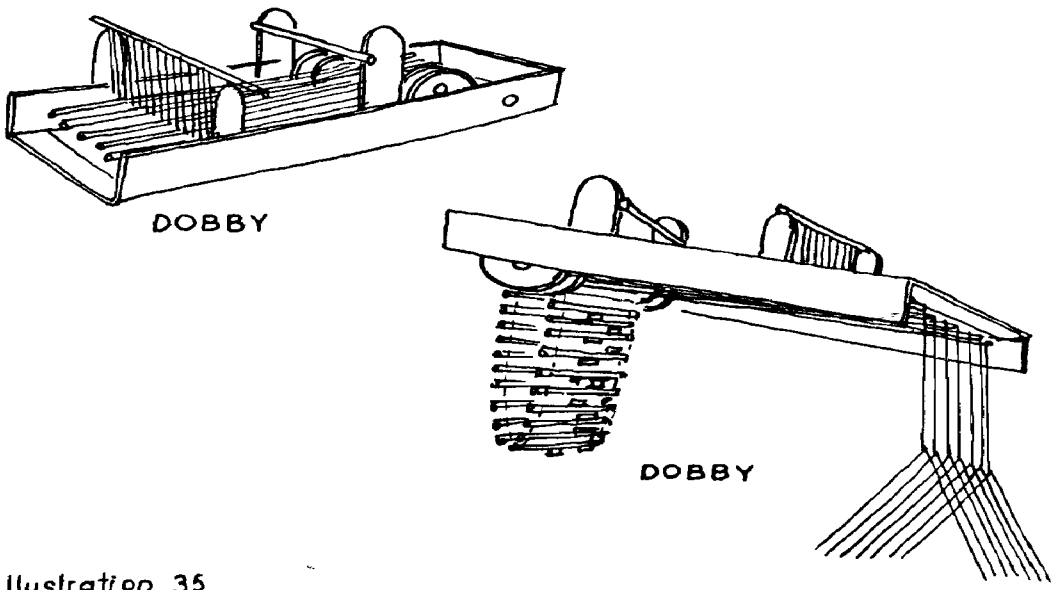


Illustration 35

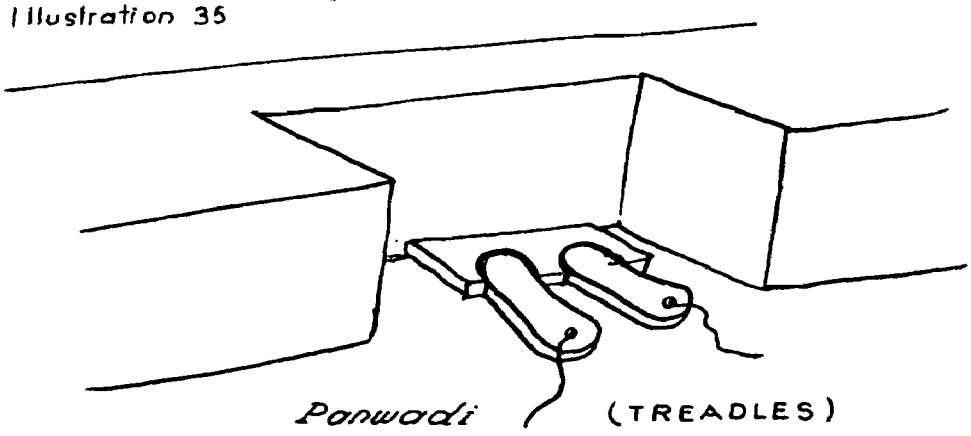
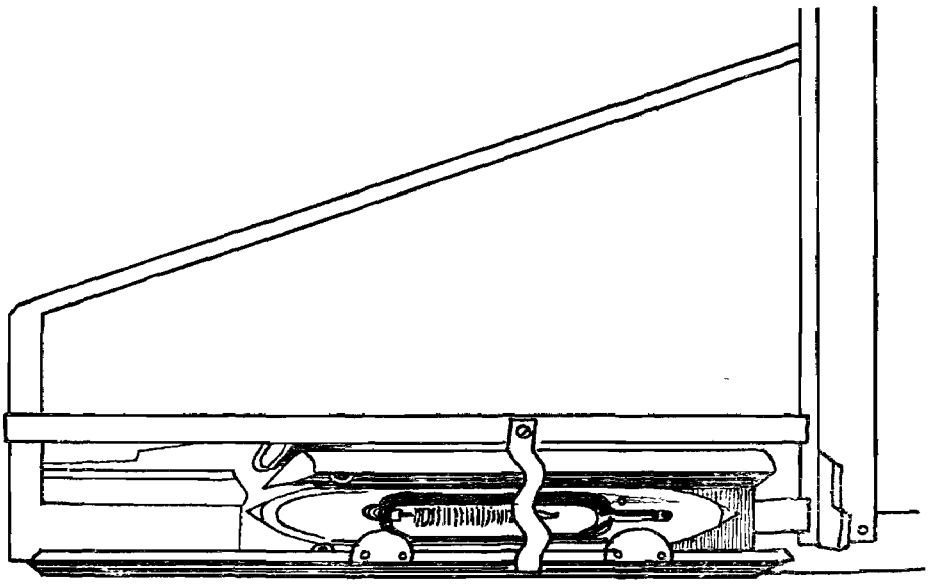
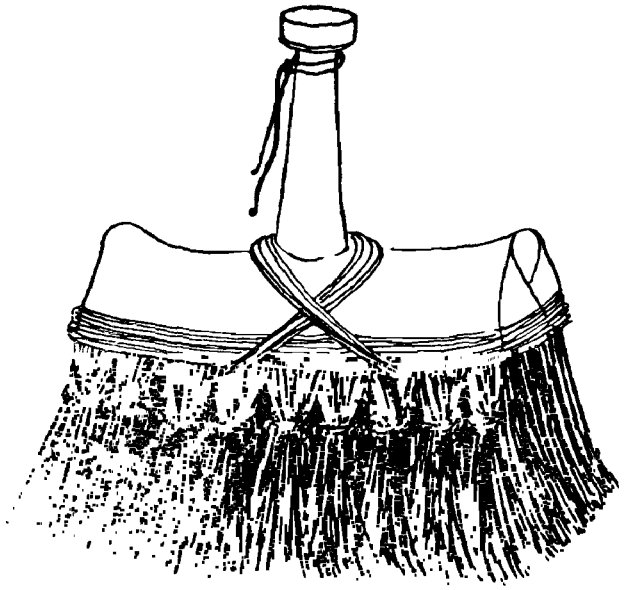


PLATE XVIII

Illustration 36

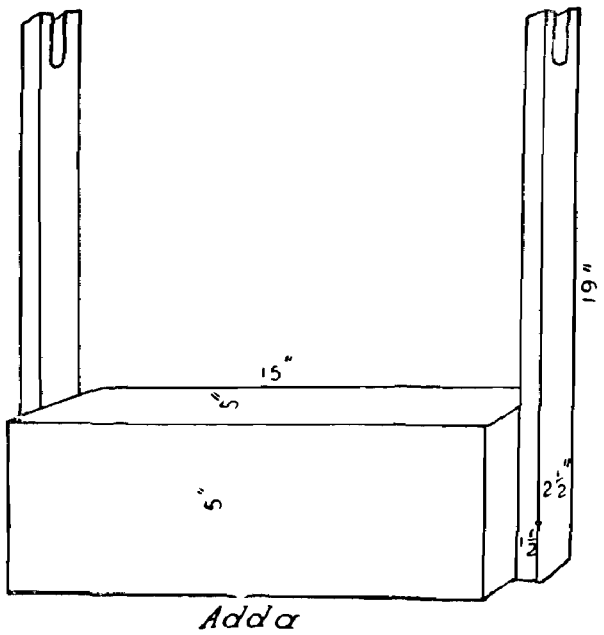


DROP - BOX



Koochada (BRUSH)

Illustration 37



Adda

Illustration 38

PLATE XIX

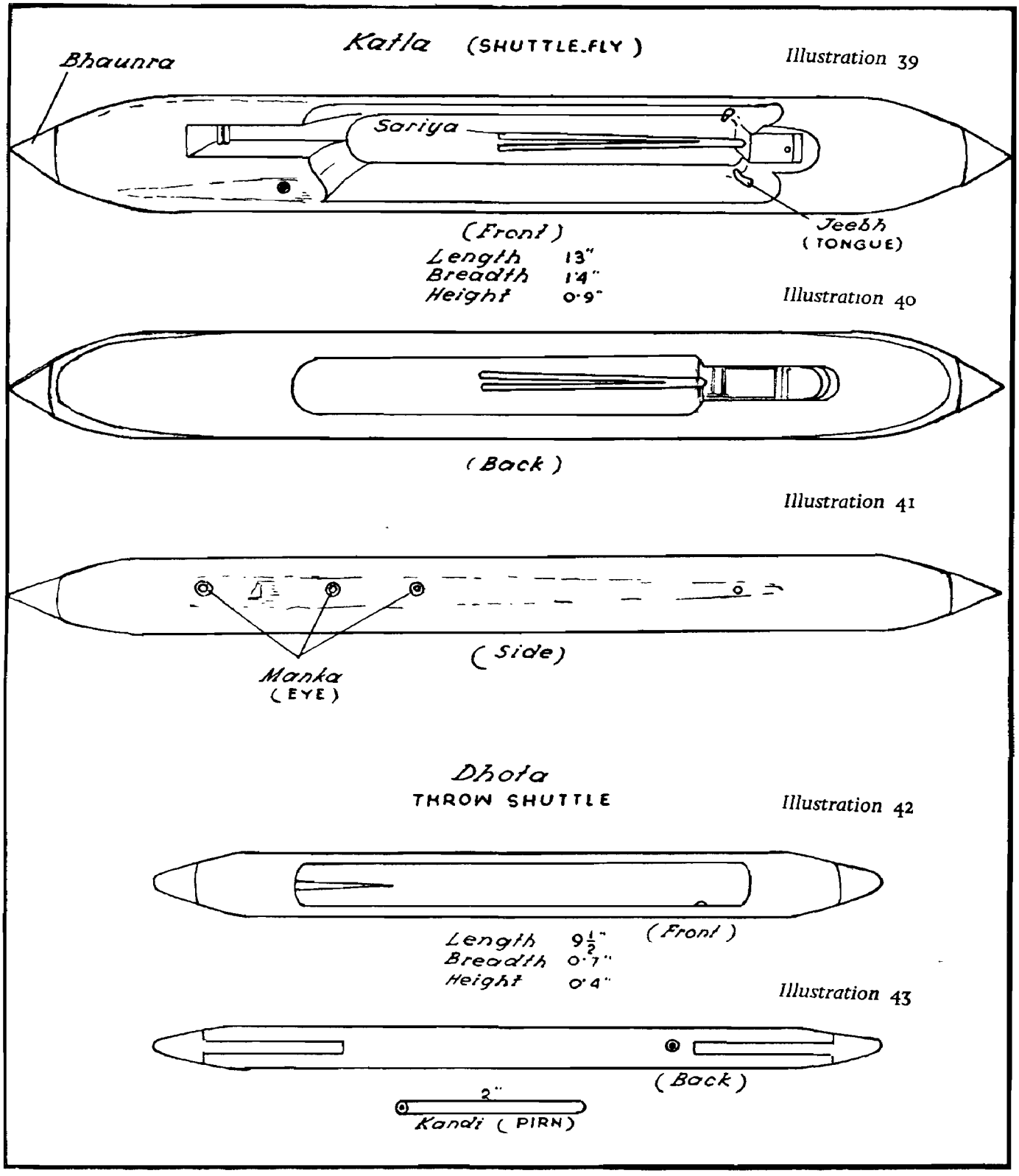

Katla (SHUTTLE.FLY)
Illustration 39
Bhaunra
Soriya
Jeebh
(TONGUE)
(Front)
Length 13"
Breadth 1·4"
Height 0·9"
Illustration 40
(Back)
Illustration 41
(Side)
Manka
(EYE)
Dhota
THROW SHUTTLE
Illustration 42
Length 9½"
Breadth 0·7"
Height 0·4"
(Front)
Illustration 43
(Back)
2"
Kandi (PIRN)

PLATE XX

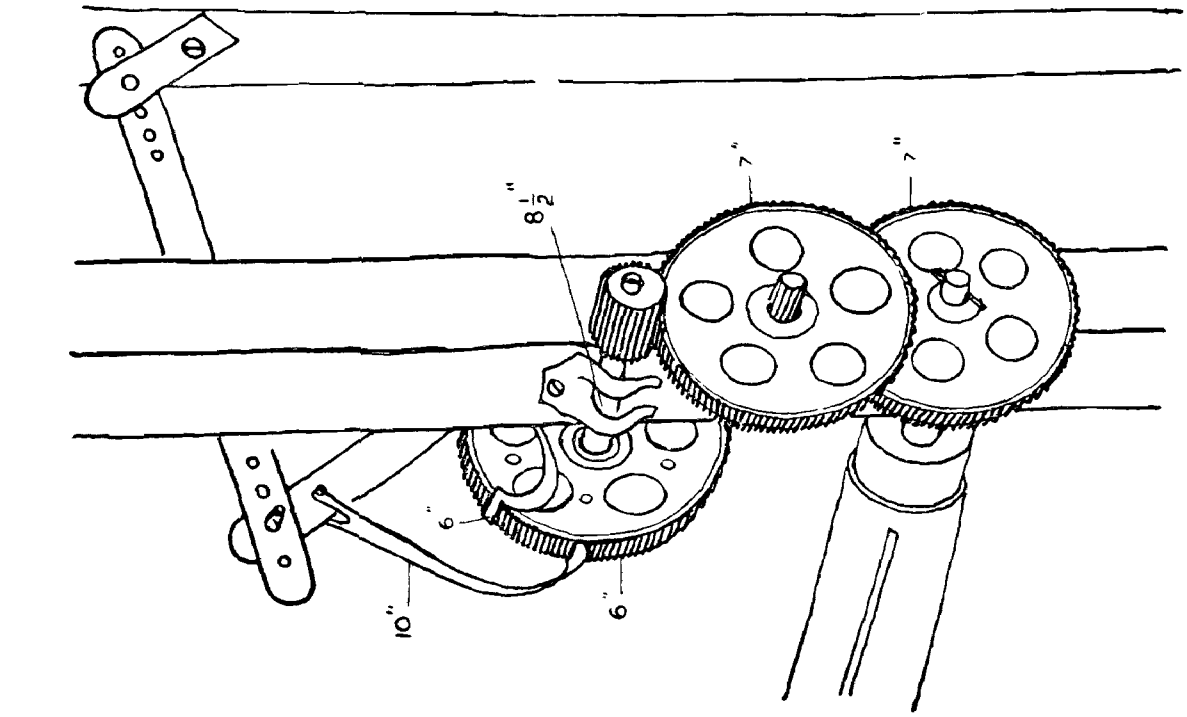


Illustration 45

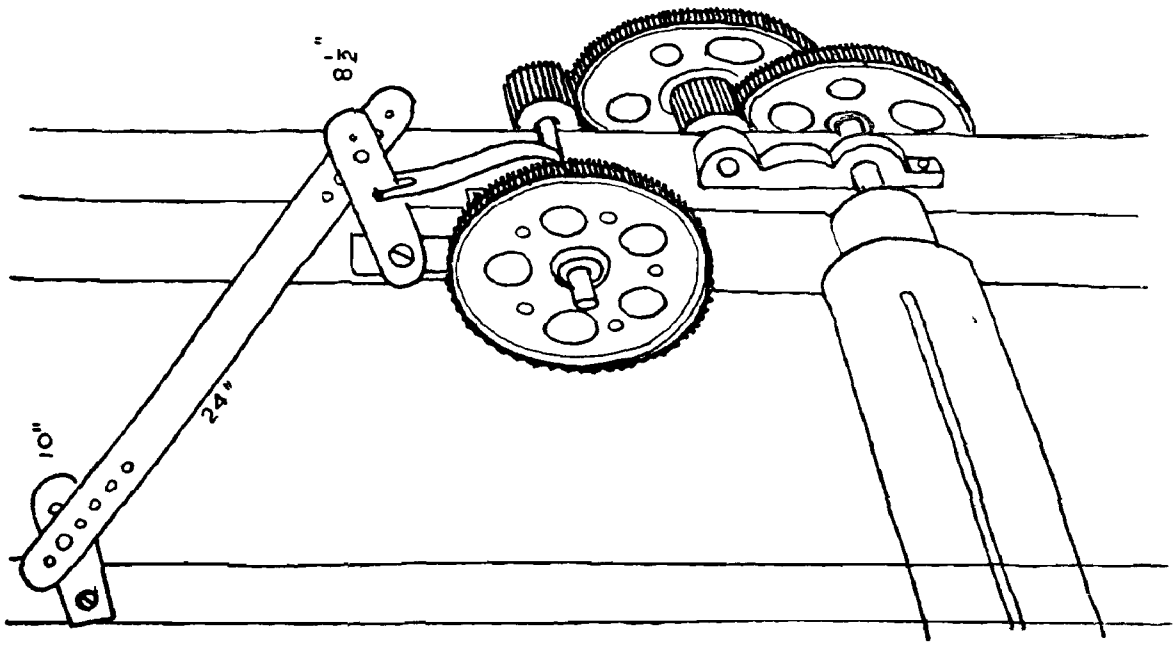


Illustration 44

Two Views of the Take-up—Motion Attachment

PLATE XXI

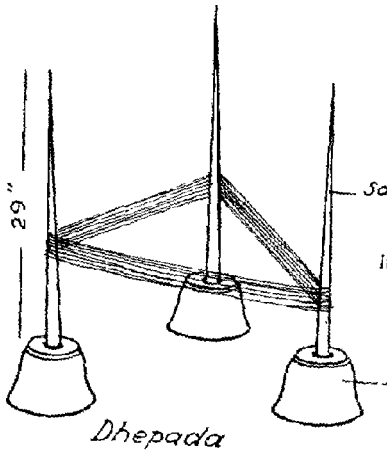


Illustration 46

Dhepada

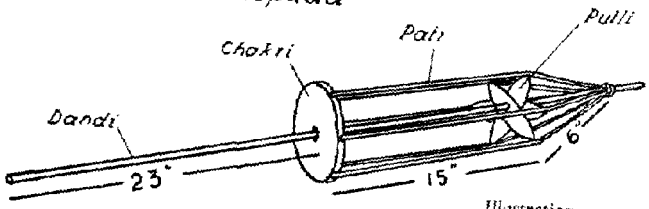


Illustration 47

Padti

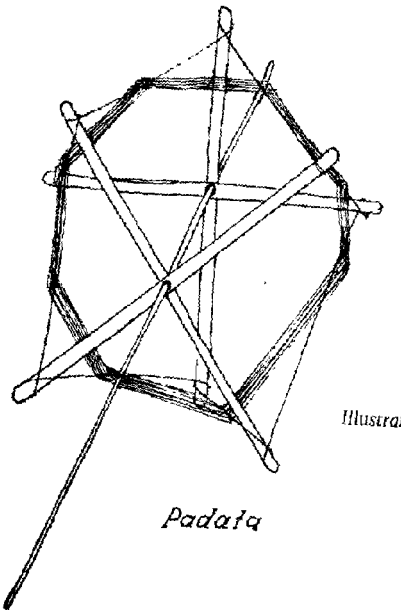


Illustration 48

Padala

PLATE XXII

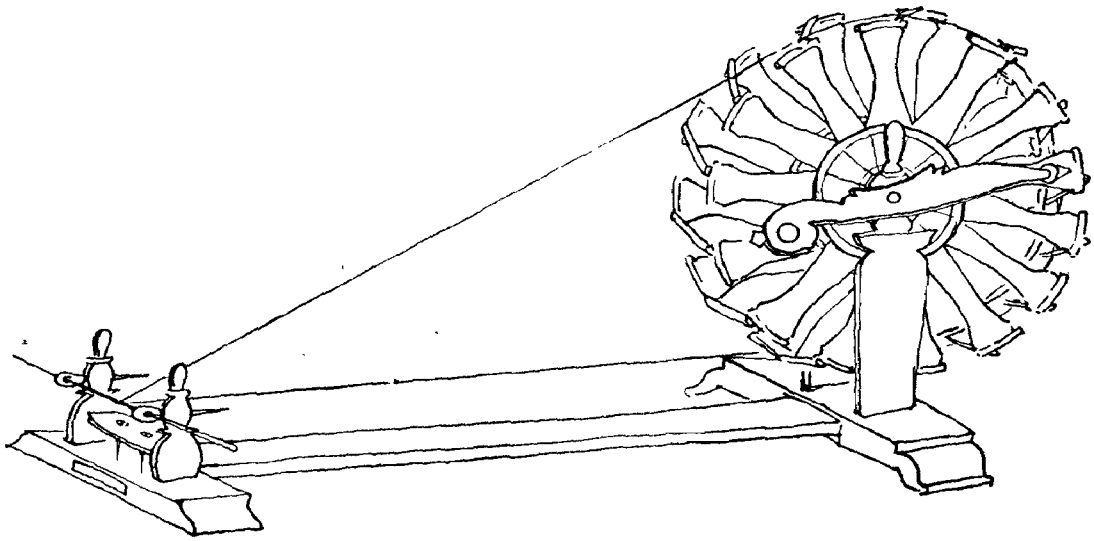


Illustration 49

CHARKHA

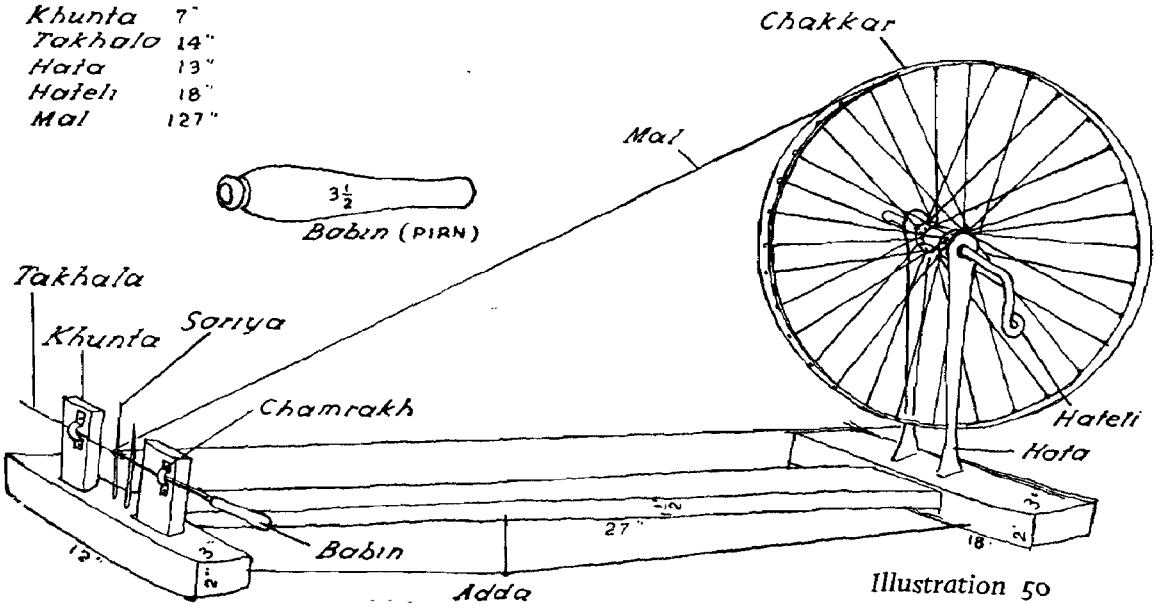


Illustration 50

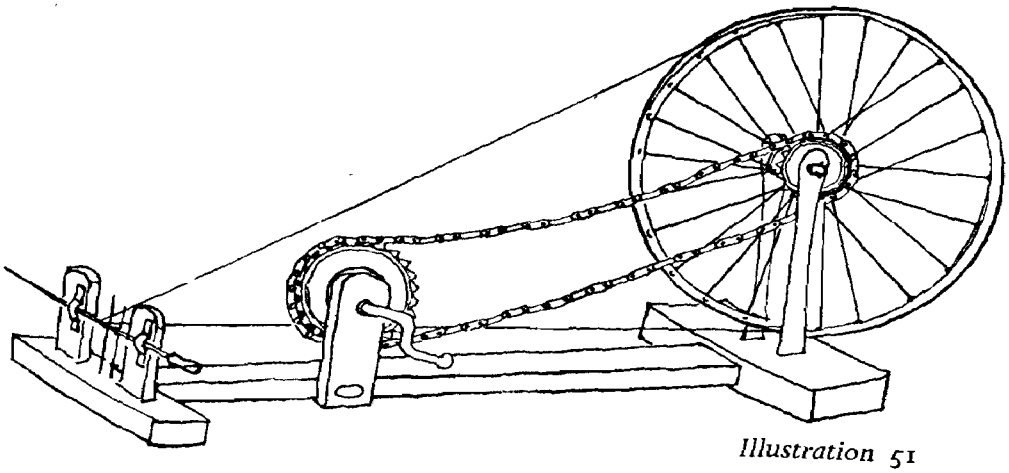


Illustration 51

CHAPTER IV

PROCESSES AND PATTERNS

"In primitive times, the art of weaving was of the simplest character. The weaver spun a single thread, and wound it into a ball; then stuck two or three sticks into the ground, and passed the thread around them a sufficient number of times to give the breadth and length required for the warp; next he interlaced a second thread by the simple process of darning, pressing the latter as closely together as he desired by the aid of his fingers. For a long time, very little progress appears to have been made. Some of the ancient nations, such as Egypt, Persia, Assyria, and Greece, attained great skill in the textile art, though the instruments they possessed showed little advance upon the above. India for many centuries possessed an almost world-wide reputation for the variety, beauty, and fineness of the texture; all these were manufactured by the simplest tools, the thread being spun by the distaff and spindle, or the single thread wheel, and the shuttle being passed through the open warp from hand to hand".

Spons' Encyclopaedia of Manufactures and Raw Materials, Edited by Charles G. Warnford Lock, F. L. S., — Vol. I. ACID TO GRA — London. E. & F. N. Spon 16, Charing Cross, New York : 44, Murray Street, 1882.

A number of processes are necessary to convert the yarn into desired specifications before the weaver sets his hands on it for weaving. These various operations may be divided into the following three phases:—

I. Preparing the yarn
II. Setting the material
III. Final check-up.

I Preparing the Yarn

Cotton comes out from the spinner in the form of yarns of various count-sizes and types such as double, mercerised etc. It requires bleaching, dyeing and sizing before it can be set on warp and bobbins for weft threads. All but sixteen weavers get the prepared yarn (i. e. after bleaching, dyeing and sizing) either from their master-weavers or from the Government Factory and as such these preliminary operations are not carried out by the weavers. Even those weavers who do not take the prepared yarn either from the master-weavers or from the Factory do not undertake these operations; they get them done by either the master-weavers or the Factory on payment.

Following operations constitute the phase 'Preparing the yarn':—

(a) Bleaching,
(b) Dyeing,
(c) Wetting, and
(d) Sizing.

(a) Bleaching

The first operation in the preparation of the yarn is bleaching. The hanks of yarns, locally known as *atti* are first put for half-an-hour in boiling water in which is mixed caustic soda. soda ash or some washing soap. After this the hanks are treated with a solution of bleaching powder and finally treated with the acid solution. The hanks are washed in cold water after the acid treatment.

A water-softener machine has recently been installed in the Government Factory for removing the hardness of water and thus giving better bleaching results.

(b) Dyeing

As described earlier, dyes were being indigenously manufactured at Maheshwar from *al* (*Morinda citrifolia*) and *kirmichi*. The manufacturers of indigenous dyes were the Alias, who have, save one or two households, all migrated to other areas. These indigenous dyes produced by the *Alias* were the following:—

Yellow and Chocolate	...	From the bark of *Al* (*Morinda citrifolia*)
Dark red	...	From the seeds of *Kirmichi*

Dyeing processes with these indigenous dyes used to be rather cumbersome. Indigenous colours are no more in use now and the weavers use ICI dyes. These ICI dyes belong to two types:—

1. Non-fast colour group:—	(a) Basic colours
	(b) Direct colours
	(c) Sulphur colours
2. Fast colour group:—	(a) Acid colours
	(b) Brenthal colours
	(c) Indenthrine colours

Group 1 — Basic Colours:— This group is used for dyeing both cotton and silk. The yarn has first to be desized with some oil and then washed and dyed.

Group 2 — Direct Colours:— The yarn is first soaked

in water and then transferred to the hot water bath in which the colour is dissolved. After dyeing the yarn is washed in cold water.

Group 3 — Sulphur Colours:— The colours of this group are dissolved in boiling water with two other ingredients — sodium sulphide and soda ash. The yarn is dyed in this solution. Colours of this group are faster than those of the first two groups.

Group 4 — Acid Colours:— Acid colours are used only for silk yarn. The colour is dissolved in hot water and the yarn hanks are put in it for dyeing. After about 15 minutes sulphuric acid is put into the dye-bath and the yarn is taken out and washed with cold water.

Group 5 — Brenthal Colours:— The yarn is dyed in Brenthal colours by the two bath-system — one hot and the other cold. Colour and caustic soda are dissolved in boiling water and yarn hanks are first treated in this bath. It is subsequently treated in a cold water bath in which also the colour and caustic soda are dissolved. The desired colour effect is produced only after the second bath. The yarn is then washed in boiling water containing soda ash or some suitable washing soap.

Group 6 — Indenthrine Colours:— This is the fastest group of colours and are used for cotton yarns only. The process of dyeing in Indenthrine is somewhat technical because a particular colour requires a particular temperature for dissolving and dyeing the yarn. The colour is first dissolved in boiling water at a particular temperature and then caustic soda, and hydrosulphide is added to it. The solution is allowed to rest for 15 minutes and then the yarn is put into it. It is subsequently washed with soap or soda ash.

Because of fast colour effects, it is the Indenthrine colours that are in popular use at Maheshwar.

(c) Wetting

This operation is required only in case of undyed yarn. The hank of the yarn is unfastened and knots and breakages properly examined. It is then loosely tied and placed in a reservoir, the water of which has to be changed every day. The yarn meant for the warp is required to be kept for a longer period than the weft yarn, the usual period being 1 day for the weft yarn and 3 days for the warp yarn. The yarn is then dried.

The object of wetting is to remove from it any foreign matter that it may contain and to make it suitable for the absorption of sizing material.

(d) Sizing

Sizing consists in the application of a glutinous liquid on the cotton warp-yarn: its advantages being four — to increase the adhesiveness of the fabric, strengthening the thread for weaving operation, to give some additional weight and to impart the 'feel'* to the cloth woven.

As stated earlier, the material used for sizing in Maheshwar is *jowar* flour and *til* oil. The operation of sizing is locally known as *Pajni* and it is the Gujarshalis who are specialised in this operation and it is actually the women who do this sizing operation; the wages for this are paid by results. The proportion of constituents is — 1 seer *jowar* flour, ½ *chhatak til* oil and water. This suffices for 100 yards of cloth.

The implements necessary for sizing are a few tubs, a bucket and a thick strong stick. The flour is first boiled with water and is then put in a tub. The requisite amount of oil is also put and a substantial quantity of water is added. The mixture is thoroughly stirred with the stick. Hanks of yarn are dipped in this mixture and thrashed so that the sizing mixture penetrates the hank. This process of sizing is known as hank sizing.

Another process of sizing is known as brush sizing. In this method, the yarn for warp is first shaped into balls and then sized with a brush. Actually, it is this method of sizing that is referred to as *Pajni* in Maheshwar.

After sizing, the yarn is dried in the sun, or put near the oven for drying in the rainy season. Perfect and uniform sizing is necessary to produce even cloth. Good sizing is regarded to be one in which the yarns do not stick to one another and which leaves a shine on the yarn.

II Setting the material

The operations constituting the second phase are:—

(a) Winding
(b) Warping including street-warping
(c) Denting
(d) Beaming
(e) Heald knitting
(f) Drawing-in and twisting-in

*'Feel' is the term used to denote the conditioning of the threads after passing through the sizing process. The 'feel' is recognized by touch.

(a) Winding

Winding is the operation of transferring yarn from the hanks to bobbins. The operation is locally known as *Kandi Bharna*, the word *Kandi* meaning bobbin. The operation is accomplished with the help of a spinning-wheel (*charkha*) and a revolving frame (creel). The hank is smeared round the creel and the winder draws a thread from the smeared hank attached to the bobbin. The bobbin is then placed on the spindle which is given revolving motion by a rotation of the wheel. Thus the yarn is passed from the hanks to the bobbins.

Before transferring the yarn on to the bobbins, the sized hanks are twisted several times to remove adhesive remnants of starch.

The winding operation is done by women and children and the wages for this are paid by results. The wages vary, however, depending on the count of the yarn and the nature of the yarn, viz. whether cotton, silk or *jari*.

(b) Warping

Warping begins as soon as sufficient number of warp bobbins are ready. The length of the warp is determined earlier, the length generally ranging from 40 yds. (i. e. nearly 37 meters) to 60 yds. (i. e. nearly 55 meters) depending on the convenience of individual weavers. The general rule, however, is that the length of the warp is one yard or one meter in excess of the actual length of the *sari* to be woven. This extra length is kept as allowance for the wastage and shrinkage.

Two types of warping are in practice in Maheshwar — the street warping and the drum-warping, the latter being the advanced technique.

Primitive and antiquated street-warping is still in vogue in Maheshwar because the weavers cannot afford to have the improved warping drum. The requirements for street-warping are four thick strong posts, some uniformly thick sticks of about 3 feet length and some rope. Two posts are fixed crossing each other. At the top end of these is horizontally tied a stick and to this stick is attached a piece of rope which is tied to a nail fixed on the ground. The other two posts are similarly placed at some distance away, the distance being equal to the length of the warp.

One end of the warp thread is tied to the horizontal bar placed over the crossed posts and the warper then moves towards the other pair of crossed posts with the creel in his right hand and the leasing frame in the left. At suitable intervals between these posts are placed some pairs of lease rods to enable the warp threads being maintained in their respective positions. As the warper reaches the lease rods, he raises the lease-frame held in his left hand which results in a division of the warp thread, putting an equal number of threads up and down. Thus proceeding he reaches the other pair of posts round which he turns on return journey to the starting post. The process is continued till the required number of threads, enough for the width of the cloth to be woven, is secured. The number of threads required per inch of the warp is determined by the density of the cloth to be woven. Width of the warp is generally kept two inches more than the width of the cloth to allow shrinkage. The warp is always finished at the starting point.

The warp is then wound in the shape of a ball without affecting the leases which are maintained by inserting thicker threads in place of the bamboo lease-rods, these being retained only at the end of the warp.

Drum warping is an improvement over street-warping and is so called since warping is done with the help of a drum which is worked by hand. This warping-drum is manufactured in two shapes — vertical and horizontal and it is the vertical-drum that is worked in the Government Factory at Maheshwar. The method of drum-warping may be explained below:—

A sufficient number of warp bobbins are attached in rows to the vertical stand with the help of the attachments provided on the stand. From these warp bobbins on the stand, threads are drawn forward to the warp-drum and tied to the hooks therein. The number of bobbins from which thread is so drawn depends on the section of the warp being prepared. Normally, one inch of warp section requires 40 threads and thus a 3-inch section requires threads from 120 bobbins.

After threads from these 120 bobbins are tied to the hooks for a 3-inch section, the warp-drum is given a clockwise rotary motion by the warper and the drum is rotated till the required length of the warp is obtained. The length of warp can easily be determined from the number of times the drum has rotated since the circumference of the drum is known. A number of such 3" sections are therefore repeated till the desired width of cloth to be woven is reached. A warp drum was under construction in February 1964 in Malharganj by the Ambar Charkha Kendra. The weavers of Maheshwar have not taken to drum warping, which is restricted to Government Factory.

Warping is a very important process and good warping depends entirely on the carefulness and quick-

ness of the eye of the warper. It is thus the work of specialists and warping done by men who do not have enough experience creates trouble in subsequent processes. Warping is locally termed as *Tana Banana*.

(c) Denting

Denting is the process of drawing warp-ends through the dents of the reed. For this two persons are required: one for picking up the threads in twos in succession and the other for drawing them through the reed with the help of a hook. The process is repeated till all the warp ends pass through the reed. Denting process is known locally as *Tar Bharna* (literally meaning 'wire filling').

(d) Beaming

The process of beaming is known in Maheshwar as *Thawani*. It consists in winding of warp threads on warper's beam. The warp is stretched to full length and the ends of the threads nearer the reed are tied to the beam and the beam is then wound. The other end of the warp is held tight by tying it to a sufficiently heavy piece of stone or wood or it is tied to some pillar. As the beam is wound, the reed is moved forward to make more of the warp available for further winding.

This process of beaming also requires considerable care so that the stretched length of the warp does not get loose and uniform tension is maintained in the entire stretch. Thick paper strips or thin bamboo strips are put in between the layers to prevent the layers of thread from stopping at the extreme ends of the beam.

Beaming has not been universally accepted in Maheshwar. It is, of couse, in use at the Government Factory and is also in use by some weavers but a majority of them still use the antiquated method. Beaming and warping, are intimately related in the sense that it is only drum warping that leads to beaming: beaming cannot be done in street-warping and it is for this reason that weavers who use beams in their establishments have to get the beaming done at the Factory.

Those weavers who do not use warper's beam have a horizontal bar fixed on two posts at the other end of the loom and the sections of the warp are made into bundles and suspended from over this horizontal bar. Some weights, stone or wood pieces are tied to these bundles to provide them weight. Every time these bundles are to be opened and some length of warp released for weaving. This is thus a cumbersome process because every time the weaver has to be conscious of the warp at the other end and has to suspend his weaving to release more warp from these balls.

(e) Heald Knitting

The term for heald-knitting in Maheshwar is *Rach Bharna* (literally meaning 'filling the heald'). The purpose of this process is to keep the warp threads parallel to one another and to divide them into sheds while weaving is done. The healds are knitted in halves. The warp threads are drawn through the eyes of strings of the heald with the help of a needle or a wire hook specially made for the purpose. The knitting of the heald is done in halves and the order of the draught commencing on the left hand is 1-3, 2-4 and so on i.e. leaving one eye of the strip in first process of knitting one half of the heald. The remaining eyes of strips are used when the knitting of the other half is done. When all the threads of the warp are drawn in they are tied with the reed.

The care to be taken in heald-knitting is to see that no more than one thread of the warp should pass through one heald.

(f) Drawing-in and twisting-in

This is actually speaking, a process of heald-knitting which is followed only when the heald is new and being 'knitted' for the first time, because a heald knitted once lasts for many warps.

The drawing-in process consists in the drawing of warp threads through the eyes of the strings of a heald. One end of the thread, with which the healds are to be knitted on the warp is passed through the opening from the right to the left.

After the heald has been knitted and weaving of a piece of cloth completed, a small portion of the warp is left in the heald and the reed. The warp threads of the cloth to be woven next are twisted with the threads previously left in the heald and the reed. This is called the twisting-in process. The twisting-in process is thus an alternative to the drawing-in process and takes much less time because it eliminates the process of heald-knitting.

III Final Check-up

Before starting the weaving, the weaver has to ensure if the parts and accessories of the loom are in proper order and placed in their appropriate position. This involves a quick check-up and hardly takes any time.

PLATE XXIII

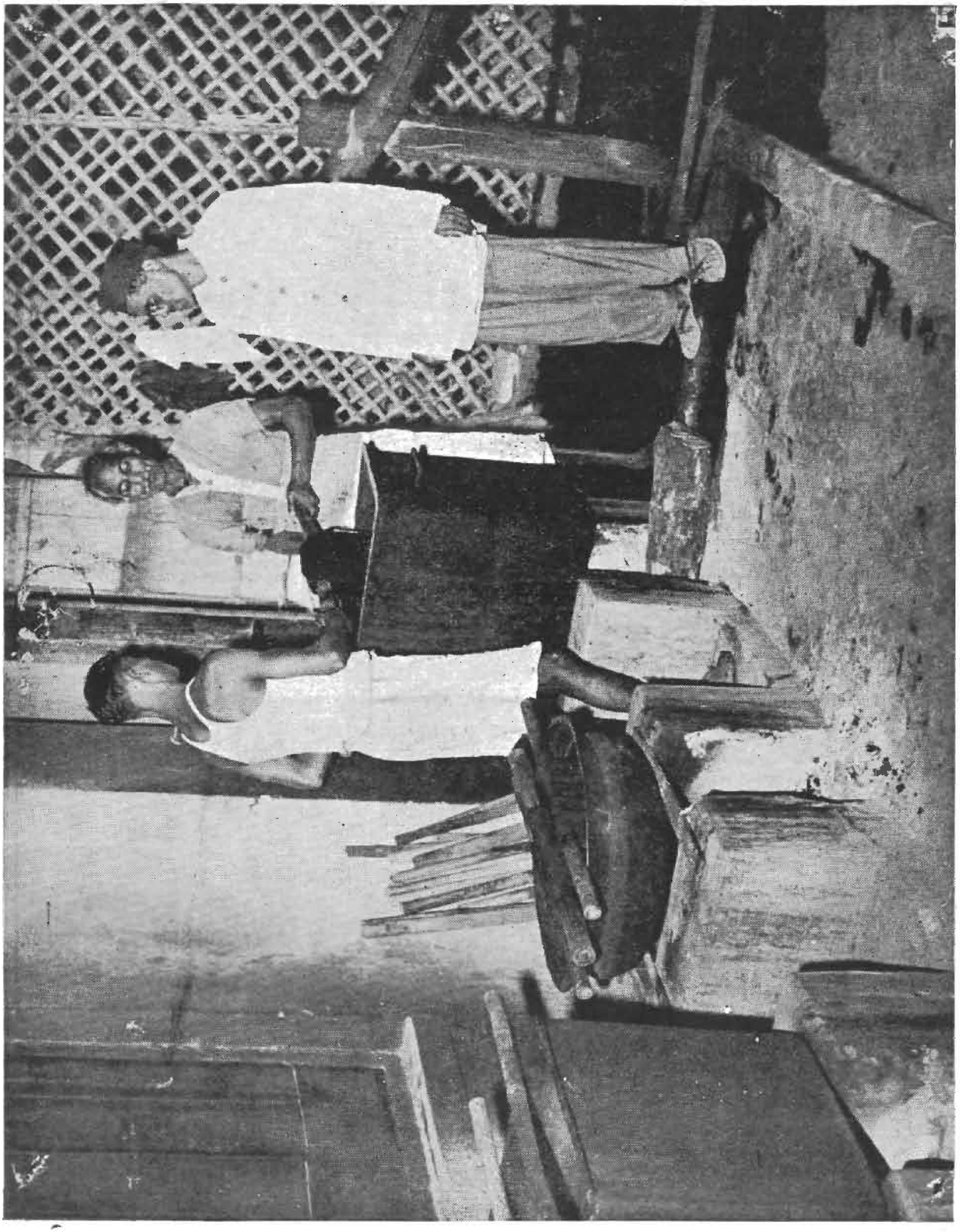


Illustration 52

Dyeing in process

PLATE XXIV

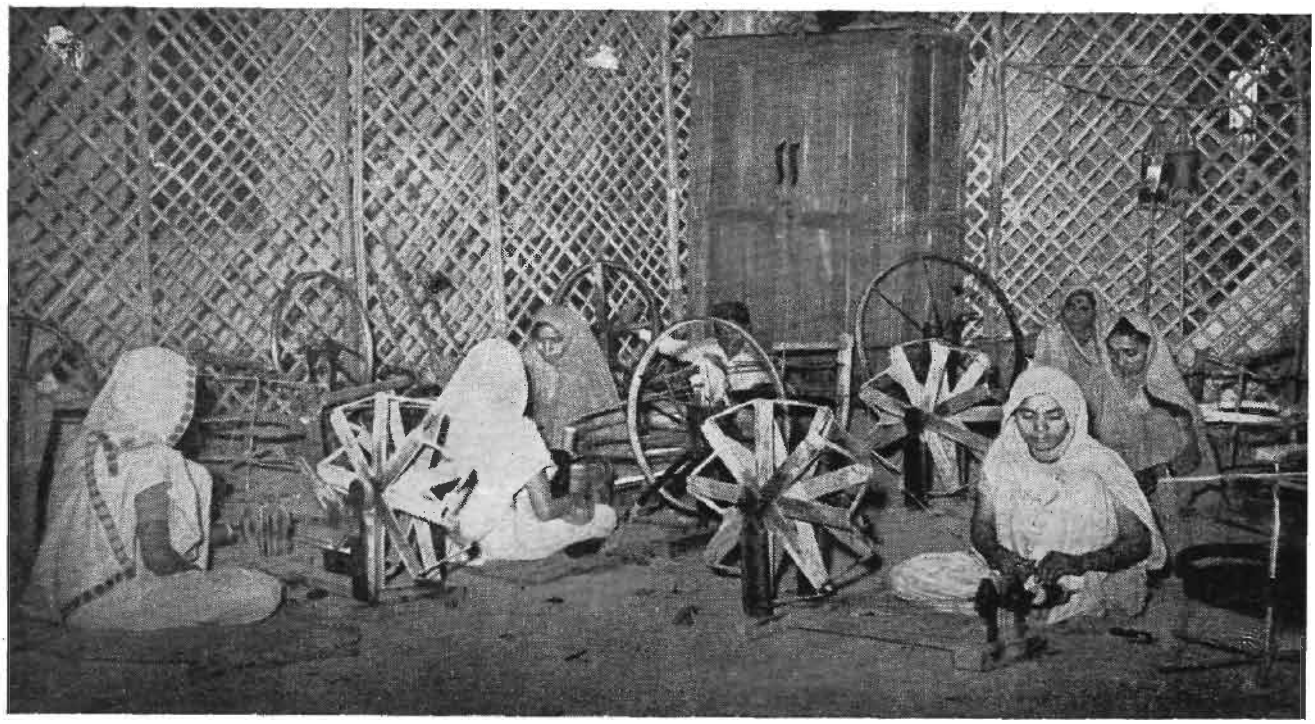


Illustration 53

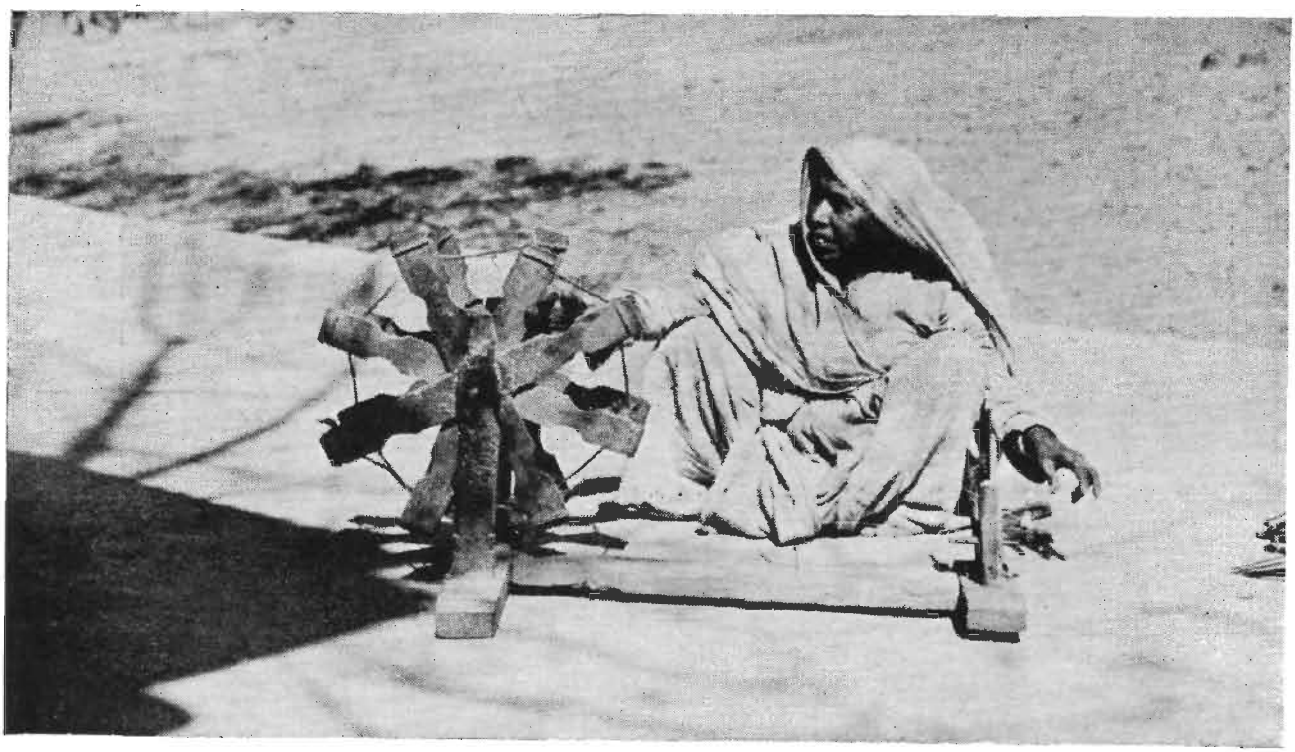


Illustration 54

Winding

PLATE XXV

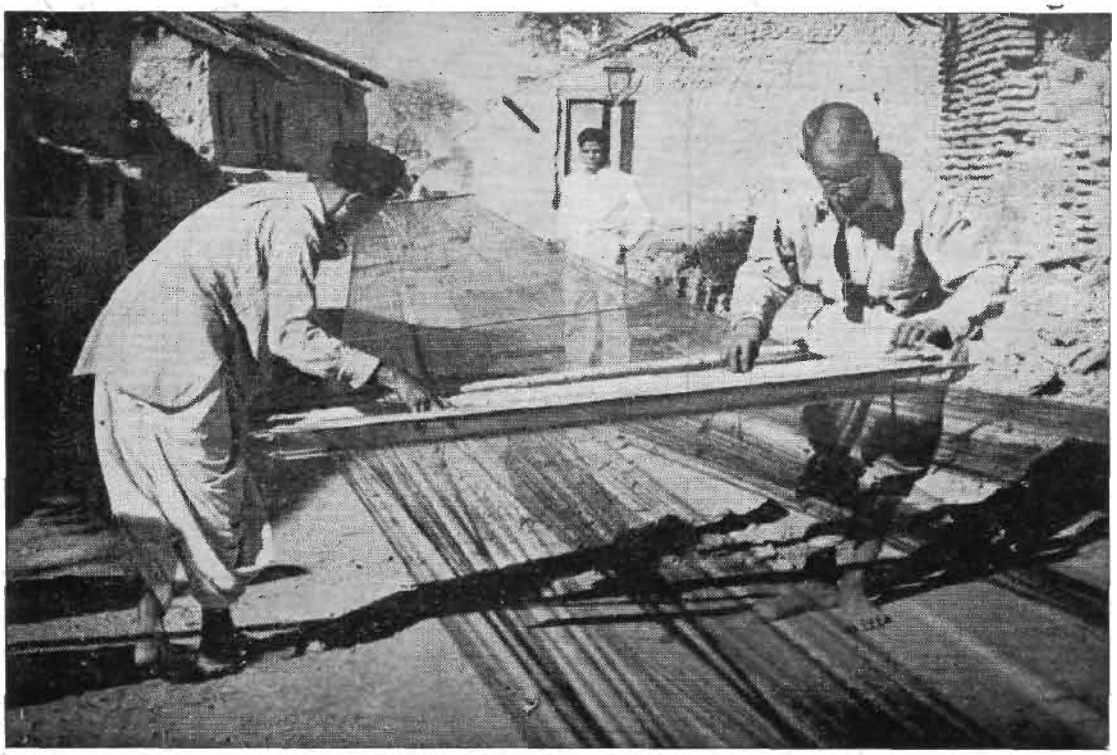


Illustration 55

Beaming



Illustration 56

Sizing

PLATE XXVI

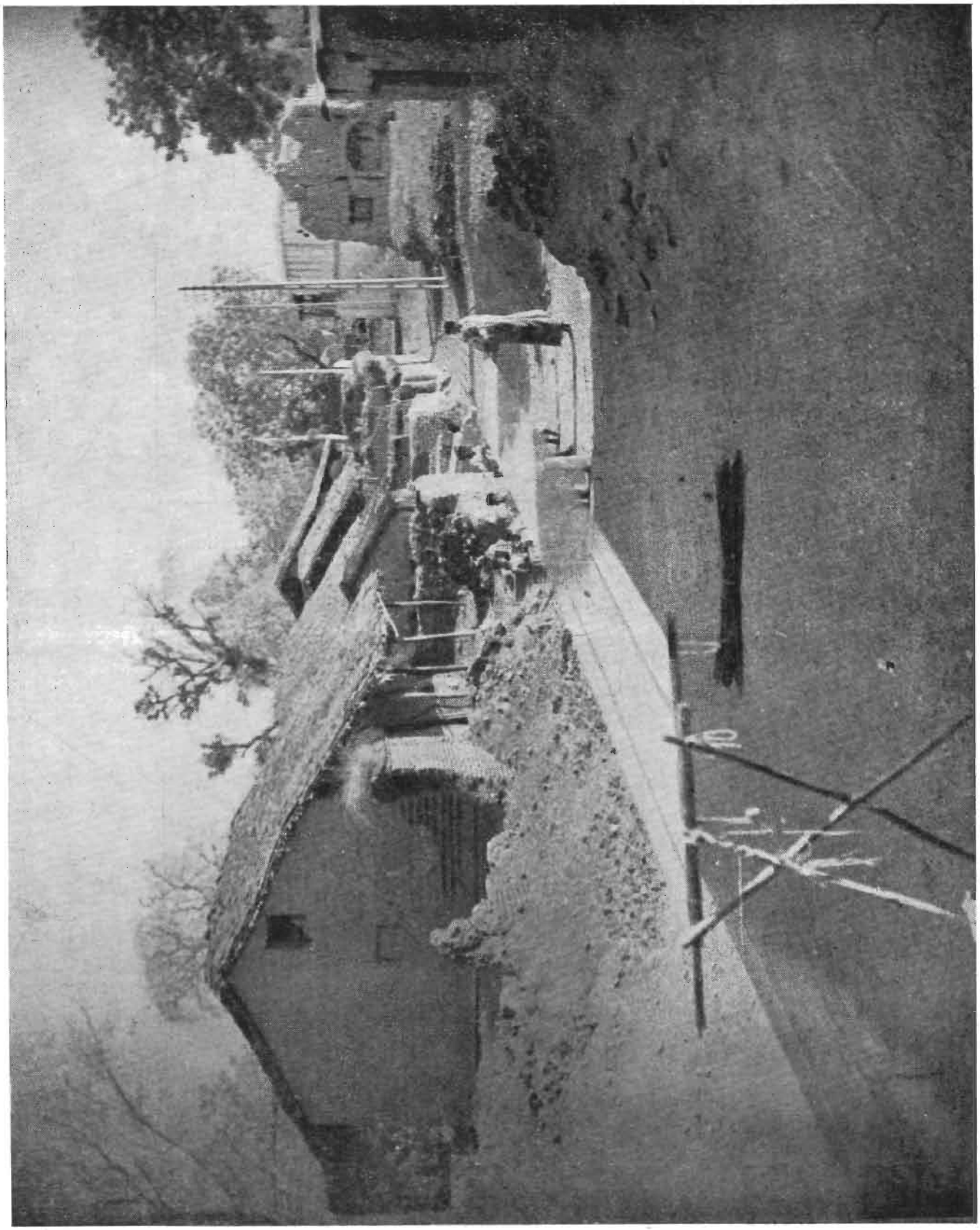


Illustration 57

Street Warping

Warper's beam or back-rest is fixed at the other end of the loom. The reed and heald are drawn nearer to the weaver's beam and the reed is placed in the groove of the sley and the heald is attached to the lever of the loom by rope. The lower portion of the heald is connected to the treadle by rope. It is checked if the warp's threads are properly fixed in the groove of the warper's beam. The picking strings are properly adjusted so that the shuttle has free, unrestricted movement during weaving. The pirn containing weft-yarn is placed in the shuttle and one end of it is drawn through the eye of the shuttle. The shuttle-race is lubricated. The weaver also checks up if the balls of warp (where no beam is used) are properly hung and there is enough thread for weaving.

Before taking his seat for weaving, the weaver keeps with him required number of weft pirns, spare shuttles, hook, hand brush and water in a small vessel. Thus equipped, he works the loom for a while to see if it is working properly. When he is satisfied that all is well, he starts weaving.

Here somewhat elaborate checks are necessary when a new warp is set on the loom. Once the warp is set and weaving begins, it is not necessary to make all these check-ups every day.

Weaving

As the quotation given in the beginning of this chapter shows, many countries like Egypt, Persia, Assyria and Greece had, in the olden days, attained to great skill in their textile art through very primitive instruments. India, in those days, had more advanced instruments of weaving in the form of throw-shuttle looms. With the passage of time, this throw shuttle loom has itself become antiquated and here again cloth of great beauty is being woven with antiquated implements.

The art of weaving is governed by three primary motions viz. the shedding motion, the picking motion and the beating motion. The shedding motion consists in depressing the treadle by one foot which results in making an opening in the warp threads. This opening, as has already been described earlier, is known as shed. The picking motion consists in propelling the shuttle by giving an oblong pull to the handle. This results in a push to the shuttle in the shuttle-box and lets the shuttle run across the opening to the other side. The beating motion consists in beating up the weft thread by drawing the sley forward. The efficiency of the weaver lies in effecting these three motions in a co-ordinated manner. Perfection does not lie in doing any one of these three processes efficiently, for instance, pulling the handle to move the shuttle should be in harmony with the speed of other processes involved with it. More than necessary pressure on the treadle will break the warp yarn and an inadequate pressure will fail to form the proper shed and thus making the travel of the shuttle difficult. Failure in forming the proper shed results either in the slipping down of the shuttle or breaking of the weft yarn. Again, the pull of the handle should also be neither too gentle nor too strong. A strong pull will recoil the shuttle and the weft yarn will turn to be loose. The pull of the handle must be just enough to push the shuttle from one box to the other. The drawing forward of the sley and its release has also to be in consonance with the proposed texture of the cloth. If the weave is not intended to be dense, the sley can be lightly drawn. For a dense weave, the sley requires a harder beat up.

After a few inches of cloth is woven, the warper's beam is released to enable the woven length being wound on the weaver's beam. In case of 'balls' of warp being used instead of warper's beam, the warp from these balls is to be released. Before the woven length of cloth is wound on the warper's beam, a thin layer of starch is applied on it and the surface of the woven cloth is rubbed with a piece of smooth stone to give a glossy and smooth look to the cloth. The process is known as 'calendering'.

After the required *sari* length is woven, it is cut from the rest of the warp on the loom and then unwound from the weaver's beam. It is then subjected to an examination to detect weaving defects if any, and the *sari* is then folded in the traditional Maheshwar manner. This folding is done in such a manner that the width of the fold is about 10 inches and the *palla* is placed on the upper surface. The folded *sari* is then kept pressed for about 24 hours under a flat stone or a heavy wooden piece. This process of folding and pressing is known as 'finishing'.

Various shades in weaving are produced by putting the pirns of desired coloured yarn in the shuttle. The pirns are thus required to be changed in the shuttle as and when a different shade is required to be given. This takes a lot of time of the weavers and consequently results in slower weaving. In the improved technique followed in the Government Factory, sley with drop box has been provided which obviates the changing of pirns in the shuttle.

Border Weaving

The border of a *sari* has always to be thicker and denser than the body of the cloth. To achieve this several warp yarns are put together in the reed instead of two threads per dent. The number of warp threads so put depends upon the design of the border to be woven.

Figured Weaving

Figured weaving is not the traditional art of Maheshwar where check pattern had long been a speciality. Figured weaving has been adopted in recent times to meet the demand for this kind of cloth in the market.

For manufacturing figured cloth, the pattern intended to be produced on the cloth is drawn on paper below the warp. He then ranges, along the tract of the weft, a number of cut threads equal to the size of the pattern. With the help of two small pointed bamboo sticks, he draws each of these threads between as many threads of the warp as may be equal to the width of the figure intended to be formed. When all the threads have been brought between the warp, they are drawn close. The shuttle is then passed through these threads and the weft having been driven home by the beat of the sley, the shuttle is returned. The weaver again draws the threads with bamboo sticks and moves the shuttle through them taking care each time to pass the cut threads between a greater or lesser number of warp threads depending on the width of the intended design at that point. This kind of figure weaving is a time consuming and arduous process but it is still in vogue in Maheshwar.

Figure weaving has been made much easier and simpler by the installation of dobby and lifting of warp threads can be done by this attachment. The dobby can lift as many as 60 ends at a time. If the design is a complicated one and lifting of more than 60 ends is required, a jacquard attachment can be used, with the help of which 600 ends can be lifted at one time. Dobby and jacquard is being used for figured weaving in the Government Factory at Maheshwar.

Weaving as an Art

Handloom weaving is indisputably an art. It requires adroit movement of both hand and foot and a certain keenness of the eye. Without these qualities, one cannot be a good weaver. To be a good weaver and to attain proficiency in the craft, hard work and great patience are required. All of the expert weavers of Maheshwar were unanimous in their denunciation of the younger generation who, they said, did not possess these qualities and by and large, worked only to get their wages. These expert weavers said that one has to identify oneself with the craft and to regard the loom not simply as a wage-earner. It was something higher than this. It was only then that a really good *sari* is produced and one feels an inner satisfaction in bringing it out. All these persons — Ramchand Khatri (aged 32 years), Poonamchand Khatri (aged 60 years), Radha Bai Khatri (aged 35 years), Jhingur Bai Khatri (aged 60 years), Jankilal Khatri (aged 35 years), Hukamchand Sali (aged 45 years), Chhogalal Sali (aged 60 years) and Motiram Koli (35 years)—are regarded to be expert weavers and all of them said that they have learnt the craft with very hard work. And when one sits talking to these persons one gets the impression that they are too much immersed in their craft and one does see the halo of an artist around them.

Maheshwar *Sari*

The processes of handloom weaving remaining the same as elsewhere, the weavers of Maheshwar produce *saris* characteristic of their own genius, nurtured in about two centuries of tradition. The Maheshwar *saris* are characterised by their innate simplicity yet possessing an irresistible beauty of their own. The special features of Maheshwar *saris* are small checks and reversible border. Three common types of *saris* woven in Maheshwar are—cotton, *neem reshmi* and *garbh reshmi*. The *saris* may be plain or with check patterns. The process of weaving of the plain field of a *sari* is very simple. The weft yarn is made to pass alternatively over and under successive warp yarns. The check pattern is produced by passing the weft yarn over those warp yarns under and over which the preceding passed. Varieties of this pattern may be produced by making the weft pass alternately over and under an equal number of warp threads.

Cotton *Sari*

Cotton *sari* is woven with warp and weft being of the same yarn. Sizing is an essential prerequisite for weaving of cotton *saris* and where necessary dyeing of the yarn is also done. Double or twisted yarn is used for the border of the *sari*. Sizing is not necessary for double or twisted yarn.

The cotton *saris* commonly produced at Maheshwar are with 80 counts yarns, woven with attractive check patterns and with typical Maheshwar *palla*. Coarse

(Below 20 counts) and medium (20 to 60 counts) are also used, but the market for such *saris* is largely local.

Neem-reshmi

Japan silk 20/22 or 13/15 for warp and 80 or 100 counts cotton yarn for weft are the common materials used in the weaving of *neem-reshmi* variety of *sari*. For the border, art silk of 2/180, 2/160 and 2/120 or mercerised cotton (double) is used.

Garbh reshmi

The warp of this variety of *sari* is prepared both, of pure silk or fine counts cotton and in the warp 2 dents of silk are alternated with 2 dents of cotton and in the weft fine counts cotton yarn of two matching colours is used. Art silk or mercerised cotton (double) is used for the border of the *sari*.

Patterns and Maheshwar *Saris*

As stated earlier Maheshwar *saris* are known for their extreme simplicity. It has to be remembered in this connection that Ahilya Bai, the founder of this industry was a devout religious lady and was a widow when she assumed the reins of erstwhile Holkar Government. Under her patronage therefore, Maheshwar specialised in plain *saris* or those with simple patterns—and even now check patterns remain the characteristic feature of the *saris*.

But to march with the times, Maheshwar weavers have to adopt newer colours and fresher designs. In her book "The Costumes and Textiles of India" Jamila Brij Bhushan states: "Special colours are worn during different parts of the day. No fashionable woman would dream of turning up at noon in a scarlet *sari* trimmed with heavy gold lace. Printed georgette or chiffon or embroidered or finely woven cotton *sari* are *de-rigor* for morning and noon functions, except during the winter when silk or crepes of light shade may be substituted. Narrow borders, light *'jari'* work or silk embroidery are favourites for afternoon or evening, and it is only during late evening functions or on some special festive occasion that heavy *sarees* of dark colours are to be seen".[1]

To be apace with the tide of fashion and sophistication, Maheshwar weavers are now using a variety of colour-combinations and have taken to many designs. In this regard, the Government Factory is endeavouring to introduce many designs. From a very simple pattern, the evolution of a Maheshwar *sari* has been towards the present characteristic one—rich, flame-coloured *sari*, plain or flowered *butis* all over the field with a border exquisitely woven having beautiful flowers or traditional *bugdi* designs arranged in a geometric pattern and a typical *palla* having five strips. Maheshwar weavers are no longer refractory to adaptability and change, which as we have seen, was the main cause of stagnancy in the past. The typical Maheshwar *sari*, however, continues to be simple, inspite of colours, and the decorative effects are confined to borders and to *pallas*.

As described earlier the three common varieties of *saris* produced at Maheshwar are cotton, *neem-reshmi* and *garbh-reshmi*. These may be with different types of check patterns, plain or with moderate colours. These three varieties are further distinguished by their borders which are named as *neem-reshmi jari-chatai or garbh-reshmi bajuband, jari-chatai* and *bajuband* being the terms for the borders. The field of the *neem-reshmi* variety always remains plain or sometimes *butis* may be provided. The latter type has no border. *Sari* with plain field is locally known as *pot*. The *garbh-reshmi* variety on the other hand, has a field of very small check.

Check or Chequer pattern

Chequer or check pattern is confined to the field of a *sari;* it is never produced on the border and *palla*. Different varieties of checks have different names in Maheshwar. Traditional patterns of checks are:—

(*i*) *Surli,* (*ii*) *Gunji,* (*iii*) *Dorba,* (*iv*) *Rudrakanthi* (*v*) *Mirani,* (*vi*) *Futani,* (*vii*) *Beli,* (*viii*) *Parbi,* (*ix*) *Popli,* (x) *Chandtara,* (*xi*) *Kali Chandrakala* and (xii) *Baingni Chandrakala.*

Actually speaking these above 12 patterns may be classified into 3 main types —

(1) Those having lengthwise strips only. These patterns are *Surli, Dorba, Mirani, Beli, Popli,* and, *Chandtara*

(2) Those having check or chequer pattern. These are *Gunji, Rudrakanthi, Futani, Parbi* and *Popli* (*Popli* is the common term for both check pattern as well as lengthwise strips).

(3) Plain coloured types. The names for this are *Chandrakala* and *Baingni Chandrakala.*

The first pattern is changed to the second type by giving similar strips breadthwise so as to convert the design into a check pattern. Individual types are described below:—

1 The Custumes and Textiles of India; Jamila Brij Bhusan, p. 47.

Surli and *Gunji*

Surli consists of only lengthwise strips of two dents of one shade. Another name by which it is known is *rasta* (Literally meaning road or path). *Gunji* is the chequer pattern of similar dents and having one shade i. e., breadthwise strips of 2 dents are given making a check pattern.

Dorba and *Rudrakanthi*

Dorba is lengthwise strips of two shades and each strip consists of two dents of one shade, two dents of second shade, two dents of first shade, and six dents of second shade. A chequer pattern made by such lengthwise and breadthwise strips is known as *Rudrakanthi.*

Mirani and *Futani*

Mirani consists of lengthwise strips of four dents of one shade only. It is thus similar to *Surli* except in the number of dents. *Futani* is the chequer counterpart of *Mirani.*

Beli and *Parbi*

Beli consists of lengthwise strips of six dents of two shades — two dents of one shade and four dents of another shade. The chequer counterpart of *Beli* is *Parbi.*

Popli

Popli is the common name for both types i. e., lengthwise strips only and chequer pattern of similar strips. The strips in *Popli* pattern consist of 18 dents of two shades — two dents of one shade and sixteen dents of another shade.

Chandtara

The *Chandtara* (moon-star) pattern does not have a counterpart in chequer. It consists of only lengthwise strips which are of two shades and the pattern is arranged with four strips of one shade alternated by one strip of another shade. The number of dents in all of these strips is the same. Thus here, it is not the dents which alternate but the whole strips.

Kali Chandrakala **(Black moon-phase)**

Kali Chandrakala is a *sari* in which both the warp and weft are of black shade.

Baingni Chandrakala **(Violet moon-phase)**

Baingni Chandrakala is a *sari* with plain field i. e., without any design in the field and consists of warp of black shade and weft of chocolate colour.

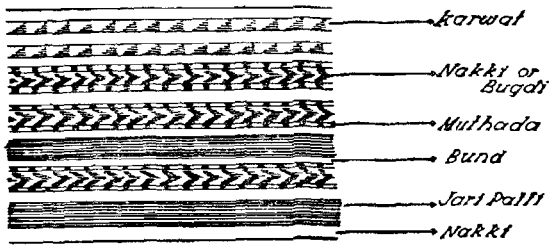
Size of strips and checks — Trends

Checks or chequers of 1/4", 1/2" and 1" width in strips are the present trend and are the modern patterns though *Gunji* and *Mirani* have also persisted and are in demand. The latest pattern of Maheshwar *sari* consists of *butties* produced in the field of a plain *sari* with dobby or jacquard. The weavers not using these improved implements are content with the production of traditional patterns.

Border

Maheshwar *saris* have been famous not only because of their characteristic check pattern in the body of the *sari* but also because of the reversible border of the *sari* which is also a characteristic feature and is known locally as *bugdi. Bugdi* is actually a reversible border i. e.. both the sides of the border are similar. The convenience of reversible border is that the *sari* can be worn either way and can thus be used for a longer period. In short, there is no upper side and underside in a *sari* with *bugdi* border. This *bugdi* pattern of border is the traditional border of Maheshwar *saris* and is known differently according to number of lines of the pattern e. g., *teen gomi Maheshwari bugdi, char gomi Maheshwari bugdi* or *irkal.* If *jari* is used in the border then the border is known as *jari-patti bugdi* (*jari patti teen gomi, jari patti char gomi* and so on).

Different parts of the *bugdi* border have different names viz., *nakki, jari-patti, bund, muthadha, bugdi or naksi* and *karwat.* These different parts of a *bugdi* border are diagrammatically shown below:—



As already stated, twisted yarn is used in the warp of border. The weaving of *bugdi* border is somewhat intricate and a suitable example may be given here to explain the process involved. Supposing that the *bugdi* border to be woven is a *teen gomi jari patti* and the various parts are of the following shades—

Nakki	...	Green
Jari-patti	...	Golden
Bund	...	Green
Muthadha	...	Yellow
Bugdi	...	Red-white
Karwat	...	Red mixed with golden *jari*

The number of threads required for this will be according to the following principle.

In the whole width of the *teen gomi jari-patti bugdi* the *nakki* appears once, *jari-patti* appears twice, *bund* appears seven times, *muthadha* appears six times, *bugdi* or *naksi* appears three times and *karwat* appears two times.

The number of threads for each part will be as below. The threads for *nakki*, which is at the extreme width end of the border, are to be taken first.

Item	*No. of threads*	*Colour*
1 *Nakki*	12	Green dyed
2 *Jari-patti*	16	Golden
3 *Bund*	6	Green dyed
4 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
5 *Bugdi* or *Naksi*	6	White
	6	Red dyed
6 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
7 *Bund*	6	Green dyed
8 *Jari-patti*	16	Golden
9 *Bund*	6	Green dyed
10 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
11 *Bugdi* or *Naksi*	6	White
	6	Red dyed
12 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
13 *Bund*	8	Green dyed
14 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
15 *Bugdi* or *Naksi*	6	White
	6	Red dyed
16 *Muthadha*	4	Yellow
	4	Red (alternate)
17 *Bund*	6	Green dyed
18 *Karwat*	6	Red dyed
	6	Golden (alternate)
19 *Bund*	6	Green dyed
20 *Karwat*	6	Red dyed
	6	Golden (alternate)
21 *Bund*	8	Green dyed

The process of weaving of *bugdi* i. e., lifting of warp threads and passing the weft threads between these for making a particular design, is the same as described for figured-weaving.

Apart from *teen-gomi Maheshwari bugdi* and *Irkal* other traditional border patterns of Maheshwar are *Gol-patti* and *Gol-patti Bugdi*. More modern types of border designs are known as *Chatai, Laddoo*, Flower and *Piping*. Various types of flowers designs are *Chameli, Pan, Swastika, Gol*-flower, *Chidi-ka-ikka, Karanphool, Am* and flowers with eight or twelve petals. Some of the traditional border patterns have been improved and are *Kangra, boond, Chataiauctadke, Ankh*, and *Nakki*.

These various types of borders are not indiscriminately produced but are matched to suit the field of the *sari*. Each type of *sari* viz., cotton, *neem-reshmi* and *garbh-reshmi* is woven with only certain types of borders and not with others. The combinations of field and border patterns are as below:—

Cotton *saris*:—	*Piping, Bugdi, Chatai, Laddoo, Irkal.*
Neem-reshmi:—	*Piping, jari-patti, Jari-Chatai, Jari-Laddoo, Jari-flowers.*
Garbh-reshmi:—	*Jari-patti, Chatai, Laddoo*, Flower designs.

All the above mentioned border patterns may be said to be the traditional border patterns. The Government Handloom Factory evolves new border patterns to cater to the tastes of customers but these designs do not have any distinctive name. Sometimes the new pattern simply consists in the reduction or increase of the width of a border. Some of the border patterns evolved by the Government Factory are given elsewhere in the monograph.

Palla

As with the field and the border of Maheshwar *sari*, the *palla* is also traditional. The typical traditional *palla* consists of five strips running along the width of the *sari*—3 coloured and 2 white, the white strips alternating with the coloured one. In each of the white strips, four lines of the same colour as the colour strips are introduced. These coloured lines in which strips of *palla* are known as *Ganderi*. Such traditional *palla*-pattern is generally produced in cotton-*saris* and the *saris* have such *pallas* at both ends of its length.

Recent introductions in the *palla-pattern* are the commonly called Madrasi and Chanderi *pallas*. Madrasi *palla* is characterised by dark shade with *jari* or art

silk lining and having a width-range of 12" to 15". The characteristic of *Chanderi-palla* are flowers of *jari* in the *palla*. These flowers are similar to those produced in the border and are woven in two lines 4" apart. The width of Chanderi *palla* ranges between 8" and 9". Another difference between the traditional Maheshwar *palla* and the Madrasi and Chanderi *palla* is that whereas the Maheshwar type is woven on both the ends of the length of a *sari*, the Madrasi and Chanderi *pallas* are provided only at one end i. e., the end which is put on the shoulder and the other end is furnished with the Maheshwar *palla*.

Thus now some experiments are being made in the designs and patterns of *saris* and the monotony that once appeared so entrenched in the patterns of Maheshwar *saris* seems to have given way. But, though these improvements are being adopted and Maheshwar *saris* are attracting a larger number of people, the material culture and economy of the creators of these *saris* do not seem to have registered any significant change.

PLATE XXVII

Illustration 59

Phool Kinar

Illustration 58

Chatai Kinar

PLATE XXVIII

Illustration 61

Phool Kinar

Illustration 60

Phool Kinar

PLATE XXIX

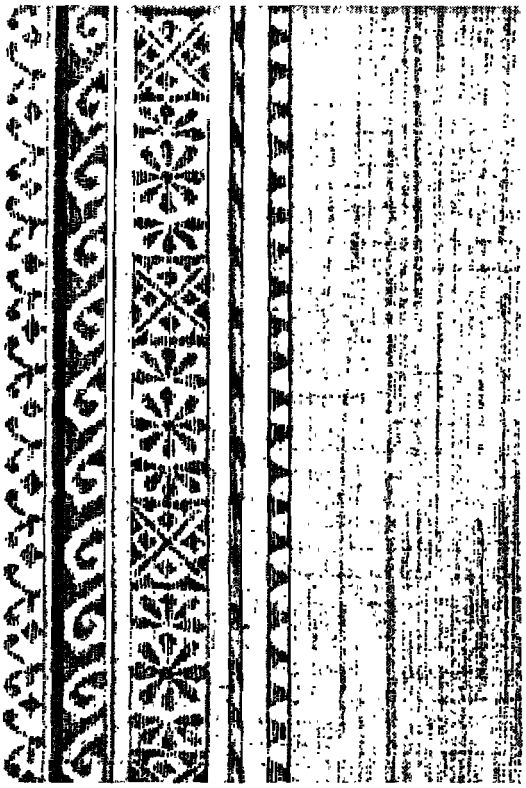


Illustration 63

Phool Kinar

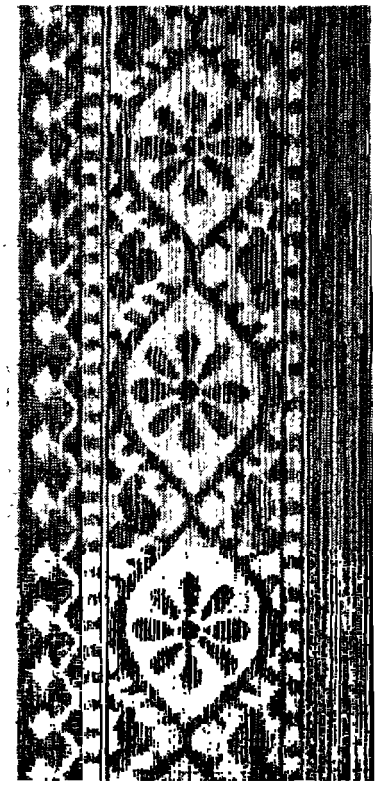


Illustration 62

Phool Kinar

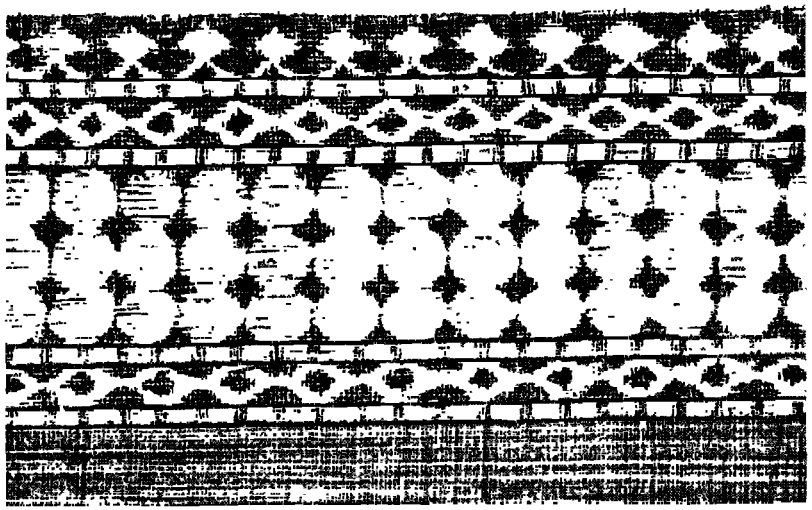


Illustration 64

Laddu Kinar

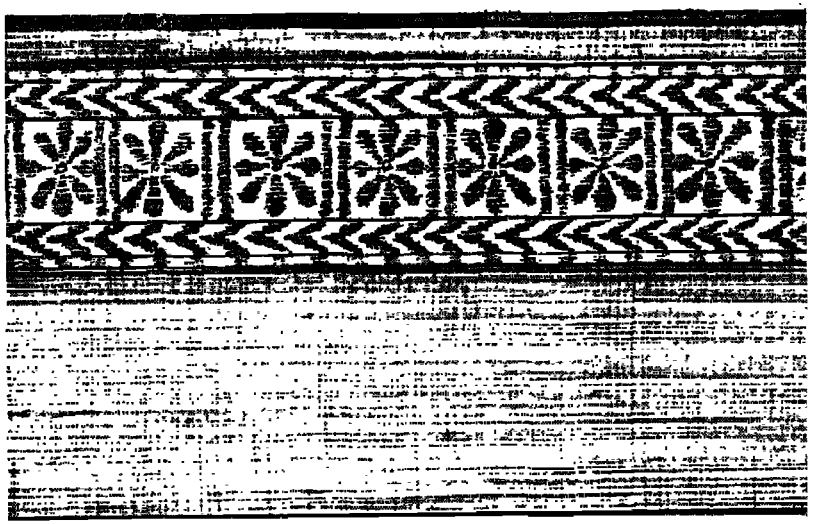


Illustration 65

Phool Kinar

PLATE XXXI

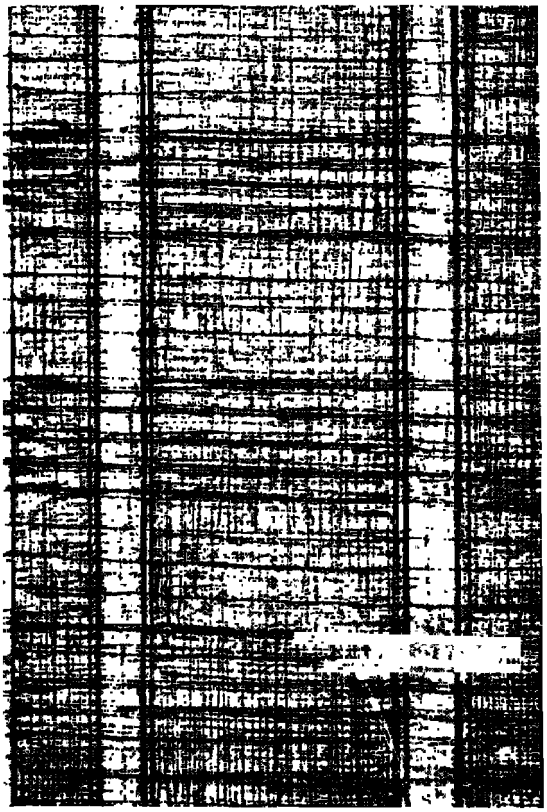


Illustration 67

Golpatti Kinar

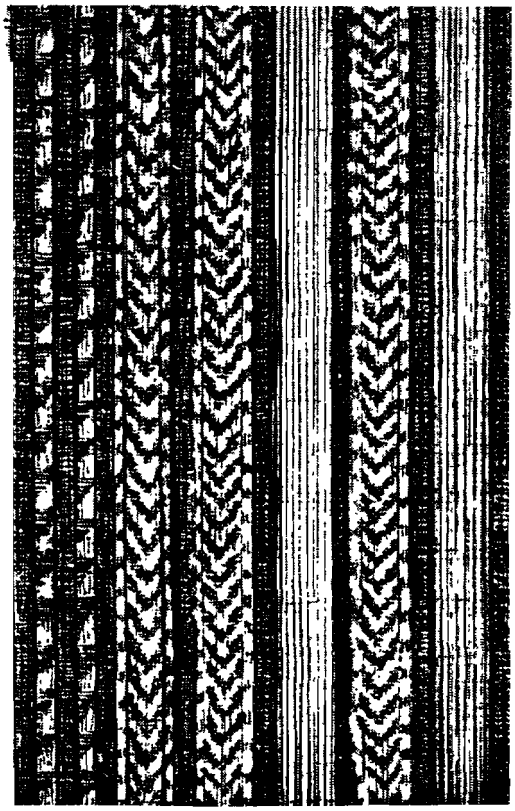


Illustration 66

Teengomi Bugdi

PLATE XXXII

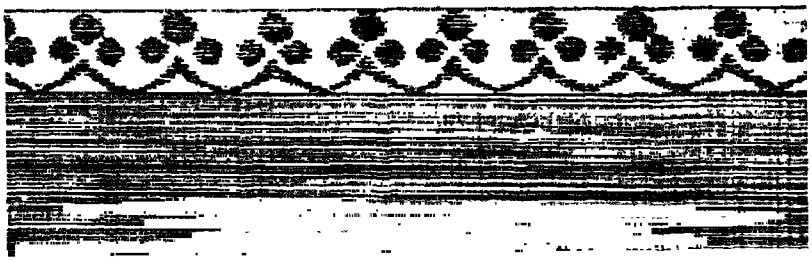


Illustration 68

Chiri Kinar

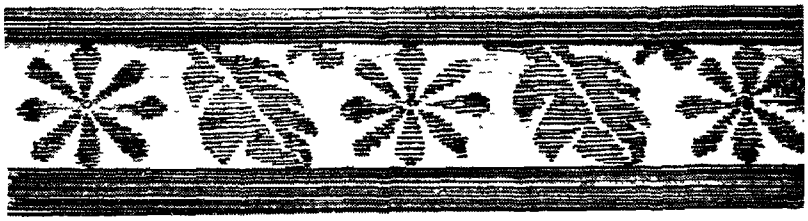


Illustration 69

Phool Patta Kinar

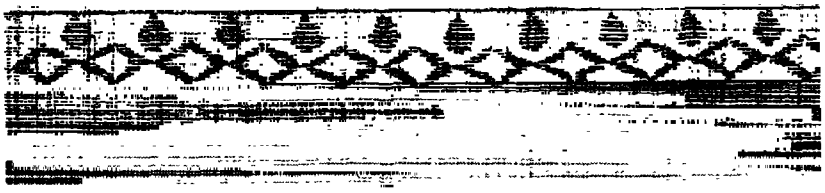


Illustration 70

Ankh Kangra Kinar

PLATE XXXIII

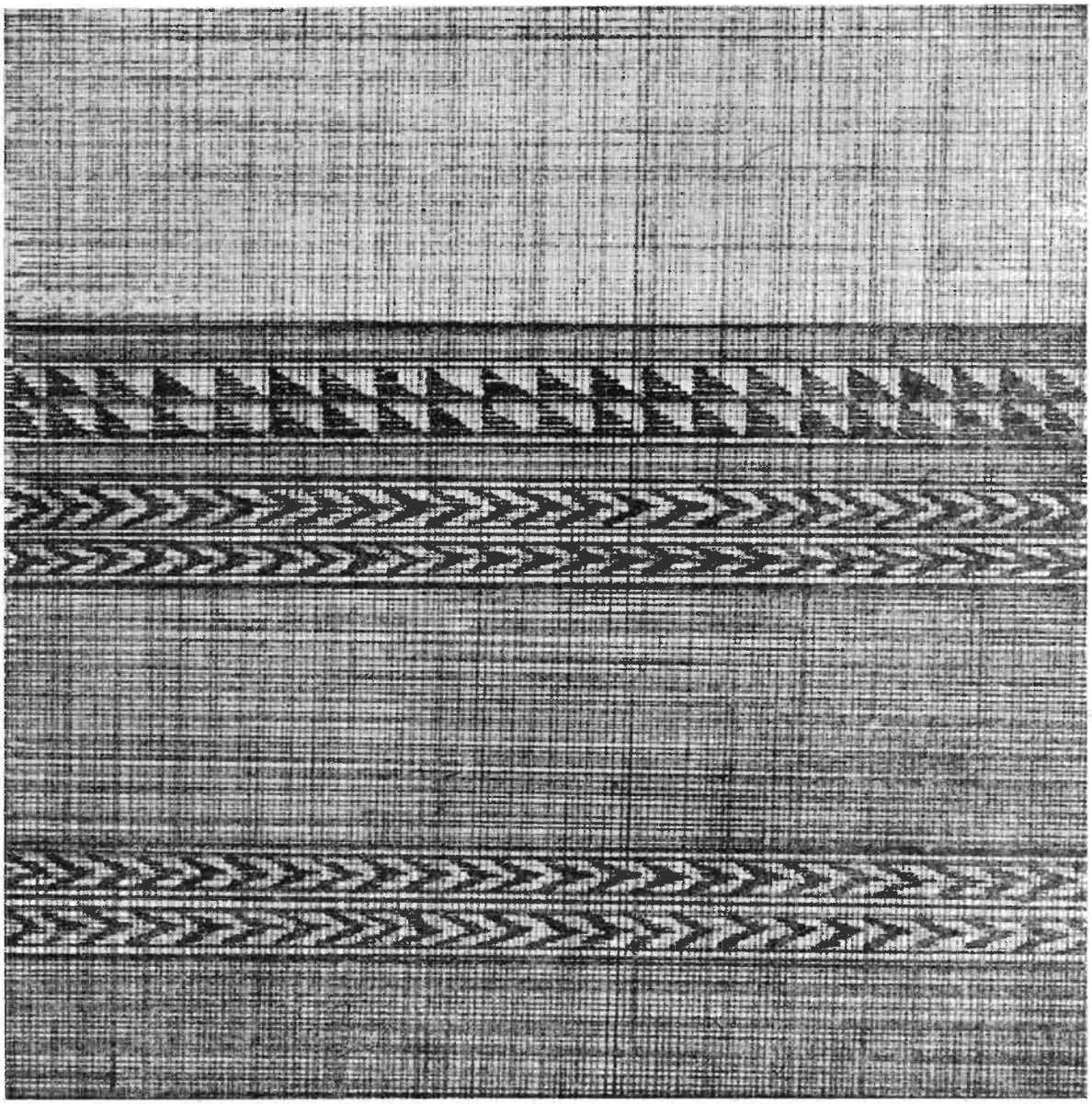


Illustration 71

Chargomi Bugdi

PLATE XXXIV

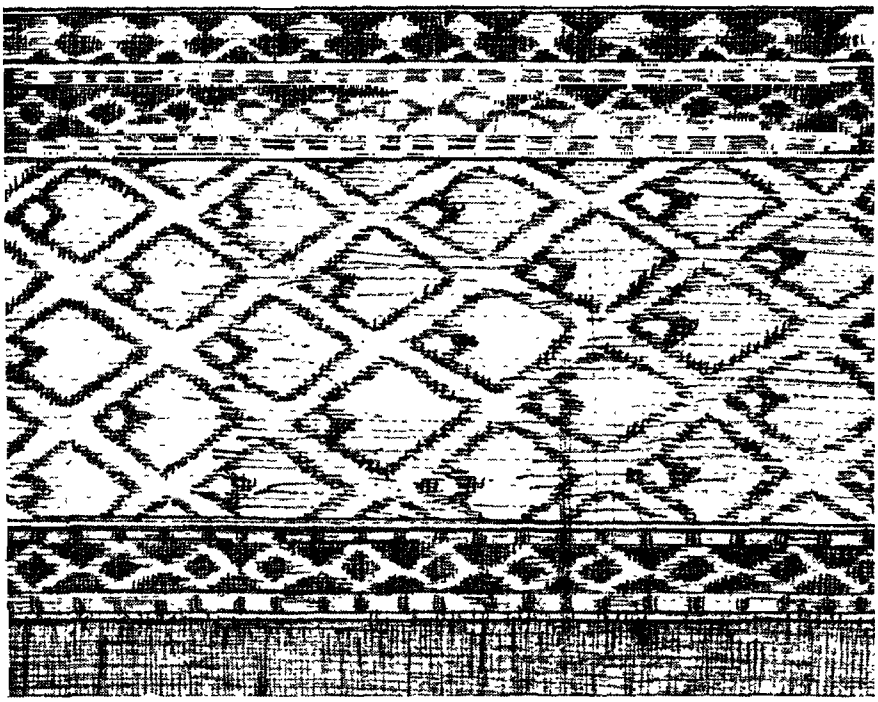


Illustration 72

Pan Kinar

PLATE XXXV

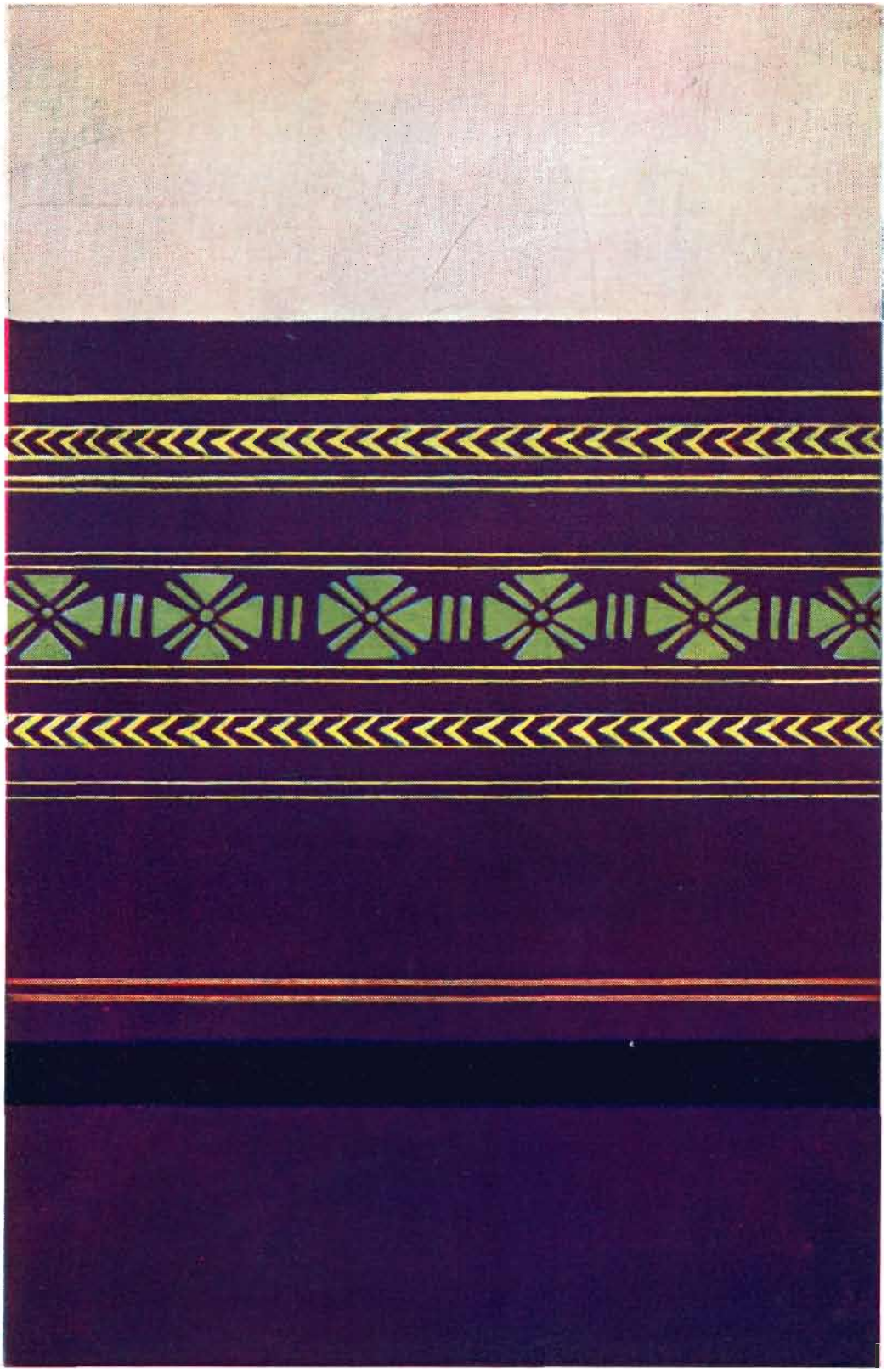


Illustration 73

Phool Kinar

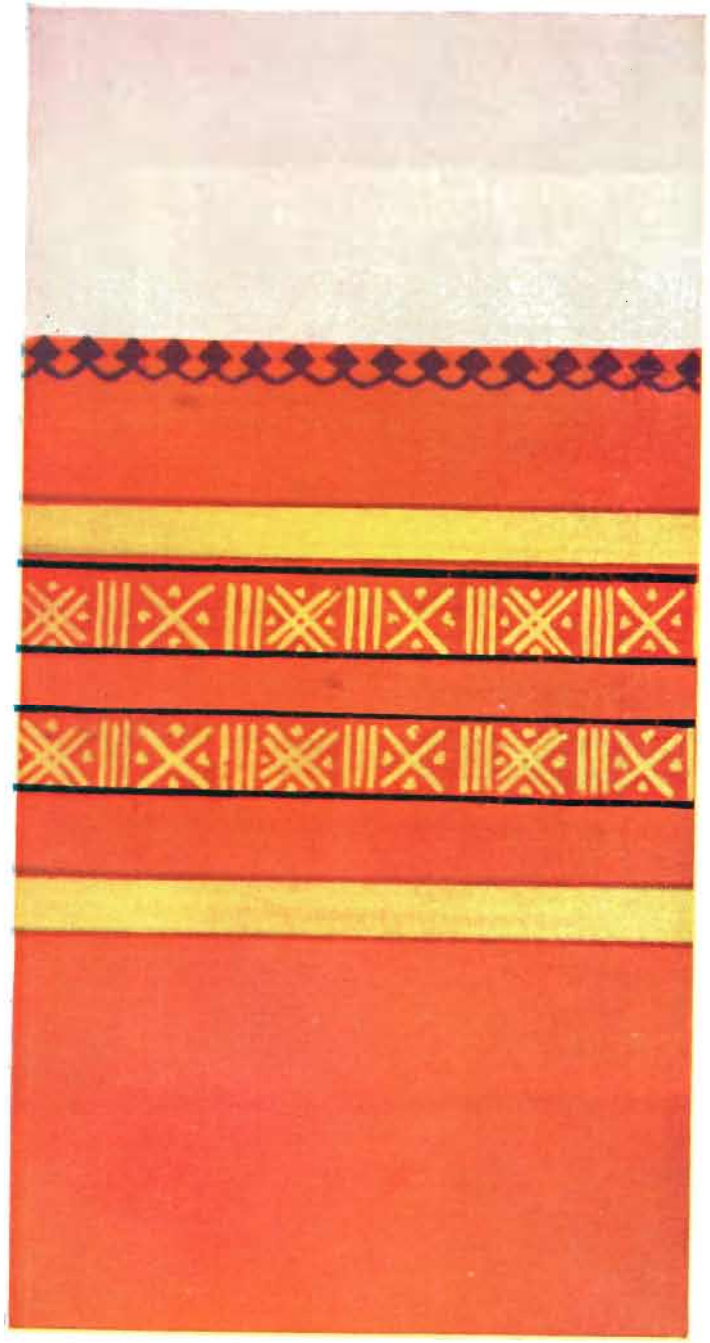


Illustration 74
Madrasi Kinari

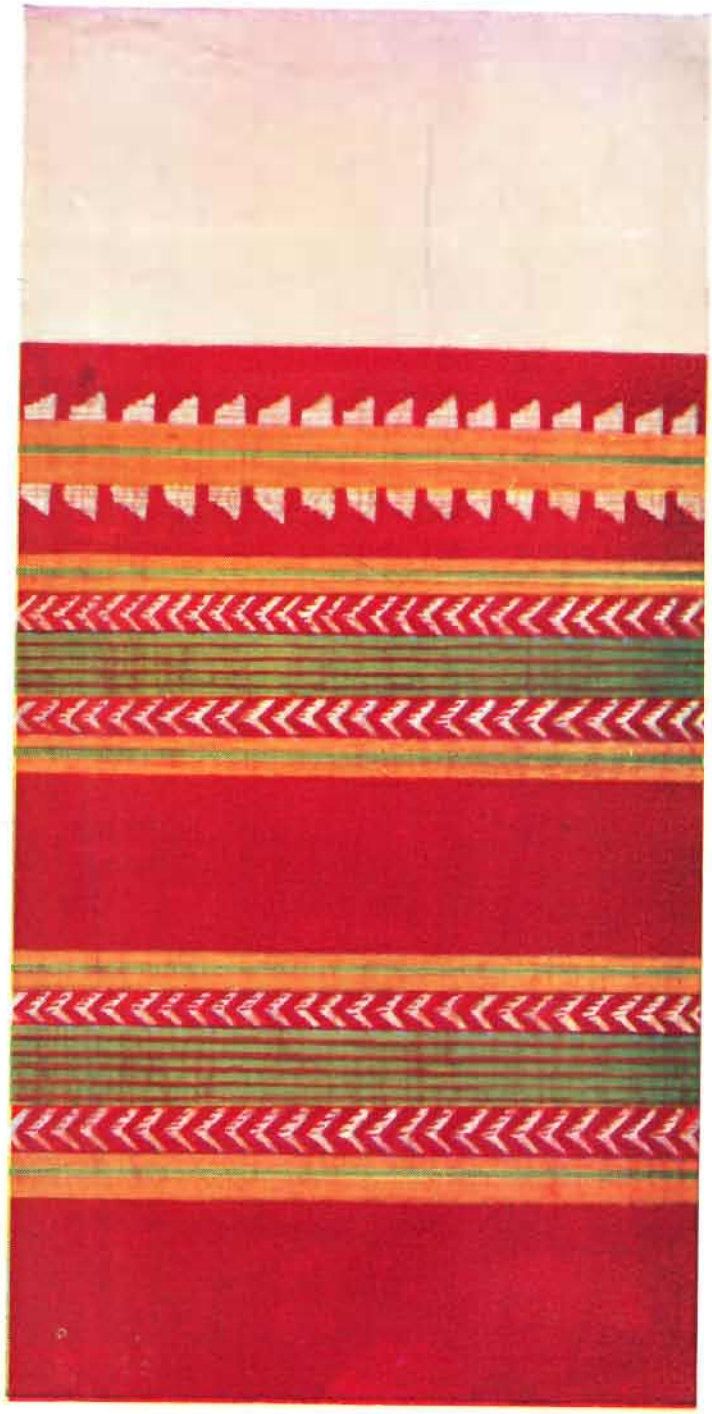


Illustration 75
Chargomi Bugdi (Irkal)

PLATE XXXVI



Illustration 76

Phool Kinar

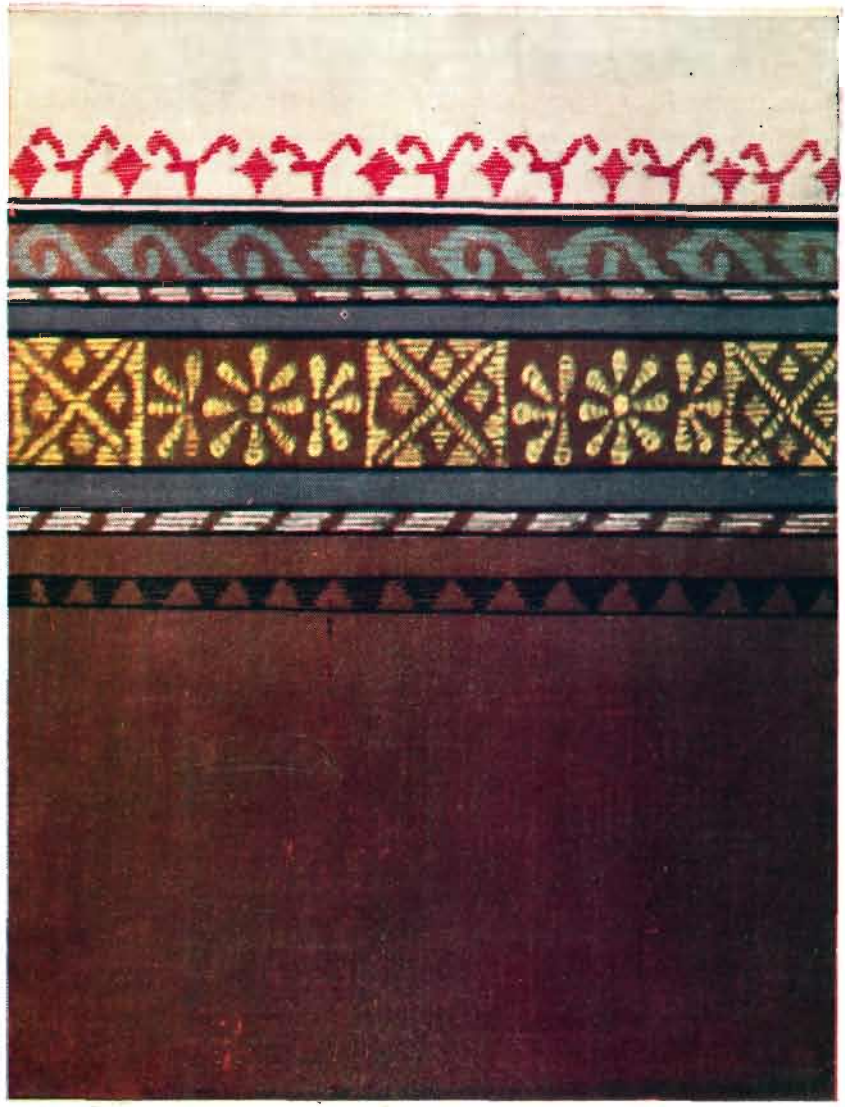


Illustration 77

Phool Kinar

PLATE XXXVIII

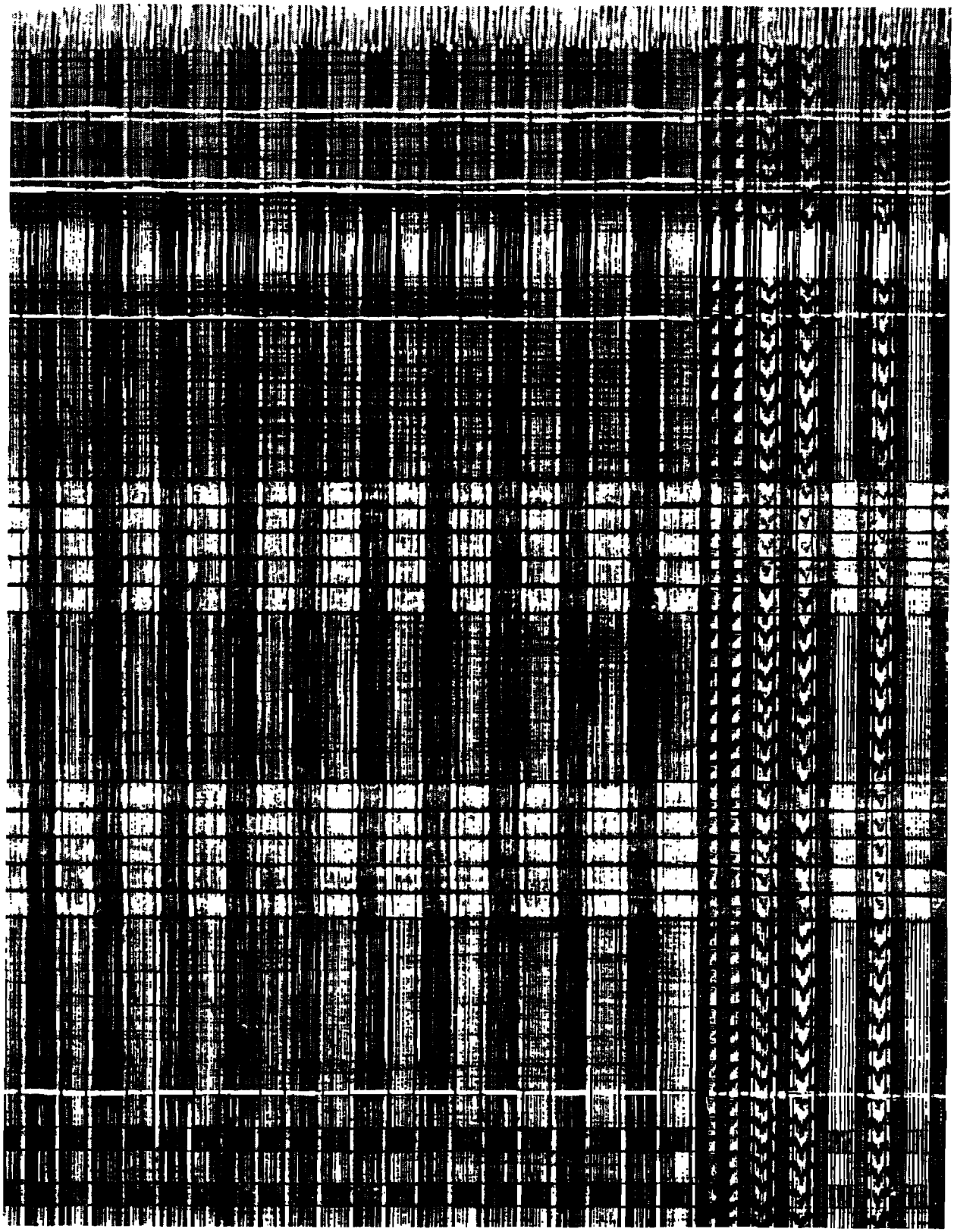


Illustration 78

Maheshwari Palla

CHAPTER V

ECONOMY OF THE WEAVERS AND ECONOMICS OF PRODUCTION

As already described in Chapter II, there are 9 weaving castes in Maheshwar and there are 134 households in all who are engaged in the weaving of Maheshwar *saris* and other cloth. A great majority of these households claim that the art of weaving has been in practice in their family for many years. It is difficult to test the veracity of their statements and in the table given below is shown the period since which weaving has been in practice in the different households carrying on weaving at present —

Caste	No. of weaving house-holds.	Number of families in which weaving is being practised for					
		Less than 5 years	6 years to 20 years	21 to 50 years	51 to 100 years	101 to 150 years	More than 150 years
Khatri	73	—	—	—	1	4	68
Momin	23	—	—	—	—	8	15
Khangar	15	1	1	1	1	6	5
Koli	9	—	—	—	1	4	4
Sali	8	—	2	—	1	1	4
Koshti	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Bhambi	2	—	—	—	—	1	1
Dhobi	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
Mabi	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Total	*134*	*2*	*4*	*1*	*5*	*24*	*98*

Thus in 91.0% of the households, weaving has been in practice for more than 100 years and in 73.1% of them, weaving has a tradition of more than 150 years. It is thus very likely that these 73.1% of the families have been engaged in weaving since the time of Ahilya Bai — the founder of this industry.

Size of Family and age structure of the Weavers :—

The size of families of weavers' households is shown below :—

Caste	Total No. of house-holds	Size of Households No. of families having				
		Single Member	2-3 Members	4-6 Members	7-9 Members	10 Members and over
Khatri	73	5	20	28	13	7
Momin	23	—	—	12	5	6
Khangar	15	1	2	9	2	1
Koli	9	1	2	4	1	1
Sali	8	1	1	3	1	2
Koshti	2	1	—	1	—	—
Bhambi	2	—	—	2	—	—
Dhobi	1	—	1	—	—	—
Mabi	1	—	—	—	1	—
TOTAL	*134*	*9*	*26*	*59*	*23*	*17*

In a household industry like handloom weaving, the size of the household becomes an important factor. It is seen from the above that 26.1 per cent of the weavers' households may be termed small i. e., 3 members and below; 44 per cent are, what may be termed as intermediate in size and 29.6 per cent may be called big households. It is worth noticing that among the Momins, there are no small families and almost 50 per cent of the families are 'big' families.

Another factor of importance is the age structure of the weaver population because the working force is determined by it. The age-groups in the different castes of weavers are shown below :—

Caste	Total population of weavers' households	No. of persons in the age-group							
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-44	45-59	60+
Khatri	377	46	46	44	29	21	101	53	37
Momin	179	29	23	23	14	15	51	14	10
Khangar	82	18	13	5	4	11	22	6	3
Koli	44	8	8	4	2	4	9	7	2
Sali	57	11	8	4	4	4	11	9	6
Koshti	6	1	2	—	—	—	1	1	1
Bhambi	10	2	2	—	1	—	3	1	1
Dhobi	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
Mabi	8	1	2	—	1	1	2	1	—
TOTAL	*766*	*116*	*104*	*80*	*55*	*56*	*201*	*92*	*62*

Assuming that the age-group 15-59 years is the really effective working force of the weavers, it would be seen from the above that about 52 percent of the population are the workers that matter in the weaving in Maheshwar. There are, of course, persons above 60 years of age who do weaving or children under 14 years of age who carry on such ancillary operations such as winding, but there is little in weaving that persons over 60 years of age can do.

In fact, however, even this 52 per cent of the weavers' population is not wholly engaged in weaving. 29.8 per cent of the weavers' households carry on some other job in addition to weaving. But cultivation is not practised by any of them. The table below shows the number of families wholly or partly dependent on weaving:—

Caste	*Total No. of ...families weaving*	*No. of families wholly dependent on weaving*	*Number of families who have some other occupation also*	
			No. who have weaving as the main occupation	*No. who have weaving as a subsidiary occupation*
Khatri	73	53	12	8
Momin	23	14	6	3
Khangar	15	10	5	—
Koli	9	9	—	—
Sali	8	4	4	—
Koshti	2	1	1	—
Bhambi	2	2	—	—
Dhobi	1	—	1	—
Mabi	1	1	—	—
TOTAL	*134*	*94*	*29*	*11*

Thus, whereas in 70.2% of the cases weaving is the only occupation carried on by the households, 29.8% of the households have some other work in addition (21.6% have weaving as the main work and 8.2% have weaving as the subsidiary work). None of the weavers, however, have agriculture either as main or subsidiary occupation. This large proportion of households carrying on only handloom weaving without any subsidiary occupation is because of the fact that it is not possible to have any other occupation together with weaving if full justice is to be done to weaving. Mahatma Gandhi considered this question as early as 1925. He wrote:

"May I point out to the Department of Industries and Commerce, Bombay, that the attempt to introduce the handloom in the home of agriculturists is foredoomed to failure? A little knowledge of agricultural life will demonstrate the impracticability of such introduction. Hand-weaving is a long process requiring sustained labour and in itself demanding several processes at which more persons than one are required to work at one and the same time. This is not possible in a peasant's cottage. Hence from time immemorial hand-weaving has been a separate occupation and an independent and sole means of livelihood."

This point was again emphasized by him in 1926 in the following words:

"In the first instance, hand-weaving is not a practicable proposition as a supplementary industry, because it is not easy to teach, it has never been universal in India, it requires several hands to work at, it cannot be done during odd moments. It has been and can only be generally an independent occupation and it is in the majority of cases the sole occupation like shoe-making or smithy".

Women Weavers in Maheshwar

There is evidence that in the early periods of human history, weaving was a "woman's job". As already mentioned in the beginning of this monograph, in Vedic times weaving was mostly done by women for mention is made in Vedic literature of warp and woof being woven by deft fingers. In Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, though women were engaged mainly in domestic duties, they were responsible almost entirely for weaving, and spinning the cloth that was worn. In the early Aryan civilization in India, women were responsible for most of the textile output. It is not within the scope of the present work to find out when the weaving industry passed out of womens' hands and became a "man's job", but from whatever information is available about the history of handloom weaving in Maheshwar, it is clear that weaving has never been predominantly a woman's job though there is a saying in Chanderi, another centre of handloom weaving in Madhya Pradesh, which suggests that there weaving was a woman's job. That saying, which may be put down here, is —

SAHAR CHANDERI MOMIN BADA
TIRIYA RAJ KHASAM PANIHARA

meaning that "In the town of Chanderi there is a ward of Momins. In this ward there is a rule of women and the husbands are water-carriers". In Maheshwar, it has always remained a job in which men took active part and the women, of course, also helped. At the present survey, it was found that there are 61 women

weavers in Maheshwar, thus constituting 28.76 per cent. This figure does not include those workers who are engaged only in winding, sizing and so on. These 61 women weavers belong to following castes:—

Caste	Total no. of families weaving	Total population of weaver's households	Total No. of Weavers	No. of women weavers	% of women weavers to	
					Total Population	Weavers
Khatri	73	377	109	36	9.55	33.03
Momin	23	179	55	14	7.82	25.45
Khangar	15	82	20	7	8.54	35.00
Koli	9	44	12	1	2.27	8.33
Sali	8	57	15	3	5.26	20.00
Koshti	2	6	2	—	—	—
Bhambi	2	10	2	—	—	—
Dhobi	1	3	1	—	—	—
Mabi	1	8	3	—	—	—

Though, according to the saying given above, it appears that in Chanderi, among the Momin caste of weavers, it was the women who did the weaving, in Maheshwar, as the table given above shows, only 25.45 per cent of the weavers belonging to Momin caste are women as against 35.00 and 33.03 per cent in the Khangar and Khatri castes respectively. It has also been remarked earlier that among the Momins the women do not let the loom remain idle: they take up the weaving when the men have to go out. The above table has, therefore, to be seen in the light of the fact that the number of women weavers per household is greatest in the case of Momins — Khatri 0.5; Momin 0.6; Khangar 0.4; Koli 0.1 and Sali 0.3.

The age-group of women-weavers of Maheshwar is shown in the following table:—

Caste	Total No. of women weavers	No. of women-weavers in the age-group of				
		15-19 years	20-24 years	25-44 years	45-59 years	60+ years
Khatri	36	1	2	20	9	4
Momin	14	—	2	11	1	—
Khangar	7	—	4	2	1	—
Koli	1	—	—	1	—	—
Sali	3	—	—	1	2	—
TOTAL	*61*	*1*	*8*	*35*	*13*	*4*

Now, why do the women weave? On the whole weaving is regarded as a *Khandani pesha* (honourable profession) for women since they can work inside their houses and are not required to go out. Miss Rajwade, who worked on "The women weavers of Khatri community" for her M. A. dissertation of Vikram University investigated into 50 cases where women were either weaving or were doing some ancillary job. She found[1] that though the answers given were different, they led to one irresistible conclusion — the women worked in order to supplement the income of the family. Out of the 50 women studied by her, 12 were widows and 3 were deserted by their husbands and had no other means of work: they, therefore, took to weaving. Out of the remaining 35, 22 women stated that their husbands were not able to earn enough to support the family; 4 stated that since they had enough spare time they learnt the craft, 2 stated that they were weavers before their marriage and as such continued weaving after marriage and 7 stated that they learnt the craft since looms were already working in the house. Thus in 74 per cent of the cases reviewed by Miss Rajwade, women were weaving out of economic necessity. Miss Rajwade, however, found that in the Khatri community of Maheshwar training is imparted to every girl in her parents' house and if no such training is there, then she is suitably trained in her husband's house.

The following extract is taken from Miss Rajwade's work:—

"Generally it was found that the men in the community do not utilize their skill and talents fully and waste much of their time loitering here and there. Hence the women have to work for supplementing the family income. Women are naturally not able to do much work as they have also to look after the children, do the kitchen work and also to bring water from the river. If the men exert their abilities to the fullest possible extent, they can earn enough, together with the women's income, to meet such needs as good food and good clothes for the members of their family."

Income of the Weavers

In spite of the fact that Maheshwar *saris* have a good reputation, the earnings of the weavers can hardly be called sufficient. For only 24.6 per cent of the families the monthly income is more than Rs. 100/- and of these only 14.1 per cent have monthly incomes above Rs. 150/-. The table given below shows the monthly income of the households from all sources:—

1. "A study of Family Life of Khatri women in the weaving industry of Maheshwar", 1963; K. Rajwade, (Unpublished).

Caste	Total No. of families weaving	Income			Average monthly income per family (Total income)	Average monthly income per family from weaving only.
		Total	From weaving	From other sources		
Khatri	73	6,113	4,876	1,237	87.74	67
Momin	23	2,862	2,390	472	124.43	104
Khangar	15	1,125	915	210	75.00	61
Koli	9	580	580	—	64.44	44
Sali	8	793	625	168	99.12	78
Koshti	2	165	105	60	82.50	53
Bhambi	2	100	100	—	50.00	50
Dhobi	1	45	20	25	45.00	20
Mabi	1	95	95	—	95.00	95
TOTAL	*134*	*11,878*	*9,706*	*2,172*	*88.64*	*72*

It is seen from this table that the highest income on the average per family, both in case of income from all sources and income only from weaving, is in the caste of Momins. The average income from all sources and from weaving only for an average weaver family in Maheshwar are Rs. 88.64 and Rs. 72/- respectively and the castes where the monthly incomes are less than this average are those of Khatri, Khangar, Koli, Koshti, Bhambi and Dhobi, whereas the Momins, Sali and Mabi have average income above the general average.

The present cost of living being high and the size of the family of weavers being as shown in a preceding table, this average income is too little and the weavers cannot by any means, if the figures given by them are correct, be said to be prosperous. In some cases, as in the case of the Dhobi and the Bhambi, the income is hardly sufficient to keep the body and soul together.

The same picture is brought out in a better perspective by the following table showing weavers' families arranged according to income-groups:—

Caste	No. of families of weavers	No. of families in the income-group					
		Upto Rs. 25/-	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-150	151 and over.
Khatri	73	4	20	23	9	8	9
Momin	23	—	3	5	3	5	7
Khangar	15	—	7	2	4	1	1
Koli	9	1	3	3	1	1	—
Sali	8	—	4	—	2	—	2
Koshti	2	—	1	—	—	1	—
Bhambi	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Mabi	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
TOTAL	*134*	*5*	*41*	*33*	*20*	*16*	*19*

Thus, according to the table given above, 73.9 per cent of the weaver families have a monthly income of Rs. 100/- and less. Comparatively well-to-do i. e., in whose case the monthly income is more than Rs. 100/- are 30.4 per cent of the families of Momin, 25.0 per cent of the families of Sali and 12.3 per cent of the families of Khatri. The above table and the one preceding it further show that the Momins are better-off than their brother-weavers in Maheshwar.

Expenditure of Weavers

In dealing with the income of weavers, it was stated that they hardly earn enough to keep body and soul together. The following statement showing average monthly expenditure gives a clearer picture of the position:—

Caste	Total No. of families of weavers	Monthly expenditure on					Total monthly expenditure	Average monthly expenditure per family
		Food & fuel	Clothing	Education	Social and religion	Misc.		
Khatri	73	3565	704	84	183	496	5032	69
Momin	23	1724	374	24	37	212	2371	103
Khangar	15	665	160	17	22	107	971	65
Koli	9	332	66	1	8	45	452	50
Sali	8	530	100	14	12	66	722	90
Koshti	2	66	19	2	3	11	101	51
Bhambi	2	75	14	—	2	5	96	48
Dhobi	1	35	5	—	—	5	45	45
Mabi	1	60	15	5	2	8	90	90
TOTAL	*134*	*7052*	*1457*	*147*	*269*	*955*	*9880*	*74*

AVERAGE INCOME — EXPENDITURE

Caste	Average Income	Average expenditure	Surplus (+) Deficit (—)
Khatri	88	69	+19
Momin	124	103	+21
Khangar	75	65	+10
Koli	64	50	+14
Sali	99	90	+ 9
Koshti	83	51	+32
Bhambi	50	48	+ 2
Dhobi	45	45	Balanced
Mabi	95	90	+ 5

It has not been possible to get any information from the weavers regarding their indebtedness. Their replies as to income and expenditure are rather hazy and on indebtedness they have nothing to say. But on the basis of whatever information could be got from them, and, which has been presented in the preceding tables, one cannot escape the conclusion that a good number of them must be in debt. The statement of expenditure given above does not take into account such contingencies as birth, marriage and death. If and when such occasions arise there does not appear to be any alternative other than going to the doors of money-lenders, who, in Maheshwar, are mostly master-weavers. This conclusion is also supported by the fact that 44.2 per cent of the weavers work for the master-weavers in spite of the fact that the wages paid by these master-weavers are less than those paid by the factory, co-operative societies and Ambar Charkha Kendra.

That the weavers live on just marginal standards is also clear from their statements. Asked about the income-expenditure, the almost common answer from them is *Khane bhar Ko Kama hi lete hain* i. e., we somehow earn enough to live.

Miss Rajwade in her dissertation mentioned above, surveyed the economic conditions of 50 Khatri families of weavers and found that the economic condition of only 2 joint families was sound and in the remaining 48 cases, work by women was almost a pressing necessity. She further found that a large number of these families were in the income-range Rs. 25.50 and Rs. 50.75. Following is another extract from her dissertation:

"Almost in all cases the family owns a house and one or two looms. Having of looms in the house is considered a sign of sound income position. Beyond this no property as such is possessed by any family. Of course there are one or two exceptional cases where the financial position is very much different from this But it may safely be stated that the community earns sufficiently for their daily needs".

"One of the striking features of this community is that there is hardly any incidence of indebtedness. Out of the 50 cases under study, only 2 families are indebted, one having taken loans from the Government for the purchase of looms and the other having taken loan for the marriage of the daughter. All the remaining families restrict their budgets to the earnings. There are few families which have been able to save something out of their earnings. Only 9 stated that they save something occasionally and out of these 9, 7 have purchased gold and got ornaments made, 1 has constructed a house and 1 has purchased cattle. But, on the whole the economic condition of the community is not at all satisfactory. The community's standard of living being very moderate, they are able to pull on without incurring debts. This might be attributed to the fact that there is no system of dowry in the community and the system of bride-price is also slowly vanishing".

Material Condition of the Weavers

The material condition of the weavers of Maheshwari *saris* does not appear to be good. The houses of most of them are just ramshackle huts. It is not happy experience visiting their houses in Choukhandi, Malharganj and Govindpura and even in Maheshwar proper, the houses are hardly suitable for weaving. The houses are ill-ventilated and congested. The doors of practically all of them are very low and the windows are absent in many cases. The room where the loom is installed is also used as a sitting and sleeping room with a kitchen by the side and separated by the loom-room only by a 3′ high mud wall as in the house of Tikaram Khangar, Gopal Bhami and Premchand Khangar. Weaving in such ill-lighted and ill-ventilated rooms has in most cases resulted in bad eye-sight and other eye-troubles. In Premchand Khangar's house all the three members have developed eye-trouble. In Malharganj, Choukhandi and Govindpura many of the houses have dilapidated walls and in Malharganj we came across a loom set up in a room one side and roof of which had given way.

The following table shows the weaver's households arranged according to the numbers of rooms in the houses they occupy:—

Caste	*Total No. of weavers' households*	*Number of households according to rooms*					
		1 *room*	2 *rooms*	3 *rooms*	4 *rooms*	5 *rooms*	6 *rooms*
Khatri	73	20	30	16	5	1	1
Momin	23	7	9	4	3	—	—
Khangar	15	8	4	3	—	—	—
Koli	9	6	2	1	—	—	—
Sali	8	1	6	—	—	—	1
Kohti	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Bhambi	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Mabi	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	*134*	*44*	*55*	*24*	*8*	*1*	*2*

A glance at the table showing expenditure would show that one of the items is expenditure on clothing and one has to wonder why the weavers should spend, on clothing. They who weave such fine cloth for others to wear purchase cloth themselves! The weavers say that they do so because it is cheaper to have mill-made cloth than to weave one for the use of one-self. They, however, admit that handloom cloth has longer lasting capacity. They assert that it is the initial expenditure that matters and the time that they would take to weave cloth for their own use can be utilised with benefit in weaving cloth for sale.

The Craft and Religious beliefs

As is seen from the table giving the income of weavers, it is the Momins who are most well-off. That this is so, will be clear even to a casual observer in Maheshwar. Enquiries as to why this should be so were made both from the officials of the Government Factory and from the weavers. Some weavers say that, had Maheshwar not been situated on the banks of the holy river — Narmada —, they could be as prosperous weavers as the Momins are. With Narmada flowing so near them as it is, they cannot miss the opportunity of paying their respects every day at the *ghat*. Observation has shown that the allegation that Hindu weavers waste a good part of their time on the banks of the holy river, seems to be true. Most of the Hindu weavers go to the river daily for their ablutions and spend a lot of time that way. By the time they return it becomes time for lunch. After lunch they go to a pan-shop or sit for smoking. Towards evening it is tea-time and then again a round to a pan-shop or an interval for *bidi*-smoking. Thus, by and large, the Hindu weavers probably waste more time than their Muslim brethren. Among the Momins, on the other hand, the loom is never idle and if the man working on it has to go out, some woman of the family takes up weaving. In this respect, the size of family also helps them. It is the general impression of all concerned in Maheshwar that the Momins put their selves more into the craft whereas the other weavers are a little over-attached to the Narmada. It is a common experience of the present writers to have received the answer from the members of the household of Hindu weavers that they have gone to the river. Another impression which one gets about the Hindu weavers is their contentment: they say, they get enough to live. There does not appear to be any incentive for most of them to improve their output. It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the Momins have taken to the powerlooms in greater numbers.

Economics and Production

These 134 households consisting of 219 weavers earn their livelihood from their craft broadly in 5 ways — viz.—

(a) As independent workers;

(b) Weaving for the Government Factory;

(c) Weaving for the Ambar Charkha Kendra;

(d) Weaving for the Maheshwar Cooperative Society;

(e) Weaving for the Master-weavers.

Actually speaking, it is difficult to divide the weavers' households into these above 5 categories only, for, there are many households who work in more than one manner. For example, Kasam Momin, who has 4 looms works for both the Government Factory and the Maheshwar Cooperative Society and Hukumchand Khangar who has 3 looms (1 Fly-shuttle, 2 Throw shuttle) works for the Maheshwar Society as well as uses one loom for his independent production. Again, Babulal Nagle having 3 looms (1 F.2 T.) sets apart one loom for the cooperative society and on 2 looms he works for a master-weaver. Same is the case of Gendalal Khatri. Ambaram Mabi works for 2 master-weavers. There are others who work both for the master-weaver and the Government Factory, for the master-weaver and the Ambar Charkha Kendra The table given below shows the households of the weavers according to the manner in which they earn their livelihood.

PLATE XXXIX

THE WEAVERS

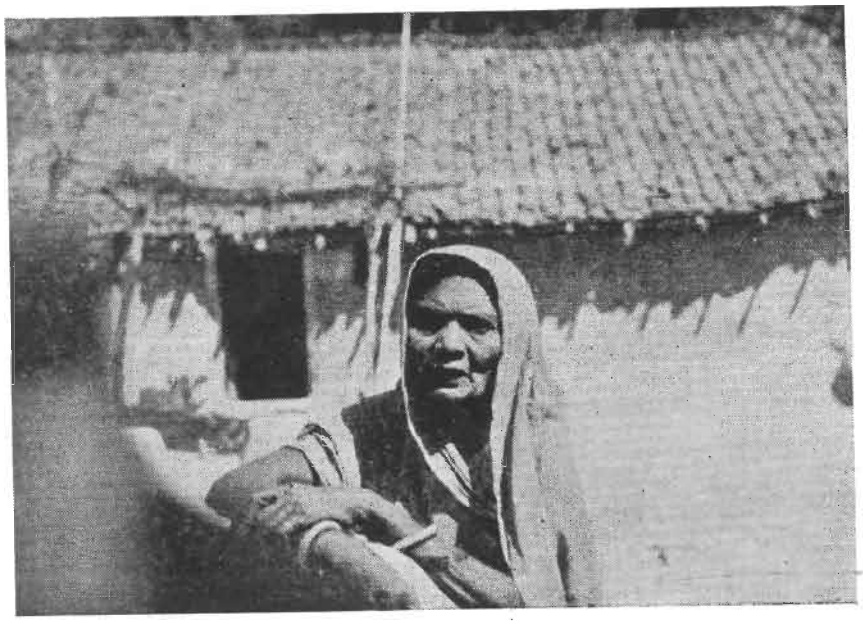


Illustration 79

Kesar Bai

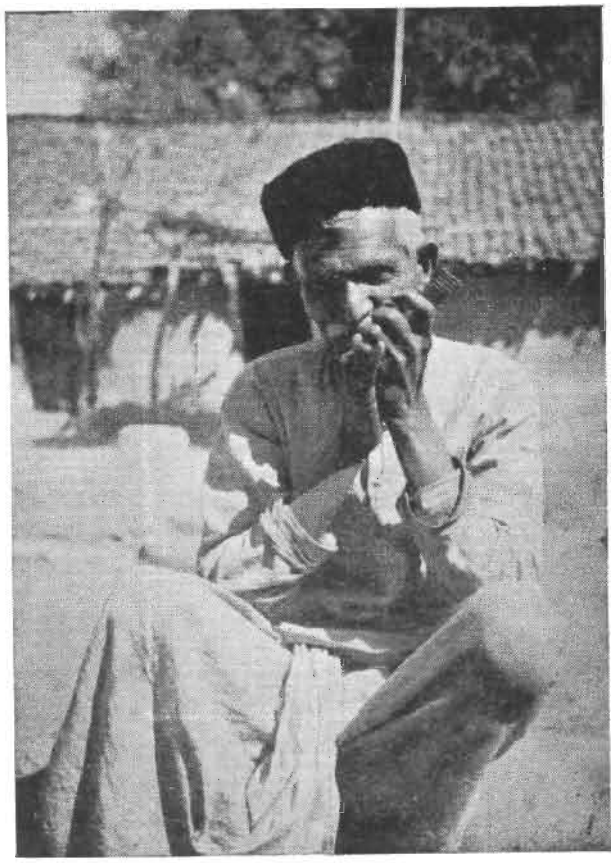


Illustration 80

Tikaram Khangar

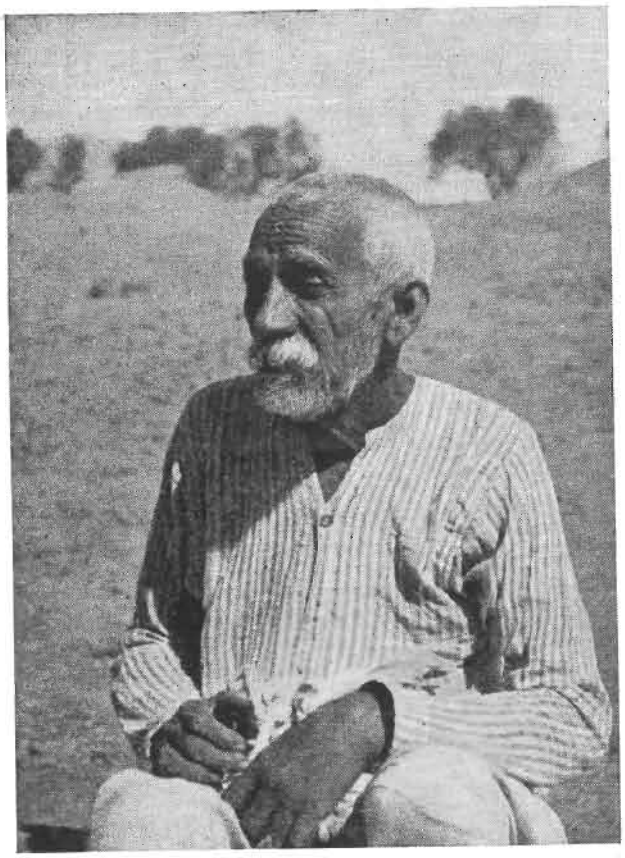


Illustration 81

Premchand Khangar

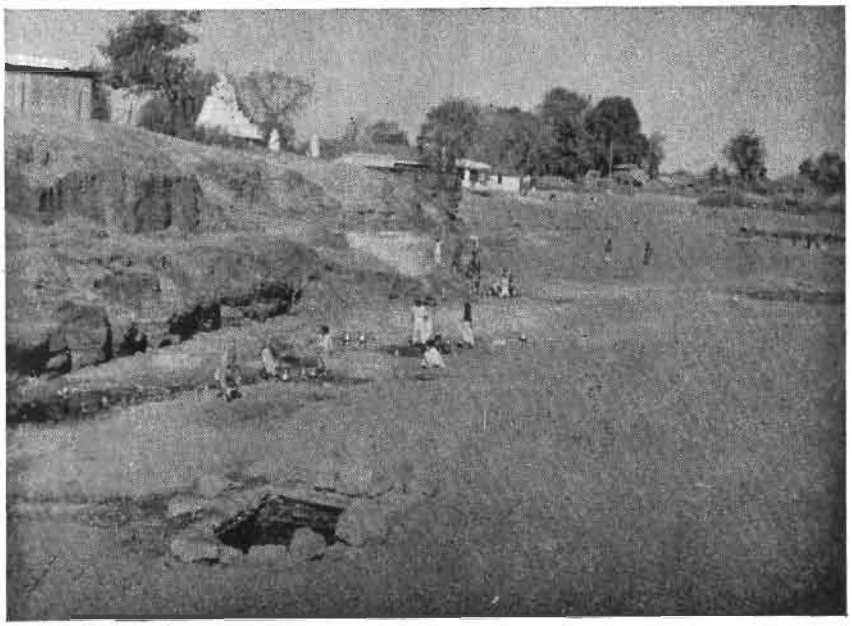


Illustration 82

Though living in a town, the people still get their drinking water from shallow wells in river bed.



Illustration 83

House of an Alia

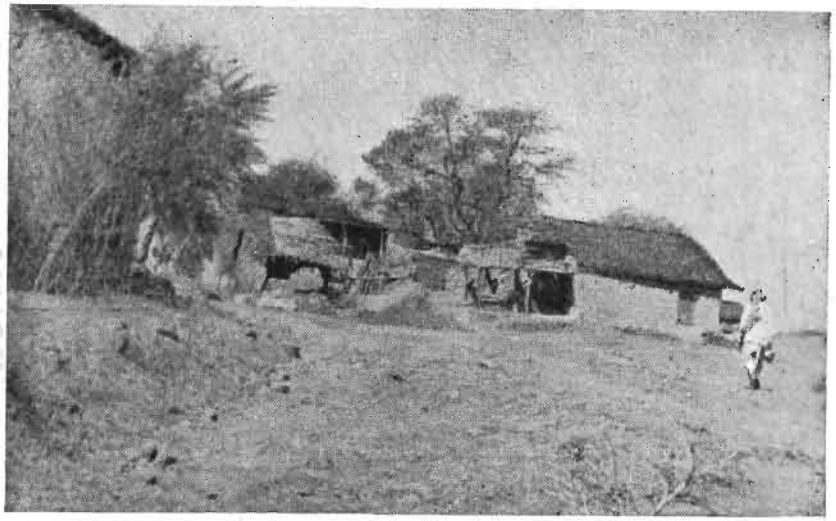


Illustration 84

House of a Bhambi Weaver

PLATE XLI

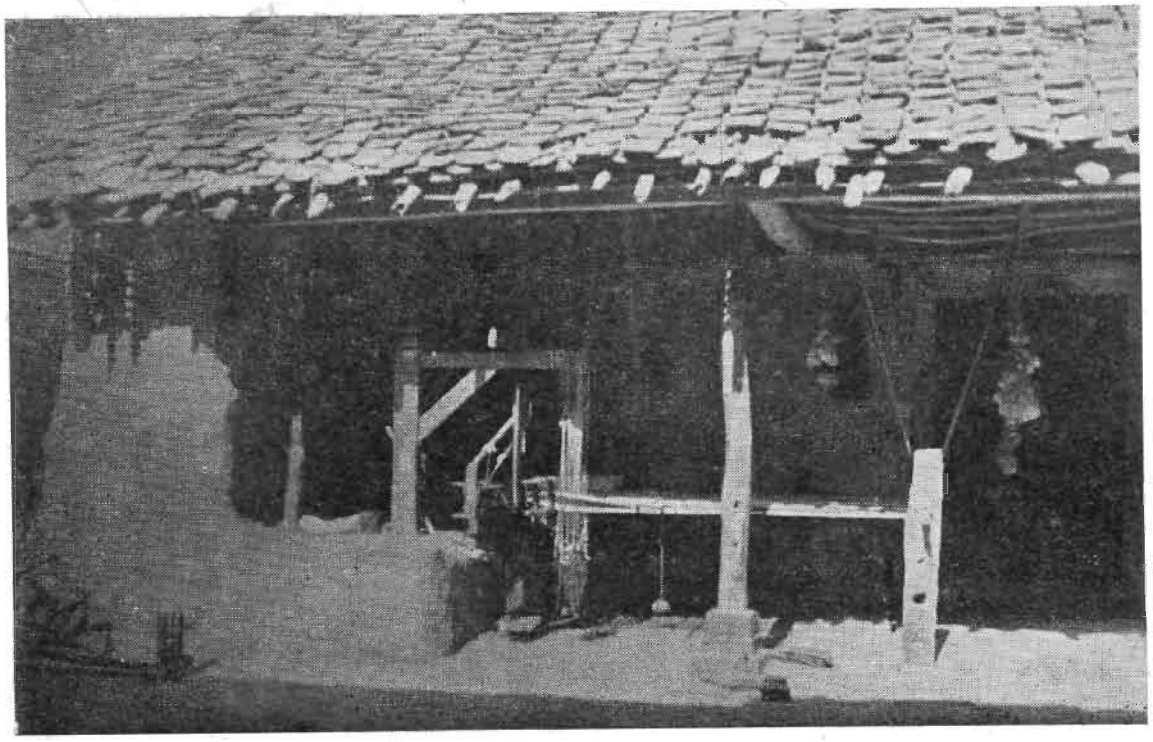


Illustration 85

House of a Momin Weaver



Illustration 86

House of a Koli Weaver

PLATE XLII

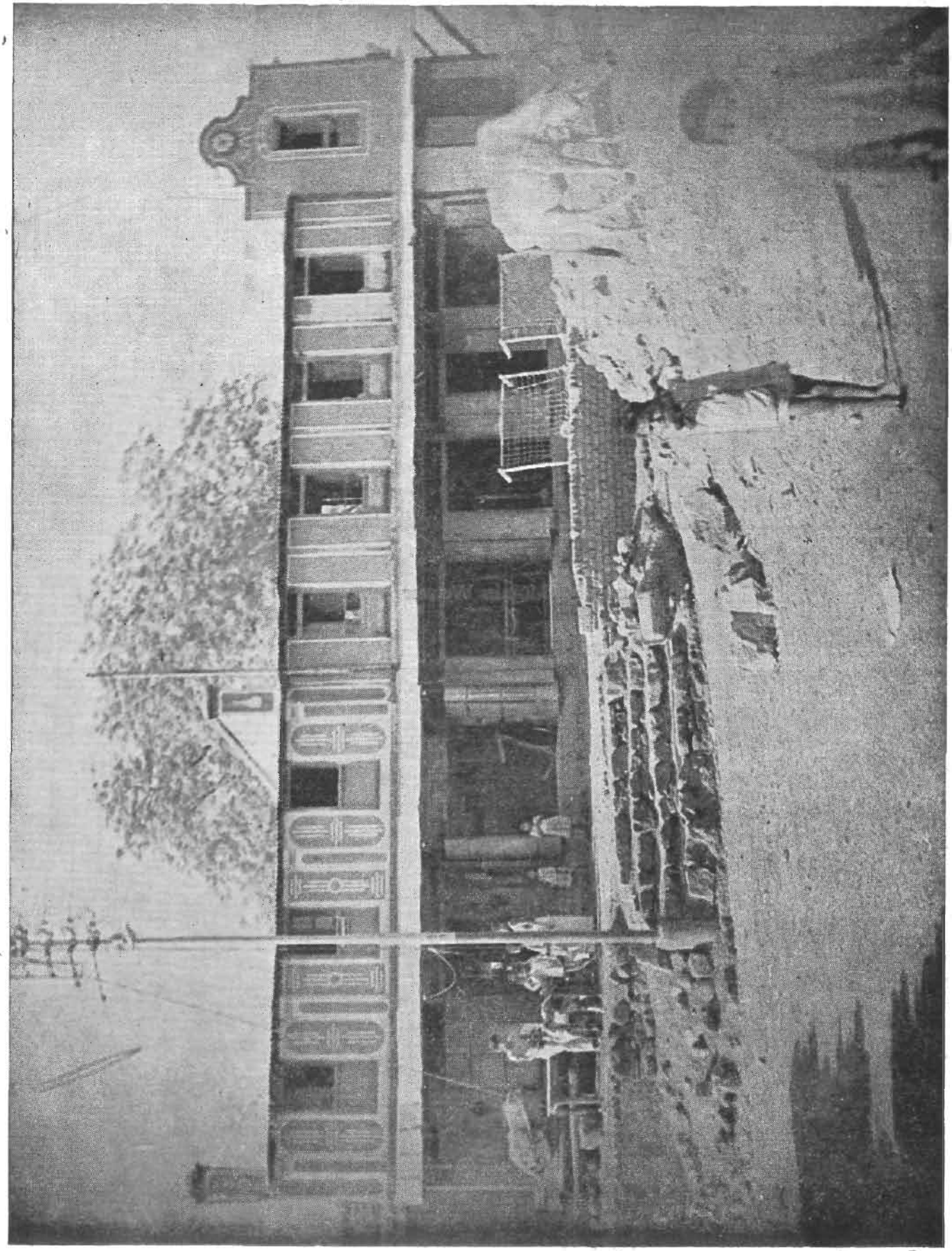


Illustration 87

House of a well-to-do Momin Weaver

Caste	Total No. of Households of weavers	Number of households working									
		Independently	For Govt. Factory	For Ambar Charkha Kendra	For Cooperative Society	For Govt. Factory and Society both	For Master weavers	For both Master weavers and Govt. Factory	For both Master weavers and Cooperative Society	For both Master weavers and Ambar Charkha Kendra	For more than one Master Weaver
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Khatri	73	8	5	1	11	—	35	1	5	3	4
Momin	23	6	2	—	8	3	2	1	—	—	1
Khangar	15	2	1	5	5	1	1	—	—	—	—
Koli	9	—	—	1	—	—	6	—	—	1	1
Sali	8	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	1	—	1
Koshti	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Bhambi	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Mabi	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	134	17	8	7	26	4	53	2	6	4	7

Thus the households are engaged as follows:—

44.7% { 39.5% for the master-weavers
5.2% for more than one master-weaver

19.4% for the Cooperative Society
12.6% as independent
5.9% for the Government Factory
5.2% for the Ambar Charkha Kendra
87.8%

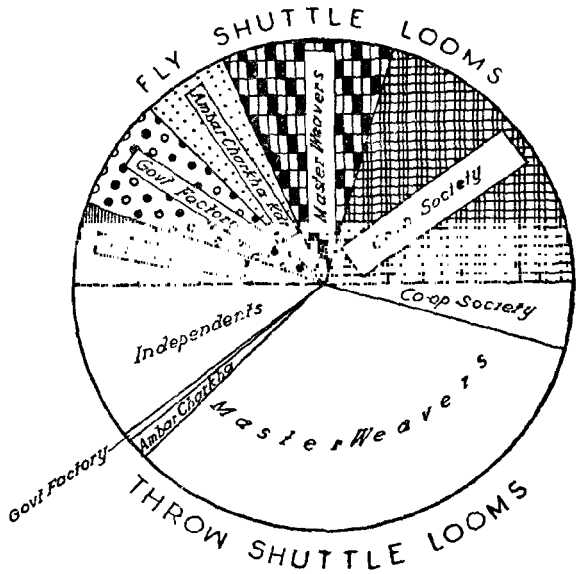
The rest 12.2% of the households work for one or more of the above employers. Actually speaking if the number of those households who work for master-weavers and also for Government Factory, Cooperative Society and Ambar Charkha Kendra is also taken into consideration, it will be seen that the proportion of households working for the master-weavers is appreciably higher than half.

This table, however, fails to present the exact quantum of the "rule" of master-weavers. The picture may be brought out better by the following table:—

Statement showing looms — how engaged

Caste	Total No. of looms		Independent		For Govt. Factory		For Ambar Charkha Kendra		For Cooperative Society		For Master weavers	
	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle	Fly shuttle	Throw shuttle
Khatri	28	79	2	12	5	1	3	2	11	9	7	55
Momin	43	8	7	8	8	—	—	—	23	—	5	—
Khangar	12	3	1	1	1	—	5	1	5	—	—	1
Koli	5	7	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	7
Sali	7	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	8
Koshti	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Bhambi	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Dhobi	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Mabi	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
TOTAL	97	111	11	22	14	1	10	3	41	10	21	75

This table shows that 46.1 per cent of the looms (21.6 per cent of Fly-shuttle and 67.5 per cent of Throw-shuttle) of Maheshwar were at the time of the present survey, engaged for the master-weavers; 15.8 per cent (11.3 per cent Fly-shuttle and 19.8 per cent Throw-shuttle) were engaged on independent production, the rest 38.1 per cent of looms were engaged for the Ambar Charkha, the Government Factory and the Maheshwar Cooperative Society. This is shown in the diagram below:—



Master-weavers

We do not know since when the institution of master-weavers has come to be established in Maheshwar. It appears from one of the Darbar letters of Ahilya Bai (Annexure IV) that probably this institution was there in Maheshwar at Ahilya Bai's time also. This Darbar letter shows that 5-7 Khatri weavers were given an order for weaving some *saris* and an advance of Rs. 200-400 in the then currency was given, the cost of each *sari* ranging from Rs. 25 to 40. Thus more than 16 *saris* were ordered and the 5-7 Khatris be presumed to have engaged petty weavers for the job. However this is only a surmise.

Whatever may be the period of their institution, at present the master-weavers dominate the weaving industry of Maheshwar and, as seen from the table given above, they engaged 56.1 per cent of the looms at the time of the present survey. The number of master-weavers found after a loom-to-loom survey is found to be 12 and the results of the survey are tabulated below*

It is found that, 10 among these are effective master-weavers who have some capital and 2 i. e., G and H the only master-weavers in the making and at present are 'fed' by the bigger master-weavers by jobs which those master-weavers are not able to take up. At present G** and H live on the 'grace' of the bigger master-weavers. The Industries Department of the Government of Madhya Pradesh carried out a survey of Maheshwar Handloom Industry in 1962-63 and they state that there are 5 master-weavers i. e., A. B. C. D. and L.

*This is a fluctuating number since at other times the weavers may be working more for other institutions or independently. The figure relates to August, 1962.

**The Master-weavers here are not mentioned by name.

STATEMENT SHOWING CLIENTELE OF MASTER-WEAVERS

Master Weaver	*Total looms engaged*		*Number of looms engaged for the Master-weaver in castes*																	
	Khatri		*Momin*		*Khangar*		*Koli*		*Sali*		*Koshti*		*Bhambi*		*Dhobi*		*Mabi*			
	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F	T
A	5	30	1	25	—	—	—	1	—	2	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B	11	14	5	6	2	—	—	—	2	2	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
C	1	9	1	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D	—	10	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
E	—	7	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
F	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
G	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
H	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I (M)	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
J (M)	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
K	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
L	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	21	74	7	55	5	—	—	1	2	7	6	8	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	3

(M) indicates that the Master-weaver belongs to Muslim community.

It is thus among the Bhambis, Khangars and Momins that the master-weavers have less influence. The proportion of looms in different castes engaged by the master-weavers is as below:—

Mabi — 100%, Dhobi 100%, Koli 81.8%,
Sali — 80%, Khatri 57.4%, Koshti 50%,
Momin 11.6%, Khangar 6.6% and Bhambi 0%.

There is more than one reason why the Khangars and Bhambis are not attracted towards the master-weavers (or, is it the other way round!) Firstly, the Khangars and Bhambis, weave coarse *saris* and so the master-weavers are not attracted; secondly the Ambar Charkha Kendra has actively worked to enrol Khangars and one of their employees is a Khangar. As is seen from one of the above tables, it is the Khangars whose looms are engaged in the largest number by the Ambar Charkha Kendra; thirdly, the Khangars and Bhambis have less chances to become indebted on account of their social obligations whereas the supposedly higher castes like Khatris do and consequently come under the influence of master-weavers.

The statement on 'looms-how engaged' and the circle-diagram given earlier and the statement given above showing the clientele of master-weavers bring out the fact that the master weavers have a greater hold on the throw-shuttle looms—67.5% of the throw-shuttle looms and only 21.6% of the fly-shuttle looms work for them. Some enquiries were made to find out why this should be so. An expert weaver, Shri Chhogalal Sali, was of the opinion that the quality of work on the throw-shuttle loom is definitely better than that done on the fly-shuttle loom: the texture of the cloth woven on the throw-shuttle has more shine and the general workmanship is better. One master weaver said that what they are really after is the quality and this is brought out better on the throw-shuttle loom though the output is slow there. On the other hand the Government Factory and the cooperative society want quicker work and they engage the fly-shuttle looms not paying much attention to the throw-shuttle looms. The throw-shuttle looms thus automatically go into the hands of the master-weavers. Also, the owners of the throw-shuttle looms like to work for the master-weavers who give them part payments and advance payments whereas the Government Factory and the Cooperative Society only pay when the work is finally complete and that too on a particular day of the week. The throw-shuttle owner taking a longer time to complete his work, cannot afford to wait: he needs money and this he would not get from the Factory or the Society till he completes the work. So he works for the master-weaver. But, which of these two reasons — better quality desired by the master-weavers or the helplessness of the throw-shuttle owners — really explains the phenomenon is not possible to say on the basis of the present investigations.

That the master-weavers have been able to hold their ground before the Government Factory, Maheshwar Weavers Cooperative Society and Ambar Charkha Kendra is indeed curious; why this is so, we have not been able to fathom. That it is indeed curious, is borne out by the following table which shows the wages paid by different agencies —

Name of variety of sari	*Wages paid per yard of finished goods by*		
	Maheshwar Weavers Cooperative Society	*Government Factory*	*Master-weavers*
Maheshwari *Bugdi* 80sx80s	0.65	0.62	0.56
Suti Piping 80sx80s	0.56	—	0.50
Zari-patti Suti 80sx80s	0.75	0.75	0.62
Zari Chatai 80sx80s	0.75	—	0.87
Neemreshmi 20x22sx80s	0.91	0.87	0.75
Neemreshmi Zari patti Chatai	1.15	1.00	1.15
Neemreshmi Pan	1.28	—	—
Grabhreshmi Zari patti Chatai	1.37	—	1.25
Garbhreshmi Pan	1.43	1.37	1.37
Neemreshmi Zari phool	—	1.62	—
Silk *Zaripatti with buti*	—	2.25	—
Neemreshmi double phool	—	—	2.00

This table (the wages refer to August 62) shows that for those varieties which are got woven by the master-weavers and one or both of the other organizations, the wages paid by the master-weavers are generally the lowest. The Ambar Charkha Kendra produces costly varieties of *saris* and invariably uses silk yarn in the warp. Because of this the wages paid by the Kendra is higher than those of other units. The wages paid by the Ambar Charkha Kendra in vogue in August 1962 were —

Variety	*Wage per yard of finished goods*
Sada Piping	1.25
Maheshwar *Kinar* ..	1.50
Laharia Seenkdar	2.00
Zari Piping	1.62
Skirt Phool Kinar	2.62

It is also not known since when the weavers have become mostly wage-earners rather than workers on their own account; the master-weaver has probably been there all through.

The wage-system prevalent in Maheshwar is that of piece-wages and all the 4 units of production mentioned earlier adopt this mode of payment to the weavers. It may be recalled here that this preference for piece-wage system is based on —

(i) easy standardization of the work done; and
(ii) possibility of greater output.

In *sari* weaving, standardization is easy because the patterns and designs are fixed.

The raw-materials are supplied to the weavers by the production units viz, the Cooperative Society, Government Factory, Ambar Charkha Kendra and Master-weavers who while giving this indicate the pattern of the *sari* to be made. The rates per yard are fixed and the weavers are free to take as much time as they please.

The survival of the institution of master-weavers in view of the low wages paid by them becomes all the more baffling when it is found that the weavers knowingly suffer exploitation at the hands of the master-weavers. These master-weavers give 45 yards cotton warp to the weavers who weave 5 *dandia** each 5 yards in length but the payment made is for 4 *dandia*. Thus the wages paid to the weaver by the master-weaver are 4/5 of what is actually due to him. This has been a traditional mode of underpayment and still survives.

The weavers know that they get wages only for 4/5th of the work done. In spite of this, the institution of master-weavers seems to be quite flourishing and is giving a 'tough fight' to the other 3 production units. However, there are signs that this parasitic institution of master-weavers may not last very long. The firm of 'F' master-weaver is said to have been established in the year 1779 and 'F's is the sixth generation. But F's son has given up the profession and instead runs a petty tea and sweets shop. He says that the days are gone when one could have the weavers at his door. A lot of running about is necessary nowadays which he does not like; he finds hotel-running a more attractive proposition. The work of 'F' is also on the wane. He had suffered a serious loss in business some years back and at the time of this survey only 2 looms (1F. 1T.) were working for him. It is needless to say that it is only the master-weavers who pay for only 4/5th of the work done by the weaver and take 1/5th *gratis* from them; other units pay fully according to the length woven.

The wages per yard of woven cloth go on changing from time to time. Following are the rates of wages of the Weaver's Cooperative Society, Maheshwar from 1955 to 1962:—

RATES OF WAGES OF WEAVER'S COOPERATIVE SOCIETY, MAHESHWAR FROM 1955 to 1962.

	1955 *Rs. per yard*	1956 *Rs. per yard...*	1957 *Rs. per yard*	1958 *Rs. per yard*	1959 *Rs. per yard*	1960 *Rs. per yard*	1961 *Rs. per yard*	1962 *Rs. per yard*
1 Maheshwari *Bugadi* 80sx80	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.56	0.65	0.65
2 *Suti Piping* 80sx80s	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.50	0.56	0.56
3 *Zaripatti Suti* 80sx80s	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.62	0.69	0.75
4 *Zari Chatai* 80s x 80s	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.69	0.75
5 *Neemreshmi piping* 20x22x80s	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.91	0.84	0.91
6 *Neemreshmi Zaripatti Chatai*	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15	1.15
7 *Neemreshmi Pan* border	1.28	1.28	1.28	1.28	1.28	1.28	1.28	1.28
8 *Garbhreshmi Zaripatti Chatai*	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.37
9 *Garbhreshmi Pan* border	1.31	1.31	1.31	1.31	1.31	1.31	1.31	1.43

Earnings of the Weavers

For obvious reasons, the earnings of weavers working on throw-shuttle looms are lower than those working on fly-shuttle ones. Generally the weavers take more time to weave *saris* of better varieties for which the piece-wage rates are also higher. Enquiries from some weavers were made during the present survey to roughly ascertain their daily earnings and it was found that the earnings differ from person to person and from day to day.

Following table shows the average daily-earnings of some weavers on throw-shuttle and fly-shuttle looms:—

**Dandia* is a local measurement. It means 9 yards length of woven *sari*.

INCOME OF WEAVERS WORKING ON THROW-SHUTTLE-LOOMS

Name of Weaver	*Variety produced*	*Average production per day*	*Rate of wage per yard*	*Income per day*
1 Shri Bansilal Gopal	*Garbhreshmi Zari Chatai*	2 yds. per day	1.25	2.50
2 Saraswati Bai	*Zari Chatai Cotton* 80sx80s	2 yds. per day	0.87	1.75
3 Kangalji Narainji	*Zari Chatai Suti*	2 yds. per day	0.87	1.75
4 Gendalal Deepchand	*Zari Pan border Garbhreshmi*	1½ yds. per day	1.37	2.06

INCOME OF WEAVERS WORKING ON FLY-SHUTTLE LOOMS

S.No.	*Name of weaver*	*Variety produced*	*Average production per day*	*Rate of wages*	*Income per day*
1	Jankilal Gaboor Chand	Double *Phool Neemreshmi* broad border	3 *yds.*	Rs. 2.00 *per day*	Rs. 6.00
2	Khushal Hiralal	Plain *pote Neemreshmi* 20 x 22 x cotton 80s	4 ,,	Re. 0.75 nP ,,	Rs. 3.00
3	Gulabchand Rajnath	*Neemreshmi phooldar*	3 ,,	Rs. 1.50 nP ,,	Rs. 4.50
4	Balmukund	*Neemreshmi phooldar*	3 ,,	Rs. 1.50 nP ,,	Rs. 4.50
5	Satyanarain Gorelal	Plain *pot Neemreshmi* 13/15 x 80s	5 ,,	Re. 1.00 nP ,,	Rs. 5.00
6	Satyanarain Sukram	*Jaripatti Neemreshmi*	3 ,,	Rs. 1.15 nP ,,	Rs. 3.45
7	Ramchandar Sitaram	*Neemreshmi Skirt* border Ambar Charkha Works	1½ ,,	Rs. 2.50 nP ,,	Rs. 3.75
8	Rameshwar Sukram	*Zaripatti Neemreshmi* Check	3 ,,	Rs. 1.15 nP ,,	Rs. 3.45
9	Hoba Gorelal	20/22 *Neemreshmi Phooldar*	3 ,,	Rs. 2.00 nP ,,	Rs. 6.00
10	Lalloo Momin	*Neemreshmi Pote* 20/22 x 100s	5 ,,	Re. 0.75 nP ,,	Rs. 3.75
11	Mrs. Rasool	*Pote* check 20/22 x cotton	4 ,,	Re. 0.75 nP ,,	Rs. 3.00

The mode of payment differs. The master-weavers make the payments whenever requested and this does not depend on the quantity of work done by the weavers. In some cases they also make advance payments. The Cooperative Society, the Government Factory and the Ambar Charkha Kendra make weekly payments on a fixed day on the basis of work done. Earnings of 4 weavers working in the factory of the Cooperative Society during four successive quarters were as below:-

Name of weaver	*No. and type of loom he has at home*	4-6-61 to 10-6-61	12-9-61 to 18-9-61	19-12-61 to 25-12-61	27-3-62 to 2-4-62	19-7-62 to 27-7-62	*Total for a month*	*Annual earning.*
Shankar Bonder	1F, 2T	11.15	19.25	12.00	—	14.47	56.87	682.44
Majid Khan	4F	7.38	27.15	23.98	—	21.29	79.80	957.60
Wahid Khan	2F	10.91	21.81	2.45	—	20.01	55.18	662.16
Aliyar Piran	4F	27.50	19.28	13.91	14.93	—	75.22	902.64

This table shows that the wages in the different weeks fluctuate very much. What happens actually is that these weavers also work at their own looms for one of the other units or in their own account. This division of attention accounts for the fluctuation seen in the above table which naturally does not show all the earnings of these weavers. All the above 3 tables go to prove that the average wage of a weaver working on the throw shuttle loom is about Rs. 1.75 to 2.50 per day whereas for those working on the fly-shuttle looms, the average wages per day range from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 6/-.

The picture, on the whole, is not as simple as that. Labour is a perishable commodity and time once lost is lost for ever. It has already been remarked that the

Hindu weavers spend a good part of their time on the banks of the Holy river and in other activities. Their earnings, therefore, are generally lower than what an average Momin weaver gets.

Independent Weavers

At the time of our survey, 12.6 per cent of the weavers were "self-employed". The plight of these independent weavers is really heart-rending and it will be difficult for us to forget the almost begging entreaty of the wife of Premchand Khangar — *Bhaiya Kahin Kam dilay do* (O brother get us some work). Premchand, at the time of our visit, was weaving a *dupatta* (country-towel): he would not be able to sell a Maheshwari *sari* if he makes one. That is what he said and the request from his wife probably was that we should get him engaged by a master-weaver or for some other production unit. All the three members of his household were having eye-troubles and, as he worked on his loom, Premchand was only "seeing" with his hand.

In these days of competition weavers like Premchand are probably lost. They cannot get to the market and stray orders that may come their way are few and far between. They are not able to get information about changing patterns and changing fashions and they have no option except to fall prostrate before the bigger production units or to weave "*dupattas*".

Two typical cases may be given here. Dulichand Bhami has 4 members in his family, consisting of himself, his wife, a 2-year old daughter and his elder brother. He is the only person engaged in weaving and he weaves only cotton *saris*. According to him the cost-price of a *sari* comes to about Rs. 8.50 and it is sold for about Rs. 10 or Rs. 12. He has only one throw-shuttle loom in his house and working 8 hours a day he is able to complete a *sari* in a little more than 2 days. His earnings thus come to Re 0.75 to Rs. 1.75 per day. Similarly Shankarlal Khatri, has 3 members in his family consisting of himself (60 years) his wife (55 years) and a widowed daughter. Weaving is done by himself and his wife who work at the loom for 8 to 10 hours every day. They produce only cotton *saris* and, according to his own statement, the cost price per *sari* comes to Rs. 5.50 or so and the sale price is about Rs. 7.00. He takes about 2 days or a little more than 2 days to make it. His earnings per day thus come to Re 0.75 (which is the earning of 2 persons).

Earning of the Weavers — 1931-62

It appears that the economic condition of the weavers has not improved at all since 1951; it actually appears to have deteriorated. The prices of foodstuffs and other consumer goods have been spiralling high but the wages of the weavers have remained unchanged; thereby decreasing its real value. Jhingur Bai (aged 50 years) one of the expert weavers of Maheshwar, who has been in this craft for at least 25 years since she became widow, recollecting the former days, said: "This *sari*-weaving industry had very good running during 1947-48. It was sometimes about this period that the Cooperative Society was formed. At that time our economic condition was far better than what it is today. This good period prevailed till about 1950-51 and since then has not improved. Everything that we need for our existence has become costly but the wages paid to us have not increased. In those good days of 1947-48 we used to get about Rs. 18/- to Rs. 25/- for the same work for which we get Rs. 9/- today". Another expert weaver, Poonamchand (aged 60 years) said: "I am in this craft for the last 40 years or so. Our work had a good period at the time of the First World War. But after that such a bad period came that we were sometimes forced to sell a *sari* without *palla* for as low as Rs. 2/-. After the Cooperative Society was formed, the *sari* craft and business again improved and remained so for a year or so. That was the time that the economic conditions of the weavers improved and everybody enjoyed life— good clothes, good food and the like. But this period did not last long. It deteriorated soon and so it is now".

We do not have any information regarding the good period referred to by these expert weavers but the wages prevalent in 1951 seem to be more than what they are today. Following is a statement received from the Government Handloom Factory showing the prices of raw materials, rates of wages and cost of finished goods for the period 1931-51:—

STATEMENT SHOWING PRICE OF RAW MATERIAL, FINISHED PRODUCTS AND RATES OF WAGES PAID IN 1931, 41 & 51.

S.No.	Year	Zari	Silk	Cotton yarn	Rate of wages	Price of finished goods (*Garbha Reshmi*)
1	1931	20.00 per Marc.	15.00 per Kg.	80s yarn Rs. 13.00 per bundle 10 lbs.	Rs. 4.00 per *saree* 9 yds.	Rs. 16.00 per *saree* 9 yds.
				60s yarn Rs. 9.00 per bundle 10 lbs.	Rs. 2.50 per *saree* 6 yds.	Rs. 11.00 per *saree* 6 yds.
2	1941	20.00 per Marc.	25.00 per Kg.	80s yarn Rs. 18.00 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 8.00 per *saree* 9 yds.	Rs. 22.00 per *saree* 9 yds.
				60s yarn Rs. 13.00 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 5.00 per *saree* 6 yds.	Rs. 16.00 per *saree* 6 yds.
3	1951	63.00 per Marc. 2200 yds.	35.00 per Kg.	80s yarn Rs. 66.00 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 13.50 per *saree* 9 yds.	Rs. 28.00 per *saree* 9 yds.
				60s yarn Rs. 58.00 per 10 lbs.	Rs. 9.00 per *saree* 6 yds.	Rs. 18.75 per *saree* 6 yds.

This statement shows that the price of raw material as well as finished goods has been continuously increasing and as described earlier in connection with 'Raw Materials' has further increased. During the period 1931-51, the rates of wages paid to workers have also increased: between 1931-41, the wages were doubled and between 1941-51, there was an increase by about 69%. But between 1951 and the date of the present survey, there does not seem to have been any increase. The wages given in the above statement relate to *Garbha reshmi sari* and in 1951 the wage per yard was Rs. 1.50 whereas according to the table of wages paid per yard of finished good given earlier shows that the wage per yard of *Garbh reshmi pan sari* by the Government Factory is Rs. 1.37 only. It is not understood why this should be so and enquiries have not been made at the relevant quarters about it. But, both Jhingur Bai and Poonamchand, as well as a number of weavers who were contacted, said that their earnings have not marched with the time.

Production

Besides *saris* the weavers of Maheshwar produce other items also like towels, table-cloths and bed-sheets. The production of these items, however, is very little as compared to the production of *saris*. The following table taken from the Annual Report of the Government Handloom Factory illustrates this—

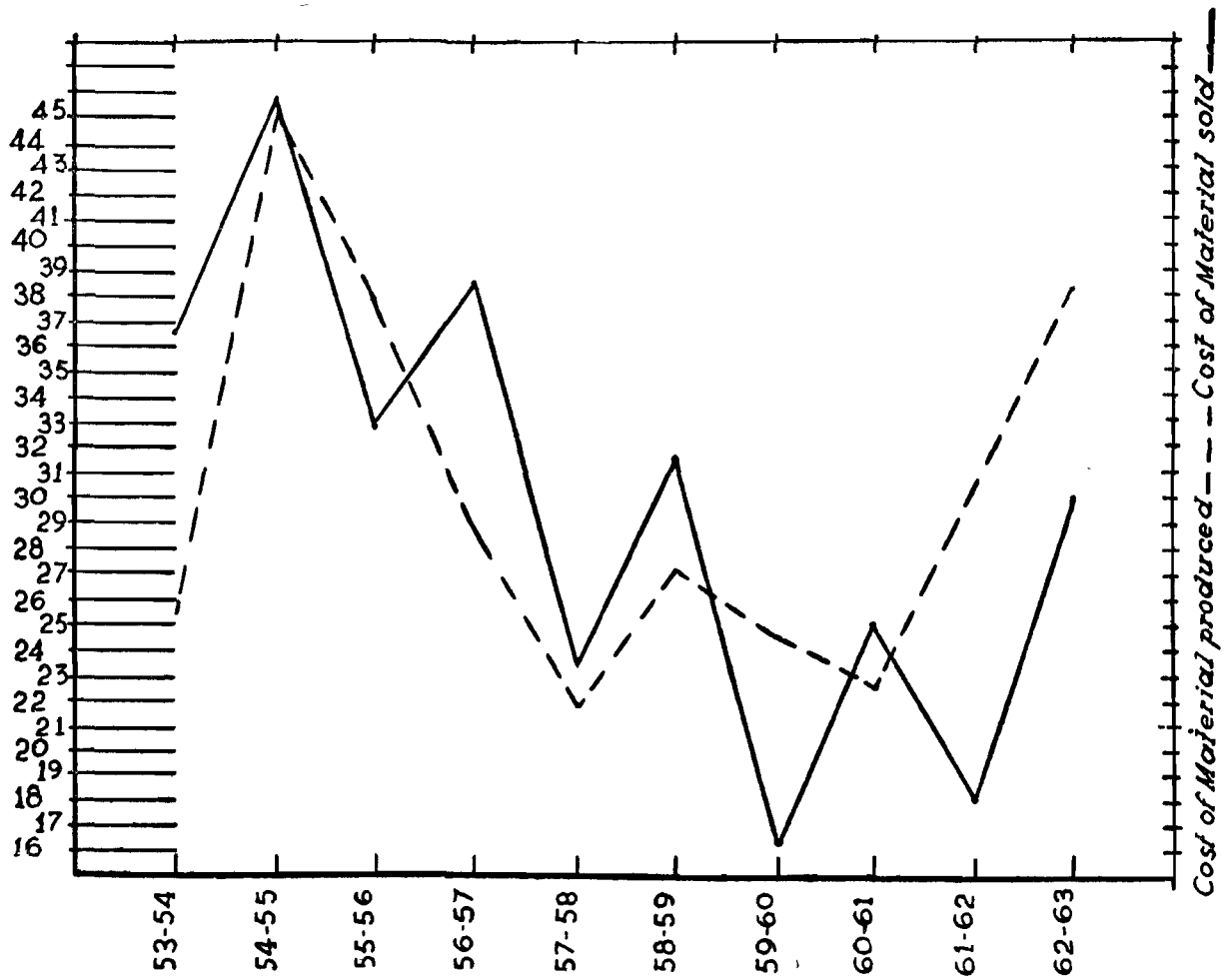
Item	*Quantity Produced*		*Value of the product*	
	1961-62	1962-63	1961-62	1962-63
Saris	7,548.56	8,537.72	28,578.16	35,984.32
Blouse pieces	352.25	496.55	1,139.69	1,791.70
Towel	317.85	115.96	391.13	126.11
Bed-sheets	5.72	15.78	14.04	23.31
Table cloths	21.19	38.86	37.33	62.75
Coating	7.85	—	105.49	—
Furnishing cloth	12.11	18.33	50.34	59.30
Shirting	—	144.49	—	249.53
TOTAL	8,265.53	9,367.69	30,316.18	38,297.02

We have figures only from the Government Handloom Factory regarding the value of cloth produced and sold for 10 years. This information was not available in respect of other production units (except for 3 years for the Cooperative Society which is given in the Table following):—

Year	*Cost of Material produced in Rs.*	*Cost of Material sold in Rs.*
1953-54	25,354.67	36,857.78
1954-55	45,360.58	45,789.24
1955-56	37,998.32	32,892.37
1956-57	28,882.71	38,466.68
1957-58	21,894.00	23,652.82
1958-59	27,229.89	31,633.66
1959-60	24,509.18	16,419.22
1960-61	22,536.11	25,079.75
1961-62	30,316.18	18,195.42
1962-63	38,297.02	30,128.15
TOTAL	3,02,378.66	2,99,115.09

This table shows that not all the material produced is sold during the year it is produced and in 'lean years'

spills over into succeeding years. This may better be illustrated by means of a graph:



The statement given above has been extracted from the Annual Report for the years 1961-62 and 1962-63 of the Government Handloom Factory. Since it shows only the value of the goods sold and not the value remaining in the manufacturing section, it is difficult to assess the profit or loss. The factory is essentially a training institute and profit is not its motive. To ascertain what profit, if any, it incidentally makes, enquiries were made from the Textile Expert of the Office of the Registrar Cooperative Societies, Madhya Pradesh. The statement kindly furnished by him is reproduced below together with an explanatory note from him:—

STATEMENT SHOWING THE POSITION OF RAW MATERIAL CONSUMED, WAGES PAID IN PRODUCTION FOR THE YEAR 1961-62, 62-63 and 63-64 BY GOVERNMENT HANDLOOM FACTORY, MAHESHWAR.

Year	*Cost of Raw-material consumed*	*Actual Wages paid*	*Total* (2+3)	*12½% profit on Col. 4*	*Total* (4+5)	*Goods transferred to Sales Depot.*	*Stock of goods in manufacturing section as on 31st March*	*Total* (7+8)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P	Rs. P
1961-62	18,323.26	11,795.35	30,118.61	3,764.87	33,883.48	30,316.18	5,597.14 *-5,056.03 541.11	30,857.29
1962-63	30,468.75	21,704.50	52,173.25	6,521.66	58,694.91	38,297.02 ...	24,354.20 *-5,597.14 18,757.06	57,054.08
1963-64	18,066.37	13,705.16	31,771.53	3,971.44	35,742.97	57,953.71	24,354.20 *-8,279.42 16,074.78	41,878.93
			GRAND TOTAL	*1,28,321.36*				*1,29,790.30*

Explanatory note for the above table

"The position of raw-material consumed and wages paid by the centre in respective years for undertaking production have been shown in column No. 2 and 3. Amount in column No. 5 represents the profit margin @ 12½% over the total expenditure as indicated in column No. 4 of the statement. Figures given in column No. 6 are the total of actual expenditure incurred plus profit margin which shows the total expected production in a particular year at selling price. As against this the goods actually manufactured and transferred to sales section are shown in column No. 7 while in column No. 8, the position of goods remained in Manufacturing Section as on 31st March has been indicated. Necessary deductions have been made to exclude previous years balances as per foot-note given in the statement to arrive at the correct figure of production during the particular year.

Further when we compare the figures of expenditure incurred under raw-material and wages plus profit (to arrive at selling price) as shown in column No. 6 with those of actual production given in column No. 9, it would be seen that the centre could not recoup expenditure in the years 1961-62 and 1962-63; but however, it could recoup not only the entire expenditure, but also earn a profit during the year 1963-64, as the material held in the Manufacturing Section, during the years of 61-62 and 62-63 were transferred to the year 1963-64 and accounted for that year. Thus it may be seen that the apparent loss in the first two years is due to the fact that the large quantities of raw-material has been issued to the manufacturing section but remained under process during those years."

Similar information from the other production units is not available for comparison. Some information is, however, available from the Cooperative Society which is given below:—

*Balances of production in the manufacturing section which have been carried forward from the previous years have been deducted to arrive at the actual production during the year under column No. 9.

Particulars	1960-61 Quantity and value	1961-62	1962-63
1 PURCHASE OF RAW MATERIAL			
1 Cotton Yarn	Rs. 25,292.78	Rs. 10,696.73	Rs. 22,705.83
2 Silk Yarn	Rs. 11,146.59	Rs. 20,263.69	Rs. 22,638.51
3 *Zari*	Rs. 7,962.84	Rs. 6,179.18	Rs. 8,786.78
4 Equipment	Rs. 869.79	Rs. 1,029.78	Rs. 2,031.36
2 RAW-MATERIAL SOLD TO WEAVERS			
1 Cotton Yarn	Rs. 7,922.37	Rs. 2,194.07	Rs. 6,617.53
2 Silk	Rs. 596.20	Rs. 1,332.56	Rs. 4,095.57
3 *Zari*	Rs. 588.00	—	Rs. 200.00
4 Equipment	—	Rs. 230.46	Rs. 4,438.92
3 PRODUCTION BY THE SOCIETY			
	22,059.33 yds.	11,353.32 yds.	22,925.33 yds.
1 *Saris*	Rs. 76,705.05	Rs. 43,298.54	Rs. 89,355.71
2 Other items	Rs. 754.22 yds.	9,70.27 yds.	1,525 yds.
	1,655.35	Rs. 2,566.16	Rs. 3,295.82
4 WAGES PAID			
1 Dyeing	Rs. 3,397.91	Rs. 3,317.27	Rs. 4,196.21
2 Weaving	Rs. 22,540.35	Rs. 20,623.90	Rs. 29,338.93
3 Warping and Winding	Rs. 416.96	Rs. 79.70	Rs. 671.95

This statement, however, does not show the cost and value of production, from which one could find out if the *sari*-weaving is as unprofitable a proposition as is seen from the statement of the Government Handloom Factory. The following figures have therefore been worked out from the printed Annual Report of the Maheshwar Cooperative Society for the years 1958-61. It may be stated here that the value of production worked out from this printed report for the year 1960-61 comes out to be Rs. 4,202.54 less than the figures reported in the above table. It has not been possible to explain the discrepancy.

Year	Cost of Production: Cost of raw-materials in Rs.	Cost of chemicals in Rs.	Wages paid in Rs.	Total cost of production in Rs.	product	Profit (+) Loss (—)
1958-59	22,683.40	1,235.00	26,071.27	49,989.67	84,322.75	+34,333.08
1959-60	43,132.58	3,500.07	34,226.71	80,859.36	88,616.98	+ 7,757.62
1960-61	37,936.37	4,054.81	25,841.12	67,832.30	74,335.86	+ 6,503.56

These figures, thus, give a more encouraging picture and it is clear from this that *sari*-weaving is a profitable proposition.

For the simple reason that the master-weavers and independent workers do not give out the figures of their production, it is difficult to arrive at total yearly production and only an estimate can be made. In arriving at these estimates, two assumptions have to be made, viz.,

(i) that the production-capacity of 2 fly-shuttle looms is equal to that of 3 throw-shuttle looms; and

(ii) that 1/4th of the looms remain idle.

The first assumption follows from the table showing the earnings of weavers given earlier and the second one is based on the statement showing wages paid to 4 weavers by the Cooperative Society. It may be recalled here that in Kanchipuram[2] 20% of the looms have been assumed to be idle in working out production. On the basis of these two assumptions, the following calculation is made:—

In 1962-63 the annual production of Cooperative Society was 22,925 yards of *saris* and other cloth. In this year 41 fly-shuttle looms and 10 throw-shuttle looms of the weavers and 6 fly-shuttle looms belonging to the Society were engaged on this production. On the basis of the first assumption, the number of fly-shuttle looms working would be, say, 54. Supposing that 1/4 of these looms were idle, 41 fly-shuttle looms may be supposed to be working and therefore the production capacity per loom per year would come to 559 yards.

Same calculation could also be made for the Government Handloom Factory. Here in 1962-63, 14 fly-shuttle looms and 1 throw-shuttle loom of the weavers and 9 fly-shuttle looms of the Factory were engaged on production and on the basis of second assumption 18 looms were actually engaged in production, producing about 10,030 yards of *sari* and cloth. The production capacity per loom per year would, therefore, come to 557 yards per year.

It may therefore be safely assumed that the production capacity per fly-shuttle loom per year is 558 yards.

2. Handicrafts and Artisans of Madras State, Census of India, 1961, Vol. IX, Pt. VII-(A)(i), 1964, p. 22.

There are in all 112 fly-shuttle looms and 111 throw-shuttle looms in Maheshwar and on the basis of assumption made earlier the number at work would work out to 186 fly-shuttle looms. Assuming, again, that only 3/4th of these were active, the annual production of *saris* would approximately be 78,120 yards (all this production may be taken to be *saris* since production of other cloth is negligible) or 6,510 yards per month. The average cost per yard being about Rs. 3.50, the estimated value of yearly and monthly production in Maheshwar would be Rs. 2,73,420 and Rs. 22,785 respectively. Taking the power-looms also into consideration, the production of Maheshwar *saris* would be more, but the discussion of power-looms does not fall within the scope of the present report.

It is interesting to note here that the estimates given above differ very widely from those given by the Textile Expert in the Cooperative Department of the M. P. Government. In a statistical report on Maheshwar Handloom Industry, it has been estimated that 2,23,500 yards is the yearly production. This estimate appears to be rather high. It may be remarked at the very outset that the number of master-weavers, given in the aforesaid report (for the year 1962-63) is 5, whereas according to the present survey, the weavers were found working for as many as 12 master-weavers. Similarly the number of looms given in the report is 253 whereas according to the present survey there are 97 fly-shuttles and 111 throw-shuttle looms with the weavers and 6 and 17 fly-shuttle looms belonging to the Cooperative Society and Govt. Factory respectively. Thus there are in all 231 looms out of which 8 looms of the Government Factory are used only for training. The statement of estimated production prepared by the Cooperative Department is presented below:—

S.No.	*Looms engaged by*	*No. of looms engaged*	*Production per day in yards*	*Production per month in yards (25 days)*	*Monthly total production of Maheshwar*	*Yearly Estimated production of Maheshwar*	*Estimated value of the yearly production of Maheshwar*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
MASTER-WEAVERS							
	Ishwar Bhauji	6	10	250	(a) 4500	2,23,500 yds.	Average cost
	Deepchand Mukati	13	25	625	(b) 8625		per yds.
	N. K. Pawar	20	50	1250	(c) 5500		Rs. 3.50.
	Rajaram Khare	10	25	625	18625		Rs. 7,82,250.00
	Somaji Tenyaji	34	70	1750			
	(a) Total production of Master-weavers			4500			
1.	Maheshwar Society	47	175	4375			
2.	Govt. Handloom Factory	36	120	3000			
4.	Ambar Charkha Kendra	20	50	1250			
	(b) Total production in cooperative fold			8625			
1.	Individuals	67	220	5500			
		253					
	(c) Total productions of individuals			5500			

As already stated the figure of 2,23,500 yards as the yearly production is too high and would work out to an yearly production of 883 yards per loom. But that it is not so is seen from the figures given in this statement and the actual figures of production of the Government Handloom Factory. According to this statement, the production in the Government Factory in 1962-63 was 3,000 yards per month or 36,000 yards per year whereas the actual production in 1962-63 was 10,030 yards including cloth other than *sari* and in 1961-62, the production was 9,291.28 yards only. Similarly, according to this statement the production in the cooperative society would be 52,500 yards whereas the production in the society in 1960-61; 1961-62 and 1962-63 was only 22,813.55 yards, 12,323.59 yards and 24,450.33 yards respectively.

Again, even if a simple rule of three is applied and the highest production is taken into consideration it is seen that 54 looms in the society (47 F. and 10 T. = 54 F.) produced a maximum of 24,450 yards. The total num-

ber of looms in Maheshwar are 112 fly-shuttle and 111 throw-shuttle which may be taken to be 186 fly-shuttle ones (111 T. = 74 F.). The production of these 186 looms works out to be 84,216 yards which figure is more or less like the one, i.e., 78,120 yards, estimated by us and far removed from the figure of 2,23,500 yards given by the Cooperative Department.

It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the present production of handlooms in Maheshwar is about 80,000 yards per year at the maximum and in terms of value to the tune of about Rs. 2,80,000 per annum.

Cost of saris

Speaking in simple terms the cost price of a *sari* is worked out on the basis of price of raw-materials plus wages paid in different processes plus profit. But the matter is not as simple as this and requires more elaborate costing. There is no uniform method of costing of *saris* in Maheshwar. The method followed by the Government Handloom Factory and Maheshwar Co-operative Society is more or less the same whereas the one followed by the Ambar Charkha Kendra is different. The Master-weavers, probably, do not follow any elaborate method of costing besides taking the cost of raw-material and wages involved. They have an idea of the prevalent price of different varieties of *saris* being produced at other centres and keep their prices more or less on a par with those. Independent weavers also do not follow these elaborate costing procedures but their prices are also on a par with others but more flexible depending upon the bargaining capacity of the purchaser.

The method of costing at the Government Handloom Factory and Cooperative Society is to take the cost of raw materials and wages involved in different processes. On this a profit of Rs. 12.50 per cent is added by the Government Handloom Factory whereas in the Society, an overhead charge of 12.50 per cent and a profit at the rate of 6.25 per cent is added. The cost per yard is determined by dividing the amount so arrived by the length of the warp.

As an illustration, the costing of Maheshwari *Bugdi* sample No. 12 A 17 of the Government Handloom Factory may be given here:—

Length of the warp — 59 yds 26 inches.
Width — 48 inches

A. RAW MATERIAL

Material	*Quantity* Lbs.	Tolas	*Rate*	*Cost*
Yarn—80s—Warp	3	8	7.26 per lb.	23.23
Mercerised—2/80s	—	24½	0.23 per tola	5.64
Art Silk—120/2	—	31½	0.17 per tola	5.36
Yarn 80s—Weft	2	30	7.26 per lb.	19.97
Art Silk—120	—	13½	0.15 per tola	2.03
	7	27½		56.23
Deep shade	3	26½	1.87 per lb.	6.86
Light shade	3	5	0.75 per lb.	2.34
Chocolate	—	11½	1.00 per lb.	0.29
Medium shade	—	10	1.25 per lb.	0.31
	7	13		9.80

B. WAGES

Item	*Rate*	*Cost*
Tana-pajni—16 *pajni*	0.44 per *pajni*	7.04
Rach Bharai	1.50	1.50
Thawni for 60 yds.		4.50
Jodni — 16 *pajni*	0.06 per *pajni*	0.96
Warping and winding of mercerised — 24½ tolas.	0.01 per tola	0.25
Warping and winding of Art Silk — 31½ tolas	0.1½ per tola	0.48
Winding of weft yarn 2 lbs—30 tolas	0.04 per tola	4.40
Winding of Art Silk—13½ totals	0.01 per tola	0.14
Weaving charges—59 yds. 26 inches	0.60 per yd.	35.24
		54.51
Total cost on production	...	120.54
Profit @ 12½ per cent	...	15.06
Cost of 59 yds. 26 inches length.	...	135.60
Cost per yard	...	2.26

The cost per yard of the above specification of *sari* at Maheshwar Society would be Rs. 2.38. The costing procedure of Ambar Charkha Kendra may also be based on the above but whereas the Government Factory and the Cooperative Society do the costing for each length of warp woven, the Kendra has evolved a table—almost like a ready-reckoner — having standardized rates. As said before the Kendra produces costlier varieties of *saris* and the cost price per yard of the *saris* woven here varies (as in 1962-63) from Rs. 4.80 to 13.00 per yard. The standardized costing chart of Ambar Charkha Kendra is reproduced as Annexure V.

Independent weavers keep an account of the cost of raw materials and amount spent on ancillary operations. They thus arrive at the cost of a *sari* which means the weaving charges i.e., their labour. This they add according to the number of days taken, but the costs are rather flexible. Below are shown the costs of the *sari* as arrived at by an independent weaver:—

VARIETY — COTTON BY COTTON — PIPING BORDER
YARN 80sx80s
LENGTH — 5 YARDS — WIDTH — 46"

Yarn 11¼ tola for the warp	...	4.25
10 tola for the weft		
Mercerised 2 tola	...	0.50
Dyed silk for the *Palla*—2 tola		0.62
Dyeing charges	...	1.00
Sizing charges	...	0.62
Beaming charges	...	0.19
Preparing heald & twisting charges		0.25
		7.43
Weaving charged @ 0.56 per yard	...	2.80
Cost price of the *Sari*	...	10.23
	(or say Rs.	10.25)

The plight of the independent weaver is seen from the fact that if a *sari* like the above remains unsold for a long time, he may even be willing to sell it for Rs. 9.50 or even for Rs. 9/-. When such a thing happens the earnings of the independent weaver comes to Rs. 0.75 or Rs. 1/- per day.

These independent weavers hardly get any profit on the *saris* produced by them. Below is given a table prepared from the answers given by 4 independent weavers:-

Weaver and type of loom	*Caste to which he belongs*	*Cost price of the Saris*	*Sale price of the Sari*	*Margin of profit*
A/1T	Khatri	5.50	7.00	1.50 ...
B/2F	Momin	5.30	6.30 or 7.00	1.00 to 1.70
C/1T	Bhambi	8.50	10 to 12	1.50 to 4
D/2F	Momin	8 to 10	10 to 12	2
		40 to 50	50 to 60	10
		20 to 25	25 to 30	5

In the case of 'D' in the above table the prices are for cotton *sari*, silk *sari* and for *saris* of mixed variety. It is seen that the margin of profit is higher in case of *saris* of better quality.

Advertisement and Marketing

Proper advertisement is the key to success in modern business. The Industries Department of the Government of Madhya Pradesh issues brochures from time to time in which special features of Maheshwar *saris* are highlighted. In the various industrial exhibitions that are organised from time to time, the handloom *saris* of Maheshwar have their due place. Along with other items, the mobile vans of the Directorate of Industries take handloom *saris* of Maheshwar also for sale.

The main problem of the handloom industry is the marketing of its products. As at 1961, there were 22 emporia run by the Directorate of Industries (Annexure VI) and 103 sales depots run by the cooperatives. All these are trying to popularise and increase the sale of handloom *saris*. The mobile vans of the Directorate are posted at Indore, Gwalior and Bhopal and are engaged in selling the handloom *saris* of Maheshwar along with other handloom cloth. It is reported that about 55% of the manufactured goods are sold through local sale, by the Central Godown and by the various emporia.

In the marketing of *saris* also the independent weaver is lost. He has no agency for advertising his goods nor can he contact bigger purchasers and so he has necessarily to sell his products at Maheshwar itself. Out of the 16 independent weavers, one sells his products through the master-weavers and one sells the products through the cooperative society. The rest sell their products themselves.

There are other centres of handloom-weaving also in Madhya Pradesh — viz. Chanderi, Sarangpur, Burhanpur, Shajapur, Seoni, Waraseoni and Sausar and as such the spread of the market for Maheshwar *saris* becomes rather restricted and they are in demand only by those who are attracted by the special features — the small check pattern and reversible border. Devi Ahilya Bai Holkar being the founder of the industry, the Maheshwar *saris* are very popular among the Maharashtrian community, the main market of these *saris* being — Indore, Ujjain, Bombay, Nagpur, Nasik, Poona and Kolhapur. Maheshwar *saris* are also in demand in West Bengal, Gujarat and Delhi States. Maheshwar *saris* have, however, not yet as widespread a market as the Benarsi *saris*, Kanchipuram *saris* and Chanderi *saris*.

Training of Artisans

The present survey shows that weaving is a hereditary art in Maheshwar and the training is received in the family itself. This was precisely the meaning of what Tikaram Khangar Said rather jocularly "what can the young one of a mouse do except digging holes".

From the answers received, it is found that in 87.3 per cent of the weavers households, the training has been imparted in the family itself and the number of persons receiving training in the Government Factory is almost negligible. The following table shows the place of training of the weavers of Maheshwar:—

Caste	No. of weavers house-holds	Number of households receiving training				
		in the family itself.	at the family of other weaver	in the family with some members receiving training in the factory	in the factory	at other weaving centre at Indore
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Khatri	73	67	—	5	1	—
Momin	23	16	1	5	1	—
Khangar	15	12	2	—	—	1
Koli	9	9	—	—	—	—
Sali	8	7	—	1	—	—
Koshti	2	2	—	—	—	—
Bhambi	2	2	—	—	—	—
Dhobi	1	1	—	—	—	—
Mabi	1	1	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	134	117	3	11	2	1

The cases shown in column 5 of the above table are where one member of the joint family received his training in the Factory whereas other members received training in the family itself. Even if these cases are taken into consideration, the households receiving training from the Government Factory constitute only 9.7 per cent.

This appears to be a rather extraordinary state of affairs because the Factory has been here for quite some time and has been endeavouring to train the younger generation of weavers in the weaving of Maheshwar *saris*. The factory also gives a stipend of one rupee per day per trainee. Information for 2 years i. e., 1961-62 and 1962-63 was collected regarding the careers taken up by the trainees after they leave the Factory. Out of 10 trainees in 1961-62, only 7 have taken to weaving and 3 have taken up some other job. In 1962-63, there were 8 trainees and only 3 have taken to weaving *saris* (for which they received training), 2 have taken to weaving *pagri* cloth, 1 has become a tailor, 1 has become a bus-cleaner and 1 because of her marriage has gone to Indore. The age-group of weavers of Maheshwar *saris* who have been trained in the Factory, is 18-25 except in one case.

Consumers' Preference

Maheshwar *saris* are very much tradition-bound and it is the traditional border, *palla* and check-body pattern for which they are famous. Newer and fresher designs of borders are being evolved by the designers (master-weaver) at the Government Factory to suit modern tastes and changing fashions but the traditional *bugdi* still holds sway.

A questionnaire was sent to 12 persons who had purchased Maheshwar *saris*: this was done to ascertain their preference, if any, for the *saris* they purchased. The replies received are not enough to make any generalization. Out of the three replies received one was to the effect that the *saris* were purchased not because of any particular design but because the purchaser was informed that Maheshwar was known for *sari*-weaving and he "therefore purchased 3 or 4 *saris* out of curiosity and was happy to note that they were liked by the ladies". Another reply was from a lady purchaser who had purchased 2 *saris* from the Government factory and 3 *saris* from a Master-weaver. Her opinion was that, though the handloom *saris* last longer, they are costlier. Against this the mill-made *saris* have finer texture and are cheaper. Her opinion further was that Maheshwar *saris* are not able to cater to modern tastes to the same extent as those from Madurai and Kanchipuram.

Future Trends

The handloom *sari*-weaving industry of Maheshwar is now out of the doldrums in which it appeared to be at one stage: it is very much on its feet. Attempts are being made to evolve new patterns and also to introduce better implements. It is not possible to say when the throw-shuttles would be completely replaced by the fly-shuttles, but once that is done, the weavers may be able to take to further improvements. At present the trend appears to be towards powerlooms.

Maheshwar is a historical place and once it develops into a tourist centre, the *sari*-handicraft is bound to get a fillip for the tourists would become its customers. Attempts are already being made to bring Maheshwar on to the tourist map of India.

CONCLUSION

We are now at the end of our survey of the handloom *sari* industry of Maheshwar. Maheshwar appears to have had a glorious historical tradition behind it dating back probably to hazy 2750 B. C. but the first reference about its being famous for its weaving is found in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Kautilya mentions about Maheshla on the banks of the Narmada below Jabalpur as a place famed for fine cloth. That the reference is, in all probability, about Maheshwar is indicated by the fact that Malwa came under the acquisition of the Mauryas about this period i. e., about 313 B. C. After this reference, however, there is a big gap. Maheshwar continued to be an important place during the Moghul period but there is no mention about the weaving industry here in the contemporary records whereas Chanderi, another centre of weaving in Madhya Pradesh, finds mention in records like *Ain-e-Akbari*. If it is assumed that Maheshwar had its weaving industry alive at this time, then its lack of mention in the contemporary records can only be a matter of surmise. Chanderi was indisputably a much bigger place during that time and the quality of the cloth woven there was and is, decidedly of a higher order. It may be therefore that Maheshwar was overshadowed, but nothing definite can be said.

The first undoubted reference about weaving is found during the reign of the great benevolent Holkar—Devi Ahilya Bai — who according to local tradition, invited weavers from Mandu and founded the industry. There are, however, two difficulties in accepting this tradition. Firstly, there does not appear to be a tradition of weaving at Mandu and secondly if Kautilya's Maheshla refers to Maheshwar, it may mean that the industry had disappeared from here in the meantime. Be that as it may, Ahilya Bai Holkar can easily be said to be the founder of the modern *sari*-weaving industry of Maheshwar and it is a matter of surprise that the designs and patterns evolved by her have stood the test of time and are still in vogue. After the passing away of Ahilya Bai, royal patronage declined and the industry suffered a set-back; it was almost on the verge of extinction during the First War. Between this period and the formation of the erstwhile State of Madhya Bharat, the graph shows a series of rises and falls. With the formation of erstwhile Madhya Bharat and subsequent formation of the present state of Madhya Pradesh, Maheshwar seems to have acquired a place for itself in the handloom textile map of the country.

There are some castes in Maheshwar like the Khangars and the Dhobis which are not the traditional castes of weavers and their taking up this occupation is an indication of the profitable employment that weaving had to offer to them in times past. But weaving, as the present survey shows, is hardly a profitable proposition now and the economy of the weavers of Maheshwar is not one that can be said by any means to be satisfactory. The reasons may be many. It is a matter of surprise to find among the weavers a lurking fear of the new: there appears to be an allergy towards innovation and improvement. Also, there does not appear to be enough persuasion either to change the 'old order'. The weavers of Maheshwar are still eking out their meagre subsistence by implements and processes that belong to the past; their output is limited and they do not seem to be in a mood to accelerate the pace. Insularity and fatalism have combined to produce an outlook which is hostile to progress. Quite a good number of them are under the clutches of master-weavers who exploit their weak economic position. The weavers weave 45" cloth for these master-weavers and get paid for 36". They know this and still they are happy. Probably a more intensive survey would be required to find out why the weavers desist from coming under the fold of cooperation or work for the factory.

However, this brief survey indicates that the initial handicap of the weavers in adopting improved implements and appliances is financial investment. In a few cases the weavers have not got any positive benefit from the improved appliances and in some other cases they are not able to work on these improved appliances and as such the common theory of 'A bird in hand is better than two in the bush' is applied. Moreover, it is also said that the use of fly-shuttle does not bring out as good a quality as the throw-shuttle does. These objections must be squarely met by those whose job it is to promote handloom weaving. Incidentally, it appears that one of the factors of survival of the institution of master-weavers is the large number of throw-shuttle looms.

The annual production of *saris* at Maheshwar does not appear to be as rosy as it is painted to be and there can be little doubt that there is great scope for improve-

ment in the output. Increased production would also mean increased income to the weavers. From the present survey it appears that there is a lack of will to do so: there is too much resignation to fate.

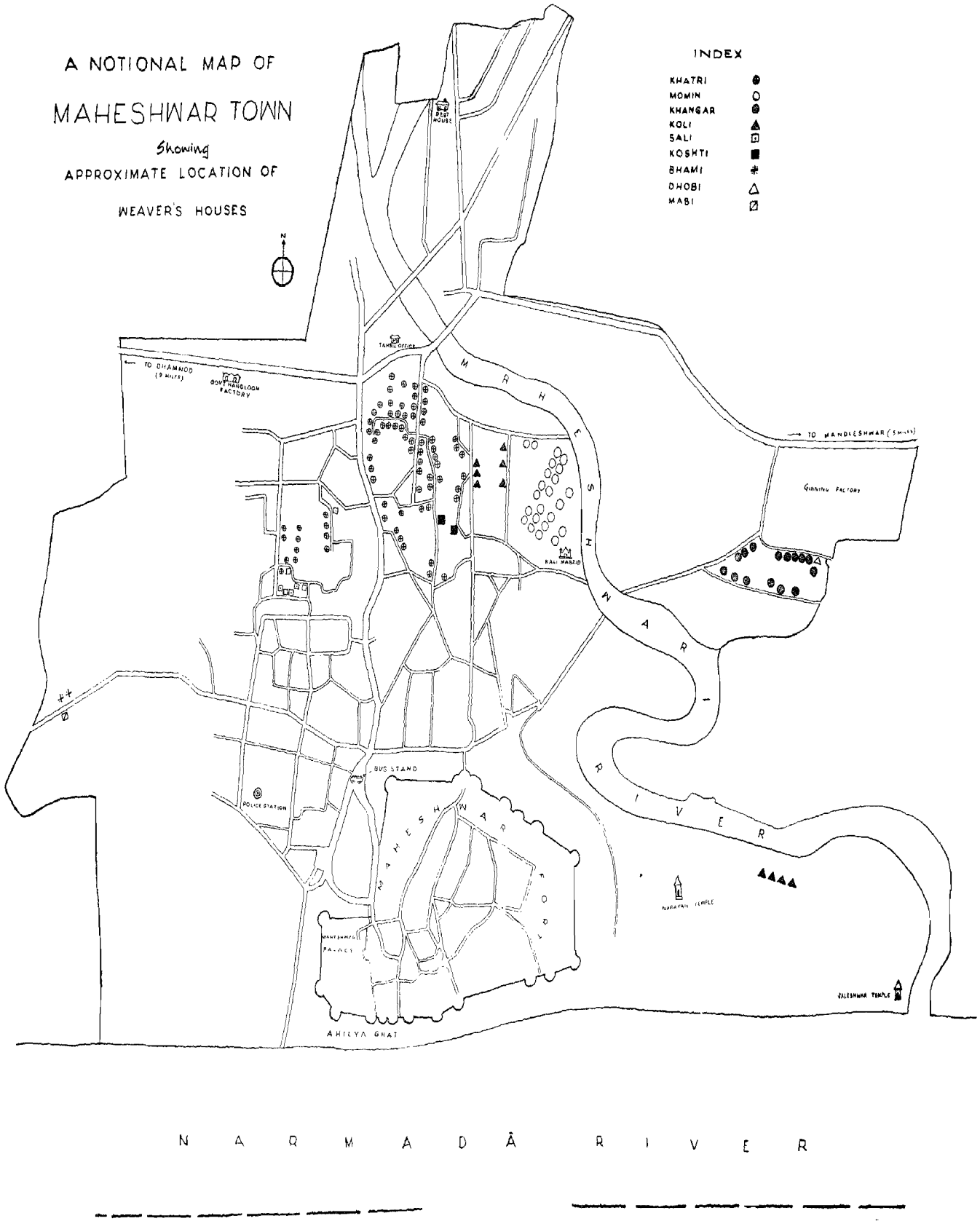
Weaving is a hereditary profession in Maheshwar and the craft passes from the father to the son. Training is imparted in the factory but it appears that a good bulk of the trainees go there because they have nothing else to do and they receive the training not because of any genuine interest in a career at the loom but more because of the stipend.

But, with all these shortcomings, the weaving industry of Maheshwar is now on a strong footing. There are unlimited possibilities for its expansion and the signs are not unpropitious. A happy blending of tradition and modernity in patterns and designs suited to changing fashions and moods is bound to pay dividends.

The weaver of Maheshwar is, by and large, a poor creature: his habitation and his looks speak of this. But he is not prepared to give up his weaving, no matter what his children do after him. Weaving has become a way of life with him. At the beginning of this monograph, we gave a poem by Sarojini Naidu, the 'Nightingale of India'. It would not be inappropriate to close with a poem nearer home. This is the poem that the weaver women sing to fight the dull monotony of their lives; it is a poem that shows that the loom represents a way of life — it is their bread-winner.

हरि का भजन करेंगे जी यम से खूब लड़ेंगे जी
राम का भजन करेंगे जी, यम से खूब लड़ेंगे जी
खडक्या गाड्या खुंटा गाड्या, उसे लगाई चकरी
चकरी में से दोरा पूरयो, पड़ने लगी खंजरी
ग्राट छोड़यो रेशम बान्धो, इछड़ी दी बड़ी भारी
कारीगर तो बुनने को बैठयो, कांडी भरदी जाड़ी
सोले हात की साड़ी बुनी, उमा लगायो पल्लो
पल्लो दी न फाड़न लागो, तूर न मचाग्रो हल्लो
साड़ी फाड़ी ने घड़ी करी, उपर दे दियो किल्लो
बगल में मारीन बाजार चाल्यो, घर में ग्रा गयो गल्लो
हरि का भजन करेंगे जी, यम से खूब लड़ेंगे जी

"O Friend: we sing the glories of God,
We will give a fight to Death.
O Friend: we will sing the glories of Rama,
And give a fight to yama.
Fixed up the frame, fixed up the dobby
Filled the yarn in the dobby,
The *sari*-border started coming out,
Released the warp and tied the silk
And when the weaver sits for weaving
Filled the shuttle with the pirn.
Wove the *sari* of sixteen hand-length
And wove the *palla* in it.
Cut the *sari* from the loom,
The weaver's beam cried.
Folded it and did the final pressing.
Tucked the *sari* in the arm-pit and
Proceeded to the market.
Now there is grain in the house.
O friend: let us sing the glories of God.
And give a terrible fight to Death".


A NOTIONAL MAP OF
MAHESHWAR TOWN
Showing
APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF
WEAVER'S HOUSES
INDEX
KHATRI
MOMIN
KHANGAR
KOLI
SALI
KOSHTI
BHAMI
DHOBI
MABI
N
REST HOUSE
TAHSIL OFFICE
TO DHAMNOD (9 MILES)
GOVT HANDLOOM FACTORY
TO MANDLESHWAR (5 MILES)
GINNING FACTORY
KALI MASJID
BUS STAND
POLICE STATION
MAHESHWAR FORT
MAHESHWAR PALACES
NARAYAN TEMPLE
VALESHWAR TEMPLE
AHILYA GHAT
NARMADA RIVER

APPENDIX I

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADHYA PRADESH

(Cir. No. H. C. I/2363 Bhopal, the 26th May, 1961).

To,

All Collectors,
Madhya Pradesh.

Subject :—**Survey of Handicrafts**

As part of the 1961-Census, it is proposed to undertake a survey of Handicrafts; this is necessary because some handicrafts are on the decline for various reasons inspite of the fact that they produce articles of great artistic merit. Therefore, the sooner we make a descriptive record of them, the better it is; for, otherwise, we may, after some years, have no evidence at all regarding these elements in the economic activity of the community and may not be in a position fully to delineate the infinitely varied manner in which our cultural genius has been manifesting itself in successive periods of social and economic change. This does not of course mean that only these handicrafts regarding which there is some evidence of decay shall be included; all handicrafts should be included if they are of the kind described later in this paragraph.

2 An accurate definition of a 'handicraft' is difficult and so, where there is a doubt as to whether a particular handicraft should be included in the survey or not, the question will have to be decided by you in consultation with the Assistant Director of Industries in charge of your district. The intention is that all handicrafts should be included the products of which have out-of-the-ordinary qualities. Such qualities may relate (a) to the artistic impressiveness of the final product (Chanderi sarees, for example) or (b) to the method of manufacture or (c) to the raw material used (like betelnut : soap-stone etc.).

3 The first stage of this survey is the compilation of a list of handicrafts which, in your opinion, deserve inclusion. In order to make a list of such handicrafts, the houselist should be taken as the basis—in which, as you are no doubt aware, col. 5 to 8 give details regarding all kinds of industrial activity—whether, for instance, it is bidi making on a small scale or biscuit making on a large scale or some handicrafts producing articles of great beauty. It is requested that, for each tahsil, a statement in the form appended may kindly be prepared in which entries should be made only in respect of those which, on the basis of the information contained in col. 6 of the houselist and after further quick enquiries where necessary, you think are handicrafts as defined herein. I enclose herewith an illustrative list of handicrafts which may be of some help to you in deciding whether or not a particular handicraft should be included; it is of course not exhaustive.

4 It may be that occasionally the description given in the houselists is not adequate or inaccurate. For instance, in respect of a handicraft which produces attractive cloth dolls, the entry in the houselist may only be खिलौने बनाना. We have to be watchful and, where there is a possibility of omission of handicrafts owing to inaccurate description special enquiries should be made—which naturally will only be occasionally necessary. The handicrafts of a particular area are generally well known as this general knowledge should help us in detecting possible omissions.

5 There are now 318 blocks in the State and most of them have Block Level Extension Officers (Industries). The Development Commissioner and the Director of Industries have kindly agreed that, in Blocks where there are Block Level Extension Officers(Industries), they may be utilised for this purpose. The question of the agency to be employed for this purpose in other areas is being considered by Government.

6 The problem is not likely to be very difficult so far as rural areas are concerned. For a rural population of 10 thousand we are likely to have about 2 thousand households and a houselist of about 50 or 60 pages. But over 70% of these households will be purely agricultural and there are not likely to be many among these agricultural households which are also engaged in handicrafts. Even among the rest, many like blacksmiths, or carpenters, will not have to be considered for most of them do not generally produce anything of significant artistic merit. Urban areas will require more careful attention as handicrafts find better markets in such areas and are therefore likely to be found in greater numbers. However, checking of entries suspected to be inadequate or inaccurate is also likely to be easier in urban areas as they are compact.

7 The Director of Industries is separately issuing instructions to all Assistant Directors of Industries and Block Level Extension Officers (Industries) to extend the required assistance in this regard. You are requested to instruct Tahsildars to make houselists of all towns and tahsils in his tahsil available to the Block Level Extension Officers (Industries) who should do this work in the tahsil office itself; they should not take the Houselists out of the tahsil office. The proforma may please be reproduced on plain paper and used.

8 I should be grateful if you could kindly get this first stage completed by 15th July, 1961. (Spare copies for distribution to Block Level Extension Officers (Industries) are enclosed herewith.

G. **Jagathpathi**
Superintendent of Ceusus Operations, Madhya Pradesh,
Bhopal.

HANDICRAFTS OF MADHYA PRADESH

Name of District	Name of Town/ Village	Name of Craft
1	2	3
Balaghat	1 Balaghat Town	Traditional clay toys
		Bamboo utility articles
	2 Warasoeni	Traditional clay toys
Bastar	3 Bastar village	Bamboo work
	4 Jagdalpur	Cast bell-metal ritual objects
		Cast bell-metal anklets
		Clay toys
Betul	5 Amla	Bamboo utility articles
	6 Betul town	—do—
	7 Bhainsdehi	—do—
	8 Chichali	—do—
	9 Jhallar	—do—
	10 Khedi Bazar	—do—
	11 Multai	—do—
	12 Ramli	—do—
	13 Ranipur	—do—
Bhind	14 Bhind	Bamboo work
Bilaspur	15 Bilaspur town	Lacquered wooden toys and utility articles
	16 Shakti	Cast bell-metal objects
Chhatarpur	17 Chhatarpur town	Copper utensils
	18 Krishanpura	Hand printed textiles
	19 Sarakna	Decorative lathe-turned soft stone utility articles
Chhindwara	20 Chhindwara	Traditional bamboo work
Datia	21 Datia town	Brass ware
		Traditional wooden toys
	22 Seondha	Brass ware
Dewas	23 Bagli	Bamboo work
	24 Dewas town	Lac bangles
		Painted wooden toys
		Bamboo Utility articles
	25 Khategaon	Bamboo work
	26 Sonkutch	—do—
Dhar	27 Manawar	Printed textiles
		Bamboo products
Durg	28 Durg	Traditional bamboo articles
		Brass ware
East Nimar	29 Khandwa	—do—
	30 Khirala	Hand printed textiles
Guna	31 Ashoknagar	Copper ware
		Bamboo work
		Lac bangles
	31 A. Chanderi	Handloom textiles
	32 Bajranggarh	Copper ware
	33 Guna town	Lac bangles
Gwalior	34 Gwalior town	Papier mache deities
		Papier mache dolls
		Dolls constructed with stuffed cotton heads and dressed with coloured gauze decorated with metallic paper
		Lac bangles
		Printed furnishing fabrics
		Bamboo work
		Fret-work toys
		Traditional lacquered wooden chairs (*Sihisans*)
		Glass bead production
	35 Kasrali	Brass ware
Hoshangabad	36 Hoshangabad town	Brass ware
	37 Itarsi	—do—
	38 Sohagpur	Printed household textiles
		Bamboo articles
Indore	39 Gautampura	Clay toys
	40 Indore town	Brass & bell-metal ware
		Papier mache articles
		Rag dolls
		Printed home-furnishing textiles
		Wooden comb carving
		Lacquered wooden articles
		Bamboo work
		Realistic toy animals made of various animals' skins
Jabalpur	41 Bhedaghat	Soapstone carving
	42 Jabalpur town	Brass and bell-metal work
Jhabua	43 Alirajpur	Palm leaf work
Mandla	44 Mandla town	Bell-metal work
Mandsaur	45 Bhanpura	Palm leaf utility and decorative articles
		Pottery
		Brass ware
	46 Garoth	Pottery
	47 Jawad	Indigenous hand printed textiles
	48 Malhargarh	Pottery
	49 Manasa	Wooden toys
		Pottery
		Brass ware
		Raffia work
	50 Mandsaur town	Hand printed textiles
		Glazed pottery and stone ware
		Brass ware
		Clay toys
	51 Neemuch	Pottery
		Clay toys
	52 Rampura	Lac bangles
		Raffia work

HANDICRAFTS OF MADHYA PRADESH

Name of District	Name of Town/ Village	Name of Craft
1	2	3
	53 Tarapur	Indigenous hand printed textiles
		Tied and dyed cotton fabrics
	54 Ummedpura	Indigenous hand printed textiles
Morena	55 Sheopur	Indigenous hand printed textiles
		Clay and cow-dung toys
		Lacquered wooden articles
		Indigenous tied and dyed textiles
Panna	56 Panna town	Carved wooden combs
		Carved wooden toys
		Traditional clay toys
		Brass ware
	57 Pawai	—do—
Raigarh	58 Dharmjaigarh	Grass mats
		Bamboo work
Raipur	59 Rajim	Bell-metal work
Raisen	60 Raisen town	Clay toys
	61 Baraily	—do—
Rajgarh	62 Biaora	Hand printed textiles
		Lac bangles
	63 Khilchipur	Hand printed textiles
	64 Narsingarh	Lac bangles
		Copper ware
	65 Sarangpur	Hand printed textiles
Ratlam	66 Alote	Brass ware
	67 Jaora	Grass mats
		Printed textiles
	68 Ratlam town	Coconut bangles
		Clay toys
		Pottery
		Hand printed textiles
		Brass ware
		Carved wooden toys
		Copper ware
	69 Sailana	Carves wooden toys
Rewa	70 Lalgaon (Simariya)	—do—
	71 Rewa town	—do—
		Lacquer toys
		Lac ormanents
		Brass ware
		Carved betel nut articles
		Bamboo work
Sagar	72 Khurai	Brass ware
Satna	73 Amarpatan	Brass ware
	74 Nagod	Brass ware
	75 Sohawal	Hand printed textiles
	76 Uchera	Brass ware
Sehore	77 Bhopal	Clay toys
		Horn objects
		Zari embroidery
		Carved wooden toys
	78 Budni town	Lacquor ware
		Carved wooden toys
	79 Sehore town	Clay toys
		Raffia baskets
Seoni	80 Chawdi	Glass bangles
	81 Seoni town	Fret-work toys
		Clay toys
		Horn work
Shahdol	82 Arpur	Brass ware
	83 Baihar	Carved wooden combs
		Brass ware
	84 Kotma	Bras ware
	85 Pali	Brass ware
	86 Shahdol town	Lac ornaments
		Brass ware
Shajapur	87 Agar	Bamboo ware
		Lac bangles
		Bamboo work
	88 Shujalpur	Bamboo work
	89 Susner	Bamboo work
Shivpuri	90 Shivpuri town	Grass mats
Sidhi	91 Hinoti	Brass ware
		Wooden toys
	92 Rampur	Wooden toys
	93 Sidhi town	Brass ware
		Traditional painted pottery, marriage dolls
		Traditional lidded bamboo containers for clothing household textiles, shawls, etc.
Surguja	94 Baihana	Bamboo work
	95 Darhora	—do—
	96 Dhumachand	—do—
	97 Gorgi	—do—
	98 Hariharpur	—do—
	99 Jemrakhurd	—do—
	100 Khajuri	—do—
	101 Khunsi	—do—
	102 Lolhi	—do—
	103 Magapur	—do—
	104 Majhagava	—do—
	105 Mani	—do—
	106 Pahiya	—do—
	107 Parmeshwarpur	—do—
	108 Ramgavan	—do—
	109 Ramkela	—do—
	110 Somai	—do—
	111 Samrahla	—do—
	112 Silota	—do—
	113 Singri	—do—
Tikamgarh	114 Jatara	Carved wooden toys
	115 Tikamgarh town	Brass ware
Ujjain	116 Barnagar	Ornamented shoes

HANDICRAFTS OF MADHYA PRADESH

Name of District	Name of Town/ Village	Name of Craft	Name of District	Name of Town/ Village	Name of Craft
1	2	3	1	2	3
	117 Bhairogarh	Traditional hand Printed textiles			*Raffia* work Bamboo work
	118 Khachrod	Coconut bangles Lacquer ware		121 Ujjain town	Papier mache dolls Brass ware
	119 Mahidpur	Carved wooden combs Bamboo work			Bamboo work
		Raffia work Lac bangles	Vidisha Wets Nimar	122 Basoda 123 Gogaon	Hand printed textiles —do—
	120 Tarana	Lac bangles		124 Maheshwar	Brass ware Hand woven sarees

HANDICRAFTS SURVEY, MADHYA PRADESH

District : Tahsil :

L. C. No. : L. C. No. :

Town/Village			Details regarding handicrafts			Details regarding households engaged in handicrafts		
S. No.	Name	L. C. No.	Name of handicraft. (Full description on the basis of entry in Col. 6 of houselists amplified if necessary)	Number of persons engaged in (entry from Col. 7 of Houselist)	Power used (electricity, diesel, etc.) if machinery is employed (col. 8 of houselist)	Name of head of Household	Serial No. of entry in House list	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

INSTRUCTIONS

1 L. C. is : Location Code and L. C. numbers of district/tahsil and its villages/towns will be found in the Houselist itself; in case of difficulty, please consult the Tahsildar.

2 The S. No. in col. 1 is to be given to each village/town entered in Col. 2.

3 Full description is to be given and the special feature of the product should be mentioned.

4 Details regarding all households engaged in particular handicraft are to be listed against the handicraft concerned. The following is an illustration of how cols. 4, 7 and 8 are to be filled in :—

4	7	8
Batua-making, with artistic jari-embroidery work on the sides	Moinuddin	23
	Shafiuddin	32
	Razaq	41
	Ramlal	92
	Iswarlal	131
Wooden dolls—mostly replicas of Gods and Goddesses, finely polished—no colouring, stylised figures the eyes and the nose have an unworldly impressiveness about them—handicraft has a long tradition. .	Rameshwar	5
	Munni Bai	37
	Ramchander	48
	Badrisingh	162
	Kisen	182
	Nilkanth	183

APPENDIX II—THE SCHEDULES

SCHEDULE I

SURVEY OF SARI-WEAVING IN MADHYA PRADESH

Village Schedule

(i) Name of village
1961—Census L. C. No.
(ii) Name of the Development Block (if any).
(iii) Name of the Tahsil
1961—Census L. C. No.
(vi) Name of the District
1961—Census L. C. No.

Part A—General description of the Village

(i) Area of the village $\frac{\text{in acres}}{\text{in hectares}}$

(ii) Distance $\frac{\text{in miles}}{\text{in Kilometres}}$ from :

(a) Police Station
(b) Tahsil/Taluk
(c) District Headquarters
(d) Nearest Railway Station
(e) Nearest Main-road
(f) Nearest Post Office
(g) Nearest Telegraph office
(h) Nearest Whole-sale market
(i) Nearest Weekly/Daily market
(In each case, metnion whether the access is dependable throughout the year)

(iii) (a) Population according to 1961 Census—
Males
Females

(b) (I) Actually engaged in weaving—
Households
Males
Females

(2) Engaged in Sari-weaving Households—
Males
Females

(iv) Are there any particular features in the arrangement of houses of the weavers of the village : If so, give details (a map of abadi of the village showing the arrangement of the houses of the weavers should be given)

Part B—Artisan Community in the village

S.No.	Name of Caste or community	Total Population	No. of families	Actually engaged in weaving	Total No. of adults workers		No. of Families/ workers in the co-operative fold			No. of families/ workers working under employer/ master weaver			No. of families/ workers working in own houses		
					M	F	Families	Workers		Families	Workers		Families	Workers	
								M	F		M	F		M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

2 When and from where did the Sari-weavers come to the village ? Give following details :—

S. No.	Name of head of house-hold or community	Place from which originally migrated	Year of settling in the village	Cause and other remarks
1	2	3	4	5

3 Describe legends and myths current about the origin of the community or about settlement in the village.

4 How old is the handicraft in the village ?

5 **Social Background of weavers**—

(1) Caste : Its restrictive character—

(a) Castes/Tribes in the village with which the weavers will sit and eat.

(b) Castes/Tribes in village from which they will take water.

(c) Castes/Tribes in village from which they will take 'Pacca food' like sweets, fried 'Channa', etc.

(d) Cates/Tribes in village from which they will take 'Kachcha food' like boiled rice, boiled dal etc. (Against each item above, please underline each caste/tribes, from which it would not have taken the item concerned 25 years ago)

(e) Castes/Tribes to which they will have no objection to give girl in marriage.

(2) Commensality in use of Water/Food/Tobacco.

	Drawing water from the same well	Using the same 'Ghat'	Smoking	'Kachcha food'	'Pacca food'
	1	2	3	4	5
Upper Caste					
Lower Caste					

6 Is there any particular method by which the date of beginning work on a Sari is fixed ?

7 Is any ceremony performed on such an occasion ? If so, give details. Why is it considered necessary ?

8 Are there any particular taboo observed before or after weaving is started ?

9 Are there any charms, hymns, mantras, etc. which are uttered or sung in order that the work may be successfully completed ? If so, describe in detail.

Part C—Raw Materials (Full details must be given.)

(i) Main materials used

(ii) Subsidiary materials used

(iii) Whether the raw material is imported ? If so, from where ?

Part D—Textile patterns and designs

(a) Names and description of patterns produced—
(Classify into traditional and mordern)

(b) Give the native names of patterns, if any.

(c) Whether the names of patterns have any traditional meanings ? If so, give them.

(d) Whether the patterns have any individual histories ? If, so, describe.

(e) Whether the patterns are considered to be private, family, clan or caste property ?

(f) Whether patterns may be borrowed, inherited or sold ?

(g) Who gives designs ?

(h) Is the design worked from pattern or from memory ?

(i) Is any mark of the designer stamped on the design ?

Part E—Colours

(a) Describe the principle method of producing colours.

(b) Give names of favourite colours.

(c) Is any colour prohibited from use ? If so, why ?

Part F—Production and marketing

1 Are the products for domestic use only ?

2 Has the product a local/national/International market ?

3 What is the number of Sari-traders in the village ?

4 Is there any cooperative marketing society in the village ? Is it functioning efficiently ? If, not, why ?

Part G—Government efforts and Cooperative movement

(a) Number of Sari-weaving Government centres in the village (History of each centre should be given)

(b) Number of families working in the Government centres

(c) Number of workers (Category-wise) in the Government centre

(i) Weavers

(ii) Warpers

(iii) Dyers

(iv) Sizers

(d) Number of Government aided sari-weaving centres in the village

(e) Number of families working in Government aided centres

(f) Number of workers (Category-wise) in Government aided centre

(i) Weavers

(ii) Warpers

(iii) Dyers

(iv) Sizers

(g) Number of Sari-weaving training centres in the village

(h) Schemes sanctioned by the Central/State Government for aid of artisans

(i) Number of Cooperative Societies of Sari-weavers in the village, Give names also

(j) Do the members of these societies belong to different castes ? If not, why ?

(k) Is there any Ambar Charkha Kendra ? If so, give details with its functions.

Part H—Process of production

1 Describe stage by stage the processes of production. (Photographs and line-sketches should also be given)

2 Describe implements and their parts. (Give sketches and photographs).

3 Are the implements locally made or imported ?

4 Are there any proverbs on local sayings about the craft ?

5 Are there any particular diseases associated with the crafts ?

6 Give a list of skilled workers of each caste.

7 Give a list of Master Craftsmen.

APPENDIX A

Table showing raw materials imported in the village

Year	Details of raw material imported	Quantity imported	Value	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B

Table showing export of Saris

Year	Description of Saris	Number exported	Value	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

Table showing total output in Government Centres or Government aided centres

Year	Total output	Quantity sold locally	Value	Quantity exported	Value
1	2	3	4	5	6

SCHEDULE II

SURVEY OF SARI-WEAVING IN MADHYA PRADESH

Family Schedule

Census L. C. No.

1 Name of Head of Household

2 Religion

3 Caste, Sub-caste, if any

4 (a) Composition of famity—Total members :—

S. No.	Name	Place of birth	Rural Urban.	Residence if born outside Maheshwar	Relation witn the head of the Household	Age	Education	Marital status
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(b) How long has the craft been in the family ?

(c) Details generation-wise

	Total number of members of the bousehold			Total number engaged in weaving		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1 At present						
2 15 years ago						
3 30 years ago						
4 50 years ago						
5 75 years ago						
6 100 years ago						

5 Fill for workers only

Reference to S. No. 4

I (a) Main occupation

(b) Working hours spent per day

(c) Months in the year when without work

(d) Average monthly income

II (a) Subsidiary occupation

(b) Working hours per day

(c) Months in the year without work

(d) Average monthly income

If, agriculture, details regarding area, revenue, crop's grown, etc. should be given.

III Monthly income—total of I (d) and II(d)

6 History of the family occupation :—

(a) Is the profession hereditary ?

(b) Is there anything related to it which is treated as a family secret ?

(c) How is it learnt ?

(i) By family training

(ii) By training in some institution or establishment of master craftsmen

(d) Duration of training

(e) Cost of training, if any

7 Where workers are hired, give following details :—

No.	Name of worker	Sex	Age	Skilled or unskilled	Terms of employment	Rate if hired on	
						Time scale	Piece rate
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

8 **Raw Materials**

(a) Raw materials used

(b) Quantity of materials used per month

(c) Cost of materials used (Cost of cotton, silk, Jari should be given separately)

(d) How is the raw material procured ? (Pruchased from market or borrowed ? If borrowed, on what *conditions* ?)

9 Cost of each implement and tool used

10 On an average, how many saris per family per month produced ?

11 What is cost and selling price of

	Cost price	Selling price
(a) Cotton Sari		
(b) Silk Sari		
(c) Sari of mixed variety		

12 What are the considerations governing the fixation of sari price ? The actual prices of a few selected saris should be split into basic components

13 Who gets the difference between the cost and market price ?

14 How are the products marketed ?
(i) through a cooperative society
(ii) through own initiative

15 Are there any mal-practice associated with the marketing If so, give details

16 **Monthly family expenditure**

MONTHLY FAMILY EXPENDITURE.

Food & fuel	Clothing	Lighting	Recreation	Social & religious	Education	Misc.	Means of production		
							Trainings hired workers	Raw materials	Tools
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

17 (i) Is the family a member of a cooperative society ? Yes/No

(ii) If yes (i) name of the society

(iii) If the membership has been discontinued, why ?

18 *Details* of any assistance received by the family from the Government.

19 Number of handloom in family

No. of Handloom in family		Name of employer if any	Terms of employment
Fly-shuttle	Throw shuttle		
1	2	3	4

SCHEDULE III

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

Handicraft Survey Scheme

SCHEDULE FOR THE STUDY OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETY

(These are additional points to be covered, after administering the Family Schedule (for practising craftsman) to the Cooperative Society, considering it to be a unit, leaving the portion not—relevant).

Part A

1 Name of Society

2 Year of Registration————————

3 Year of Commencement of work

4 Area and scope of operation

5 Registered Headquarter

6 Note on the history of Development of the Society including the sponsoring agency, leadership etc.

7 (a) Craft dealt with

(b) Particulars of castes and communities in the locality traditionally connected with the craft (name, number)

8 Categories of membership (ordinary member, business members etc.) and qualifications for each category of members

9 Composition of membership

Category of members	No. from traditional craftsmen families	Others			
		No. of members from a distance of			
		Below 3	4-6	7-10	above
			Miles		

10 (a) Value of each share

(b) Method of realisation (whether to be realised at a time in cash or by instalments or by labour so on)

(c) Total number of shares sold

(d) Amount of share value realised

11 (a) Rate of admission fee.

(b) Total amount realised as admission fee

12 Particulars of working capital loan received from Government or Semi-Government agencies

(a) (i) Name of Source

(ii) Amount received (if a part or whole was received in kind, particulars of the same along with cash value are to be recorded)

(iii) When received

(iv) Rate of interest

(v) Others terms and conditions

(b) (I) Amount repaid Rs.————(II) When repaid————

13 Working capital loan received from other sources

(a) (i) Name of source

(ii) Amount received (if a part of whole was received in kind particular of the same along with cash value are to be recorded)

(iii) When received ?————(iv) Rate of interest————

(v) Other terms and conditions

(b) (i) Amount repaid Rs.————(ii) When repaid————

14 Subsidy received from Government or Semi-Government agencies

(i) Name of source

(ii) Amount received (if a part or whole was received in kind, particulars of the same along with cash value are to be recorded)

(iii) When received ?

(iv) Purpose for which received

(v) Terms and conditions on which received

(vi) How much has been utilised and in what manner ?

(vii) Remarks

15 Subsidy, gift and donation received from other sources.

(i) Name of source

(ii) Amount received (if a part or whole was received in kind, particulars of the same along with cash value are to be recorded)

16 Net profit or loss

16 Net profit or loss

(a) According to latest audit report————————

(b) During 1959-60————————1960-61————————

17 Dividend given during three years

1958-59————————, 1959-60————————1960-61————

18 Assistant given during 1960-61 to the members

	No. of members	Total Value	Range		Purpose	Terms and conditions	Realisation	Remarks including adequate credit
			Max.	Min.				
Finance								
Tools								
Workshop facilities								
Raw materials								
Technical Assistance								
Servicing								
Marketing								
Training								
Other benefits in respect of the crafts								
Welfare activities (education, health)								

19 Composition of the board of management and office bearers

Name of the Office	No. of official in ex-officio capacity	Number of non-official members belonging to			
		Traditional craftsmen famitlies	Business man concerned with the craft	Social workers and others sponsoring agent	Non-traditional craftsmen families

Part B— (To be administered to various categories of the members)

1 Particulars of the members

Name	Age	Community	Main occupation	Subsidiary occupation	Office if any, held in the cooperative

2 (a) Has he been benefitted by the cooperative Society ?
(b) If yes, how ?
(c) If not, why not ?

3 Are all his needs in connection with the craft satisfied through the Cooperative ?

If not

(a) What percent of the various needs are satisfied through the Co-operative ?
(b) Particulars of the other agencies through which the various needs are satisfied

Name of agency	Nature of need	Extent of fulfilment	Remarks

(c) Why all the needs cannot be satisfied through the co-operative ?
(d) What according to him are the main problems of the Cooperative society and what should be done to solve the same ?

Part C—(To be administered to the non-member practising artisan in the area covered by the society)

1 (a) Do you know that there is a cooperative society in your area, dealing with your craft ? Yes/No
(b) If yes, since when it is in existance ?
(c) Who run the cooperative ?
(d) What are its activities ?
(e) How is it functioning ?

2 (a) Why you have not become a member of the cooperative ?

3 (a) Do you think that the members of the cooperative can attract all the craftsmen of the locality with certain adjustments ?
(b) If so, what are those adjustments

4 (a) Do you think that the members of the cooperative have some advantage conferred to the non-members ?
(b) If yes, what are they ?

5 (a) Even though you are not a member of the cooperative, have you been benefitted by it in any manner ?
(b) If so, how ?

6 (a) Do you think that establishment of the cooperative has been beneficial/harmful to the craft in any manner ?
(b) If so, how ?

7 What are the problems of the cooperative and what are your suggestions ?

SCHEDULE IV

SCHEDULE FOR PRODUCTION-CUM-TRAINING CENTRE STUDY

1 Date of study———Name of Investigator———— Location

2 Name of craft

3 Name and area of operations of the centre

4 General note on the centre including its objective, management, sponsoring agencies, affiliation, branches, etc

5 Brief description of the scheme (if there is more than one unit, fill up the particulars in respect of each unit separately)

6 Training of development

Nature of training	Period of training	Number of trainees		Nature of facilities given to trainees		Remarks
		Sanctioned	Actual	Stipend and its particulars	Others	

7 **Production**

Duration of production phase	Main items	On what consideration the items are selected	Whether all items included in training phase are included in production phase	Whether production programme in the centre is related to the future production pattern of the trainees	Stipend, wage & other facilities	Remarks

8 Follow-up. Particulars of assistance to ex-trainees in
- (a) Securing employment.
- (b) Setting up cooperative enterprise
- (c) Starting business at house-hold
- (d) Obtaining tools & implements
- (e) Having techincal guidance and supervision in production
- (f) Having regular supply of raw material
- (g) Marketing
- (h) Others

9 Expenditure for the scheme
- (a) Recurring
- (b) Non-recurring

10 Supervisory and teaching staff

Name of the post	Qualifications	Background in the traditional craft	Remarks

11 Recruitment of trainees
- (a) Agency for selection of trainees
- (b) Criteria for selection of trainees
- (c) Problems faced in selection of trainees due to :—
  - (i) Caste prejudice
  - (ii) Sex division of labour
  - (iii) Level of technology
  - (iv) Conservatism against innovation
  - (v) Location of the centre
  - (vi) Other factors
- (d) Terms and conditions of recruitment

12 Number of trainees who actually completed training during :
- (i) Year of starting
- (ii) 1960-61
- (iii) 1961-62

13 Particulars of persons receiving training at present

Name	Permanent address and distance of the the same from training centre	Caste/Tribe	Age	Academic qualifications	Previous experience in the craft	Occupation and annual income of father or guardian of the trainee	Record of progress in training	Remarks

14 (a) How the price of the finished product is fixed

(b) Who fixes it ?

(c) Is it lower than Market price or higher ?

15 Particulars about ex-trainees (to be administered to ex-trainees)

Name	Address	Year of completion of training	Nature of assistence received from the training centre or any Govt. or semi-Govt. agency to carry on work in the craft	Whether continuing in the line			Remark
				Under Cooperation	An employee	An Independent worker	

SCHEDULE V

SCHEDULE FOR THE STUDY OF CONSUMER'S PREFERENCE

1 Particulars of consumer

(a) Name————(b) Age————years

(c) Address————————————

(d) Occupation————————(e) Community————

2 Particulars of articles in the family

Name of article	No.	When purchased	From where purchased	Value	How and by whom used	No. and value of mill made or factory made identical aricles used in family	Remarks

3 If mill or factory made articles of identical use available in the market ?

(a) If so, compared to the handicraft goods which is more costly.

(b) If the handicraft good is more costly why the same has been purchased.

(c) (i) If it is cheaper whether the consumer would like to have it more ?

(ii) What are the limiting factors ?

4 (a) Are there some special advantages of the particular type of handicraft good ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

5 (a) Are there some special advantage of the particular type of mill made/factory made good ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

6 Whether the particular type of handicraft articles is superior to the mill made or factory made article ?

7 (a) Is it considered to be more fashionable to have handicraft products ?

(b) If so, since when ?

8 Is there any particular aspect of the craft which the consumer prefers more ? (form, design, size etc.)

9 (a) What are the various articles produced by the craftsman of the particular craft ?

(b) Which of the above he wants to use more and why ?

(c) Is this available in adequate number ?

10 Suggestions if any regarding improvement of any aspect of the craft.

11 (a) Are there some ritual or social occasions when any of these craft products are more in use ?

(b) If so, what are these occasions and how the craft has come to be related to the occasion ?

APPENDIX III

SOME APHORISMS ON WEAVERS

'One Gadariya (grazier) will take on ten weavers'.

'Four weavers will spoil any show'.

'There is neither yarn nor cotton but the weavers have come to blows'.

Sir George Grierson in his 'Peasant Life in Bihar', (p. 64) states : "The Musalman weaver or Julaha is the proverbial fool of the Hindu stories and proverbs." He swims in the moonlight across fields of flowering linseed, taking the blue colour to be caused by water. He hears his family priest reading the Koran, and bursts into tears to the gratification of the reader. When pressed to tell what part affected him most, he says it was not that but that the wagging beard of the old gentleman so much reminded him of a favourite goat of his which had died. When forming one of the company of twelve he tries to count them and finding himself missing wants to perform his own funeral obsequies. He finds the rear peg of a plough and wants to set up farming on the strength of it. He gets into a boat at night and forgets to pull up the anchor. After rowing till dawn he finds himself where he started, and concludes that the only explanation is that his native village could not bear to lose him and has followed him. If there are eight weavers and nine *huqqas*, they fight for the odd one. Once upon a time a crow carried off to the roof of the house some bread which a weaver had given his child. Before giving the child any more he took the precaution of removing the ladder.Like the English tailor he always gets unmerited blows. For instance, he once went to see a ram fight and got butted himself, as the saying runs—

Karigah Chhor Tamasa Jay
Nahak Chot Julaha Khay.

'He left his loom to see the fun and for no reason got a bruising'. Another story (told by Fallon) is that being told by a soothsayer that it was written in his fate that his nose would be cut off with an axe, the weaver was incredulous and taking up an axe, kept flourishing it, saying—

Yon karba ta gor katbon
Yon karba ta hath katbon
Aur yon karba tab na.

'If I do so I cut off my leg, if I do so I cut off my hand, but unless I do so my no————', and his nose was off. Another proverb ——*Julaha janathi jo katai* (Does a weaver know how to cut barley)—refers to a story (in Fallon) that a weaver unable to pay his debt was set to cut barley by his creditor, who thought to repay him in this way. But instead of reaping, the stupid fellow kept trying to untwist the tangled barley stems. Other proverbs at his expense are : 'The Julaha went out to cut the grass at sunset, when even the crows were going home', The Julaha's brains are in his backside and so on. His wife bears an equally bad character as in the proverb : 'A wilful Julahin will pull her own father's beard'. There does not seem to be any end of such stories about the proverbial stupidity of the weavers and one of the variants may be given here :

"Twenty weavers got into a field of *kans* grass. They thought it was a tank and began swimming. When they got out they said, 'Let us all count and see how many we are, in case anybody has been left in the tank.' They counted and each left out himself, so that they all made out nineteen. Just then a *sawar* (horse-rider) came along and they cried to him—'Oh Sir, we were twenty and one of us has been drowned in this tank'. The *sawar* seeing that there was only a field of grass and finding out that they were weavers immediately knew what their trouble was for counting them he found that they were twenty. So he said : 'What will you give me if I find the twentieth'. They promised him a piece of cloth on which the *sawar* taking his whip lashed each of the weavers across the shoulders, counting loudly as he did so. When he counted twenty, he took the cloth and rode away".

Another story is that a weaver bought a buffalo for Rs. 20/-. His brother then came to him and wanted a share in the buffalo. They did not know how he should be given a share until at last the weaver said—'You go and pay the man who sold me the buffalo Rs. 20 and then you will have given as much as I have, and will be half owner of the buffalo'. In Sambalpur (Orissa) the habit of the weaver of hollowing out the ground to make a place for his feet has given rise to the following—'Why do you call yourself Mehar ? You make a hole in the ground and put your legs into it, and are like a cow with rinderpest struggling in the mud.' A similar saying reported about the Julaha from Punjab is[1]—*Nimtan dar gor bashad nimtan dar zindgi* i.e. Half the body remains in the grave and the other half in life. The weavers are said to be the cowards of the worst type and another saying from Punjab is *Paoli charhe shikar, Allah Khair guzare* i.e. the weavers have started a hunting, may God maintain peace. One more saying about them from Baroda[2] is—'Even God cannot detect a tailor, goldsmith and a weaver'.

1 Census of India, 1911; Vol. XIV, Pt. I; p. 460.

2 Census of India, 1911; Vol. XVI, Pt. I; p. 266.

APPENDIX IV

MAHESHWAR—A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Maheshwar has a glorious past and mythological accounts take it much beyond the dates of written historical records. Only a brief note on the mythological accounts and history prior to the coming in of Malhar Rao Holkar may be given here.

Maheshwar is the Mahishmati of the early days. Two views have been put forth about the origin of this name—Mahishmati. According to the more common version, this city was reconstructed and named as Mahishmati by the seventh Haihaya king, Mahishman : Mahishmati is therefore the town of Mahishman. There is another interpretation also. Katyayana in his Commentary on Panini states that Mahismati dervies its name from the prevalence of buffalos (*mahish*) in that region. The Puranas also mention Mahishmati at a number of places and refer to the Mahishas and Mahishakas as the people of Mahishmati. It is said that this name—Mahishmati—continued till the Maurya period when the Maurya king Maheshwar resetled the ancient town and renamed it as Maheshwar after his name.

According to the above, the original name of the town was Mahishmati and Maheshwar was a name given to it subsequently. There is, however, another view that the original name of this settlement was Maheshwar; it was changed to Mahishmati and then again became prevalent as Maheshwar. It is said that in the lineage of Maharaja Yayati, there was a king named Maheshwareshwar. He named this place as Maheshwar not only to perpetuate his name but also as a mark of respect after his favourite deity–Lord Shiva–who is also known as Maheshwar. In the ninth generation of Yayati, Mahishman became the king and he changed the name of the place to Mahishmati. Six generations after Mahishman, came Sadarshan or Sahasrarjuna alias Sahasrabahu who was a contemporary of Ravana, the king of Lanka against whom fought Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu. We have, however, not been able to locate any authentic version of the aforesaid view.

There is a long-standing controversy about the exact location of Maheshwar or Mahishmati as referred to in the ancient literature and some people claim that the name refers to the present Mandla town of Madhya Pradesh. There are, no doubt, some similarities between Maheshwar and Mandla of the present day—both are situated on the banks of the Narmada and at both of these places the river in its course takes the shape of many rivulets known as Sahasradhara. If there is conjectured a prevalence of buffalos in the region of present Maheshwar, there is evidence that wild buffalos reigned supreme in the Mandla region in the olden days. It is beyond the competence of the present writers to make any comment on these rival views. There, however, appears little doubt that Maheshwar has some antiquity and historical importance of its own as the excavations made by Sankalia and others have shown.

Without taking sides in this controversy about the location of Mahishmati, the history of the place may be described here. The history of Maheshwar or Mahishmati may be divided into the following periods :—

(1) Mandhari Period (2750-2550 B.C.)
(2) Parasuram Period (2550-2350 B.C.)
(3) Mahabharata Period (1400 B.C.)
(4) 7th Century to 11th Century A.D.
(5) 13th Century to 17th Century A.D.
(6) 18th Century onwards.

Mandhari Period (2750-2550 B.C.)

This period of early history is known after Mandhari, a powerful king of the Solar dynasty of kings ruling at Ayodhya. Mandhari is considered to be the fifth incarnation of Vishnu. He had three sons—Purukutsa, Ambarisha and Muchkunda.

Muckhunda was a famous ruler of his days, though not reaching anywhere near the fame of his illustrious father. He built and fortified a town on the banks of the river Narmada between Paripatra and the Riksh mountains. He could not keep his powers for long because of the rise of the Haihayas. The Haihaya king, Mahishman, conquered this town and named it Mahishmati.[1] Nothing more is known about this early period of history. *Hari Vamsa* also attributed the name Mahishmati to Mahishman.[2]

Parasuram Period (2550-2350 B.C.)

The Haihaya kings became stronger as time passed. After the death of Purukutsa, the kingdom of Ayodhya lost its paramountcy in Upper India and the Haihaya branch of the Yadavas gradually extended their sway from the west penetrating to the east and north. Kartavirya, who is also popularly known by names like Kartaviryarjuna, Sahasrabahu and Sahasrarjuna, raised the Haihaya power to very great heights. This mythical myraid-armed king, fought the Karkotaka Nagas who had occupied Anup (the territories near the mouth of river Narmada), captured Mahishmati and made it his capital.[3] He was a great warrior and his victories show that he carried the banner of Aryan might far and wide and that Mahishmati, on the banks of the Narmada, was an outpost of the Aryan colonies in those days.[4] Even to this day, Maheshwar is known popularly as *Sahasrabahu ki basti*[5] and the temple of Rajrajeshwar still stands to his memory.

The fight between Sahasrarjuna and the great Ravana has been described in *Ramayana*.[6] As the legend goes, Ravana was on his way back from Kailasha and not finding a more suitable place than the banks of the sacred river—Narmada—he sat down for meditation at some place near here. At this time, Sahasrarjuna, the myriad-armed one, was engaged in water-sport (*jal-krida*) with his lovely queens. The queens were bathing and Sahasrarjuna wanted to frighten them by increasing the water-level. He did so by obstructing the flow of the river by stretching his arms and the water-level of the river consequently rose on the upstream side to the great horror of the queens and to the greater amusement of Sahasrarjuna. Ravana did not know what was taking place here but he was greatly enraged : his meditation was disturbed and his idol was washed away. He came to investigate the cause and found Sahasrarjuna gleefully obstructing the natural flow of the river. A fight took place and Ravana was defeated and captured. It is said

1 Vidic Age; A. D. Pusalkar
2 Hari-Vamsa Dutt; P. 137
3 Ibid
4 Ibid.
5 Indore State Gazetteer, C.E. Luard, Vol. IV.
6 Ramayana—Uttara Khanda.

that he was kept as a captive in the part now known as Mandal-kho, which is inside the fort walls.

Sahasrarjuna, however, was not successful in stopping the flow of the river which broke through the gaps in the arms. This bursting through of the river through the arms of the myraid-armed one divided the course of the river into many small rivulets and in which form it is seen to this day when the water-level goes down in summer. This beautiful view of the river, one gets in the spot known as the Sahasradhara.

The mighty Sahasrarjuna was defeated and killed by the great Brahmin warrior, Parasuram. It is said that he breathed his last at the place where now stands the temple of Rajrajeshwar.

During the great war of Mahabharata, the ruler at Maheshwar was King Nila. He had supported the Kauravas against the Pandavas. The Mahabharata also mentions a Maheshwarpura and Maheshwarpada as a *tirtha* (holy place), while according to one reading the Maheshwarasthana from which Rudra destroyed Tripura is mentioned in the Dronaparvan.[7] No further details are available about this period.

7th to 11th Century

There is a big gap in the history of the region till the 7th century. In the Buddhist literature Mahishmati or Mahissati, is mentioned as one of the regular stages on the route from Paithana in the Deccan to Sravasti; the stages being Mahissati, Ujjain, Gonaddha, Bhilsa, Kausambi and Saketa. From the accounts of his travel by the Chinese piligrim, Hiuen Tsiang, it appears that he probably came this side. Cunningham has, however, identified the Mo-hi-ssu-fa-lo-pu-lo of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) with Mandla, but the Chinese pilgirm states that he went from Jijhoti or Bundelkhand north or north-east to Maheshwarpura (referred to as mentioned earlier) which is a wrong bearing for either Mandla or Maheshwar and may be a misstatement for south-west. Numerous places which the *Mahishmati Mahatmya* enjoins pilgrims to visit can be identified in the neighbourhood of Maheshwar and the country and the people described by Hiuen Tsiang are similar to the country and the people of Ujjain. His mention of the sect Pashupatas also agrees with the country around Maheshwar but not with that around Mandla. Hiuen Tsiang states furthet that from Maheshwarpura he went in a backward direction to the country of the Gurjara (Gujerat.)[8] At about the same period (600-700 A.D.) there is a reference to Maheshari or Mahesara, a prosperous city in Dikkinwhaha in a commentary on the *Avasyaka sutra.*[9]

The Haihayas were subdued in the 7th century by Vinayaditya, the Western Chalukya king, who incorporated Maheshwar in his kingdom. The Haihayas served the Chalukyas as governors and are always designated as hereditary 'lord of Mahishmati', the best of towns.

In the ninth century, the Parmars rose to eminence and captured Malwa. Maheshwar seems at first to have been one of their principal cities but it lost its importance subsequently. During the 10-13th century many temples were constructed here which are probably present up to this day but as renovated by later rulers. Some of the temples may also probably belong to earlier periods.[10]

Al Biruni who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century seems to have travelled over a considerable part of Central India. At one place in his notes, he remarks : "Dhar, south you come to Mahumahra (Maheshwar), thence to Kindaki or Kandouhon (Khandwa), thence to Nanawa (Nemawar) on the banks of the Narmada.[11]

Ahmed I of Gujerat captured Maheshwar in 1422 defeating Hoshang Shah. Then during the reign of Akbar the Great, Maheshwar became the headquarters of the Choli-Maheshwar *mahal* of the Mandu *Sarkar* in the *Subah* of Malwa; Choli being the civil administrative headquarters and Maheshwar being the military post. The revenue was fixed at 9,68,370 doms. The fort of Maheshwar is said to have been built by Akbar during this period.[12]

During the four centuries of Muslim rule, there are only two references about Maheshwar. As seen from the above, the first is when it was captured by Ahmed Shah I on 17-2-1492 and the second when Akbar passed through it in 1600-1601.[13]

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7 Index to the names in the Mahabharata; Vol. II, p. 457 and ch. 200 in Vachaspatya Nagari; Vol. III, p. 3373.

8 Indore States Gazetteer; C. E. Luard; Vol. II.

9 Indore States Gazetteer; C. E. Luard; Vol. II.

10 Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons J. C. Jain; 1947; p. 308.

11 Indore State Gazetteer; C. E. Luard. Vol. II;

13th to 17th Century

12 Indore State Gazetteer, C. E. Luard, Vol. II.

13 Indian History Congress Patna, 1946.

ANNEXURE I

Copy of letter No. 210, dated 6-9-1937 from the Supdt. Govt. Handloom Factory, Maheshwar to the Commissioner of Customs, Excise and Commerce, Holkar State, Indore.

I have the honour to submit my proposals to help the indigenous industry of Maheshwar for which purpose my appointment has been made specially and to bring it to the present level of the industries elsewhere in the country and to restore to Maheshwar the status it once enjoyed in the Handloom Industry.

Since taking over charge of my office on 2nd August, 1937, I have inspected carefully the conditions in Maheshwar proper. I went into all the local conditions, enquired into the grievances of the weaver class, studied all the past records available and at the same time I have thought well over the immediate needs which are necessary to place the industry on a right and sound way to begin with. Unless the fundamental evils which have been undermining the whole indigenous industry are immediately remedied, no other superficial or patch up methods will ever place Maheshwar on a sure way of achieving the end in view.

The Govt.'s intentions in this respect are, no doubt, to improve the status of the weavers generally and it is the work which requires first consideration to give Maheshwar its former prosperity. I am sure, the Government is willing to spend money in the right direction to achieve this object and as I have reason to believe, it is not the Governments' intention to make the weaver merely a wage-earner but to make him selfsupporting, happy and willing worker and thus be a credit to the State. From interviews I have had with the Honourable Finance Minister and your goodself and as well as past records, I have come to take the view that the Govt. is earnestly striving to improve all the conditions with a view to turn Maheshwar from its present state of passive inactivity and indifference into a flourishing and humming line of industry better than it ever was. To achieve this object the following points are to be paid attention to first:—

1 To improve the present conditions of the weavers-economic and productive.
2 To find market for their products.
3 To extricate him from the clutches of creditors.
4 To have improved facilities at the disposal of the superintendent.

Before setting out my proposals, I had better to state here my observations of conditions ruling in Maheshwar at present to better appreciate my points. Formerly there were more than six hundred weavers in Maheshwar who lived happily with their families and sold their manufactures far and near and Maheshwar had a reputation of its own. This number gradually dwindled down, as time passed, for reason of heavy competitions from outside, depression in the markets and the failure of weaver's societies due to low control. Now it finds barely 250 weavers earning hardly enough to keep body and soul together and this amount he has to spend for the raw material for the work to he done. He buys this stuff from Bania or Bohra dealer or more frequently from the local Sahukar whom he owes some money already. Prices of dealers are far higher and it is needless to say about Sahukars' prices. Anyhow he falls a prey to the Sahukar ultimately and once he finds himself in this condition of debtor, his downfall is certain. He goes from pillar to post and is doomed. He is either unable to pay the high interest on the capital or to maintain himself and family,not to speak of the capital itself, which goes on augmenting from day to day. Thus he is forced to sell his products at any price named by his Sahukar or creditor and finally to close shop and drift away leaving behind his hereditary occupation, home and cattle. Almost all the weavers who are patriotic enough to stick to the old place are in a very unenviable and pitiful condition and if no means are devised they will also follow the path which their predecessors have taken before them.

Now for my proposals stated above. I have to submit my first proposal of opening a Govt. Store in Maheshwar carrying always a sufficient stock of yarn, silk, colours and other handloom accessories or such other materials required by the weavers to meet the local needs.

Secondly to place or remodel the Government Weaving and Dyeing factory upon modern and approved methods in order to show what kind of new looms are available to accelerate the work and how they are worked. The use of fast colours, to introduce new and fancy designs which have taken the popular fancy and so on. The outlay which government will have to invest now in these directions is sure to bear fruit in a short time and will not go in vain if properly made use of.

It will be my duty both to the Government and to the weavers to work on various kinds of handlooms and to teach the weavers how to produce different kinds of designs and make them popular. For this purpose I shall require additional looms and dobbies which can be made locally for needs. This entails an extension of the present factory building and more space. Services of an expert carpenter permanently to repair existing looms and make new looms, dobbies for weavers according to my plans from time to time. A good laboratory to test the yarns, colours and clothes before introducing them among the weavers or in the bazars. This will enable me to efface the bad reputation in which Maheshwar has fallen.

To create confidence in weavers it is first necessary to secure orders and get them ready by apportioning jobs to the weavers till it is found that they can support themselves independently of Govt. aid and by assisting them to form their own associations to carry out their own business systematically and also to find market for them.

Next comes the advertising agency by which Maheshwar products can be popularised. To do this effectively a central store will have to be opened at Indore to exhibit the work done, to receive or cater for retail and wholesale orders and to advertise generally in this way. In this connection it will greatly help the Industry to have its own travelling "Exhibition Motor Car" which will go from place to place. This will not only help to broadcast all that is being done by Govt. for the Maheshwar Industry but will induce other weavers to return in their own old place and occuptaion. In the same case if arrangements are made to give demonstrations by magic lanterns slides and arrangements are made for peripatetic schools or demonstrations I am sure that the people will be induced to help home industries and thus educate the weavers in their work.

As the Industry will make progress it will be more in keeping to arrange lectures. Meetings for the benefit of the weavers as to open exhibitions of locally made materials in towns and cities of the State and even to send Maheshwar manufacture to such big exhibitions outside the State. These modern methods to popularise goods and induce sales; work wonders and will ultimately benefit Maheshwar Industry immensely and will enable it to push itself in the front rank of country's industrial centres.

To successively develop the four points stated above, I beg to put forth my modest proposals as under:—

(a) To open Government store of yarn, colours and loom accessories etc. in Maheshwar in order to make them available to the weavers at cheaper rates and to be

sure that they get fresh materials. This would engage capital about Rs. 5,000/-.

(b) To extend present building of the Demonstration Factory to accommodate various kinds of handlooms and to enlarge the scope of the factory's activities. This would approximately require Rs. 2,500/-.

(c) Amplification of the present dyeing department and addition of workable laboratory to test materials and for research work. This would approximately require Rs. 1,500/-.

(d) To engage services of an efficient carpenter to repair and make new looms under the supervision of the Supdt. Rs. 30/- p. m.

(e) Making marketing arrangements for the products.

(f) Educating and advertising by public exhibitions and by touring exhibition car and lantern lectures periodically. This would require Rs. 400/- 500/-.

(g) To open central store in Indore City for purposes stated above Rs. 1,000/-.

(h) Manufacture of uptodate and modern types of handlooms and dobbies for the weavers Rs. 750/-.

(i) An hydroextracter to be installed in the dyeing department to facilitate the dyeing work and to protect the yarn from being injured during the squeezing operations. This would cost about Rs. 300/-.

(j) A small calendering and finishing plant to enhance the the luster, colour and texture of the handloom products to compete with the power loom products. This would engage a capital of about 7 to 8 thousand rupees.

For the last 2 proposals submitted above, I have to state arrangements to install these may be after a couple of years when the whole handloom industry has been completely organised and brought to the level of taking the full advantage of the improved methods mentioned above. In the meantime we will be able to study the advantages or otherwise of the above plant from Mr. D. M. Amalsad, Principal Govt. Textile Institute Washermanpet, Madras who is already installing the above plant for Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Societies.

The above stated observations relate to Maheshwar only. I have not yet gone to local weavers condition of other districts but it is my belief that the same condition obtain in other places also with some little modifications.

If the Government is beneficent and willing enough to grant favourable considerations to the above proposals, I shall be in a position to show what work would be achieved within a period of 8 or 10 years. The signs of which will manifest in a couple of years time. And with a further help and encouragement to me in my work, it shall be my burden duty not only to strive to restore the former glory to Maheshwar but to surpass it to the abiding interest of the State generally and to the happiness and prosperity of Maheshwar particularly.

ANNEXURE II

Copy of Revenue Department Sicca Order No. 7600 dated 8-8-1935, received under Revenue Secretary's endorsement No. 7603 dated the 8th August 1935.

On submission of Revenue Department Note No. 210 dated the 9th January, 1935, with the opinion of the Cabinet, dated 2-7-1935 thereon, His Highness the Maharaja under Huzur Shree Shankar Order No. 229 dated the 5th August, 1935, has been pleased to grant the following concessions to the Maheshwar Co-operative Bank, with a view to facilitate its affiliation with the Indore Premier Co-operative Bank of Indore.

(1) That the State's right of priority in respect of the loan of Rs. 31,599.10.6 (rupees thirty-one thousand five hundred and ninety-nine, ten annas and six pies) outstanding against the Maheshwar Co-operative Bank Ltd., will be restricted to the realisation made from the Industrial Societies only.

(2) That the right of priority in respect of the State's claim for this amount over the Maheshwar Bank's investments in Agricultural Societies be waived.

(3) That the interest on Rs. 11,599/10/6 (Rupees eleven thousand, five hundred and ninty-nine, annas ten and pies six only) excluding the loan of Rs. 20,000/- advanced from the Privy Purse for the improvement of Maheshwar Sari Industry charged at present at the rate of 6/- per cent per annum be stopped, and

(4) that out of the realisations made from the Industrial Societies the loan of Rs. 11,599/10/6, due to Government Treasury be paid off first and the time limit for repayment of this amount is fixed at 11 years during which the Maheshwar Bank should keep off the amount of Rs. 11,599/10/6, due by it to Government Treasury, in case any money remained unpaid from this amount at the end of the 11th year, the Premier Co-operative Bank will pay the same to the State.

His Highness the Maharaja, has further been pleased to order that the loan of Rs. 20,000/- (rupees twenty thousand) advanced by His Highness the Ex-Maharaja from Privy Purse for the improvement of Maheshwar Sari Industry will continue to have prior charge on the recoveries made from the Weavers' Societies and the Sari Stores till the amount is completely recovered or till the accounts of the Industrial Societies are fully settled.

As regards the proposals of the Revenue Minister to reduce the rate of interest to 2 per cent on funds advanced by the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, His Highness the Maharaja has been pleased to order that this question being of a general nature should come up separately.

ANNEXURE III

STATEMENT SHOWING THE LOAN ADVANCED BY THE HOLKAR STATE TO THE COOPERATIVE CENTRAL BANK, LTD., MAHESHWAR

S.No.	Year	Loan Advanced			Recoveries made			Balance ending 30th June.
		Principal	Interest	Total	Principal	Interest	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1917-18	13,085- 1-0	146- 7-9	13,231- 8-9	...	...	...	13,231- 8-9
2	1918-19	5,017-12-0	..	5,017-12-0	4,367- 8-3	...	4,367- 8-3	13,881-12-6
3	1919-20	5,191-13-6	...	5,191-13-6	415-12-3	..	415-12-3	18,657-13-9
4	1920-21	7,637- 2-4	1,478- 9-4	9,115-11-5	2,215-11-0	...	2,215-11-0	25,557-14-5
5	1921-22	...	1,586- 4-7	1,586- 4-7	6,320- 0-0	..	6,320- 0-0	20,824- 3-0
6	1922-23	7,000- 0-0	3,243- 8-3	10,243- 8-3	2,244- 5-3	...	2,244- 5-3	28,883- 6-0
7	1923-24	3,000- 0-0	1,888- 3-6	4,888- 3-6	1,036-12-0	...	1,036-12-0	32,674-13-6
8	1924-25	5,004- 0-0	1,972- 6-3	6,976- 6-3	2,085- 3-6	...	2,085- 3-6	37,566- 0-3
9	1925-26	5,769-15-0	2,251- 6-0	8,021- 5-0	4,858- 8-6	.	4,858- 8-6	40,728-12-9
10	1926-27	7,073- 0-6	2,591-12-0	9,664-12-6	2,111- 0-0	...	2,111- 0-0	48,282- 9-3
11	1927-28	4,000- 0-0	1,490- 6-3	5,490- 6-3	8,830- 0-0	...	8,830- 0-0	44,942-15-6
12	1928-29	2,070- 0-0	1,422- 8-9	3,492- 8-9	6,429-14-0	...	6,429-14-0	42,005-11-3
13	1929-30	3,000- 0-0	1,335- 9-0	4,335- 9-0	5,472-15-0	14,000- 0-0	19,472-15-0	26,868- 5-3
14	1930-31	3,000- 0-0	446- 3-3	3,446- 3-3	3,260- 0-0	...	3,260- 0-0	27,054- 8-6
15	1931-32	80- 0-0	320- 3-6	400- 3-6	2,857- 2-6	...	2,857- 2-6	24,597- 9-6
16	1932-33	6,500- 0-0	535- 1-0	7,035- 1-0	33- 0-0	..	33- 0-0	31,599-10-6
17	1933-34	...	693- 3-0	693- 3-0	82- 0-0	...	82- 0-0	32,210-13-6
18	1934-35	..	716-12-9	716-12-9	639- 6-6	...	639- 6-6	32,288- 3-9
19	1935-36	. .	76-11-9	76-11-9	606-13-6	...	606-13-6	31,758- 2-0
20	1936-37	.	...	...	98- 0-0	.	98- 0-0	31,660- 2-0
21	1937-38		. .	..		. .	.	31,660- 2-0
22	1938-39			..	...	..	.	31,660- 2-0
23	1939-40	...	...	...	...	...	...	31,660- 2-0
24	1940-41	2,000- 0-0	..	2,000- 0-0		...	.	33,660- 2-0
25	1941-42		212-14-0	212-14-0	. .	...	...	33,873- 0-0
26	1942-43	. .	120- 0-0	120- 0-0	1,636-11-9	...	1,636-11-9	32,356- 4-3
	TOTAL	79,428-12-4	22,528- 3-11	1,01,957- 0-3	55,600-12-0	14,000- 0-0	69,600-12-0	32,356- 4-3

STATEMENT SHOWING THE LOAN ADVANCED BY THE COOPERATIVE CENTRAL BANK, LTD., MAHESHWAR TO THE SARI STORES.

S.No.	Year	Loan Advanced			Recoveries made			Balance ending 30th June
		Principal	Interest	Total	Principal	Interest	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1918-19	3,200- 0-0	..	3,200- 0-0	350- 0-0		350- 0-0	2,850- 0-0
2	1919-20	8,563- 6-6	133- 9-6	8,697- 0-0	8,320 12-6	..	8,320-12-6	3,226- 3-6
3	1920-21	10,599- 5-0	112- 5-6	10,711-10-6	1,359- 1-6	...	1,359- 1-6	12,578-12-6
4	1921-22	6,479-10-0	1,171- 6-6	7,651- 0-6	8,975- 1-0	...	8,975- 1-0	11,254-12-0
5	1922-23	13,004-13-3	1,470- 2-3	14,474-15-6	5,319- 8-3	...	5,319- 8-3	20,410- 3-3
6	1923-24	9,928-14-0	2,283- 5-6	12-212- 3-6	2,312- 6-0	...	2,312- 6-0	30,310- 0-9
7	1924-25	4,916- 7-6	2,736-11-6	7,653- 3-0	3,129-10-6	...	3,129-10-6	34,833- 9-3
8	1925-26	892- 0-0	3,083-12-0	3,975-12-0	2,787- 9-6	..	2,787- 9-6	36,021-11-9
9	1926-27	1,028-14-6	3,260- 7-0	4,289- 5-6	1,746- 2-6	...	1,746- 2-6	38,564-14-9
10	1927-28	176- 5-3	1,589- 7-3	1,765-12-6	2,251-14-0		2,251-14-0	38,078-13-3
11	1928-29	143-13-9	1,590-14-3	1,734-12-0	1,196- 4-9	..	1,196- 4-9	38,617- 4-6
12	1929-30	64- 0-6	1,630- 9-6	1,694-10-0	1,061- 7-9	14,000- 0-0	15,061- 7-9	25,250- 6-9
13	1930-31	3- 3-0	455-14-0	459- 1-0	268-12-6	. .	268-12-6	25,440-11-3
14	1931-32	80- 0-0	432- 1-9	512- 1-9	888- 0-3	...	888- -03	25,064-12-9
15	1932-33		338- 9-9	338- 9-9	1,363-15-0	..	1,363-15-0	24,039- 7-6
16	1933-34	...	344- 3-6	344- 3-6	468-13-9		468-13-9	23,914-13-3
17	1934-35	...	339-11-6	339-11-6	466- 9-3	...	466- 9-3	23,787-15-3
18	1935-36	..	..	...	105- 1-6	. .	105- 1-6	23,682-14-0
19	1936-37	.	...	..	123- 5-0		123- 5-0	23,559- 9-0
20	1937-38	...	.	.		...	..	23,559- 9-0
21	1938-39	. .	..	.	15- 0-0		15- 0-0	23,544- 9-0
22	1939-40	...	...	...	4- 2-0	..	4- 2-0	23,540- 7-0
23	1940-41	206-12-3	61- 0-6	267-12-9	60- 0-0	.	60- 0-0	23,748- 3-9
24	1941-42	.	...	..	58- 4-0		58- 4-0	23,689-15-9
25	1942-43	.	...	...	208- 0-0		208- 0-0	23,481-15-9
	TOTAL	59,287- 9-6	21,034- 3-9	80,321-13-3	42,839-13-6	14,000- 0-0	56,839-13-6	23,481-15-9

STATEMENT SHOWING THE LOAN ADVANCED TO THE WEAVER'S SOCIETIES BY THE COOPERATIVE CENTRAL BANK, LTD., MAHESHWAR

S. No.					Recoveries made			Balance ending 30th June.
		Principal	Interest	Total	Principal	Interest	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1917-18	14,755- 0-6	...	14,755- 0-6	22- 5-0	...	22- 5-0	14,732-11-6
2	1918-19	4,028- 1-5	1,446-14-7	5,475- 0-0	1,411- 1-0		1,411- 1-0	18,796-10-6
3	1919-20	1,345- 9-3	1,726-15-6	3,072- 8-9	3,563- 7-11	...	3,563- 7-11	18,305-11-4
4	1920-21	325- 0-0	1,673-12-0	1,998-12-0	2,692-15-0	...	2,692-15-0	17,611- 8-4
5	1921-22	443- 9-0	1,578-14-3	2,022- 7-3	3,080- 0-3	...	3,080- 0-3	16,553-15-4
6	1922-23	1,967- 4-0	1,491- 5-0	1,687- 9-3	2,725- 5-9	...	2,725- 5-9	15,516- 2-10
7	1923-24	.	1,110- 4-8	1,110- 4-8	5,703- 3-6	...	5,703- 3-6	10,923- 4-0
8	1924-25	300- 0-0	1,029-10-6	1,329-10-6	1,483- 6-3	..	1,483- 6-3	10,769- 8-3
9	1925-26	5,980- 9-9	1,159- 6-6	7,140- 0-3	3,750- 6-6	..	3,750- 6-6	14,159- 2-0
10	1926-27	2,889- 6-3	1,399-13-6	4,289- 3-9	2,514- 0-3	..	2,514- 0-3	15,934- 5-0
11	1927-28	494- 0-0	1,530-14-9	2,024-14-9	1,809-13-0	...	1,809-13-0	16,149- 7-0
12	1928-29	696- 6-9	1,730- 1-3	2,426- 8-0	1,779- 4-6	...	1,779- 4-6	16,796-10-6
13	1929-30	369- 6-3	2,072-11-9 +17,881- 5-3	20,323- 7-3	1,666- 2-9	...	1,666- 2-9	35,453-15-0
14	1930-31	1,037- 4-0	2,740- 1-9	3,777- 5-9	431- 0-6	18,954-13-6	19,385-14-0	19,845- 6-9
15	1931-32	48- 0-0	1,773- 5-9	1,821- 5-9	242- 0-9	..	242- 0-9	21,424-11-9
16	1932-33	401-10-9	1,942- 9-0	2,344- 3-9	184- 0-3	. .	184- 0-3	23,584-15-3
17	1933-34	404- 5-0	2,099- 2-6	2,503- 7-6	1,047-14-3	...	1,047-14-3	25,040- 8-6
18	1934-35	452-13-6	2,377-12-3	2,830- 9-9	251-15-0	...	252-15-0	27,619- 3-3
19	1935-36	12- 8-0	499- 4-3	511-12-3	558-10-3	..	558-10-3	27,572- 5-3
20	1936-37	...	...	...	930- 0-9	...	930- 0-9	26,642- 4-6
21	1937-38	...	...	...	165- 0-0	...	165- 0-0	26,477- 4-6
22	1938-39	...	...	...	166- 0-0	. .	166- 0-0	26,311- 4-6
23	1939-40	...	.	...	14- 8-0	...	14- 8-0	26,296-12-6
24	1940-41	.	2- 7-6	2- 7-6	69- 0-0	..	69- 0-0	26,230- 4-0
25	1941-42	..	. .	...	170- 7-3	.	170- 7-3	26,059-12-9
26	1942-43	30- 5-6	...	30- 5-6	125- 7-0	..	125- 7-0	25,964-11-3
	TOTAL	34,210- 4-2	47,266-12-6	81,477- 0-8	36,557- 7-11	18,954-13-6	55,512- 5-5	35,964-11-3

STATEMENT SHOWING THE LOAN ADVANCED TO THE COOPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES BY THE COOPERATIVE CENTRAL BANK, LTD., MAHESHWAR

S.No.	Year	Loan Advanced			Recoveries made			Balance ending 30th June.
		Principal	Interest	Total	Principal	Interest	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	1926-27	6,778- 0-0	120-10-9	6,898-10-9	2,145-11-0		2,145-11-0	4,752-15-9
2	1927-28	10,143- 0-0	496- 1-3	10,639- 1-3	6,914- 0-0	...	6,914- 0-0	8,478- 1-0
3	1928-29	12,951-14-3	1,013- 3-0	13,965- 1-3	11,015- 4-0		11,015- 4-0	11,427-13-3
4	1929-30	14,270-12-3	999- 4-6	15,270- 0-9	11,078- 1-9	..	11,078- 1-9	15,619-12-3
5	1930-31	5,123- 1-0	1,851- 8-0	6,974- 9-0	2,064- 5-3	...	2,064- 5-3	20,530- 0-0
6	1931-32	995- 0-0	1,848-14-9	2,843-14-9	1,194- 2-9	..	1,194- 2-9	22,179-12-0
7	1932-33	2,769-10-9	1,931-12-3	4,701- 7-0	1,833- 7-0	...	1,833- 7-0	25,047-12-0
8	1933-34	2,539- 1-9	2,195- 8-3	4,734-10-0	3,025- 7-9	...	3,025- 7-9	26,756-14-3
9	1934-35	255-10-9	2,349- 0-9	2,604-11-6	1,904-14-0	4,870- 3-0	6,775- 1-0	22,586- 8-9
10	1935-36	1,845- 0-0	2,273- 1-3	4,118- 1-3	2,626- 7-6	...	2,626- 7-6	24,078- 2-6
11	1936-37	518- 6-6	2,266- 6-9	2,784-13-3	4,568- 6-0	...	4,568- 6-0	22,294- 9-3
12	1937-38	1,389- 8-0	2,004- 3-0	3,393-11-0	742-14-6	...	742-14-6	24,945- 6-3
13	1938-39	714- 9-3	2,259- 3-0	2,973-12-3	699-12-0	...	699-12-0	27,219- 6-6
14	1939-40	461- 8-0	2,414- 8-6	2,876- 0-6	1,145-14-9	...	1,145-14-9	28,949- 8-3
15	1940-41	60-13-6	2,902- 0-0	2,962-13-6	560- 0-0	...	560- 0-0	31,352- 5-9
16	1941-42	300-12-6	2,727- 0-0	3,027-12-6	2,072-11-3	...	2,072-11-3	32,307- 7-0
17	1942-43	296- 2-0	2,785- 0-6	3,081- 2-6	3,393- 8-3	...	3,393- 8-3	31,995- 1-3
18	1943-44	294- 1-3	2,744-11-6	3,038-12-9	3,746- 3-0	...	3,746- 3-0	31,287-11-0
	TOTAL	61,706-15-9	35,182- 1-0	96,889- 0-9	60,731- 2-9	4,870- 3-0	65,601- 5-9	31,287-11-3

ANNEXURE IV

महेश्वर दरबारची बातमी पत्रे भाग १ ला.
दत्तात्रय बलवंत पारसीनीस, निरायि सागर छापाखाना १९१० इन्दौर
पृष्ठ २११ लेखांक १०५ तारीख १३ अगष्ट ई० सं० १७८३.

बाइशीं बोलेल की, सरकार ची फर्मास धोतरजोडवांची आली आहे । त्यांस मारू पांच सात बोलावून । त्यांस धोतरजोड़े तैयार कराव्यास सांगितले आहेत । जोडयाच्या लांबीरूंदीची आज्ञा सरकारची आली होती, त्याप्रमाण मारूंस प्रमाण सांगून । प्रस्तुत पांच सात करविले आहेत । धोतर जोडयाचें मोल पंचवीस रुपये पासून वरते पस तीस चालीस-पर्यंतं करावयास सांगितले आहेत त्यास मारूंनी खर्चास मागितलें । यास्तव दोन-चारशे रूपये आम्हा कडेस तसलमाती द्या जसा खर्च होंईल तसें लिहून ठेऊं ।

NEWS LETTER FROM MAHESHWAR DARBAR.

D. B. Parasnis.

I shall tell Bai that since there is a demand for Saris from Sarkar, order has been placed for the same with some Maroos. Dimensions have been indicated to them as per Sarkar's instructions and for the present only 5 to 7 pairs have been ordered. I have told them that the pairs should be in the price range from Rupees 25 to 35 or 40. The Maroos have asked for some advance for the purpose. Therefore, some amount between Rs. 200 to 400 be advanced to me. Proper account will be kept as and when amounts are spent.

ANNEXURE V

अम्बर चर्खा केन्द्र — कीमत निकालने की विधि :—१९६२.

क्रमांक	जात माल	साईज	वजन	बुनाई दर	आकार कुल बुनाई	रेशम वजन	रेशम दर	रेशम कीमत	सूत वजन	सूत दर	सूत कीमत	जरी वजन	जरी दर	जरी कीमत	रंगाई	लागत	व्यवस्था व्यय	बिक्री मूल्य	प्रति गज
१(ब)	सादा पायपिंग सिंगल	५-४८	२७	१-२५	६-२५	५ १	१-३० २-००	६-५० २-००	२१	०-३०	६-३०	—	—	—	१-००	२२-०५	४-४५	२६-५०	५-३०
१(अ)	सादा सिंगल	५-४८	२४	१-२५	६-२५	५॥	१-३०	७-१५	२८॥	०-३०	५-५५	—	—	—	१-०५	२०-००	४-००	२४-००	४-८०
२	सादा पायपिंग	५-४८	२५॥॥	१-२५	६-२५	५ ॥॥	१-३० २-००	६-५० १-५०	२०	०-३०	६-००	—	—	—	१-००	२१-२५	४-२५	२५-५०	५-१०
३	सादा जरी पायपिंग	५-४८	२५।—	१-२५	६-२५	५ ॥	१-३० २-००	६-५० १-००	१८	०-३०	५-४०	१॥।—	५-००	९-०५	१-००	२९-२०	५-८०	३५-००	७-००
४	लहरिया	५-४८	२७॥	१-५०	७-५०	५ १।	१-३० २-००	६-५० २-५०	२०=	०-३०	६-०४	१=	५-००	५-६२	१-००	२९-१६	५-८४	३५-००	७-००
५	महेश्वरी किनार	५-४८	२७॥	१-५०	७-५०	५ १।	१-३० २-००	६-५० २-५०	२०=	०-३०	६-०४	१=	५-००	५-६२	१-००	२९-१६	५-८४	३५-००	७-००
६	मोतीचूर लहर	५-४८	३०	२-००	१०-००	५ १।	१-३० २-००	६-५० २-५०	२०=	०-३०	६-०४	१=	५-००	५-६२	१-००	२९-१६	५-८४	३५-००	७-००
७	लहर सीकंदार	५-४८	३०	२-००	१०-००	५ २=	१-३० २-००	६-५० ४-२५	२०	०-३०	६-००	३	५-००	१५-००	१-००	४२-७५	८-५५	५१-३०	१०-२६
८	चटाई स्काट	५-४८	१४॥	२-००	१०-००	५ २ ५॥	१-३० २-००	६-५० १५-००	—	—	—	२	५-००	१०-००	१-३५	४२-७५	८-५५	५१-३०	१०-२६
९	उपरी लहर	५-४८	२९	२-००	१०-००	५ २	१-३० २-००	६-५० ४-००	२०	०-३०	६-००	२	५-००	१०-००	१-००	३७-५०	७-५०	४५-००	९-००
१०	वारकस फूल	५-४८	२९	२-००	१०-००	५ २	१-३० २-००	६-५० ४-००	२०	०-३०	६-००	२	५-००	१०-००	१-००	३७-५०	७-५०	४५-००	९-८०
११	जरी पायपिंग पूर्ण सिलक	६-४८	१६	१-६२	९-७२	६ ८	१-३० २-००	७-८० १६-००	—	—	—	२	५-००	१०-००	१-४८	४५-००	९-००	५४-००	९-००
१२	सीधा पाटलू	५-४८	२७	१-२५	६-२५	४॥ ३	१-३० २-००	५-२५ ६-००	१९॥	०-३०	५-८५	—	—	—	१-०५	२५-००	५-००	३०-००	६-००
१३	जरी सिलक पायपिंग	६-४८	२०	१-६२	९-७२	६ १२	१-३० २-००	७-८० २४-००	—	—	—	२	५-००	१०-००	१-८०	५२-५२	१०-४८	६३-००	१०-५०
१४	जरी पायपिंग नाईलोन	६-४८	१८	२-००	१२-००	१४ २	१-३० २-००	१८-२० ४-००	—	—	—	२	५-००	१०-००	०-८०	४५-००	९-००	५४-००	९-००
१५	चटाई स्काट नीम रेशमी	५-४८	२७।	२-००	१०-००	५ २।	१-३० २-००	६-५० ४-५०	१८+	०-३०	५-४०	२-००	५-००	१०-००	१-१०	३७-५०	७-५०	४५-००	९-००
१६	स्काइट फूल किनार	६-४८	३७	२-६२	१५-७२	६ ४	१-३०	७-८० ८-००	२२	०-३०	६-६०	५-००	५-००	२५-०७	१-००	६५-००	१३-००	७८-००	१३-००

ANNEXURE VI

LIST OF GOVERNMENT EMPORIUM

(1)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Raipur
(2)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Khandwa
(3)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Jabalpur
(4)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Raigarh
(5)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Bhilai Sector No. 5, Shop No. 32
(6)	Manager, Govt Arts & Craft Emporium,	Bilaspur
(7)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Sagar
(8)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Indore
(9)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Ujjain
(10)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Gwalior
(11)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Bhopal
(12)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Rewa
(13)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Khujraho, Distt. Chhatarpur
(14)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Chhatarpur
(15)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Tikamgarh
(16)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Shahdol
(17)	Manager, Govt, Arts & Craft Emporium,	Satna
(18)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Panna
(19)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Datia
(20)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Sanchi
(21)	Manager, Govt. Arts & Craft Emporium,	Mandu
(22)	Asstt. Marketing Officer, M. P. Cottage Industries Emporium, 12, Sindia House, Cannought Place,	New Delhi

ANNEXURE VII

GOVERNMENT OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA HOLKAR
Office of the Supdt. Govt. Handloom Factory, Maheshwar

NOTE

No. 283 Dated 24-7-1944
Subject:—Maheshwar Handloom Industry—Its past-present-future

Early History:—

Saree Weaving in Maheshwar owes its inception to the efforts of Devi Shri Ahilyabai who it is reported called weavers from Gujrat and established a Saree Weaving Industry at Maheshwar. The underlined idea establishing this industry was to meet the heavy demands for her charities and special demands from the Royal families. This industry which was at first very small was promoted by perpetual Royal support and thus this was considered and looked upon as an ancestral industry by Holker Government.

The Industry made a speedy progress during the rule of Devi Shri Ahilyabai and could establish its reputation all over India. One thing which must be prominently remembered about Maheshwar Saree is the simple border which distinguished it from other sarees. It is said that this simple design of border commonly known as the Maheshwari or (३ कड़ी) 3 Chadi was introduced under the instruction of Devi Shri Ahilyabai. This border is still being recognized as Maheshwari Border, though it is imitated all over India. Thus Maheshwar is known exclusively for this Saree Border than for anything else; of course the fineness of texture as well as beautiful and attractive designs also go to add to the popularity of these Maheshwari Sarees.

The Handloom Industry of Maheshwar had very few competitors during this period and it could eventually capture a wider market. But later on there were more than half a dozen other saree manufacturing centres to stand in competition with. Prominent among these are Benaras, Chanderi, Belgaun, Dharwar, Nagpur, Burhanpur, Khambayat and Madura etc.

At these centres designs of local tastes were being produced with equal skill. These designs were speedily circulated and soon captured a fair range market for sarees. Thus this industry and Maheshwar began to loose its grounds

The weavers at Maheshwar it seemed were slow in adopting the changing circumstances. They care but little to imitate, improve or effect any change in their designs and implements.

With all these facts in their favour it is sorry to state that their conservativeness is simply remarkable. It stands permanently in their way of Social as well as Economic progress despite all Government help and efforts for the last 20 years and more for their betterment.

Supreme Posltion 1860-1914

Silk-rearing i.e., Reeling and Twisting of silk yarn from the cocoons was also done on a fairly large scale in Maheshwar. This additional help encouraged them for weaving cheaper silk cloth. This industry can again be started here.

The Saree Industry it seems was at its highest upto 1914. It had practically captured the Indian market for sarees of fast colours and of beautiful designs. It is reported that merchants from distant places used to purchase sarees worth lacs of rupees at a time. They had even to stay for weeks together at Maheshwar to collect and complete the necessary stock for their business. Thus Maheshwar began to be known for "Sarees".

The out break of the last Great War of 1914 stopped the import of fast dyes and other raw-materials in India and these illiterate poor weavers under the circumstances began to use the cheap and fugutive dyes in sarees and other articles.

The effect of this was soon seen in shutting up the doors of wide outside market to Maheshwar products. People began to reject all orders and could not even dream of touching a single article of Maheshwar. The poor weaver class thus began to starve and soon ran in heavy debts. Many families left Maheshwar for good. This state of affairs continued for some years when Holkar Government could notice.

Under Register Co-operative Societies 1920-1927, Rao Sahib S. L. Tambe

The Ex-Maharaja Tukojirao called one Mr. Hugeworth for making an enquiry into the decaying Industry and to make suggestions for its revival. It is understood that he suggested starting of financing these weavers through Cooperative Societies and accordingly some 19 weavers Societies were formed Mr. Tukojirao himself contributed a sum of Rs. 20,000/- towards the move. Thus this Industry was under the Registrar, Cooperative Societies for about 8 years. A big saree store was also opened and business was brisk for a very short time.

Under Commerce & Industry Member 1927-34, Mr. C. R. Palairet

It seemed for some time that success was sure and certain. But due to over-confidence and lax control and some other obvious reasons complete success in this direction could not be achieved by Govt. Much responsibility of failure of course rests with the weavers themselves who could not take any advantage of the opportunity to them for improving their lot. Their conservativeness, vices and other habits go together to deprive them of all the benefits.

Under Finance Minister 1934-38, Mr. S. V. Kanungo

From 1934 to 1937 it seems that this department was transferred to the Finance Minister who tried his level best to improve the weavers lot. but here also he met with little success. Ways and means were found to stop the exodus of the weavers class from Maheshwar and recapture the market and its lost fame.

Some of the salient features of the steps taken by Government were as under:—

1 Import of Kachha dyed Yarn was stopped into Maheshwar,
2 A Government Department known as Weaving and Dyeing Demonstration Factory was re-started for the benefit of weavers. From this department yarn was being dyed in number of shades in fast colours for the weavers at moderate rates.
3 Licences were issued to weavers where by they could import dyes and yarn free of customs duty.

But it is sad to state that weavers could not take any advantage to improve their lot a bit by these facilities.

Under Home Ministry 1939-1942, Mr. Rashid

Thus there was no ray of hope for any success for Maheshwar which could induce Government to take further move in this direction and it was decided by the Government to close down this department in 1934-35. Orders were passed accordingly and the looms etc. were to be handed over to the Education Inspector, Barwaha for demonstration in Schools.

But it seems that the Industrial Exhibition and conference held at Lucknow in 1936-37 turned the tables again. A declaration of Government of India's sanctioning 2 lacs of rupees for helping and improving the Handloom Industry was made in this Conference which encouraged the then Minister and other member in charge who attended it to change their minds again for improving the Handloom Industry in their States. On their return, matters were moved in that direction which met Government sanction immediately for re-starting and continuing this department in 1936-37. This department was without a Supdt. since 36-37

From the records available it is gathered that this department has been in existence from the inception for demonstration purposes and not for supplying dyed yarn in mass quantities. The Demonstration in dyeing was to train up local weavers in dyeing fast dyes at their own houses and at their own cost. Government asssitance was there to solve their difficulties by demonstrating actual dyeing. Licences were to be issued to these enterprising dyers in their own names. But their refusal to fulfil certain conditions in the Licence form, no proposal for licence was considered. Some of the weavers who could learn fast dyeing either from this department or from the demonstrator of the dyeing stuff supplying firms, started dyeing at their houses without Government licence. Thus this department was run without any progress as contemplated in its aim. It served to dyeing yarns to few weavers at Government cost; as the facilities in rates and other concession to this department was for demonstration purposes and not for running the department on commercial and mass production basis.

CAUSES OF PAST FAILURES

1 Selection of persons was not proper.
2 The subordinate hands were appointed directly by the Head Office.
3 There was no chalk out programme of the activities.
4 There was no proper control and periodical checking.
5 There was no technical guidance from above.
6 The budget was framed directly by the Head Office.
7 The Supdt. who is the head of the department had no powers to operate or control his budget as per his requirements.
8 The Supdt. was without any powers, administrative or discretion.

A consolidated report was submitted to Govt. vide letter No. 210, dated 6-9-1937. All these proposals are under consideration to this date since 1937

With all this adverse situation and with a limited budget and limited powers (practically nil) the following statistical statement will show that the Factory under the present Supdt. has made definite progress every year since 1937. The losses have now been made upto more that 50% as will be seen from the following statistical statement of receipt and expenditure of Govt. Handloom Factory:—

Year	Sanctioned budget	Actual expenditure	Receipt Sale of Cloth	Dyeing charges	Total receipts
35-36	12,000	4,228- 9-6	755-15-9	1,020-12-3	1,776-12-0
36-37	12,000	6,865-14-3	976- 3-3	1,337- 0-9	2,313- 4-0
37-38	12,000	11,410-14-3	996-11-0	2,092- 8-0	3,089- 3-0
38-39	12,000	8,505- 8-3	1,572-15-3	2,184-13-9	3,757-13-0
39-40	12,000	10,255- 6-9	2,318 -3-6	2,516- 8-3	4,834-11-9
40-41	12,000	9,947-14-10	2,767- 0-6	1,859- 7-0	4,626- 7-6
41-42	12,000	10,236- 4-9	2,859- 5-0	702- 9-3	3,561-14-3
42-43	12,000	10,725-12-6	6,447- 4-6	240- 2-6	6,687- 7-0

The increase in receipt and decrease in expenditure will certainly establish the fact that the department has been managed with maximum efficiency.

This will justify proposal for separating the Demonstration Section and making it a peripatetic one, and running the other factory on a Commercial and Mass Production basis.

Under the present condition though the Demonstratoin Section has been split up and shifted to Manasa the department is running under loss; but this can be neglected on the grounds that the demonstration activities are to be justified by the useful work it is doing and not by the amount of receipts by way of sale proceeds of the articles produced for Demonstration purposes.

Under the Commerce Minister 1941 to onward Capt. H. C. Chanda.

Sd/- **D. Y. TIKEKAR.**
27-7-44.