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HANDICRAFTS SURVEY MONOGRAPH ON PORĀMĀTIRKĀĀJ (Terracotta) OF PANCHMURA (BANKURA)

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About the Study

THE STUDY was undertaken at the instance of the Registrar-General, Govt. of India in 1964-65, after we, from this Directorate, had already completed two Monographs on (i) Cutlery of Jhalda (Purulia) and (ii) Malar's of Dariapur (Burdwan) (Dokra artisans).

2. Primary investigation in respect of the Terracotta Craft Centre at Panchmura in Bankura District was completed according to Schedules within 1965 under my supervision by Sri Dhananjoy Das of Survey Wing of this Directorate, who prepared the first Draft on Panchmura Centre. Sri Byomkesh Roy of College of Ceramic Technology prepared the Panchmura Drawings. That College also assisted by furnishing the Test Reports at my request. At that time, it appeared to me that, it may be better to place the facts about this particular Craft Centre amidst the wider terracotta base of Bankura District. The use of potter's wheel for the production of hollow animal forms distinguished all the Bankura Centres from the other centres in the State, where small-sized solid figures of terracotta are produced in hand only, although for similar ritualistic purposes. At this stage, a number of field level Extension Officers of our Directorate and a few Block Development Officers extended to me their assistance. Dr. Amalendu Mitra M.A.,D.Phil, helped me with his observations on 'Dharma Thakur', a folk deity, who is associated with the products from the end of consumer-devotees.

3. While preparing the Final Draft covering the broader canvass of the entire District and Craft in general, I personally visited Panchmura a number of times and most of the Centres of Bankura District and a few other Districts, producing wheel-made and hand-made terracotta articles, discussed with the artisans, verified the information, consulted the records and obtained views from different sources. I could only gather that the Bankura artisans were very sincerely proud of their craftmanship, but, still mostly concerned with the folk sentiments relevant to the use of their products. The traditional artisans of the outlying areas in the District came forward to suggest that the speciality, if any, of the products should not be related to any particular craft centre, but be viewed in totality from the District as a whole, as the common factors in respect of the uses, the community of artisans and the technique pertaining to all centres outweighed the minor differences amongst them. Discrimination between the centres may reflect on the same tradition flowing through all of them and the consuming people at large. But still, there were significant differences in craftsmanship reflected in forms and motifs and hence, it was just not a village industry, but a handicraft.

4. We, in this Directorate, who were engaged in this study, humbly attempted to bring out the information in that perspective too and would consider our labour to have been useful if, the monograph could throw some light on this folk craft based on common clay and traditional wheels. The study is dedicated to the memory of the pioneer terracotta artisans of Bankura District.

August 2, 1971

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9th Floor,
A-Block, Calcutta

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PREFACE

THIS Monograph presents a brief account on the production of common clay hollow terracotta (Porāmāti) by the common potters of District Bankura on traditional wheels for the common people's ritualistic requirements.

Bankura District in the Western tract of the state of West Bengal still maintains 9 such Craft Centres with 57 potter's units engaged in the handicraft. Panchmura Centre in Taldangra Block claims 28 of them. A study undertaken in 1964-65 states these Craft Centres, the craftsmen, their products, the technique and the economy in particular reference to Panchmura Centre.

Once entirely and even now primarily intended for the rural people, the recent uses of the products by the urban people as decorative pieces and symbols have opened up new commercial lines to some extent. Their effects on the traditional motifs, designs and technique are as yet negligible.

The current of this traditional craft is, therefore, in the midst of a transition, where a new type of demand for cultured people is gaining ground outside the periphery of folk deities. The artisans cater to the both sectors, often times being more alert to urban demands for better prices. The rural consumers, however, stand curious to know whether there has been the emergence of any deity in the cultured society. The few 'new' customers are satisfied in possessing the articles in drawing rooms, while, the million 'old' ones still feel relieved in offering them for good unto the feet of deities, mostly placed in open shrines.

A. N. Mukherjee

PORAMATIR KAAJ OF PANCHMURA

Primary Investigation in Panchmura (Bankura) and First Draft	Dhananjoy Das of Survey Wing, C. & S. S. I. Directorate, West Bengal
Supplementary Investigation in other areas of Districts Bankura and of the State	Extension Officers (Industries), Block Development Officers of respective areas, Superintendent of Sericulture, Malda and Secretary, Rajagram Weavers Co-operative Society
Notes on 'Dharma Thakur'	Dr. Amalendu Mitra, M.A., D. Phil.
Sketches and Drawing regarding Panchmura Centre	Byomkesh Roy, Research Asst-cum-Organiser, College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta
Drawings of Terracotta of Bankura District	Ashamukul Bose, Office of District Industrial Officer, Bankura
Maps and Drawings	Tarak Patra, Design Centre, C. & S. S. I. Directorate, Calcutta
Test Report on Panchmura Clay and Prints on Shed and Kiln of Panchmura	College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta
Translation of First Draft (Bengali) of Shri Dhananjoy Das	Sanjib Chatterjee, Information Wing, C.&S. S. I. Directorate
Cover Page	Sujan Ghosh, Regional Design Centre, Calcutta
Spot verification, Re-investigation, Editing, Final Draft and Supervision	A. N. Mukherjee, Deputy Director of Industries (CDP), C. & S.S.I. Directorate, West Bengal

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I REMAIN grateful and acknowledge deep debt to each of them mentioned below, with whose kind suggestions, information and assistance at various stages, the monograph was prepared.

Information and guidance

1 The District Magistrate, Bankura.

2 The Divisional Forest Officer, Bankura.

3 (i) The District Agriculture Officer, Bankura.

(ii) The Asstt. Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Bankura.

4 Sri S. K. Guha, Deputy Superintendent, College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta.

5 Sri J. Sanyal, Asst. Director of Industries (Ceramics), West Bengal.

6 Sri A. Majumdar, Asstt. Director of Industries (Chemical Technology), West Bengal.

7 Sri S. P. Banerjee, Quality Control Officer, College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta.

8 (i) Sri P. Sen, Director, Regional Design Centre, All India Handicrafts Board, Calcutta.

(ii) The Librarian, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Field Survey and data

9 Sri S. M. Roy Chowdhury, District Industrial Officer, Bankura.

10 Sri B. K. Bhattacharyya, District Industrial Officer, Bankura.

11 Sri P. K. Bhattacharyya, Block Development Officer, Ketugram-I (Burdwan).

12 Sri S. M. Bhattacharyya, Block Development Officer, Taldangra (Bankura).

13 Sri A. K. Roy, Block Development Officer, Sainthia (Birbhum).

14 Sri A. Rashid, Block Development Officer, Katwa-II, (Burdwan).

15 Sri U. P. Bhattacharyya, Superintendent of Sericulture, (Malda) (1964).

16 Sri Q. Khan, Extension Officer (Industries) Sonamukhi, (Bankura).

17 Sri N. Huda, Extension Officer (Industries), Taldangra, (Bankura).

18 Sri S. Sengupta, Extension Officer (Industries), Bisnupur (Bankura).

19 Sri D. K. Pandey, Extension Officer (Industries), Onda (Bankura).

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30 The Manager, State Sales Emporium, Calcutta.

31 Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar, Secretary, Panchmura Mrit Silpi Samabay Samity Ltd.

32 Sri Kanai Lal Dey, Secretary, Rajagram Cooperative Weavers Society Ltd.

33 Sri P. K. Das, Extension Officer (Industries), Office of District Industrial Officer, Bankura.

(*Most* of the positions of Field Officers relate to 1964-65)

Drawings

34 Sri Tarak Patra, Designer, C & SSI Directorate.

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I owe a sense of special gratitude to Sri Dhananjoy Das (Survey Wingh, C & SSI Directorate) who prepared the First Draft on Panchmura Craft Centre and Sri Byomkesh Roy of College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta, who prepared all the Sketches and drawings regarding the tools the products and the process as in Panchmura Centre, with great sincerity and devotion in field work.

I remain indeed grateful for the kind views and observations of Dr. Amalendu Mitra, M.A. D.Phil on 'Dharma Thakur', a predominant folk deity in the western tract of the state, who, on a simple request from my end, prepared a Note on it, based on his extensive field research, which forms an integrated part of the Monograph explaining to a great extent the motifs behind the craft.

Finally, I express my gratitude to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Dy. Registrar General, Govt. of India, who has all along been guiding us since we had taken up such field studies with constructive suggestions and kind views. It is only because that he preferred a few Monographs to be prepared by this Directorate and entrusted me with the responsibility, that we have been on the job with many lapses on our part.

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West Bengal

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[*Paragraph indicates within the brackets*]

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1

Introduction

Terracotta items are historical- -Evidences at Noh in Northern India, Bhita, Sari Dhari (Peshwar), Cyprus Mycenace (Greece)

(*Para 1.1—1.5*)

Shrines of folk deities of West Bengal show terracotta horses too

(*Para 1.6*)

Bankura rendered designs on terracotta

(*Para 1.7—1.9*)

Distinctiveness of Bankura terracotta figures is for WHEELS used

(*Para 2.1—2.2*)

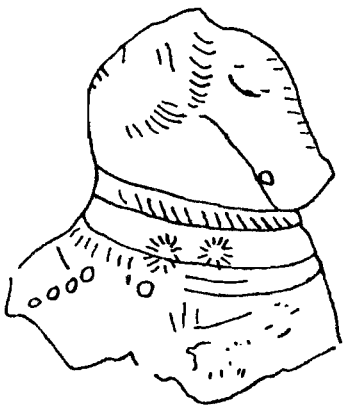
Study relates primarily to motifs and technique of Bankura terracotta

(*Para 2.3- -2.4*)

Introducing the Objects

Terracotta items are historical

1.1 Excavations at Noh, four miles from Bharatpur city, during 1963-64, have brought out terracotta animal figurines having bearing on the plastic art of the Bharatpur region during the centuries preceding the Christian era. The picture of a terracotta horse, as published in the "Statesman" of April 29, 1964, is reproduced.



Found at Noh, reported to be a habitation in Northern India between 1100 B.C. and 600 or 700 A.D.

1.2 Of the animal terracottas, the arched-necked horse classed as primitive in the Bhita finds, common throughout Western Asia were introduced probably either by Partians or Sakas.[1]

1.3 Terracotta objects obtained at Sari Dhari in the Chardad Sub-Division of the Peshware District have a reference to a small elephant of crude design, the head being pinched up to form of an ornament. In this respect and in the smooth slip technique, it resembles the crude female figure with pierced ears.[2]

1.4. The studies in 1939 and 1948 as based on the excavations at Kourion on the island of Cyprus reveals[3]:

(i) The output of the ceramic industry in ancient Cyprus was almost unrivalled in ancient world. The greatest output of Cypriote terracottas consists of small figures, which were made for cult purposes. These were also exported to Rhodes, Samos, Naukratis and other Mediterranean sites. Similar figurines were manufactured widely in Syria and Palestine.

(ii) The great bulk of Cypriote figurines were made to be used as dedications. Two-thirds of the figurines are horsemen (either riders or Charioteers). The remaining one third are votaries bearing sacrificial animals; lyre-players and bulls. The manufacture of figurines destined for dedication of the shrine of Apollo Hylates restricted their major output to not more than five distinct types.

(iii) Clay was usually procured locally.

(iv) Figurines (horsemen, bulls, deers, dogs) made locally for cult purposes were, at any one time (4th Century B.C., 6th Century B.C., Seventh/Eighth Century B.C.) of a few prescribed types only and that those types were strictly regulated by codes governing dedicatory practices at the local shrine. From 750 B.C. to about 100 A.D. figurines from Kourion can be studied in an unbroken line.

(v) Horsemen were a large proportion of the whole.

(vi) At Kourion, the handmade technique continued side by side with the use of moulds almost, if not quite, to very end of the series. At least among horsemen, the two techniques were combined.

(vii) For Animals (bulls) hollow figures—the usual method of manufacture was to join together seven wheel-made cylinders: 4 tall tubes for the legs, with a more massive cylinder for the body set horizontally on them, another slightly tapering for the neck and the back of head, and a truncated cone for the muzzle. Sometimes these cylinders were left as entirely separate compartments, sometimes they were connected by vent-holes. Added work by hand was limited to the tail, horns, eye swellings, sometimes a brisket, and the snakes, when they were present.

1.5 K. M. Lester reports in "Creative Ceramics" (1948) at pp 19-21 about Greece as follows:

> From ancient Mycenae, in Greece, came the animal figures. Those date somewhere between 1400—1100 B.C. It is baked clay, terracotta. The early worker formed the legs as supports, with

1 "Man" August, 1935—D. N. Gordon

2 "Man" August 1934—Notes on Early Frontier Terracottas—D. H. Gordon

3 "Terracotta Figurines from Kourion in Cyprus"—University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1955—By Jhon Howard Young and Suzanne Hatsttad Young.

no effort toward realistic modellings and kept the body light enough to prevent sagging. In one, he spread the front legs just enough to give support to the broad chest, the neck and the head. Then, to complete his idea, he added the decoration, stripes of a dark colour which fall in with the contour of the figure. The terracotta figure of the goat shows a similar effort in the part of the artist to make the legs carry the weight of the body and hand. Instead of the striped decoration, this figure was entirely covered with gilding, which is unusual. The riders from Cyprus show similar qualities in the modelling having pillar-like legs to support the weight. The team of horses from the early Iron Age (Cyprus) is a charming example of the primitive concept of a team. Note the decoration and how the artist emphasized the long neck by running the decorative line from broad chest up and then followed the curve of the neck with the short, rounded lines, well spaced.

Shrines of Folk Deities of West Bengal, show terracotta horses too.

1.6 Back to the present times, in reference to the State of West Bengal, it is a common sight in many of the rural areas in the State to have small (3"—6") earthen horses in the shrines of the folk deities. A villager generally knows where are these produced and particularly is keen for what purpose and in what occasions, these will be needed. The ritualistic characteristics of these fired clay (Poramati) items being offered to the rural gods and goddesses for the fulfilment of commitments on the woes and ills of daily life are simple enough to make these images symbolic for the spiritual ties of the common people with common deities.

Bankura rendered designs on terracotta

1.7 The simplicity in the figures and the smallness in their sizes as mostly found, do not raise any curiosity as to whether there could be any aspect of CRAFT in them. As a matter of fact, the traditional potters who produce these small images do not use even their wheels. Hence, the common influence is this that, no technique is involved.

1.8 But, at the same time, District Bankura was proud of its temple terracottas of Vishnupur as early as from sixteenth century. David McCutchion reports in 1965-66 issue of KARUKALA that "Vishnupur style was marked by rhythmic loveliness and harmony, compositional design, vitality and swellings "forms of figures". The same District also presented folk terracotta animal figures as being produced on traditional potter's wheels and has been traced to have their current origin from early nineteenth Century.

1.9 Only some time after independence, it was revealed to the larger people and in a few metropolitan cities that, District Bankura is the only source in the State of large-sized images (12"—60") of such figures like horses, elephants and tigers born on traditional wheels. Gradually, the name of PANCHMURA of the District came to light as the village producing terracotta figures. But, the so called cultured people in urban areas like them for household decoration purposes and are not concerned at all about the same original purposes for their production as in the cases of smaller figures. These items came to be regarded, however, as handicrafts because of the designs and these being un-common clay images.

Introducing the Study

Distinctiveness of Bankura terracotta figures is for WHEELS used.

2.1 The uncommonness in the images would draw our attention to the sources. There, when in the village Panchmura and other areas where images are found, one will learn that:

(i) Potters are the producers of the ordinary earthenware and clay images.

(ii) Images, small or large, are all traditionally meant for the offerings to folk deities.

(iii) Both the two categories are kiln-burnt.

(iv) The small figures are hand-made and the large ones are wheel-made.

2.2 A further local investigation in District Bankura will bring out that the wheel-made large images of animal figures are not only produced in Panchmura, but, in some other areas in the same District also.

Study relates primarily to motifs and technique of Bankura terracotta.

2.3 To all of us who have admirations for the health and the beauty of a horse and the massive size of an elephant and are afraid of a free tiger and a snake and have a curiosity to know how these images could be connected with deities, an account of the craft involved and the craftsmen reproducing the motifs in only one tract of the State may be of some use.

2.4 In that context, the idea of the present study undertaken in 1964-65 is to place in some details the facts about the traditional "Pora mati" (Terracotta) artisans of Panchmura in District Bankura who were restricted to animal forms and images of some local deities, in the backgrounds of—

(i) similar hand-made products of smaller sizes intended for similar traditional use in different parts of the State; and

(ii) similar artisans using wheel elsewhere in the District of Bankura.

2

Animal Terracotta Centres of West Bengal

Hand-made terracotta centres at Katwa (Burdwan), Daspur Block (Midnapore), Santipur (Nadia), Farakka Block (Murshidabad), Kharba and Harishchandrapur Blocks (Malda), Mohadipur (Malda), Panchmura (Bankura), Mirzabazar (Midnapore).

(*Para* 1.1—1.11)

Wheel-made terracotta centres in Bankura District at Panchmura (Taldangra Block), Bibarda (Taldangra Block), Kumarpara and Nimtala and Uliara (Vishnupur Block), Keyabati (Onda Block), Sonamukhi and Hamirpur (Sonamukhi Block), Rajagram (Bankura Municipality).

(*Para* 2.1 –2.6)

Panchmura being the Key Centre of Bankura terracotta has been chosen for the detailed study.

(*Para* 2.7).

Hand-made Terracotta figures in the State

1.1 It may be noted that, the fundamental difference in respect of the technique of production of these items between the Bankura Zone and the rest of the State lies in the use of the wheel only in the former.

1.2 On the basis of sample on the-spot investigations undertaken during 1967-69, it has been observed that there are many potters' areas in the State, where, along with earthenwares, kiln burnt terracotta figures of animals are produced without any wheel being used and with the hands only. Moulds are used in a few cases. A few instances are given below.

1.3 In the village Gorapora, under Mouza Bandmora (J.L. No. 39) in Katwa P.S. and in Katwa itself in District Burdwan, there are 9 artisans Units, who produce the figures of horses and bulls. The artisans belong to potters' caste "Kumbhakar". Their names are Sri Kishori Pal, Sri Dhananjoy Pal, Sri Nakari Pal, Sri Kartick Pal, Sri Radhasyam Pal, Sri Haridas Pal, Sri Durgapada Pal, Sri Sibapada Pal, Sri Ashutosh Pal. Sri Kishori Kr. Pal of village Gorapore is understood to be the master craftsman. The heights of the articles generally are within 12". Horses in pairs, are offered by Hindus and Muslims in Pirtalas located in the villages of Chandraketa, Jazigram, Dulermonitala of Mostapur, Kadampukur and Panchanan-Tola, during melas. Bulls, locally known as "Bansewa", are offered by the Hindus only in Panchanantala in the village of Garfulia and Burorajtala at Jamalpur. The purpose of all such offerings are mostly for the recovery from diseases. Horses are both red and black. Before firing, "Barak" is applied on green items. The peak period of business is from the months Chaitra to Asar.

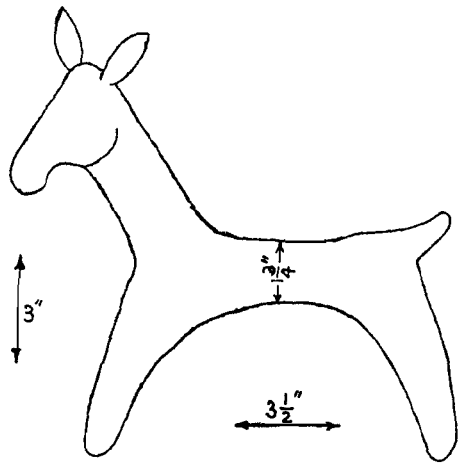
1.4 In Daspur I Block in District Midnapur, in the villages of Nirbhoypur (J.L. 63) and Narazole (J.L. No. 17), there are 8 to 11 potters' units respectively. The traditional artisans are Muslims. They produce animal figures including horses, where height is within 10". No wheel is used. Mould is used. These articles are used in Satyanarayan Puja, Baram Puja and Panchananda Puja. Also, these are sold in local melas viz. Ramanavami mela, Kaliya Daman Mela, Mohurram Mela and Satyanarayan Mela, etc.

1.5 In Santipur Block in District Nadia, in Chougachapara in Santipur itself, there are about 30 potters' units, producing different images including animal figures like horse, tiger, elephants and cat. The master-craftsmen are Sri Ajit Kr. Pal, Sri Anil Kr. Pal, Sri Radha Kamal Pal, Sri Mahananda Pal and Sri Chandra Kanta Pal. The figures are within height of 6". Mainly, these are made with hands For slightly bigger items, moulds are used. The items are offered to the local deities of Sasthi, Olai Chandi and Peer.

1.6 In Farakka Block in District Murshidabad in the villages of Nayansukh (under Mouza Kuli, J.L. No. 58), Mohadevnagar (J.L. No. 63) in Hazarpur (under Mouza Kuli, J.L. No. 58), there will be about 30 potters' units in each place, producing animal figures of horses and elephants of heights within 10". Mould is used. Master craftsmen are Sri Satish Pal, Sri Ganesh Pal, Sri Gupinath Pal, Sri Govinda Pal, Sri Svamapada Pal, Sri Ghanasyam Pal, Sri Sridam Pal, Sri Rishi Pal and Sri Jagad Bandhu Pal. Horses are offered to the Darga of Pir by Hindus and Muslims for the fulfilment of their "manasiks" (desire). It is reported that, the elephants are offered at the time of marriage by "Bhakats" a domiciled Behari Hindu community.

1.7 In Kharba and Harischandrapur Blocks, in District Malda, in the villages of Darkinara, Rampur, Boroi, Kushida and Barduary, there are about 50 potters' families in total, producing animal figures like horses and elephants. Horses are offered at the shrines of Pir. Elephants are used sometimes at matrimonial ceremony.

1.8 In village Mohadipur near Gour in District Malda, there are 8 potters' families, producing animal figures, mainly of horses in small size (4" height), seasonally. These are made with hands and no wheel is used. These are offered by persons of any caste and community in fulfilment of their "manat" to Jahara Kali, particularly in the month of Baisakh. It is said that Muslims also sometimes offer these images of horses to the mother Kali. At the Darga Pir, near the village Mahadipur, both the Hindus and Muslims offer these images. Muslims also offer them at the place of Daha, the starting place of Mohurram procession. Incidentally, Sri Dwijendra Kumbhakar of the village was found in producing the clay-image of a 3" height horse within 3 minutes in hands. At Piasbari Government Sericulture Nursery in 1965, from one of its tanks, from a depth of 16', pieces of terracotta horses were excavated, a sketch of one of which is placed on page 8. The location is Nazirkhari Mouza in English Bazar Block. Kadir Sekh (63), an employee of the Nursery reported that such horses are usually offered by Hindus and Muslims to Dargas of Pirsahib against their "manasiks". It has been found that the weights of two such horses, dug out, are about 100 gms. It is interesting to note that, the weight of the horse produced by Sri Dwijendra Kumbhakar in its green stage (*i.e.* before firing) is only 110 gms.



1.9 In a place called Raibaghini, 2 miles off from Purulia on way to Ranchi, one may see terracotta horses at the Ma Annapurnar Than, located on road side. It was understood on 24-2-68, that, one Rai, a local ghatwal of the village belonging to the Bhumia community is the *sevait* of the *Than*. There, the people after these images for *"manasikas"*.

1.10 In Panchmura (Bankura) village, small hand-made animal figures for the purpose of offerings are also made, but, for which, Panchmura is not reputed.

1.11 In the Mirzabazar locality under Midnapur Municipality, there will be 78 potters who produce hand-made terracotta figures like horses and elephants. Generally these items have heights below 10". Most of them are produced in Bengali month of Pous and sold during Pous "Sankrānti". These are for dedication to folk deities against "Mānasiks" including "Pirasthān". The names of some of the prominent artisans are Sri Radhyashyam Pal, Sri Purna Pal, Sri Lav Pal Kabi.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES PRACTISING WHEEL-BASED TERRACOTTA CRAFT IN DISTRICT BANKURA (1964-65)

Name of Place	Number of families
Panchmura (Taldangra Block)	28
Bibarda (Do.)	4
Kamardiha (Do.)	1
Nimtala (Vishnupur Block)	6
Uliara (Do.)	1
Keyabati (Onda Block)	2
Sonamukhi (Sonamukhi Block)	10
Hamirpur (Patrasayar Block)	4
Rajagram (Bankura Block)	1
Total	**57**

Terracotta of Bankura Zone

2.1 From out of investigations undertaken during 1967-69, it has been observed that, such articles, made out of wheel and kiln-burnt and meant for being offered to gods and goddesses in the occasions of festivals and promises are also traditionally produced in a few places in District Bankura besides Panchmura. Panchmura being discussed later, it has not been discussed here below.

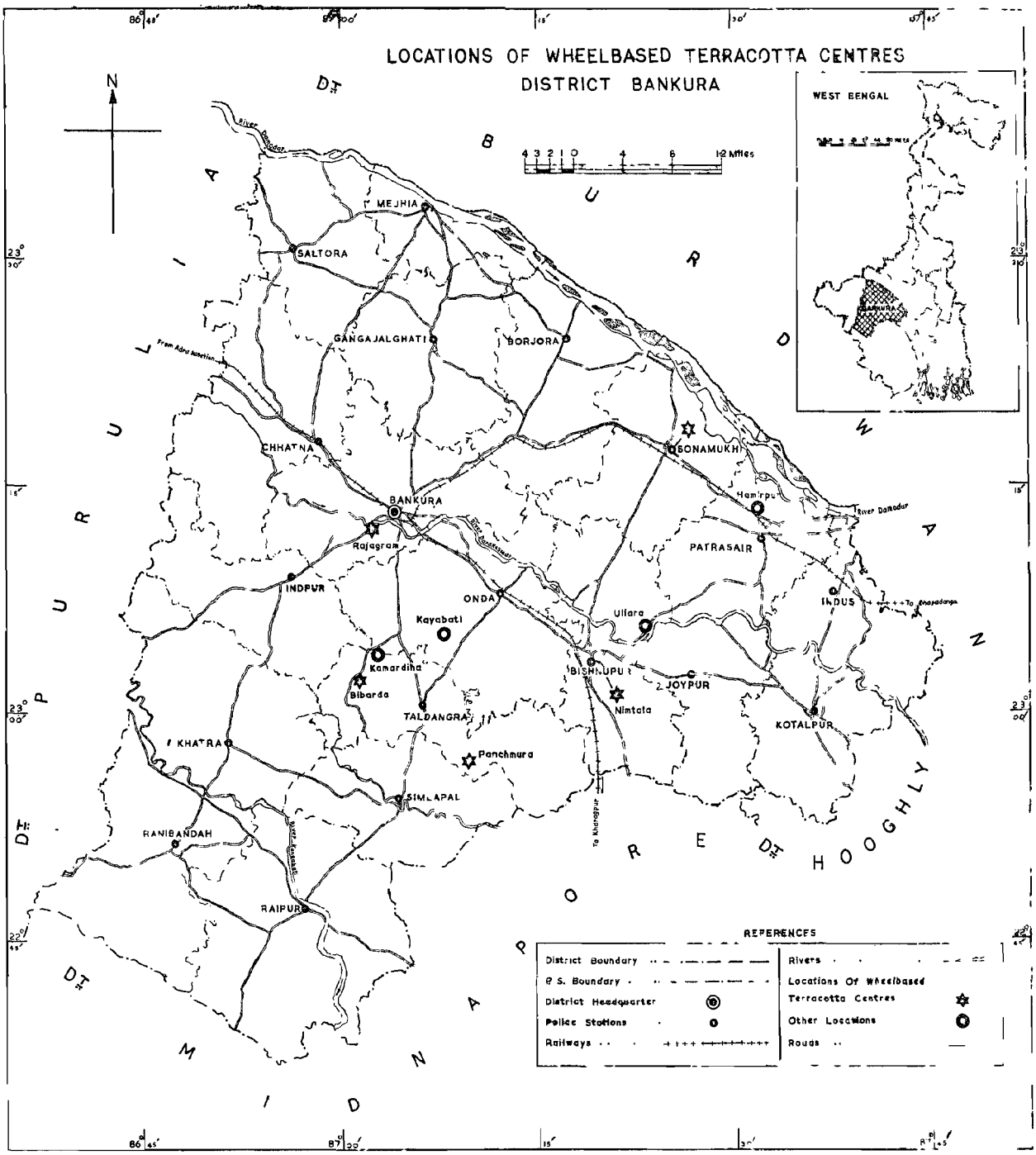
Centres at Taldangra Block

2.2 These villages in the Taldangra Block in District Bankura besides Panchmura are (i) Bibarda (J.L. No. 6) and (ii) Kamardiha (J.L. No. 12). The number of potters' families in these villages are reported to be 19 and 40 respectively. It is incidentally mentioned that, there are concentrations of potters in the Block in the villages of Taldangra, Nachenkunda, Mamra and Jafala besides Panchmura, Bibarda and Kamardiha, producing earthen utensils generally. Bibarda and Kamardiha have 4 and 1 terracotta artisans respectively only. The artisans in Bibarda are Sarvasree Becharam (70), Jugal (40), Khanda (32) and Syamapada (19) Kumbhakar. They learnt the craft from Panchmura artisans. They produce items like horses, tiger, elephant and 'Manashār Jhār.' Tiger-images are offered in favour of "Bāghroy" thakur. The local people belong to the communities of Brahmins, Ugrachatri, Baishnab, Tambuli, Layek, Bauri, Mal and Lohar. The Bibarda artisans procure soil from the local areas called Tumdedangjuli, Bindhis' pond of Beldangra and Bauti Bandh. Craftsmen from the different parts of the Districts of Bankura and Purulia visit the village on the occasions of 'Makar Sankrānti,' 'Mākhal', 'Dāksankrānti', 'Dasaharā', etc. The local gods and goddesses are 'Jugasini', 'Jortalasini', 'Gramya Devata Solsana', 'Burasiva' and 'Birinchi', located under different trees [excepting Burasiva, who is housed in a temple]. In the village Kamardiha, the artisans' name is Sri Baribal Kumbhakar. It is learnt that, the artisans of these villages are connected with the Panchmura artisans by marriage.

Centres at Vishnupur Block

2.3 In the Vishnupur Block of the District Bankura, these articles are produced in the Kumarpara and Nimtala (J.L. No. 16) areas of Vishnupur proper and Uliara village (J.L. No. 169). The only one artisan of Joykrishnapur village (J.L. No. 112) has since left the production of the items and reverted to utensils only. The total number of terracotta artisans in the above 3 places will be 7 only. Only one is in Uliara. The notable cratsmen in Vishnupur area are Sri Lakshminarayan (35) and Sri Aswini and the artisans in Uliara and Nimtala are

[*Facing page 8*]



Sri Haripada Kumbhakar (60) and Sri Ram Govinda Kumbhakar (56) respectively. The artisans are related with the Panchmura Kumbhakars. They produce all the articles like horses. The Uliara artisan, having settled in Uliara for about 20 years only, knows to produce different type of "Jhārs" also. He produces "Manashār Jhār' in four stages. The sketches of Vishnupur horse, a Vishnupur elephant and a Uliara horse are placed. Incidentally, it has been understood from Sri Maniklal Singha, Secretary, Vishnupur Bangiya Sahitya Parishad that, the temples of Vishnupur like 'Pancha Ratna', 'Jore Bunglow', 'Madan Mohan', 'Jugannath Balaram', 'Radha Govinda', constructed in seventeenth century, contain plaques showing mythological figures and events, produced, perhaps, by Sri Bishnu Das, Sri Manohar Das, and Sri Mathur Das of Vishnupur. No inference can be made about their connections, if any, with Folk terracotta artisans of Panchmura, Vishnupur and other places. It has been understood that the Vishnupur Kings used to offer terracotta horses and elephants to 'Bhairab' during 'Makar Sankaranti'.

Centre at Onda Block

2.4 In the Onda Block of District Bankura, there is only one village called Keyabati (J.L. No. 44), where there are 2 terracotta artisans. Their names are Sri Sudarshan Kumbhakar (40) and Sri Krishna Kumbhakar (36). They are related with Panchmura Kumbhakars. There are, however, four potters' families there. The local people offer these items to deities like 'Mā Manasā' and 'Bhairab'.

Centres at Sonamukhi Block and Patrasayar Block

2.5 In the Sonamukhi area, there are 2 places, where similar terracotta articles are produced on wheel. These are (i) Sonamukhi Municipality and (ii) Hamirpur (J.L. No. 15) under Patrasayar Block. There are 10 and 6 artisans respectively in these places. The names of the working artisans are:

Sonamukhi

Sri Abinash Khan	(60)
Sri Ranjan Khan	(55)
Sri Kalipada Khan	(55)
Sri Subal Khan	(45)
Sri Gopal Ch. Khan	(40)
Sri Baidyanath Khan	(35)
Sri Karali Khan	(31)
Sri SiddheswarKhan	(30)
Sri Paresh Khan	(30)
Sri Madanmohan Khan	(30)

Hamirpur

Sri Satish Ch. Pal	(46)
Sri Anil Ch. Khan	(41)
Sri Bhupati Pramanik	(40)
Sri Kartick Ch. Pal	(30)

(Khans are Kumbhakars by caste)

Terracotta horses 10″-4′, elephants (10″-4′), and Manashar jhars (1′-2′) are produced specifications in brackets indicate heights). Big size Manashar jhars are decorated with larger number of snakes. The feet of animal figures of Hamirpur are comparatively more fatty than those of Sonamukhi. Sometimes, the mouth of horses is shown open and the trunk of elephant is in raised position. The sketches are placed. These items are offered by the local people belonging to all castes including Bauri, Bagdi, Mete, Ruidas in "Manashā" than (place where located) against commitments to receive the blessings from goddess to tide over illness, litigation, etc. Sravana Sankranti is an auspicious day in this regard.

Besides, these are offered to the Thans of 'Dharmraj' and 'Bhairab' during Paus Sankranti and also to the "Pirtala" (shrine of Muslim Pir) by the Hindus and Muslims for blessings. The process of manufacture is similar to the one existing in the other District Bankura. "Manashā" is made with hands. Local sale-prices of the products are given below:

Article	*Price for size (Rs.)*		
	Large	Medium	Small
Horse	4	2	1
Elephant	4	2	1
Manasha	3	2	1

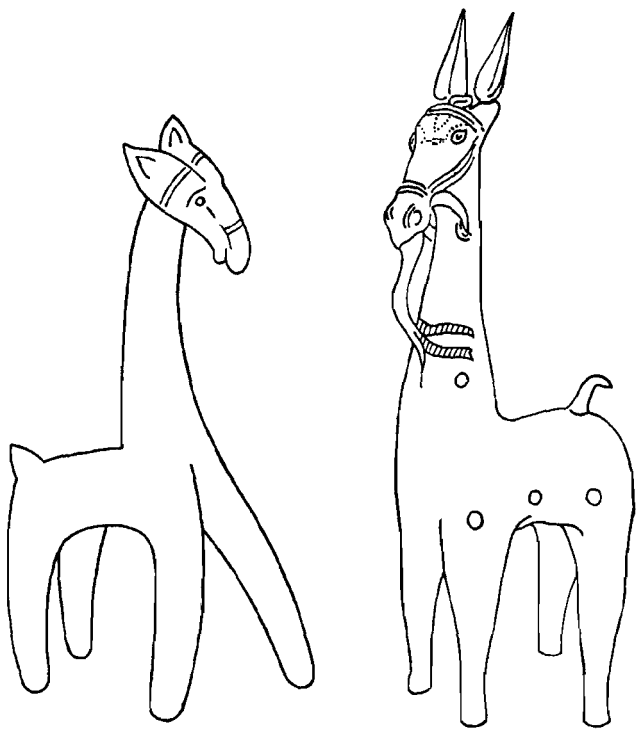
2.6 In the village Rajagram (J.L. No. 183) within Bankura Municipality where there are 200 potters, there is only one such family producing terracotta figures like horses and elephants along with utensils. The name of the artisan is Sri Satish Kumbhakar (76). His sons also have learnt the technique. Their names are Sri Ram Kamal (40), Sri Indra Narayan (37), and Sri Ram Gopal (31). Sri Satish Kumbhakar learnt it from his maternal uncle Sri Dwarikanath Pal of Rajagram. He came to Rajagram from the village Hariharpur in Onda Block about 57 years back. He married in the village Bibarda, another village of such artisans. The items vary in height from 13″—36″. Generally, the customs belong to the castes of Bauri, Lohar, Bagdi and there are tribal purchasers also. The local deities to whom the articles are offered are 'Manashā', 'Bāsuli', 'Bhairab', 'Chandi', 'Kali', 'Dharmaraj' (particularly one of Beliatore in Barjora Block). According to the local opinion, these figures are generally offered in pair, which may consist

of either one horse and one elephant or two horses; but, never a pair of elephants. In the kiln, (called "puān",), generally, 10—40 figures depending on size, are fired along with other utensils. The clay and clay-dyes are secured by the artisan-members from Salboni and Dunda villages, Burakore jungle and Birai river-base. The work of the wheel remains suspended, twice in a year, once from the Chaitra Sankranti to the first Saturday of Jaistha and the other in Debi Paksha from Sasthi to Purnima. Incidentally, the village Rajagram is reported to have been under the Samanta Bhum (chhatra Estate) and not any time under the Vishnupur Rajas.

Panchmura—Key Centre of Bankura terracotta

2.7 The sketches of the figures of Panchmura, Uliara, Vishnupur, Rajagram and Sonamukhi given below (Drawings No. 4-12) would only suggest that these reveal, in varying degrees, both alertness and vigour. In respect of the number of the artisans, their organisation and influence over other areas, Panchmura (Bankura) has come to be recognised to be the foremost amongst all the producing areas, although, the common caste of artisans, the similarity of their products, the uniform technique adopted by them and the purpose of uses of items may justify all the locations to form only one Terracotta Zone in the western part of the State of West Bengal. Therefore, PANCHMURA has been chosen hereinafter as the key centre of Bankura terracotta in this Study.

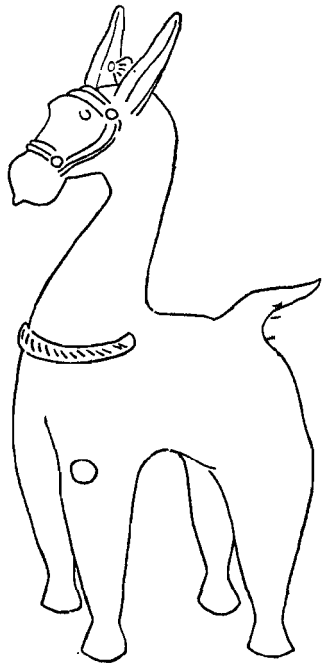
TERRACOTTA OF BANKURA DISTRICT



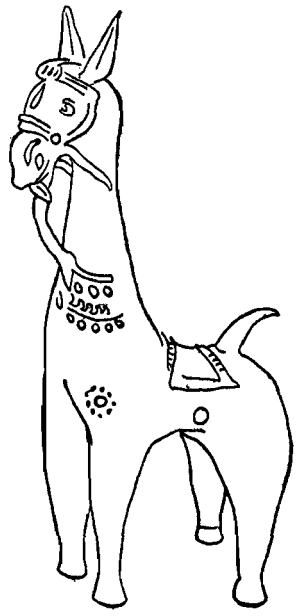
3 4

3 Panchmura—Horse (Hand-made).

4 Panchmura—Horse (Turned on wheel)



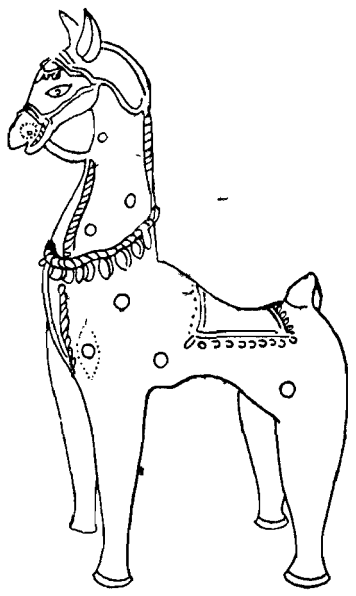
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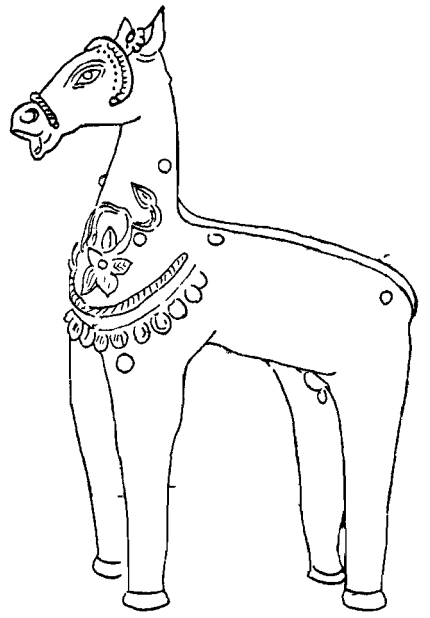
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5 Vishnupur—Horse (Turned on wheel).

6 Uliara—Horse (Turned on wheel).



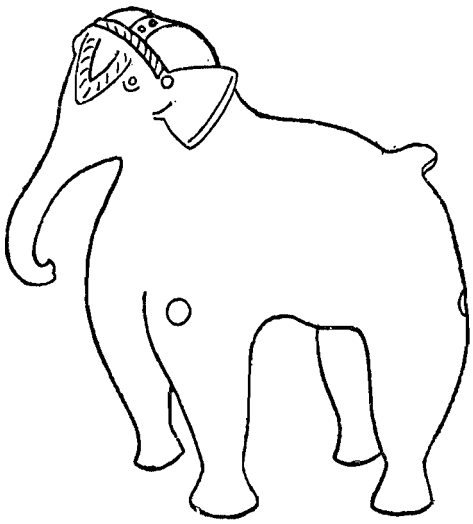
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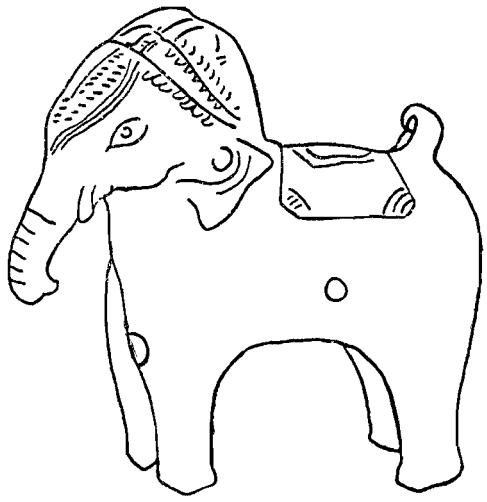
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7 Rajagram—Horse (Turned on wheel).

8 Sonamukhi—Horse (Turned on wheel).



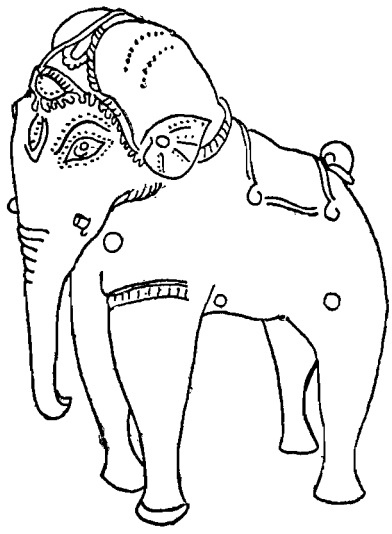
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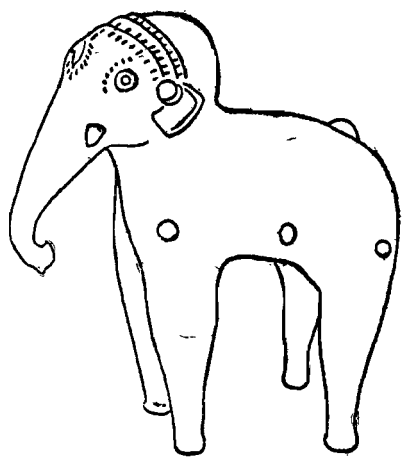
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9 Vishnupur—Elephant (on wheel).

10 Uliara—Elephant (on wheel).



11



12

11 Rajagram—Elephant (on wheel).

12 Panchmura—Elephant (on wheel).

3

Origin of Bankura Terracotta motifs

Folk deities of *Manasha* and *Dharma Thakur* and points of origin of motifs
(*Para* 1.1)

Dharma Thakur — the concept
(*Para* 2.1)

Devotees of *Dharma Thakur* in various western parts of the State
(*Paras* 2.2.1—2.2.7)

Folk rituals may only explain small forms of animal terracotta
(*Para* 2.3.1)

But the Bankura forms and designs may be related also to the valour of local kings and terror of forests
(*Paras* 2.3.2 — 2.3.4)

Folk deities of 'Manashā' and 'Dharma Thākur' are the points of origin of motifs.

1.1 There is no existing record of how the artisans of District Bankura learnt the art which is a speciality of the terracottas there. Even discussions with Potter's families failed to throw much light on the subject. But, it could easily be guessed that these art motiffs evolved primarily out of the traditional folk festivals, and rituals practised through centuries in this part of the State. Terracotta elephants and horses, "Manasarjtar", "Manasar Ghat" and other images, produced by these craftsmen are offered in the worship of Goddess "Manasa". In Bengal, "Manasa" is held as the Goddess of Snakes. Goddess "Manasa" is largely worshipped in the "Rarh" areas. Once men had to live in the snake-infested jungles of this area. These helpless men sought protection from the snake-Goddess "Manasa" only as a remedy from snake-biting. Fear-phycosis was a dominant factor in the evolution of conception of Gods and Goddesses in rural areas. The ancestors of the craftsmen of Panchmura maintained their age-old tradition of worshipping a human form "Ma Manasaha" set amongst snakes. The specific reason of the dedication of terracotta horses and elephants in the places of worship of "Manasha" in foot of the trees or temples is not very clear. The custom may have some connection with similar offerings being made to "Dharma Thakur", a powerful and most common God worshiped in "Rarh". Dharma Thakur is originally a Sun God, and represented in stones placed generally in the open, and associated with magic beliefs of primitive men. If any particular desire of a worshipper is fulfilled, he would offer terracotta horse to his "Dharma Thakur". People believe that "Dharma Thakur" rides this horse and moves around the place. This custom has spread and terracotta horses are now being offered to other village-deities also.

Translation of the relevant extracts regarding the offerings of terracotta horses and horse-worship from Dr. Amalendu Mitra's book "Rārer Sanskriti-O-Dharmathākur" (vide *pages* 91-101)

2.1 *Dharma Thakur*

Generally the carrier of Dharmathakur is the horse. In Dharmapurān one "Uluka" (owl) has been shown as his carrier but in practice we find the horse as the main carrier of Dharmathakur. The elephant as the carrier can also be seen. There are Dharmathākurs named "Hati Rāi" (Master of elephant). In the Gājan festival, the rituals related to the horses (made of earth and wood) show extensive types of variations. Terracotta horses are also given as offerings upon the shrine of other village gods and even on the shrine of Islamic "Pirs". It is needless to say that this custom has been adopted by the Mahamedans from the Gājan festival of Dharma. In the Gājan festival of Siva, there is no practice of using horses. Herein lies the great difference between the Gājan festival of Siva and that of Dharma. Common people believe that Dharmathākur always rides on a white horse. Some think that the offerings of terracotta horse will help a child to walk steadily like a horse. Indeed these are the mere folk-beliefs having no realistic stand-point whatsoever. In the South, we get a god whose carrier is also the horse. Rev. Whitehead says in his book "The village gods of South India" —"The deity that is most universally worshipped among the Tamils is Iyener, who is regarded as the watchman of the village and is supposed to patrol every night, mounted on a ghostly steed, a terrible sight to behold, scaring away the evil spirits.....His shrines may be known by the clay or concrete figures of horses ranged either side of the image or piled about in the compound of the shrine in admired confusion. The horses are offered by devotees and represent the steeds on which he rides in his nightly rounds". (P. 49). This belief is totally identical with the beliefs related to Dharmathākur of Rār area. Now, if we try to trace the evolution regarding the use of horse, we find that there is no proof of the existence of the horse in India before the Aryans. Dr. Birajashankar Guha has said, "Perhaps the Nordics have made us acquainted with horse and iron" (Bhārater Jāti Parichaya- P. 28). Among the Aryans the various thoughts related to the horse can be discussed here in brief. The carrier horse, the "Ucchaisrava" of god Indra is a renowned figure. The chariot driven by seven horses of the Sun is also a well-known fact. There are ample instances of the Sun-temple and "Suryya" images having horse idol inscribed thereon. In one Mantra (Hymn) of Rigveda (7.77.3) the sun has been identified with the horse. On the other hand Vishnu is the owner of as many as ninety horses. Each of these horses has four different names. Sri Vishnupada Bhattacharjee says, "These denote 360 days in a year and four seasons" (*vide* Vaidik Devatā P. 18). The Aswamedha Yajjna" of the age of the Purans is known to us. In Koutilva's "Arthasāstra" there are instructions regarding the bathing of horse, offering of scented garlands to the horses, sacrifice of the ghosts on the new Moon day, prayer for settling peace during the full moon day and "Ārati" on the 9th day of the month of Āswina for the welfare of the horses (*vide*—Adskhya Prachār—R. D. Basak's translation P. 119).

These examples give us a clear conception that the horses occupied the most dignified role among the Aryans. Now we can discuss in this connexion the immature but realistic thoughts of the people of ancient tribal society related to the horses. Dharmathākur has taken the present form through the evolution of magical rites observed, for the growth of the corns, rainfall and drought. We should make a comparative estimate of the thoughts and activities of undeveloped agrarian societies here. First, offerings of terracotta horses to Dharmathākur. Prof. Deviprasad Chatterjee says, "In Greece the cultivators offered earthen bulls in the temple of Demeter when those animals fell sick with the idea that the goddess might cure those from the disease "(Lokāyat Darsan—P. 388). We can compare this example with the horse offerings to Dharmathākur. In Greece a chariot with four horses was being thrown into the sea for the magical control of the sun. Besides this, some countries like Sparta, Iran, etc. used to sacrifice horses. Sir James Frazer in his book "Golden Bough" has supplied us with some queer examples regarding the horse. In Europe the corn-spirit appears in the shape of horse or mare. In Kalw and Stuttgart, when a corn bends, before the wind they say, "There runs the horse". In Hertfordshire, at the end of the reaping, there is or used to be observed a ceremony called the "crying of Mare". The last blades of corn left standing in the field are tied together and called the mare. In the neighbourhood of Lille the idea of the corn-spirit embodying the horse form is clearly preserved. When a harvester grows weary at his work, it is said, "He has the fatigue of the Horse". The first sheaf called the "Cross of the Horse", is placed on a boxwood in the barn, and the youngest horse on the farm must tread on it. The reapers dance round the last blades of corn, crying, "See the remains of the Horse" (P. 603-606).

According to Frazer, as the ancient Royal King Virbius of Aricia was killed by a horse, the horse was treated as the corn-spirit. For this reason every year horses were brought to the grave yard and killed in the commemoration of Virbius. In Rome the chariot races were observed on the 15th October. When the races were over, one of the horses of the winner chariot used to be sacrificed before the altar of the God Mars. After sacrifice, the tail and blood of the victim horse were kept in a room of the palace. Frazer adds further, "The horse would represent the fructifying spirit both of the tree and of the corn for the two ideas melt into each other, as we seen in custom like the Harvest May" (Ibid P. 479).

Secondly, in Orissa, a function is observed in the month of "Chaitra" named as "Ghora Purnima" (Full moon of the horse) or "Jattra" of the horse. The boatmen take part in this festival. There is a custom of dancing by wearing the mask of a horse in the marriage ceremony among the Santals. This type of dancing in the guise of a horse is also observed in various festivals related to other village deities. This horse-dance might be of magical origin of very ancient form. Uncivilised men tried to draw attention of the wild beasts being dressed just like the animals.

Now what is the relation of Dharmathakur with the horse? The question remains unsolved. It might be a tribute of the Aryan culture, or it might be a tribute of the tribal society—the belief originated from some agricultural magic or totem belief. In this context the surname of non-Brahmins such as "Ghorā" (horse), "Hāti" (elephant), "Bāgh" (tiger), etc. should be taken into account.

A Zoologist classifies the tiger in the group of the cats. This cat group came into existence on earth several millions of years age. Nobody knows for certainty when the tigers became inhabitants of our country.

We do not get any trace of tiger in India either in writing or in inscription or in image, till to the period of "Atharvaveda". This is the reason, we do not find any of the ancient gods with the tiger as a carrier. The tigers came to India from the Central Asia through China, perhaps in the period of 500 B.C. In Rigveda (1500-1000 B.C.) the name of the tiger does not occur. Some Buddhist literatures dating near about 470 B.C. refer to the name of tigers. But it is very difficult to say whether the tigers were known to the Austric invaders who came to India long before the Arvans, as they had no literature. They might or might not have brought various customs and beliefs relating to the tiger or tiger-worship.

Now let us discuss the tiger cult existing at present mainly among the backward classes of Bengal. There is a village deity named "Bāghrāi Chandi" who is being extensively worshipped in Rārh area. People say that she is the tiger deity. There are Dharmathākurs also, named as "Bāghrāi". In the village Bārā of Midnapore, an allied female deity to Dharmathākur is known as Rāi Bāghini. The god "Bāghai" of Maymensingh should also be remembered in this context. Amongst the "Gandh" sect there is a tribe known as "Bāghesar". The Santals worship a deity named a "Bāghut Bonga". There is a deity of rice plant known as "Bāgh Aneom". This word is of Santal origin. Perhaps agricultural deity "Bāgh" has become "tiger" due to the identical phonetical sound in Bengali. Throughout the district of 24-Parganas, the famous tiger-deity

TIGER-CULT Ibid *vide* pages 34—35

"Dakshin Rāi" is worshipped, which brought forth several "Rāi Mangal Kāvyas". Among the Hindu tribes there are ample titles and sects bearing the name of the tiger (Bāgh). Probably, the tribal society took this tiger surname from the natural fear of the tiger and thereafter adopted the tiger as a totem. Since then, most probably the tiger worship and offerings of tiger images (terracotta) to the village gods, have spread among the upper class, through those backward tribal societies.

Dharma Thakur and His devotees in various places in Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura Districts.

2.2.1 Dr. Amalendu Mitra of Suri (Birbhum), who had carried intensive field research work on Dharma Thakur further says * "Dharma Thakur is the most common God worshipped in villages of Rarh. Dharma Thakur is a combination of many gods. Buddhism also cast its influence in this cult. Curious magic beliefs of the primitive men are the origin of Dharma Thakur. It was treated as Sun-stone. The magic charms with rain stone of the primitive society are also fully present in Dharma rituals. The Shrines of Dharma Thakur create confusion in studying the true nature of the God. Only influence of various religious can be traced. The shrine of Dharma Thakur with one deity, i.e. Dharma himself, is a very rare instance. Siva, Vishnu, Manasha, Kali are worshipped on the same altar. The shrines have no glamour. Ordinarily, pieces of shapeless stones are worshipped under the tree. Small houses have been erected at some places. In the village Belia (P. S. Sainthia), a natural stone is placed upon a headless human figure, and it remains covered. There are many tortoise-shaped images of Dharma Thakur in the village Muramath (P. S. Suri). In the village Kamarhati (P. S. Mayurweswar), a horn-like stone is struck deep under ground in the open ground under a tree. In the village Chinchuria (Dt. Burdwan), Dharma Thakur remains under the earth. The village Patadanga (P. S. Rajnagar) shows the type of preserving a skull with Dharma Thakur. Skulls are also worshipped. Some of the shrines look like "stupas". It is difficult to ascertain whether these are an imitation of Buddhist "stupas". In the village Koma (P. S. Suri), there is a monkey image with Dharma Thakur. In Layekpur (P. S. Lavpur), there are some stones left uncared for with the vermilion paint on them under a "Bel" tree by the side of a tank. Those stones are called "Dharma" and the adjoining tank is "Dharmapukur". Those stones are not worshipped as there is a separate shrine of Dharmathakur in the village. In Darbardanga (Burdwan), in early Magh, a fair is held called Dharmasilar Mela (fair of the Dharma stone). In the village Santipara, there is a spot encircled with brick demarcation, where pieces of stones are lying called "Giridharma". People say that mysterious events occur there at night. In the villages Gulaigachi and Layekpur, the Dharma stones are kept in a large brass pot and immersed in a tank and taken out only during the "Gajan" festival. In the village Parota (P. S. Nanoor), about a hundred stones of "Buro Siva" are also kept immersed in the tank. Rumour runs that the number of stones increases year after year spontaneously. It can be imagined that the present "Buro Siva" is nothing but the conversion of Dharma Thakur, as we know Siva is generally worshipped in the form of Linga. Small "Ganesha" images are resting with Dharma in the village Goaliara (Dubrajpur) and Gobra (Suri). In Gangmuri (P. S. Rajnagar) there are several village gods along with Dharma, one of which is called Kala Pahar. There is a village god with Dharma at Golapgunj (Rajnagar). Dharma Thakur has been established on a car (Ratha) in the village Jamthali (Dubrajpur), Beside the car, there are Manasha Devi, Siva and Durga. In the village Manpur (Suri), the "Doms" worship a big bassalt stone as Dharmaraj. Besides annual festival, Dharma Thakur is worshipped throughout the year on different occasions. There are examples of the tendency of equating Dharma Thakur with Siva; one of the instance is the shapeless Dharma Thakur getting shape like that of a Linga when the cultivators, while making "gur" pour cane-juice and gur on the Linga images of clay by the side of ovens."

2.2.2 In the village Kumarpur (Burdwan), there is the Dharmaraj, in the form of a small deep-black stone. The devotees have offered golden ornaments including a golden umbrella. In the full moon after Dasahara, there is the Dharmaraj mela. For the fulfilment of "manats", the people of various castes offer horses. They say that the Dharmaraj would move around on the back of these horses. There are Pujas also on the Saturdays and Tuesdays of the week. The devotees mostly worship to get rid of physical illness.

2.2.3 In the village Gopalkhanji, adjacent to Dainhat (Burdwan), there is the Dharmaraj, locally known as "Sundar Ray", symbolised by a deep black stone. He is worshipped during Baisakhi and Jaistha Purnima days every year. Generally, the devotees attend with the desire to be blessed with to be free from diseases and to get babies. Besides, the usual ingredients of a "Naibedya" [sugar, gur-cake, fruits, etc.], clay made red small horses are also committed for being offered. People of any caste and creed can be a devotee of Dharmaraj.

2.2.4 In the village Belia (Birbhum), there is the Dharmaraj, in the form of a stone, worshipped during Buddha Purnima Day, primarily for the recovery from rheumatism. Devotees offer earthen horses to this God.

2.2.5 Terracotta articles are offered by the devotees to Dharmaraj at Beliatore (Bankura).

2.2.6 In Sankari Bazar under Vishnupur Municipality (Bankura), there is one Dharmaraj temple, where, the terracotta pieces produced in Nimtala, Kumarpara and Uliara [all in Vishnupur Block] are offered by the devotees on various occasions, particularly at the time of Makar Sankranti.

2.2.7 In Taldangra (Bankura) Block, Dharma Thakur is worshipped, which is located mostly under a tree in or at the outskirts of a village, and remains in the form of a stone, particularly during the occasion of Ambubachi, Dasahara, Sankranti, New Moon and Full Moon. Offerings of clay horses and elephants are made by the devotees for obtaining blessings with children by barren women, for cure of eye-diseases, rheumatism, etc. Dharmaraj Thakur as situated under a tree, has a position function in removing evil spirits that may overcome a village, and for the purpose, proper mounts are to be provided for him in clay horses and elephants for expeditious action. The number of pieces offered generally varies with the scale of importance of the desire (manat) of the devotee. Panchmura horses and elephants are found to be in highest demand. Items up to the height of 4' are purchased for offerings. The Santal people have their own Dharma Deota in their villages.

Folk rituals may only explain small forms of animal terracotta.

2.3.1 Terracotta animal figures like horses, as produced in different places of the State in and outside Bankura District, with or without the use of wheel, are also offered to other folk deities for the fulfilment of various personal and family commitments. That factor may explain why these are produced by the potters; but, generally, small-sized hand-made pieces, done without the use of the wheel, are offered. Folk rituals, therefore, cannot explain wholly why the Bankura District artisans, in special reference to the Panchmura artisans, took upon their wheels to produce the bigger figures. As a matter of fact, the wheels turned out figures upto 4' height, which were just not necessary for the purpose of ritualistic requirements.

But the Bankura forms and designs may be related also to the Valour of local Kings and terror of forests

2.3.2 From the existence of forests in District Bankura and around Panchmura in particular, risks of human lives and domestic animals were obvious. Besides the local people including the artisans had devotion and allegiance to the valour and powers of the 17th Century Vishnupur (Bankura) Kings. Actually, the discipline was maintained through the entrusted people holding Kings' titles like 'Sardār', Sādiāl', 'Ghāntwāl' and 'Mirdyā'. There is an age-old fort also known as "Bānsgarh", very near Panchmura village. The domesticated and trained animals like horses and elephants of Vishnupur Kings, moving from time to time, must have created impressions of admirations and wonder amongst the local potters and other villagers.

2.3.3 The particular designs of horses, elephants and tigers as shown below, adopted by the Bankura District's artisans and Panchmura artisans in particular, suggest that the might and valour of these animals, disciplined behaviour in cases of horses and elephants and the fear of forests have been amply illustrated in the heights and gestures of the particular animals reproduced on terracotta.

(1) Horse—Erect posture with erect/straight ears, chest, legs and neck, with bridle fixed on mouth and neck, seat on back, decorations on neck and forehead.

(2) Elephant—Movement postur.

(3) Tiger—Straight legs, openeyes, tongue out and mouth open.

2.3.4 Thus, it may be concluded that, perhaps, the determining factors for the origin of production of the terracotta figures in the District Bankura were the ritualistic characteristics attached to the folk deities of the western region of the state, the might of the Vishnupur (Bankura) Kings as expressed to the local people and remembered by them in shapes of large-sized disciplined animal force and the terror of fierce tigers and snakes in adjoining forests as well. In course of time, the petters of Panchmura (and those of some other places of Bankura District) conceived the solid figures of such animals and tried to reproduce them with all the connotations, but in large hollow figures, turned on wheels. There lay the distinction of the Bankura terracotta artisans. The demand for such big images followed the artisans' creation.

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*Dharma Thakur Shrines in Birtabhum District — Amrita Bazar Patrika, — Dr. Amulendu Mitra — June 21, 1968— extracts.

**Information in subsequent paras in this chapter have been furnished by the Block Development Officers of Ketugram I/ Karwa-II/Sainthia/Taldangra, the Secretary, Rajagram Weavers' Co-operative Society and the Extension Officer/ (Industries), Vishnupur.

4

Craft Centre at Panchmura (Bankura)

District Bankura

(*Para* 1)

Block Taldangra

(*Para* 2)

Village Taldangra (where Panchmura is located)

(*Para* 3)

Rivers and canals (around village Panchmura)

(*Para* 4)

Surrounding villages

(*Para* 5)

Lay-out of the village Panchmura—Habitable land is very limited dwellings are clustered together—castewise localities — road-side settlements — compact village leaving less scope for expansion

(*Para* 6.1—6.3)

Craftsmen's families—their castewise distribution

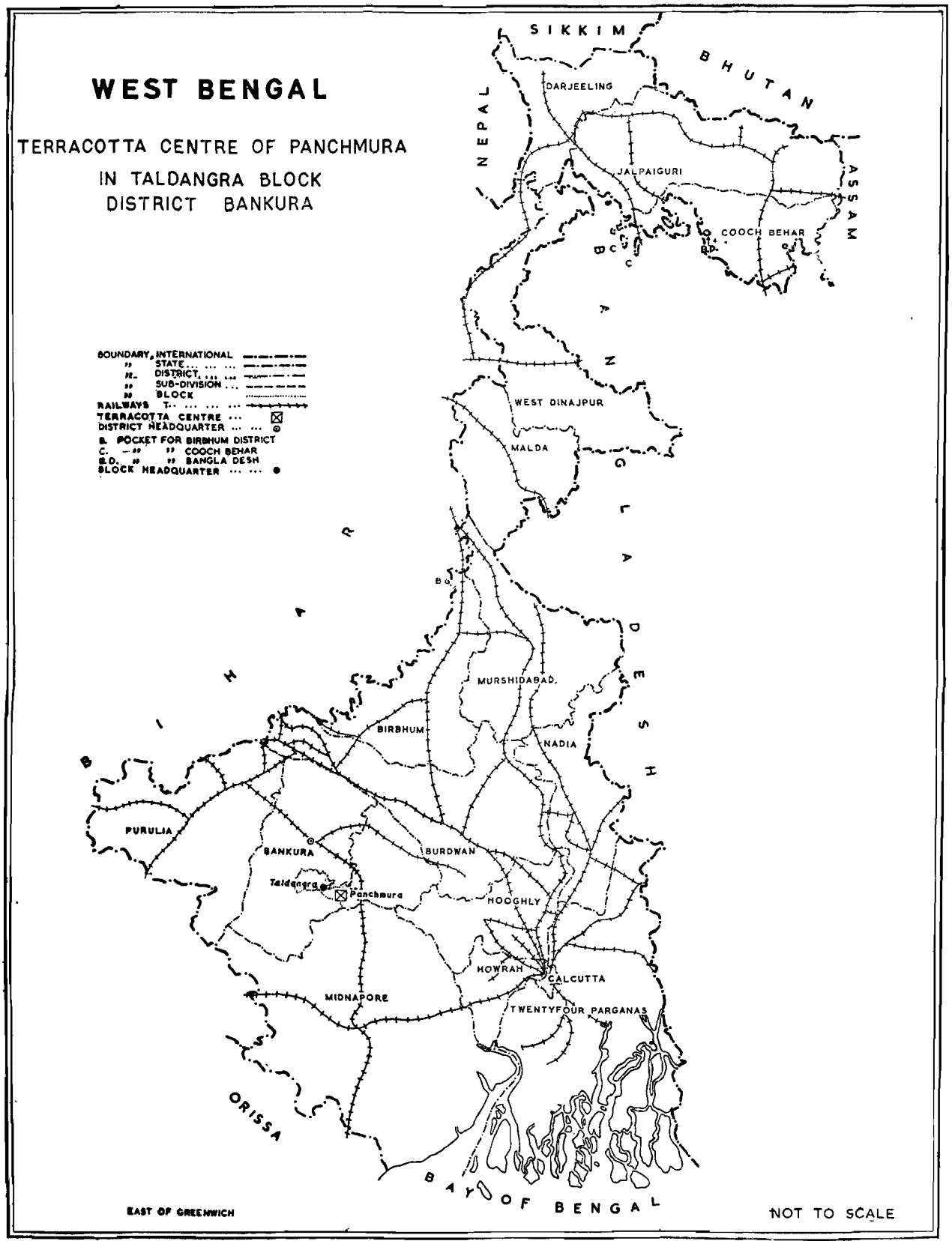
(*Para* 7.1—7.3)

Castewise occupation distribution of families

(*Para* 8.1)

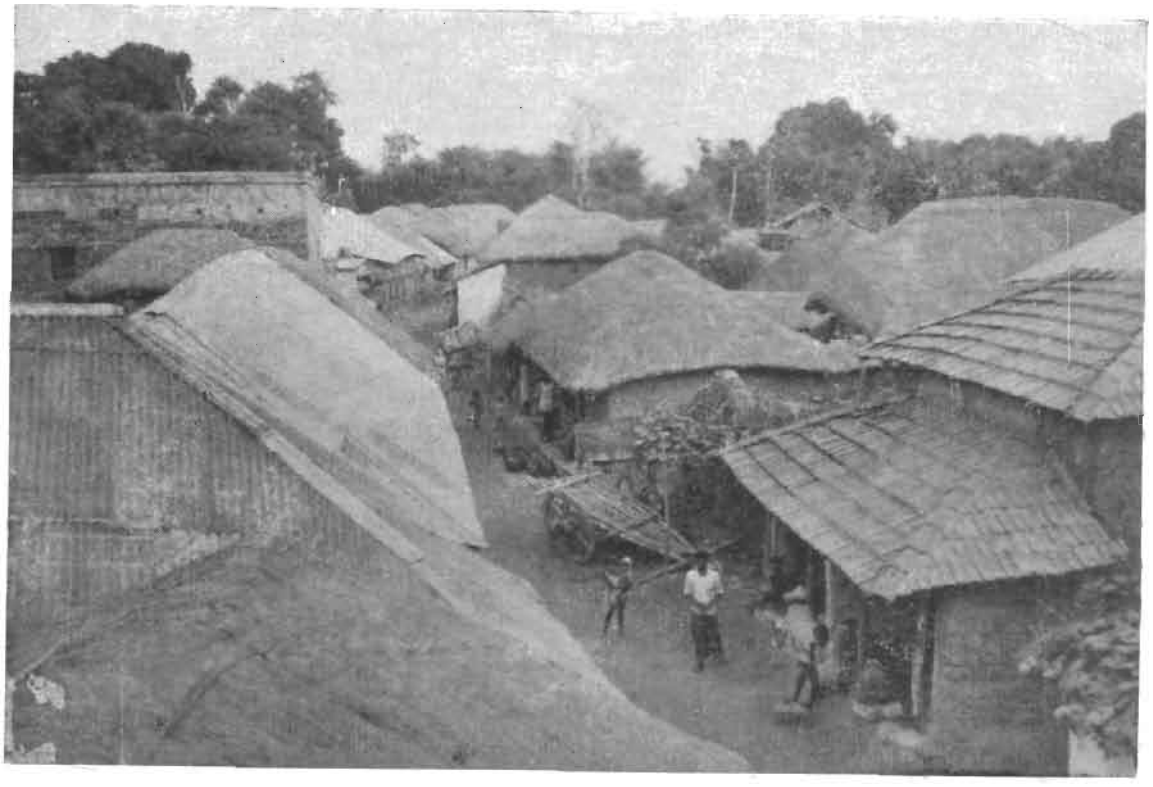
Cultivation and village industries go close together in providing employment

(*Para* 8.2)


WEST BENGAL
TERRACOTTA CENTRE OF PANCHMURA
IN TALDANGRA BLOCK
DISTRICT BANKURA
BOUNDARY, INTERNATIONAL
" STATE
" DISTRICT
" SUB-DIVISION
" BLOCK
RAILWAYS
TERRACOTTA CENTRE
DISTRICT HEADQUARTER
B. POCKET FOR BIRBHUM DISTRICT
C. " " COOCH BEHAR
B.D. " " BANGLA DESH
BLOCK HEADQUARTER
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
NEPAL
ASSAM
DARJEELING
JALPAIGURI
COOCH BEHAR
WEST DINAJPUR
MALDA
MURSHIDABAD
BIRBHUM
NADIA
PURULIA
BANKURA
BURDWAN
Taldangra
Panchmura
HOOGHLY
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA
MIDNAPORE
TWENTYFOUR PARGANAS
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
EAST OF GREENWICH
NOT TO SCALE



A distant view of the entrance road to Village Panchmura.



A close view of the Porāmāti Artisan's locality in Panchmura.

Introducing the craft centre of Panchmura in District Bankura

1. *District Bankura**

Bankura, the District adjoining Purulia, in the Western side of the Burdwan Division in the State of West Bengal, is situated between 22°38′ and 23°38′ north latitude and between 86°36′ and 87°46′ east longitude. It has an area of 6,881 square Km. and has an population of 2,031,039 persons according to the Census of 1971. The distance of Calcutta from Bankura is 144 miles by train via Kharagpur. The District consists mainly of gently undulating grounds, intersected by rivers and streams flowing from North-West to South-East. The land is a low-lying alluvial region in the East and North-East. Towards the West, the land shows undulations, forests, beds of laterites and groups of hills.

2. *Block Taldangra*

Taldangra is a Development Block in the District of Bankura in the middle and has combined physical characteristics of the West and the East. It has an area of 349.7 square Kilometer, including 25,838 acres of forests distributed in small Blocks and has a population of 76,709 according to 1971 Census. The Blocks of Bishnupur, Onda, Khatra and Simpapal are respectively in the East, North, West and South of this Block. There is a pitched road of 14 miles from Bankura to Taldangra.

3. *Village Panchmura*

Panchmura is a village in Taldangra Block in it's South-East in the Sudar Sub-division of Bankura District with J. L. No. 104. It's distance from Bankura town and Taldangra is 22 miles and 8 miles respectively. Bishnupur is about 15 miles away from the village in the North-East. Nearest Railway stations are at Piardoba and Bishnupur, their distances from the village being about 12 and 15 miles respectively. The village has a post-office. The 8 mile road from Taldangra to Panchmura is kutcha for 5 miles. The roads joining the village with other areas are not generally fair enough in rainy reason for communication and, in many places, are worse. The village comes within the Taldangra forest Range of Bankura Forest Division. The forests of the District are in general all Sal coppiced forests. Panchmura is surrounded by forests. The villages of Krishnapur, Syansipur, Joypur, Chakjambedia, Lalbundh and Amjore around Panchmura are quite rich in Sal coppice forests. These forests are felled at a rotation of about 10 years, mainly for firewood and partly for poles. The density of these forests differ in various villages between .5 and .8. The varieties of trees found are Sal, Piasal, Mohua, Bahara, Kend, Palas, and Sidha. In the village itself, there are the trees like Tamarind, Date Palm, Palm, Mango and Bamboo. The area comprises mostly of terrain land with clay loam soil. The main crops are paddy, sugarcane and various types of vegetables.

4. *Rivers and Canals around Panchmura*

The near by canals are Rukmini, Purandar and Amjore. The source of Rukmini is in the forest lands of village Tilaghagri in Fulmati Anchal. After covering about three miles, it falls in river Joypanda. The source of Amjore is in the forest lands of village Amjore in Panchmura Anchal. It falls in the river Joypanda. The Purandar originates from the forest lands of village Satmouli and falls in the river Silabati. At a distance of about one and a half miles from Panchmura in the South and South-West, the river Joypanda flows. It is a tributary of the river Silaboti. It originates from Baga in thana Khatra. The small water areas around Joypanda are locally identified to have been created out of the footprints of demons.

5. *Surrounding villages*

The villages of Amjor, Adhkara, Chakjambedia, Radhanagar and Kanaipur are respectively in the North-West, North-East, East, West, and South-West of the village Panchmura.

LAY-OUT OF THE VILLAGE PANCHMURA

Limited habitable land—Clustered dwellings—caste-wise localities

6.1 A main road runs round the south-western and northern side of the village. Three main village roads have emerged from the main road and penetrated into the village. These roads are connected with a network of lanes and pathways throughout the village. On either side of these roads and lanes the inhabitants of this village have set up their dwellings. In comparison to its population. Panchmura is a small village. Giving allowance for the fallow and unhabitable land, the area of the habitable land is very limited. Thus, a large number of men are to live in a limited space, and, that is why, the dwellings are clustered

*Map showing placement of dist. Bankura in State of West Bengal and Block Taldangra and village panchmura in Dist. Bankura.

together and a house built close to another house is a common sight. Still then, when looked from a distance, the village takes the appearance of a well-planned tidy small village. Another common peculiarity in the arrangement of these dwellings is that the dwellings of particular castes are in particular localities, arranged side by side. Families, engaged in terracotta craft do not live in a scattered way throughout the village. On the southern side of this village these families have set up their houses being stretched from east to west. On the northern side of the colony of these craftsmen, Brahmins have set up their houses. Similarly, on the southern side, are the TILIS, on the eastern side the Khairas and, on the western side are the Tanties and the Tambulis. The locality of the Poramati (terracotta) craftsmen families is so congested that, some times, a common wall is being shared by two families as a partition between their houses. These families live and work in the same place, but, have set up their furnaces at different places in the vicinity of their dwellings.

6.2 The following table is an attempt to show where the families of other castes live in the village Panchmura:

TABLE 2

Distribution of different caste different directions of village

CASTE-WISE LOCALITIES IN PANCHMURA

Caste	No. of Families	Rate of increase in 10 years ending 1965
1	2	3
(*i*) *Middle portion Brahmin*	*13*	*1 family*
(*ii*) *-do- Kayastha*	*3*	*Nil*
(*iii*) *North-western Tantubaya*	*40*	*7 families*
(*iv*) *South-western Baishnab*	*3*	*1 family*
(*v*) *Southern side Tili*	*22*	*5 families*
(*vi*) *North South & western Modak*	*9*	*Nil*
(*vii*) *East-West Kumbhakar*	*30*	*7 families*
(*viii*) *Middle Gandhabanik*	*12*	*Nil*
(*ix*) *North West & Middle Tembuli*	*45*	*9 families*
(*x*) *Eastern side Khaira***	*30*	*4 families*
(*xi*) *North & West Sonar Bene*	*2*	*Nil*
(*xii*) *North & East Karuakar*	*3*	*1 family*
(*xiii*) *Eastern side Bagdi*	10 *familes*	*Nil*
(*xiv*) *Middle Paramanik*	2 -	*Nil*
(*xv*) *Western side Dome*	9 -	2 *families*
(*xvi*) *Nothern side Goala*	1 -	*Nil*
(*xvii*) *Southern side Mella or Mete (pat Tantulia)*	7 -	*Nil*
(*xviii*) *South-eastern side Muslim*	2 -	*Nil*
TOTAL	**243**	

Road-Side localities.—A Compact village having problems of expansion.

6.3 Most of the dwellings are clay huts covered with straw. Only the rich families can afford the luxury of a brick-built house with proper foundation and permanent construction. The comparatively rich in the village mainly belong to Tambuli caste. Their main occupation is business. Kumbhakars live in two-storied thatched clay huts. The weaker communities live at a distance from the main Centre in a quite corner of the village. Out of these families, Khairas, Bagdis, Domes and Mallas have settled on Eastern, Western, and Southern side of the village respectively in the outskirts of empty fields. The majority localities are arranged on either side of the village roads. Actually, the families engaged in Terracotta crafts, have settled on either side of the village road that has extended from the Sourthern side of the village towards East-Western side, emerging out from the Taldangra-Panchmura main road. Every day, the buyers from the surrounding and distant villages come to these potters' families for purchasing earthen-wares of daily needs and terracottas too. These potters have to display their products on the verandahs of their way-side huts. It is very difficult to secure a vacant plot of land for new settlement in the habitable portion of Panchmura. As such, due to the disruption in joint families which is marked through last decades, the prospects of new settlements on the new sites would have a problem. During the last decade, the new families added in Panchmura settlement is 37. Thus, the rate of increase during the last 10 years ending the 1965 is 15.10%. It is a compact village like the villages of Bibarda, Harmasra, Bhola and Khichka in Taldangra block.

Families of the village—Those engaged in cottage industries—Their Caste-wise distribution.

7.1 *Panchmura mouza*—total area 1.14 square miles. This include villages of Raktagaria, Pal Tantulia Bansgar and Tikjuri. The habitable area measures only 1/3rd square miles. The total population of the mouza is 1,983. [The provisional figure for 1971 is 1995]. The total number of families settled in Panchmura is 282, out of whom, only 30 families are engaged in terracotta craft. Apart from these families, there are 14 more families engaged in the manufacture of jewellery, blacksmithy and bamboo crafts.

7.2 Distribution of these families, who are engaged in cottage crafts excluding weaving, ac-

**Out of 69 Khaira families in Mouza Panchmura, only 30 families live in Panchmura itself, the rest living in the other village of Mouza.

cording to their occupation and caste is shown in the following table: —

TABLE 3

NON-WEAVING CASTE-GROUPS IN PANCHMURA

Occupation	Caste	No. of families
1	2	3
Pottery	Potter	30
Jewellery	Sonar Bene (poddar)	2
Blacksmithy	Blacksmith	3
Bamboo Craft	Dome	9

7.3 Thus, in all, 44 families engaged in different types of crafts live in the village Panchmura. Their total population is 228, the terracotta families claiming 167. Another 54 families of this village are engaged in weaving. The distribution of these families in different castes groups is as follows:

TABLE 4

WEAVING CASTE-GROUPS IN PANCHMURA

Caste	Number of families
1	2
Weaver	40
Baishnab	2
Khoira	2
Bagdi	10
Total	**54**

These weavers weave cloths of coarser counts. Taken as a whole, out of 282 families in Panchmura, only 98 families are engaged in craft work and cottage industries.

8.1 *Caste/occupation distribution of all families in Panchmura*

Panchmura Mouza is inhabited by men belonging to different castes and creeds. The following will reveal a detailed picture of the same: —

TABLE 5

CASTE WITH OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN PANCHMURA

Caste	No. of families Panchmura Mouza	Main occupation	part-time occupation	
1	2	3	4	
Brahman	13	Cultivation-13	Doctor	-3
			Teacher	-1
			Job	-2
			stray business	-1
Kayastha	3	Stray business	-1	
		Cultivation	-1	
		Service	-1	
Weaver	40	Weaving	-40	
Baishnab	3	Service	-1	
		Cultivation	-2	
Tili	22	Stray business	-3	Teacher -2
		Cultivation	-17	
		Household work	-2	
Gandha Banik	12	Stray business	-5	
		Cultivation	-2	
		Others	-3	
		Unemployed	-2	
Modak	9	Stray business	-9	
Kumbahkar	30	Terracotta	-30	
Tambuli	45	Stray business & cultivation	-45	
Sonar Beone (Poddar)	2	Jewellery	-2	
Karmakar	3	Ironsmithy (e.g. Spades, axe, knife, plough)	-2	
		household work	-1	
Khaira' [30 families live in the village Panchmura, and 39 others live in Raktagoria, pattentulia, Banshgar, Tikjuri under punchmura Mouza]	69	Cultivation-69		Weaving 2
Bagdi	10	Weaving	10	
Paramanik	2	Cultivation and occupational trade	2	
Dome	9	Village crafts (Bamboo baskets, etc.)	9	
Goala	1	Milkman	1	
Mella	7	Trading in fish	7	Cultivation 7
Musalman	2	Cultivation	2	
TOTAL	**282**			

[--39=243 are in village Panchmura]

Cultivation and village industries go close together in providing max local employment.

8.2 From the above Statistics, we get the following facts:

(1) In Panchmura, peasant families predominate.

(2) In all, 109 families i.e. 38.55% of the total families are engaged in cultivation. Close to it is the artisan's group.

(3) As weaving is a paying occupation in this Mouza, in addition to the existing families of weavers by caste, 14 families of Baishnab, Bagdi, and Khaira castes have taken into the occupation (all the families of Bagdi caste are engaged in the trade) as their main livelihood.

(4) Families of tambuli caste are mainly established as stray businessmen in Panchmura.

(5) Number of families living on service are neglible in this Mouza.

(6) Though the main occupation of the Kumbhakar families is pottery, yet, almost all the families are out and out engaged in cultivation also.

5

Poramati (Terracotta) Artisa ns of Panchmu ra and their Products

List of Pottery artisans
(*Para* 1)

Pioneer traditional families and the base pioneer artisan
(*Paras* 2—3)

Families which migrated to Panchmura
(*Para* 4)

Life sketches of three representative artisans
(*Para* 5)

Classification of Panchmura Products
(*Para* 6.1)

Products by illustrations
(*Para* 6.2)

Use of Products in Panchmura area
(*Paras* 7.1—7.4)

7—1 Census/Cal/75

1. The list of pottery artisans of Panchmura village is given below as current in 1971:

TABLE 6

POTTERS' FAMILIES TO PANCHMURA

Serial No.	Name of Head of Family	Age	Name of Father	Number of members of the family		
				Male	Female	Minor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Sri Bhajahari Kumbhakar	45	Late Akshoy Kumbhakar	2	1	2
2	Sri Sudhir Kumbhakar	40	Do.	2	1	5
3	Sri Govinda Kumbhakar	50	Do.	3	3	3
4	Sri Gangadhar Kumbhakar	60	Do.	3	5	1
5	Sri Amulya Kumbhakar	50	Late Brajanath Kumbhakar	4	1	1
6	Sri Anil Kumbhakar	35	Do.	2	2	..
7	Sri Madan Kumbhakar	38	Do.	2	2	2
8	Sri Govinda Kumbhakar	42	Late Kunja Kumbhakar	2	2	2
9	Sri Subol Kumbhakar	30	Late Jugal Kumbhakar	1	2	1
10	Sri Amulya Kumbhakar	60	Late Deepchand Kumbhakar	2	1	2
11	Sri Rajkishore Kumbhakar	45	Late Jogendra Kumbhakar	2	2	2
12	Sri Kalipada Kumbhakar	35	Late Manik Kumbhakar	1	3	..
13	Sri Dasarath Kumbhakar	55	Late Pachai Kumbhakar	2	2	..
14	Sri Dhananjoy Kumbhakar	50	Late Kailash Kumbhakar	2	2	2
15	Sri Krishna Kumbhakar	60	Late Premchand Kumbhakar	1	2	1
16	Sri Bhaskar Kumbhakar	35	Late Kunja Kumbhakar	1	1	1
17	Sri Bhajahari Kumbhakar	45	Do.	1	1	1
18	Sri Asutosh Kumbhakar	60	Late Nabadvip Kumbhakar	5	5	2
19	Sri Nalini Kumbhakar	55	Late Sudhir Kumbhakar	3	2	2
20	Sri Halaram Kumbhakar	28	Late Ratan Kumbhakar	1	1	.
21	Sri Nandalal Kumbhakar	30	Late Hari Kumbhakar	1	2	1
22	Sri Bholanath Kumbhakar	45	Late Atal Kumbhakar	3	3	2
23	Sri Nityanand Kumbhakar	23	Late Sadhucharan Kumbhakar	3	2	2
24	Sri Gour Kumbhakar	32	Do.	2	2	2
25	Sri Rajendra Kumbhakar	50	Late Gatilal Kumbhakar	3	3	2
26	Sri Kalipada Kumbhakar	42	Do.	2	2	2
27	Sri Durgapada Kumbhakar	32	Late Matilal Kumbhakar	1	1	2
28	Sri Subol Kumbhakar	36	Do.	2	1	2
29	Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar	44	Sri Haripada Kumbhakar	5	2	1
30	Sri Rashbehari Kumbhakar	75	Late Uddhab Kumbhakar	9	7	6

Source : Sri Amaresh Chaki, Asstt. Supdt., Tasar Scheme, Panchmura

Besides the following artisans being to the different families:

1 Sri Madan Mohan Kumbhakar
2 Sri Netai Kumbhakar
3 Sri Pasupati Kumbhakar
4 Sri Bhubonmohan Kumbhakar
5 Sri Sivasankar Kumbhakar
6 Sri Gorachand Kumbhakar
7 Sri Banshi Badan Kumbhakar
8 Sri Dhirendra Kumbhakar
9 Sri Mihir Kumbhakar

Pioneer Families

2. The ancestors of the artisans Late Sadhucharan, Late Ratan, Sarvasri Bholanath, Rajendra, Kalipada, Panchanan, Subol, Durgapada, and Rashbehari Kumbhakar are the pioneer, traditional families in the Terracotta craft. The artisans' families of Sarvashri Nalini Kanta, Asutosh, Bhaskar, Govinda, Bhajahari, Amulya, Rajkishore, and Subol have been engaged in the craft of image making only for about 50 years. The families of Sarvashri Amulya, Madan, Anil and Krishnapada have only been recently engaged in such craft.

3. *Base Pioneer in the Craft*

The discussion with the oldest living person of this village and with the families of artisans has revealed that, (late) Bhairab Kumbhakar, the grandfather of Sadhucharan Kumbhakar (recently deceased) was the oldest pottery artisan of great repute of this village. His son (late) Raicharan Kumbhakar was also a famous craftsman of his time. The families devoted to this craft for the last half a century, are indebted in various ways to their families; but, none of the families of potters has left the traditional trade of the production of household articles, being manufactured through decades. They have learnt and practised the art of manufacturing terracottas in course of their primary work of manufacturing earthen bowels and utensils. Even now, the master craftsmen in the manufacture of terracottas, continue to produce such household products also.

Families which migrated to Panchmura

4. The following table shows the names of the heads of the families of the eight families having migrated from other places and their particulars: —

TABLE 7

POTTERS' FAMILIES HAVING MIGRATED TO PANCHMURA

Names of the Heads of the families	Father's name and address	When they settled here	Reasons
1	2	3	4
Sri Dhanjoy Kumbhakar	Kailas Kumbhakar, Vill. Bibarda, P. O. Taldangra, Dist. Bankura	2 generations (Appx. 50 years)	His maternal's Uncles' house is in Panchmura
Sri Dasarath Kumbhakar	Pachai Kumbhakar, Vill. Kamar Diha, P. S. Taldangra, Dist. Bankura	1 generation (Appx. 30 years)	For business
Sri Manick Kumbhakar	Netai Kumbhakar, Vill. Bibarda, P. S. Jaldangra, Bankura	1 generation (Appx. 30 years)	Father in law's house
Sri Nandalal Kumbhakar	Haripada Kumbhakar Vill. Yafala, P.S. Taldangra, Bankura	Only 5 years	Relative's house to have facilities for business
Sri Gobinda Kumbhakar	Akshoy Kumbhakar, Vill. Dharapat, P.S. Onda, Dist. Bankura	2 generations (Appx. 80 years)	Maternal uncle's house of his father
Sri Gangadhar Kumbhakar			
Sri Bhajahari Kumbhakar			
Sri Sudhir Kumbhakar			

5. *The life-sketch of three representative artisans—one recently deceased and two living—are given below*:

SADHU CHARAN KUMBHAKAR

He was the eldest potter of the village until a few years back. He was born in the year 1298 (B.S.). His father's name was late Raicharan Kumbhakar. He proceeded with his education upto the level of high primary standard in the school. Afterwards, at the age of 14-15 years, he left school and started learning the techniques of pottery from his brother Suchand. After 3 years of apprenticeship, he established himself as an independent potter in the village. Sadhucharan told our

Investigator that when he first started manufacturing terracotta elephants, horses, etc., then only two or three other families were engaged in these crafts. At that time, the total number of families of potters in the village were limited to only 12. Sadhucharan first married at the age of 22 years. His father-in-law's house was situated at Kamardiha, ten miles away from Panchmura. Age of his first wife was only 10 or 11 at the time of her marriage. After 2 years' of marriage, Sadhucharan lost his first wife. Afterwards, Sadhucharan remarried. This time, the bride was selected from the village Madhabpur, at a distance of 10 miles from Panchmura. Terracotta elephants, horses, Manasar Jhar, etc. which were manufactured by Sadhucharan earned the reputation of adjacent villages. Except these terracotta products, Sadhucharan did never manufacture any ordinary pottery goods. He remarked during this Survey: "Now our products are being sold throughout India; those are being exported to other countries also, which we never dreamt of even 14-15 years back. In the past, we used to sell our products to visitors from other villages and from our own village". The income which they had from the sale-proceeds of these products was enough for their maintenance.

In his boyhood days and even in his youth, traditional "Yatra" and "Kirtan" were quite in vogue. Sadhucharan participated actively in such functions in his young days. He witnessed the festival of "Manasha", 'Durgapuja', "Chhabbis Prahar" (Nam-Sankirtan), 'Gajan', etc. from his boyhood days. The most memorable incident which he witnessed during his life-time was the devastating fire which broke out in the Bengali calendar year 1314 (B.S.). The fire destroyed nearly all the huts of the village. At present, his two sons and two daughters are alive. His second wife predeceased him. His two sons and two daughters are all married. His one daughter has lost her husband and is staying in Sadhucharan's family. Two sons have separated from their father and are living in separate establishments. Sadhucharan also lived separately along with his daughter. His two sons are following their father's ideals and they have established themselves in the manufacture of terracottas. Sadhucharan partially lost his eye-sight in late age and retired from his craft a few years before his death. Sadhucharan was very proud of his visits to the holy places of India in old age. He was amongst the very few of the village who went on such visits. Sadhucharan visited places like Gaya, Kashi, Brindabon and Hardwar. Every one belonging to Potter's caste respected this old master-craftsman.

ASHUTOSH KUMBHAKAR

His present age is 55 years. His father's name is Nabadwip Kumbhakar. His family was not associated with the manufacture of terracottas. They only manufactured earthen utensils. He studied upto class IV standard in the local school and then left his class-room to assist his family in their traditional craft. He was an apprentice in his family upto the age of 22 years, and then established himself as an independent artisan. He first started manufacturing utensils along with small-size ordinary horses and elephants. But his family's main occupation was manufacturing utensils. In the Bengali calendar year 1337 (B.S.) he married in the village Kamardiha, 10 miles off from Panchmura. Now he is father of four sons and three daughters. His 2 sons and one daughter are already married. His two sons have married respectively in villages Madhabpur and Ruisar and the daughter was married in Lodna. They are now living in a joint family. His two sons are learning the techniques of manufacturing big elephants, horses and the terracotta-images. Ashutosh Kumbhakar is an enthusiastic member of the local Co-operative Society of the potters. He was commissioned several times by this Co-operative Society to accompany the supply of terracottas for sale in Delhi and Calcutta. Otherwise, he had never been to other places outside the District of Bankura. At present, his daily average income from the sale of terracottas is Rs. 2 to 3 only. He grows paddy in his fields, which maintains his family for 6 months in a year. He is quite healthy and strong with sense of enthusiasm in him.

MADAN MOHAN KUMBHAKAR

Of the craftsmen of Panchmura, who have earned reputation in their fields, Madan Mohan Kumbhakar is one of them. He was born in the year 1923. His father's name is Rash Behari Kumbhakar. Amongst the potter's families, their family is one of the most prospering. His younger brother is the first in a family of potters of this village to get his graduation from the Calcutta University. He is now teaching in the local school. From the age of 24-25, he started his career independently as a craftsman of terracottas. At this age, he became master in techniques. He learnt his craft from his father; Rash Behari Kumbhakar. According to him, only three or four families used to manufacture elephants, horses, Manasar Jhar, etc. at that time. Madan Mohan married at his early seventeens. Age of his wife at that time was only 12 years. His first wife died some 16 years back. After one year of the death of the first wife, he married again. His first wife came from Bibarda and the second one from Lodna. In Bengali calendar year 1352, he came to visit Calcutta. This was the first time that he visited a big city. Even now, he visited only the different parts of the District Bankura and never felt the urge to go

out. Five brothers are living together in the same family. Madan Mohan is very particular in bringing up his younger brothers, sons and daughters with proper education to make them well-placed in life. Of the festivals of this village, he is very fond of "Nam Sankirtan" lasting for 24 hours. He is very much eager to evolve new designs. He is well-known in the village as an honest, sober, tempered and able craftsman.

The Managing Committee: Panchmura Mritsilpa Samabaya Samity Ltd., 1968



Sitting: Sarvashree Dasarath Kumbhakar, Panchanan Kumbhakar, Asutosh Kumbhakar, Netaipada Kumbhakar.
Standing: Sarvashree Rajendra Kumbhakar, Bhuban Kumbbakar, Bholanath Kumbhakar, Amulya Kumbhakar.

Panchmura Mritsilpa S.S. Ltd., 1968

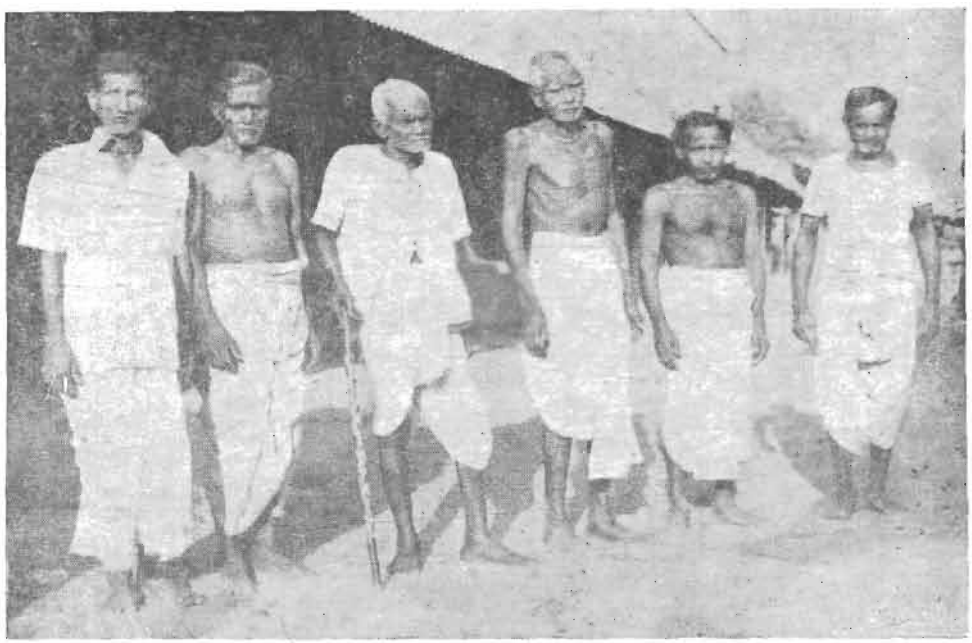


Sri Asutosh Kumbhakar
President.

Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar
Secretary.

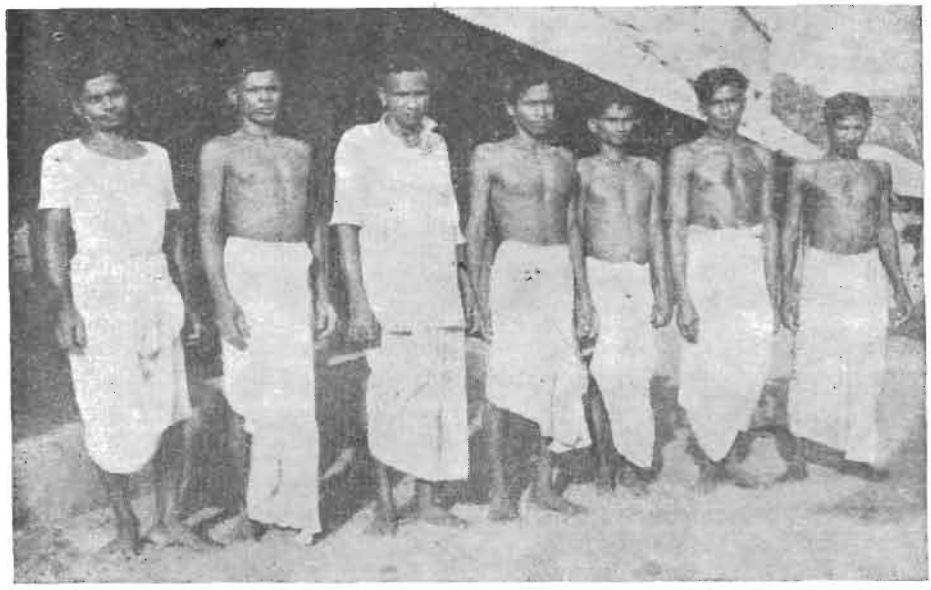
PANCHMURA (1973)

The elderly Porāmāti Mastercraftsmen



Sarvashree Rajendra Kumbhakar, Ashutosh Kumbhakar, Rashbehari Kumbhakar (National Awardee, Gangadhar Kumbhakar, Dhananjoy Kumbhakar, Dasarath Kumbhakar.

The Present Porāmā ti Artisans



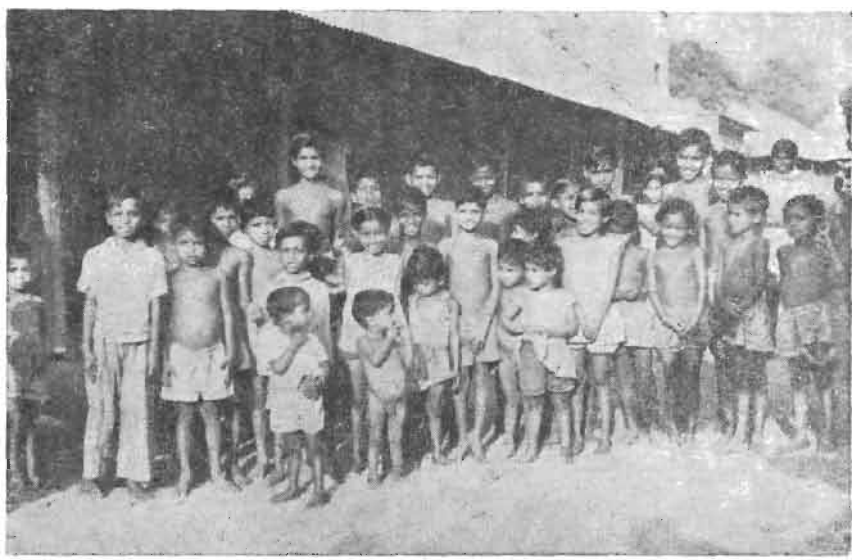
Sarvashree Pasupati Kumbhakar, Madan Kumbhakar, Bholanath Kumbhakar, Nityananda Kumbhakar, Durgapada Kumbhakar, Panchanan Kumbhakar, Gour Kumbhakar.



Sri Ratneswar Kumbhakar the oldest terracotta artisan of village Sandra (Bankura) with his wife in their cottage.



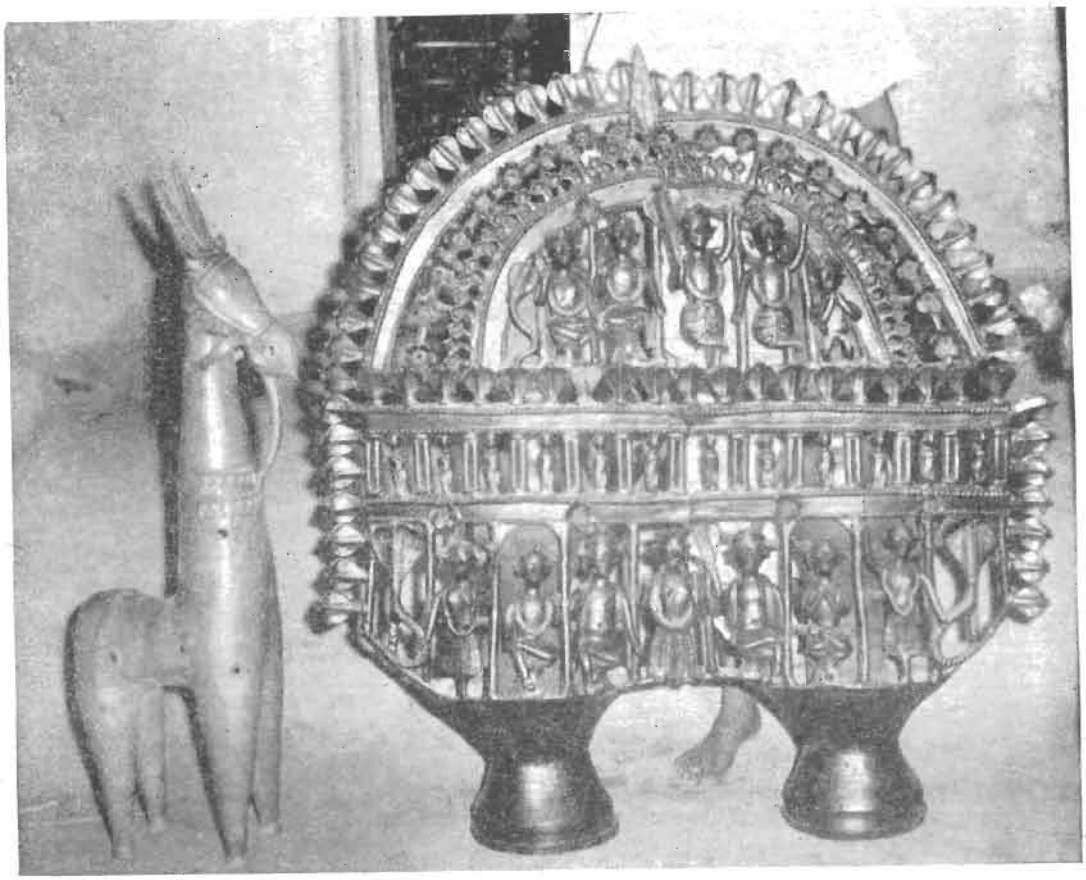
Family of Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar (1968).



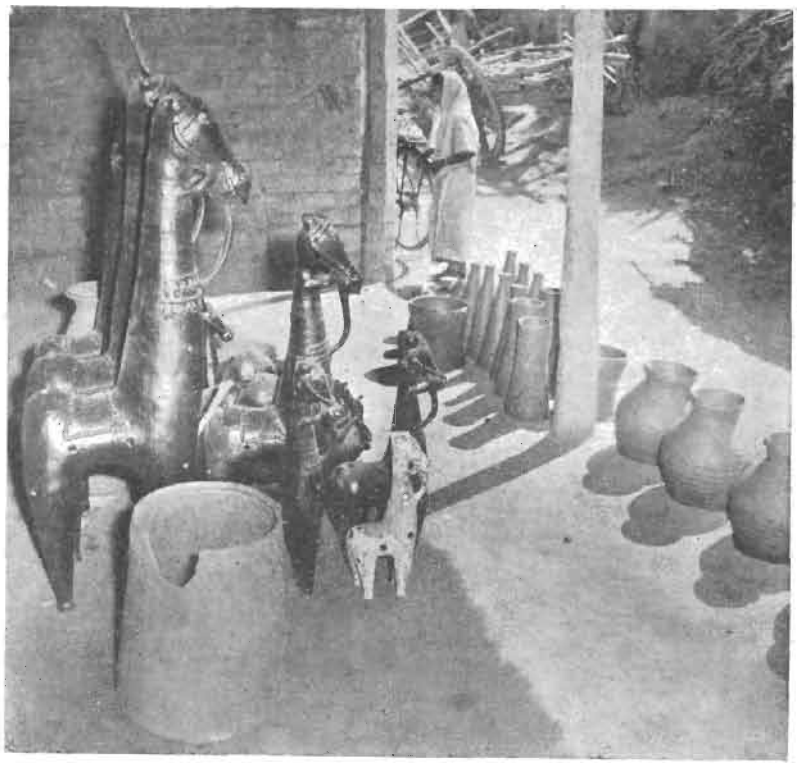
Children of the terracotta artisans of Panchmura.



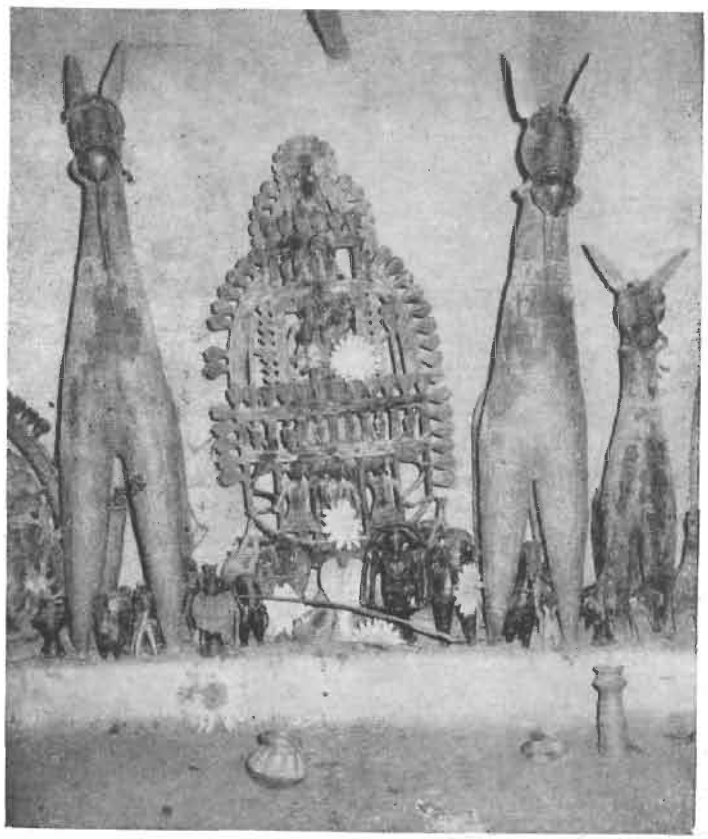
The *Mahaprabhu Atchala* Panchmura where many of these children study.



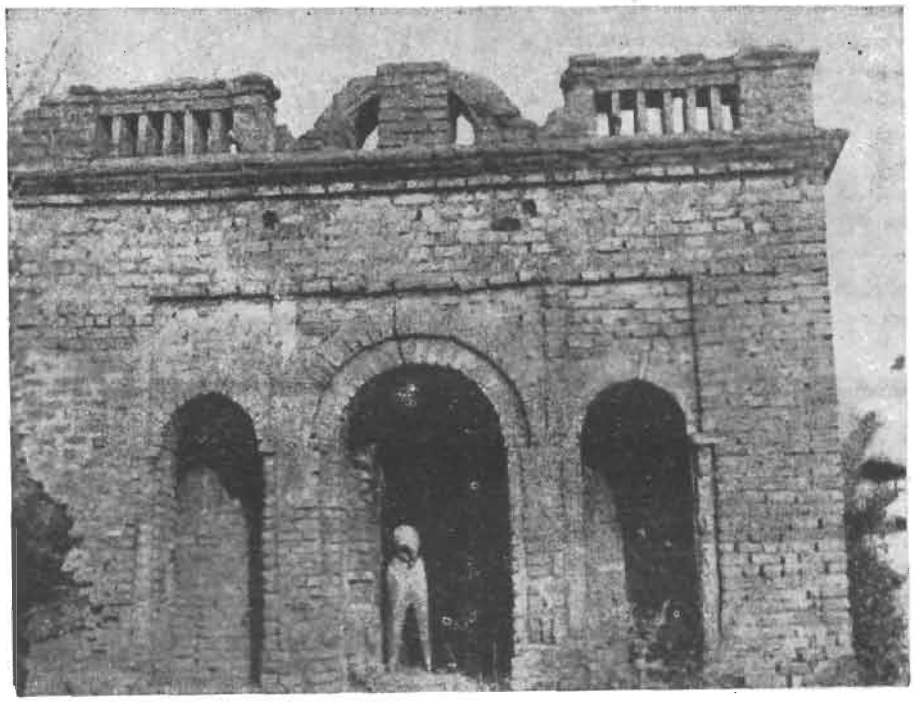
Mā *Manashar Jhar* with one horse.



Different items are seen on the veranda of an artisan.



Porāmāti items offered by the devotees in Panchmura *Manasha Mandir*.



The sight of *Manashathan* at Panchmura.



A village lady returns home after purchasing a few terracotta items at Panchmura to offer them against māṇāt.

Classification of Panchmura Products:

6.1 The items may be classified as stated below:

GROUP 1—IMAGES FOR RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

1 Horses
2 Elephants
3 Tigers
4 *Manasārjh ār*
5 *Bong ā*
6 *Sai-sailee*
7 Goddess *Sasthi*

GROUP 2—UTENSILS FOR DAILY USE

1 Pitchers
2 *Ponā-Hāndi* (Big earthen vessels for carrying minnows)
3 Saucers
4 *Khapri* (Vessels for cut fruits)
5 *Khelᵘ* (Frying pan)
6 Karāi (Pan)

GROUP 3—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

1 *Khole*
2 *Mridanga*
3 *Dhak*
4 *Dugi*

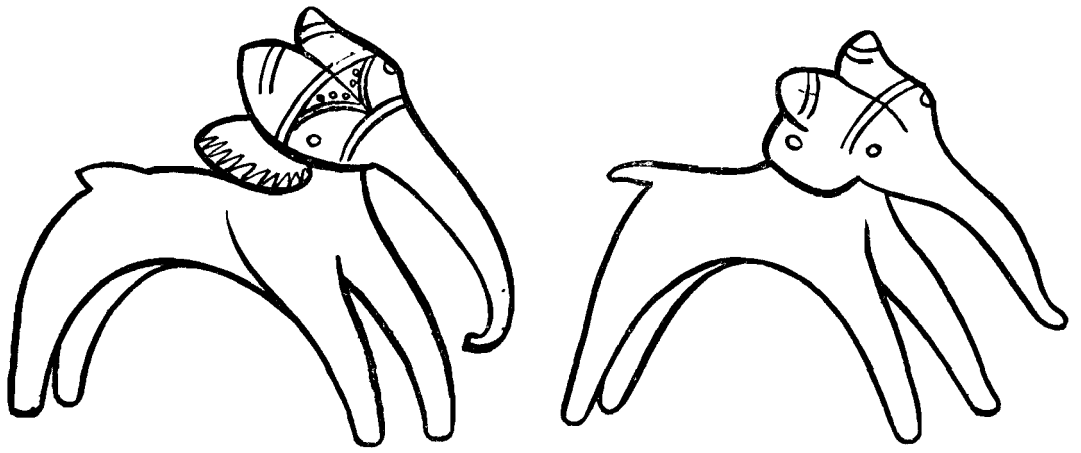
GROUP 4—OTHER MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTS

1 Flower pots
2 Ash-trays
3 Conches
4 Lamp-stands
5 Toy

6.2 *Terracotta items of Panchmura by illustrations below:*

TERRACOTTA ITEMS OF PANCHMURA

Without Wheel:



Small-size Elephant

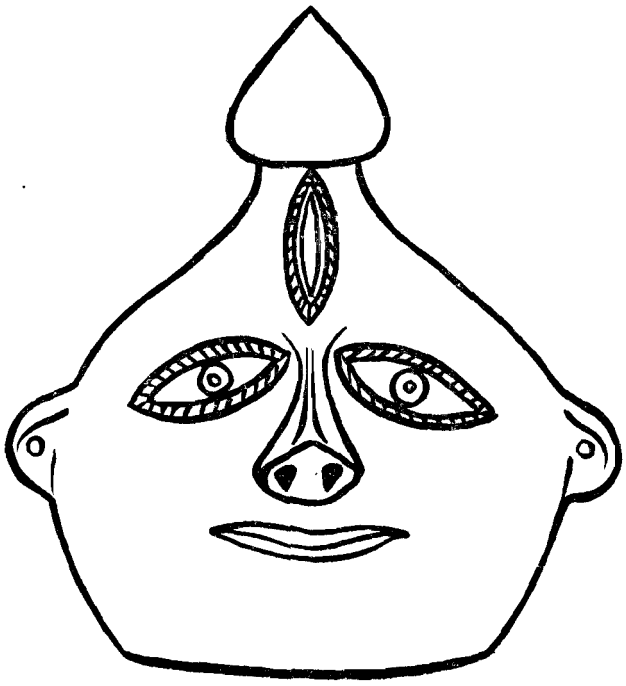


Toy Train

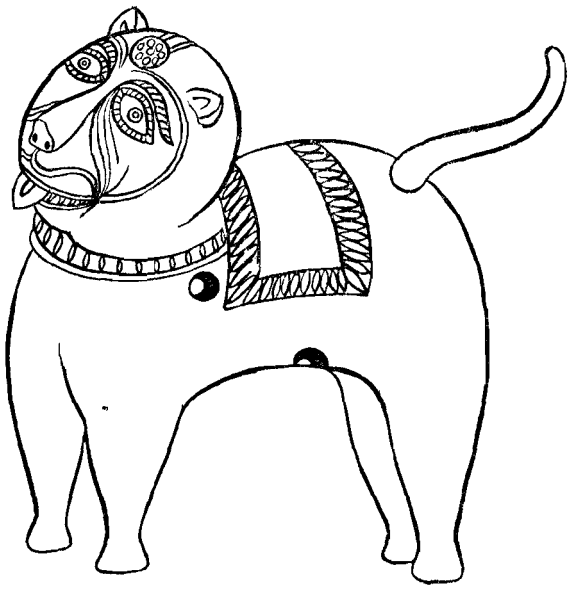


Sashthi Thakrun

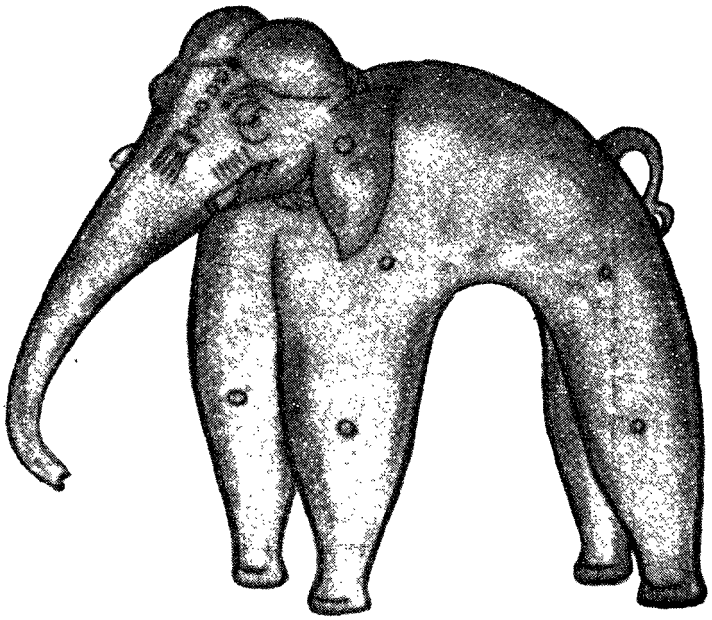
(Local deity)



Bongā (The God of Santals)
[Without wheel]

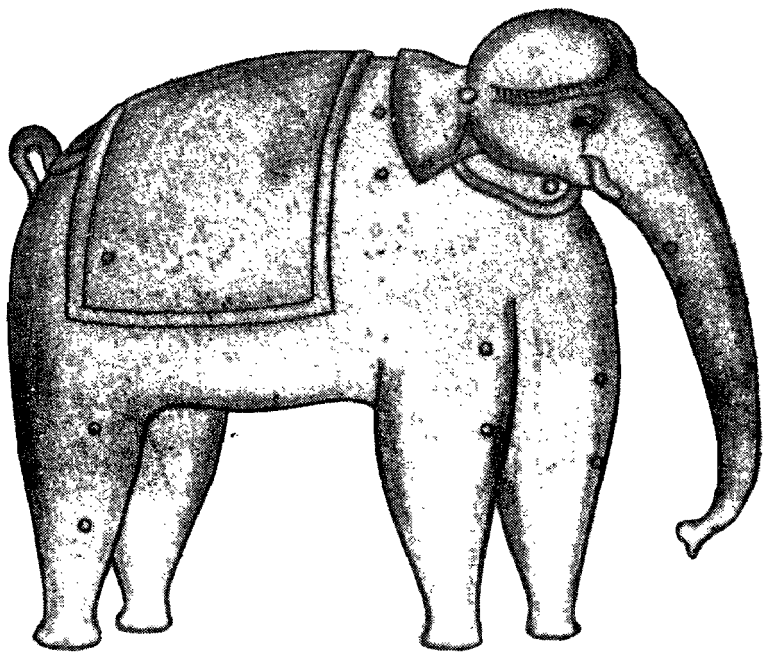


Tiger
(On wheel)

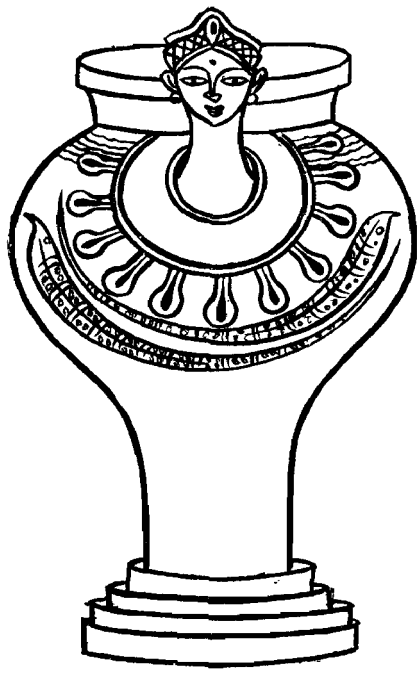


Elephant found with *Kananga* people (on wheel).

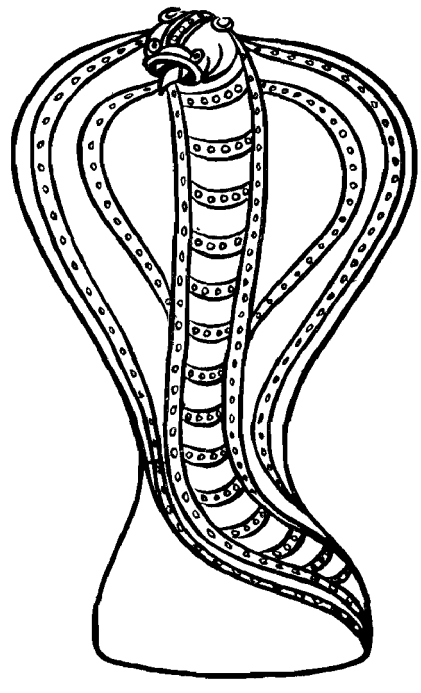
On wheel:



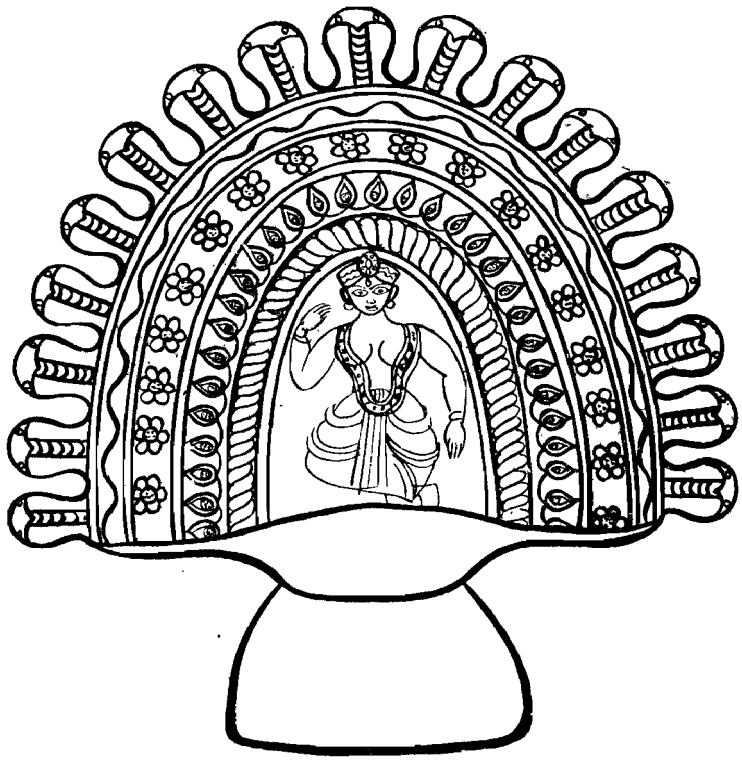
Elephant found with *Khaira* people



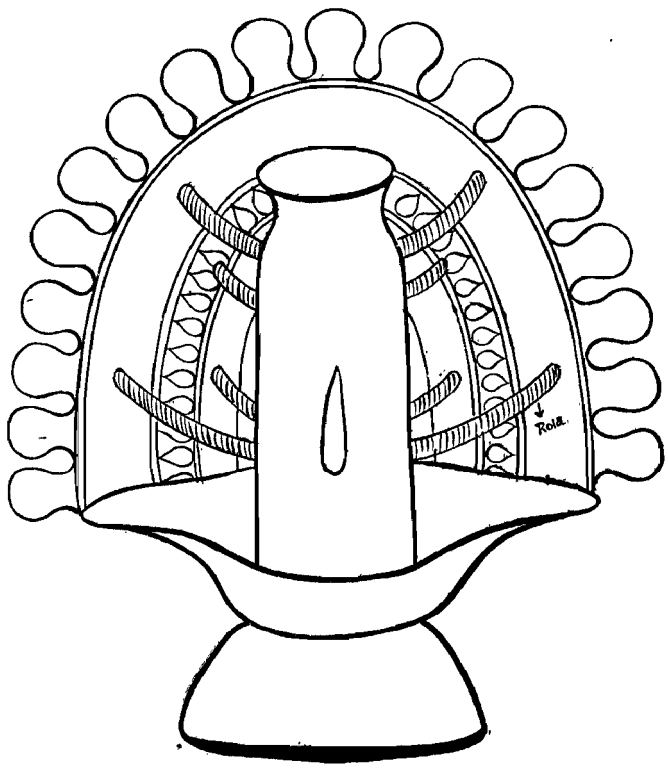
Mā *Manashār Ghat*



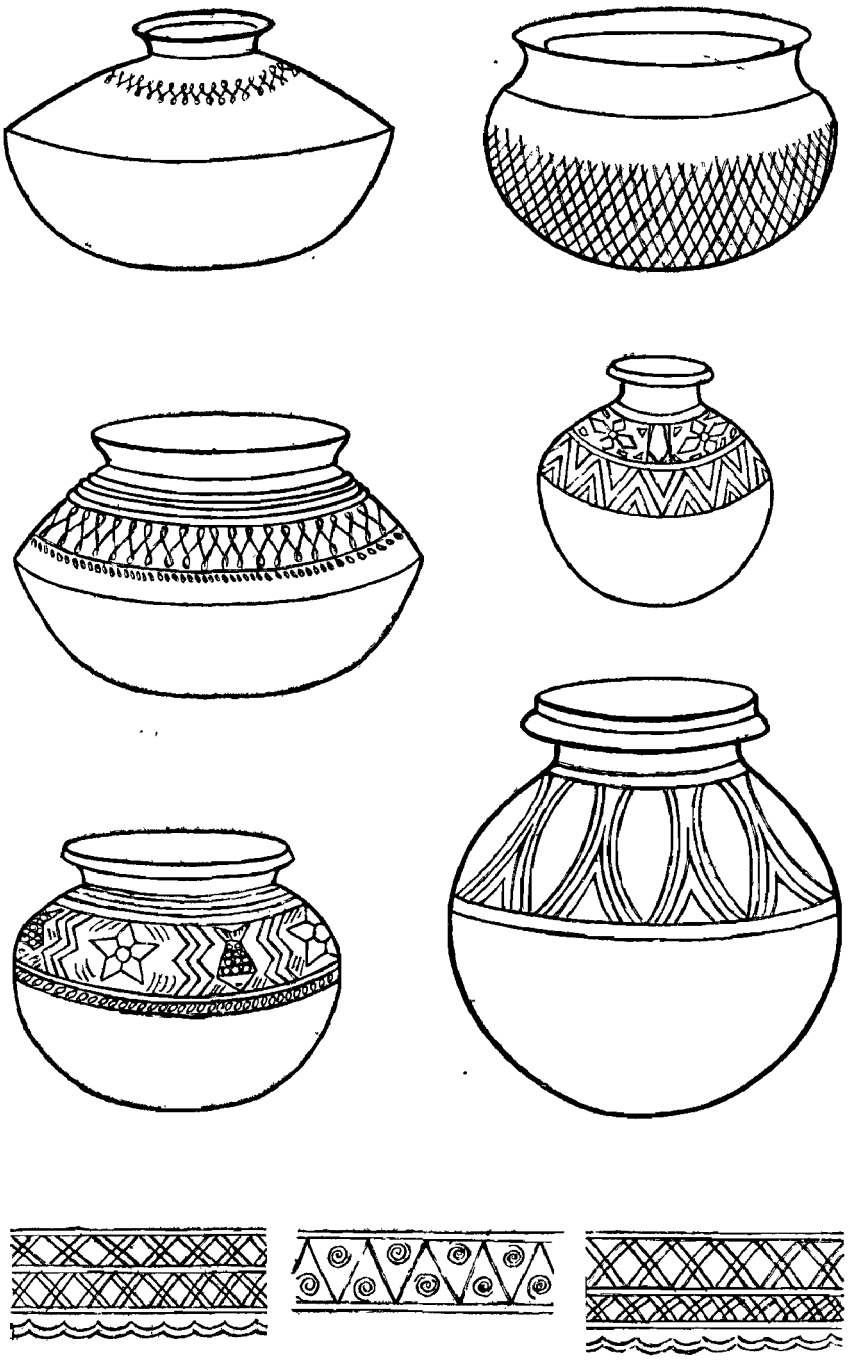
Mā Manashār Nag



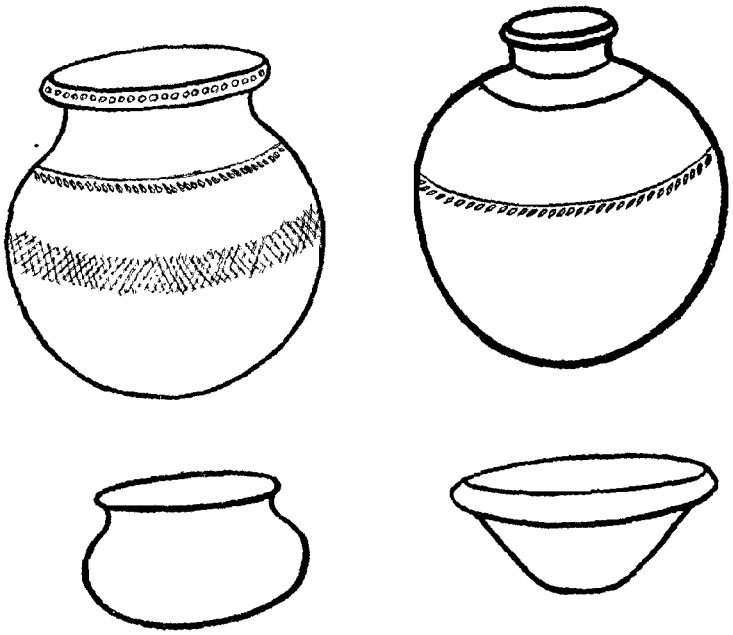
Mā *Manashār Jhār*—Front side



Mā *Manashar Jar*—Back side

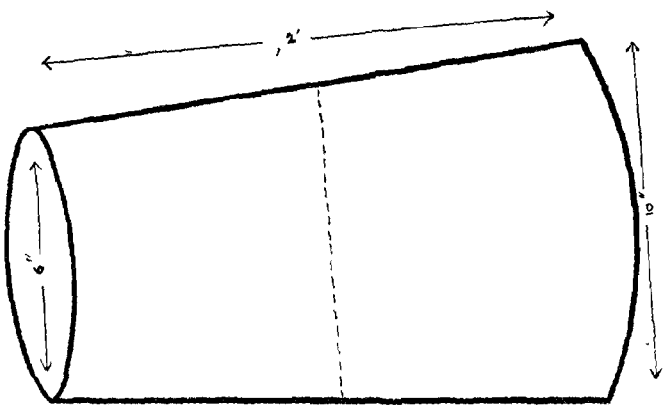


Earthenware with design

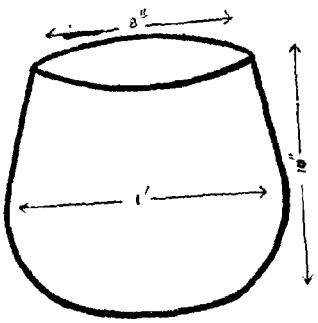


Earthenwares

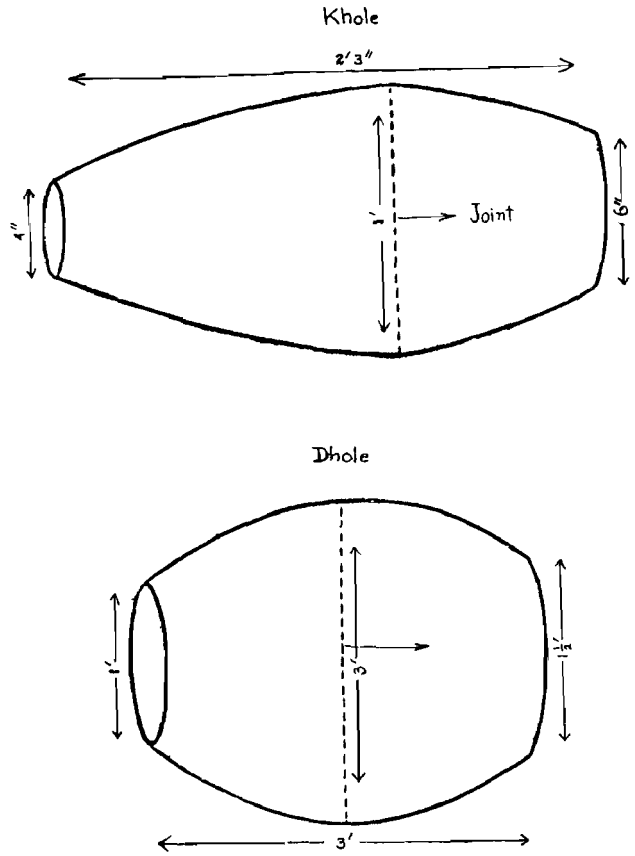
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



Mṝdal



Dugi



Use of Panchmura Terracotta in village itself:

TRADITIONAL OFFERINGS OF TERRACOTTA IN PANCHMURA

7.1 In the Panchmura village, the terracotta figures are offered to Roy's 'Mansāghar', 'Lāyeksini" [Which is a stone figure under Tamal and Chalta trees, and Gram Soloana], 'Khāndārāni' (which is a stone figure) and Siv temple [Grām Soloana]. 'Khāndārāni' is located in the adjoining village of Deulberia, amidst the trees of Sal, Anch flower and Madar. Nearby, there is a very old banian tree. The 'Mānasiks' [promises], are made under the feet of 'Siva' [in cases of diseases, children and risks], 'Khandārāni' [particularly in cases of diseases and risks of livestock], 'Lāyeksini' [in cases of large scale deaths 'Marak']. Generally, it is reported that, the figures of tiger are for 'Jhorbāsini' and 'Bāgh Roysini' [to be free from fear of livestock in forests], houses for 'Sanyāsi', elephants for 'Bhairab' and 'Jhār' for 'Manashā'. All items are mixed together also during offerings depending on the capacity of devotees and nature of risk and ailment involved. 'Chāndmālā' a Sola product is also added. These are available from Malakars of Vishnupur.

7.2 The Santals do not offer 'Jhārs'. In the event of outbreak of Cholera, offers are made by the local people under the feet of the Goddess 'Chandi' by placement of pots in the middle, a horse in the left and an elephant in the right.

7.3 'Sai Sailee' images are made and meant for womenfolk desiring to extend friendship amongst themselves. The pottery and terracotta artisans, it is understood, do not offer their items of production (animal figures) during their 'Chak Puja' [the God of 'Mahadev' is worshipped] held in the month of Jaistha. Only flowers are offered. The new bride and bridegroom of potter's families, however, visit Adh Karasini Goddess in the adjoining village of Adhkara and offer terracotta horses and elephants etc. at her feet.

7.4 Sri Durga Saran of the nearby village of Chalthaddi reported that they offer terracotta horses before their God 'Bonga' located in 'Banthan' during Makarsankranti. They also offer the figures of horses during 'Salui' Puja held during the month of Chaitra. They offer elephants, Sādam (horse) etc. to 'Jaharburi'.

6

Technique of Production of Terracotta

Basic raw material — their types and procurement — features of sources and materials
(*Paras* 1.1—1.7)

Processing of clay and clay dyes
(*Paras* 2.1—2.4)

Quality of soil — test reports of clay and clay dyes
(*Paras* 3.1—3.4)

Panchmura soil compared with other types
(*Para* 3.5)

Tools in use — their availability
(*Paras* 4.1—4.2)

Adjoining worksheds and dwellings
(*Para* 5.1)

Distribution of dwelling houses and available space
(*Paras* 5.2—5.5)

Construction of work-shed, working space and cost
(*Paras* 5.6—5.8)

Working hours
(*Para* 5.9)

Use of wheels for turning of figures
(*Para* 6.1)

Process of manufacture of a terracotta horse—green stage
(*Paras* 6.2—6.5)

Process of manufacture of a vessel for minnous—green stage
(*Para* 6.6)

Features of work on wheel

(*Para* 6.7)

Ball-bearing wheel

(*Para* 6.8)

Role of female members

(*Para* 6.9)

Kilns and their distribution

(*Paras* 7.1—7.2)

Merits in different types of kilns

(*Para* 7.3)

Specifications and location of kilns

(*Paras* 7.4—7.6)

Prefixing action

(*Para* 7.7)

Firing

(*Paras* 7.8—7.9)

Finished products

(*Para* 7.10)

Types of basic raw-material

TYPES

1.1 The materials used by the Pottery craftsmen of Panchmura are different types of clay: (1) common clay, (2) sand, (3) clay dyes—'God' and 'Banak'. The Soil is partly common clay, partly sandy and partly a mixture of both. Stones are not available.

SOURCES—THEIR FEATURES

1.2 Collectors generally avoid the Surface Sample as the specimen is naturally mixed with stone chips, grass, roots of trees and other impurities. The next layer is also found unsuitable due to presence of higher percentage of sand. As such, the common practice is to reach the layer below 5 or 6 feet of the surface and collect the ideal variety whose plastic quality when mixed with certain percentage of sand becomes most suited to modelling terracotta images. The tool used for the purpose is simply a spade.

1.3 It has been observed that the layer at a depth of 5 or 6 feet below the surface from where the clay is collected gets moist due to automatic secretion of water from hidden sources. But, sometimes, when, the function of such sources are found to be non-operating in some places, collectors spray water from nearby tanks or wells to keep the layer moist. Then they take out chunks ('Challa') of clay with the help of spades from that layer, 5 or 6 feet below the surface, from pits with 6'b, 6'w and 6' deep. Each chunk weighs at least 10 to 15 Seers and the radius is approximately 1 foot. Most of the families of artists finish storing their annual supply by the middle of Jaistha.

1.4 Sand is required to be mixed with the soil to make it suitable for use in the manufacturing process. Thus, the terracotta artists of Panchmura are to collect sands also. They have been collecting this sand from the Canal half a mile away in the East from the village Panchmura since last 175 years. But, at present, the stock of sand in this Panchmura Canal has been almost exhausted. As a result, they are now collecting this sand from the river Joypanda flowing at a distance of 2 miles in the South of Panchmura. It appears that the silted bed of Joypanda will be able to meet the requirements of sand for a pretty long time.

1.5 Sand, collected from the bed of the river Joypanda, is both fine and white. This variety is found most suited to the purpose. Sometimes they collect sand from Panchmura Canal also. The sample of sand is coarse and pinkish in colour. That is why they sieve the sample before use in a Sieve of 30 mesh (I.S.S.). Each family consumes 4 to 5 Cart loads of sand every year. Each Cart contains 5 to 7 maunds of sand.

1.6 In other parts of West Bengal, colours are applied on the images superficially. But, Colours displayed on the terracottas of Panchmura are the result of clever selection of raw-material i.e. clay and the perfection in firing.

To give the image a glossy finish, those artisans apply a particular type of clay, called 'Gād' available from the embankment of the local Canal. Besides clay dyes, they use another type of clay called 'Banak'.

1.7 Consumption of 'Gād' and 'Banak' for colouring the terracottas is approximately 1 Cart-load a year per family. This type of clay is collected from 6 inches to 1 foot depth of Soil. Colour of 'Gād' is yellowish white and that of Banak is Blackish grey. This sample contains sand, grits, rods etc. in profuse quantity and, thus, without proper sieving, this cannot be used in manufacturing process. This type of clay is generally collected during the months of November to June.

Processing of Clay

PREPARATION OF PAKMATI

2.1 Clay collected from the fields are dumped in a corner of the dwellings of the artisans. It remains there for 3 months. This process is known as aging. Afterwards, they cut out chunks [Drawing No. 37, p. 81] from this dump and adds water in the proportion of 30%. Chunks are allowed to soak water for 3 hours. Then this soaked clay is mixed with sand in the ratio of 8:1. Mixing is done by feet using the heels. [Drawing No. 38, p. 81]. The process continues for 15 minutes to 20 minutes. This clay is then called processed clay ('Pākmāti'). Artisans usually prepare one to four such lumps of clay, each containing approximately 20 Seers of the material.

PREPARATION OF CLAY DYES

2.2 Gād and Banak clay generally used for colouring are purified by two indigenous methods pursued by the female members of the artisans family. The first method is filtration by decantation and the second one is Aging.

2.3 Pigments are extracted from the Gād by the following methods. Mixture of clay and water in the proportion of 1:1 is allowed to settle in an earthen pot for 7 days. Settled clay is taken out by decantation, and again mixed in water and kept in several pots. In this way the clay remains for 15 days. Afterwards, by discarding the sediment of sand and stone chips, the sample is used as pigment. Generally, two maunds of 'Gād' mud yields 16 Seers of 'Gad' colour.

2.4 Pigments from Banak are extracted by similar process. Banak clay and water in the proportion of 1:1 are kept in sedimentation vats for 7 days. The soft sticky extracts from different vats are mixed with more water and left under a covered place for aging for one month. Afterwards, the sample is used for Banak colour. Two maunds of 'Banak' clay usually yield 12 Seers of 'Banak' colour.

Quality of Soil

3.1 Test reports of the Bengal Ceramic Institute of the sample Soil collected from the above sources are given below:—

TABLE 8

TEST REPORT OF COMMON-CLAY

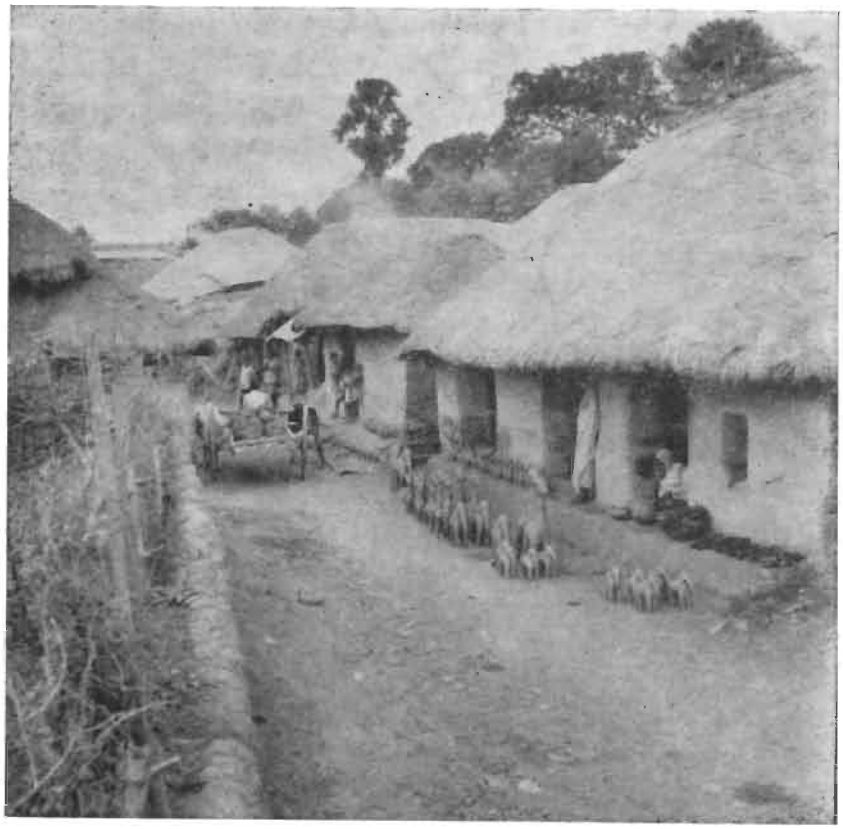
	Surface Soil	Soil from 3′ deep	Soil from 5′ deep	Soil from 6′ deep
(i) Water of plasticity	15.3%	31.2%	25.5%	27.5%
(ii) Workability	Fair (sandy)	Fair (sticky)	Fair (sticky)	Fair (very sticky)
(iii) Dry Shrinkage	3%	10%	9%	9%
(iv) Fired Shrinkage (at 1000°C)	1% Expn.	2%	1%	Nil
(v) Total Shrinkage	2%	12%	10%	9%
(vi) Fired colour (at 1000°C)	Yellowish red	Brick red	Brick red	Dark red
(vii) Bloating (at 1000°C)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
(viii) Scumming (at 1000°C)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
(ix) Rings (at 1000°C)	Fair	Good	Good	Good
(x) Porosity at 1000°C	30%	25%	24%	23.5%



Shri Bhaskar Kumbhakar procures clay from the fields of village Matigara near Panchmura



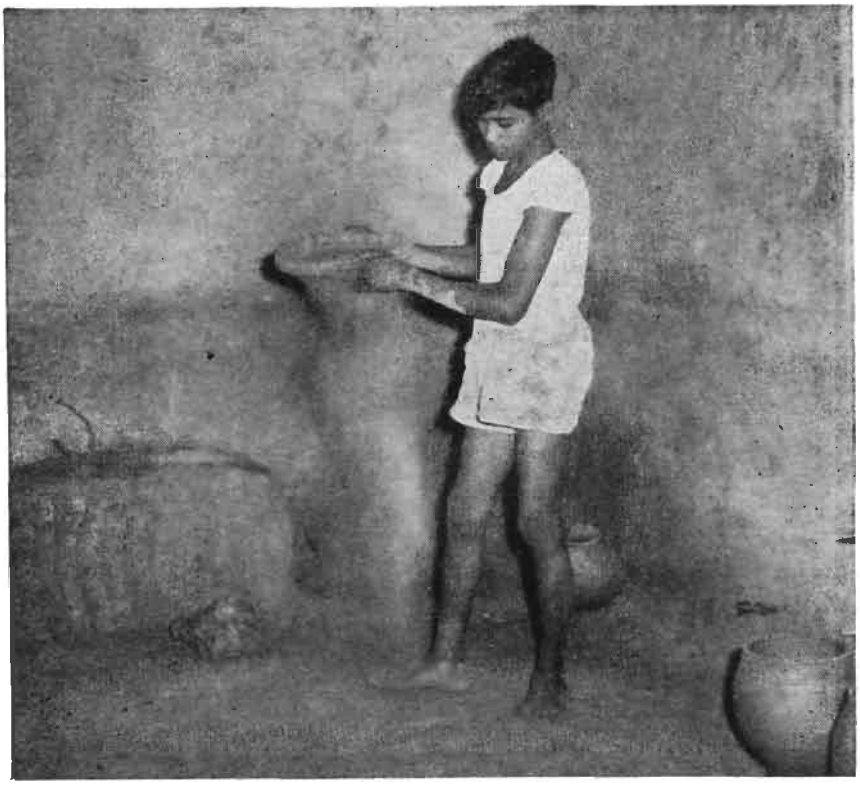
Bhaskar digs it out generally from a few feet below the ground level



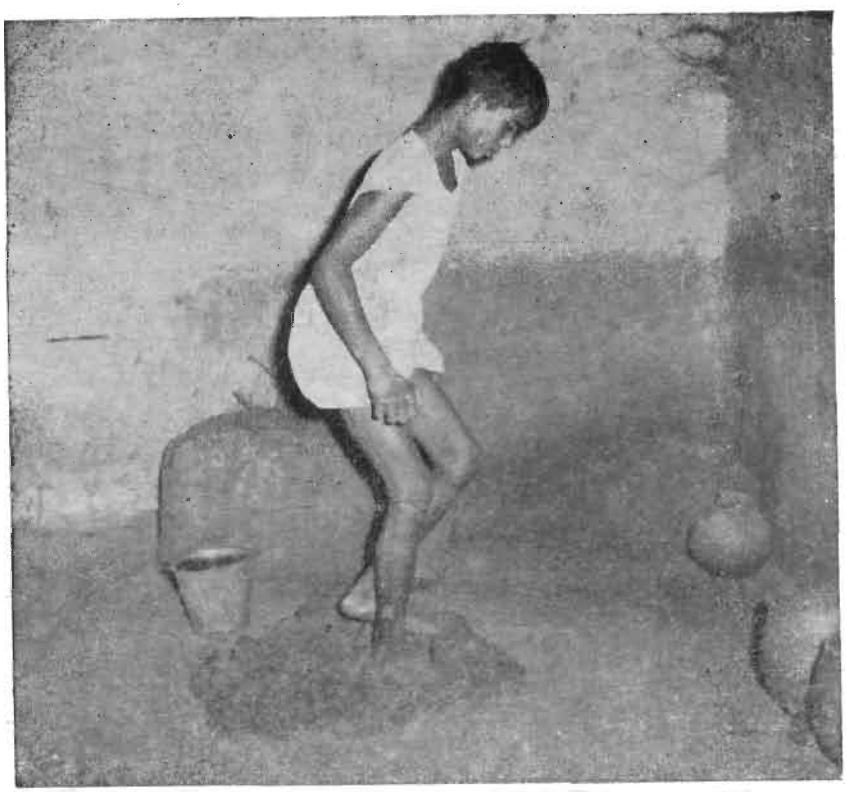
Cart-load of clay reaches the potter's locality



The lumps are stocked in cottage



Helaram Kumbhakar spreads clean sand on clay now to be pugged



Helaram pugs the clay



Panchanan Kumbhakar places the pugged clay on his wheel



Panchanan raises the clay while the wheel moves for bringing out
a hollow legs of a terracotta horse 42."



Panchanan fixes thestick on the wheel and gives rotations sufficient for it to have an independent momentum.

Panchanan sizes it up with rapt attention, ease and care for ensuring the proper height and shape, until it is sliced off—a series of three plates shows the different position.



Plate I

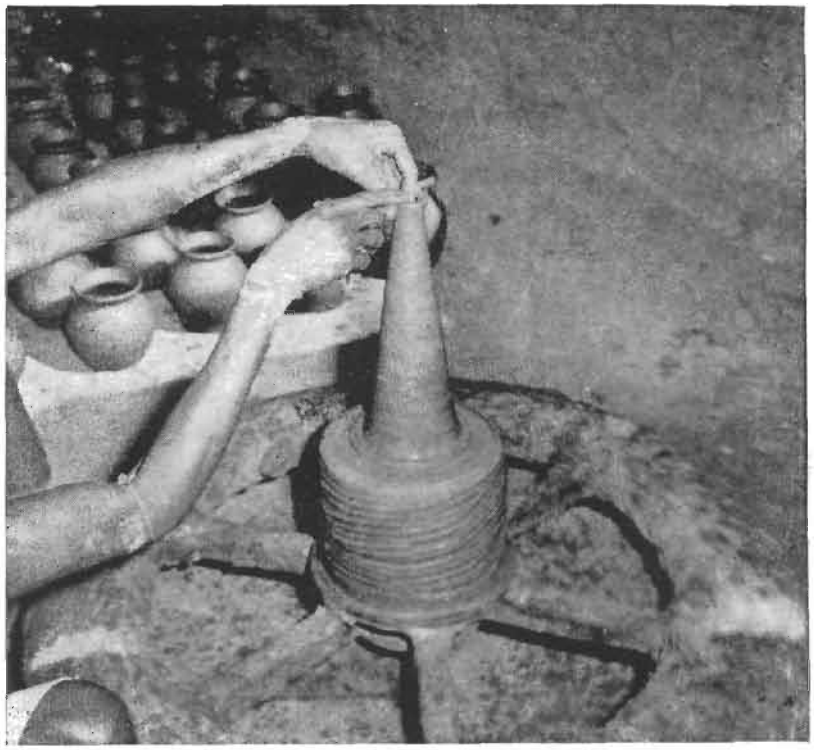


Plate II



Plate III

Panchanan prepares the hollow body of the horse on the wheel —a series of three plates shows the action.



Plate I



Plate II



Plate III

Panchanan prepares the hollow neck and the face on the wheel (three plates)



Plate I



Plate II



Plate III

Panchanan makes out a full terracotta hollow horse from the dried hollow pieces by placing the body on the legs serving as pillars, joining them in different portions, placing and setting the neck and finally fixing the face, all with plattered sticky day—a series of twelve plates shows the position.



Plate I



Plate II



Plate III



Plate IV



Plate V



Plate VI

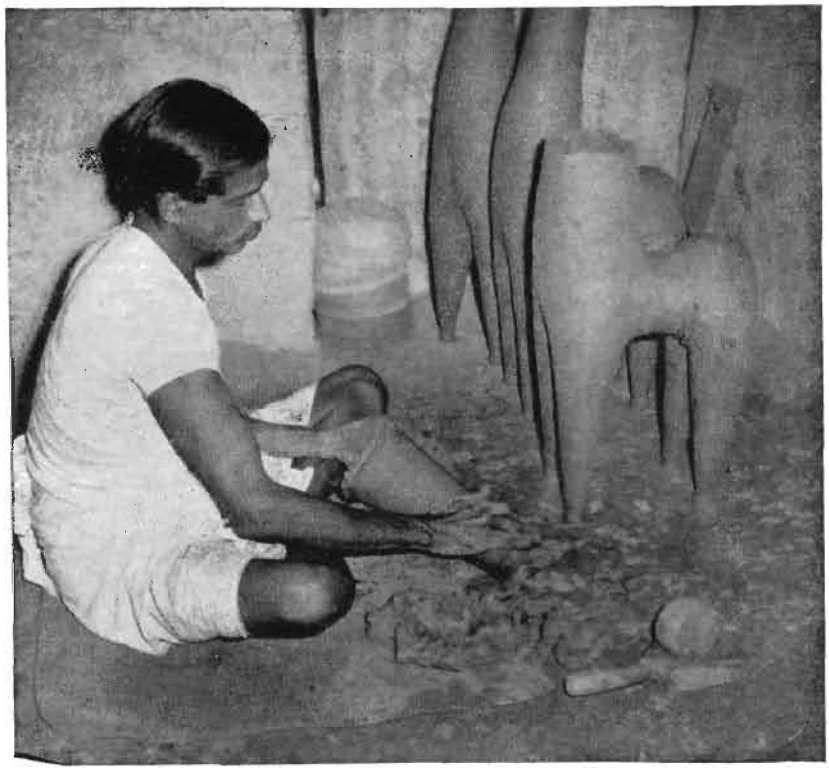


Plate VII



Plate VIII



Plate IX



Plate X



Plate XI



Plate XII

Panchanan now finishes the full green piece and fixes the designs at different points to give it the look of an alert and steady hollow horse, ready for march—a series of four plates explain the stages.



Plate I



Plate II



Plate III



Plate IV

Bholanath makes the hollow figure of an elephant—a series of five plates shows the salient movements.



Plate I



Plate II

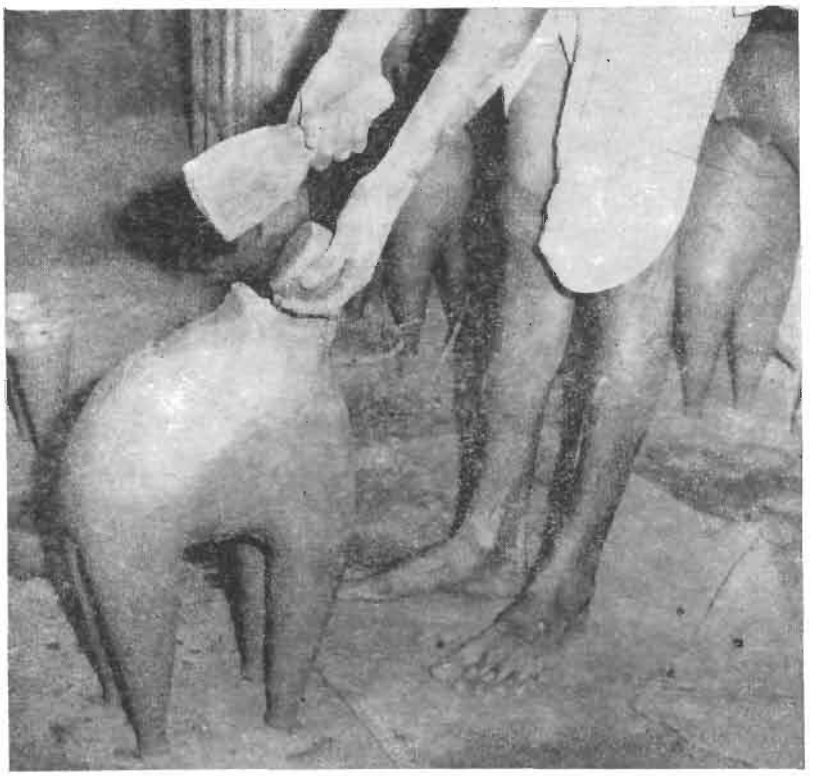


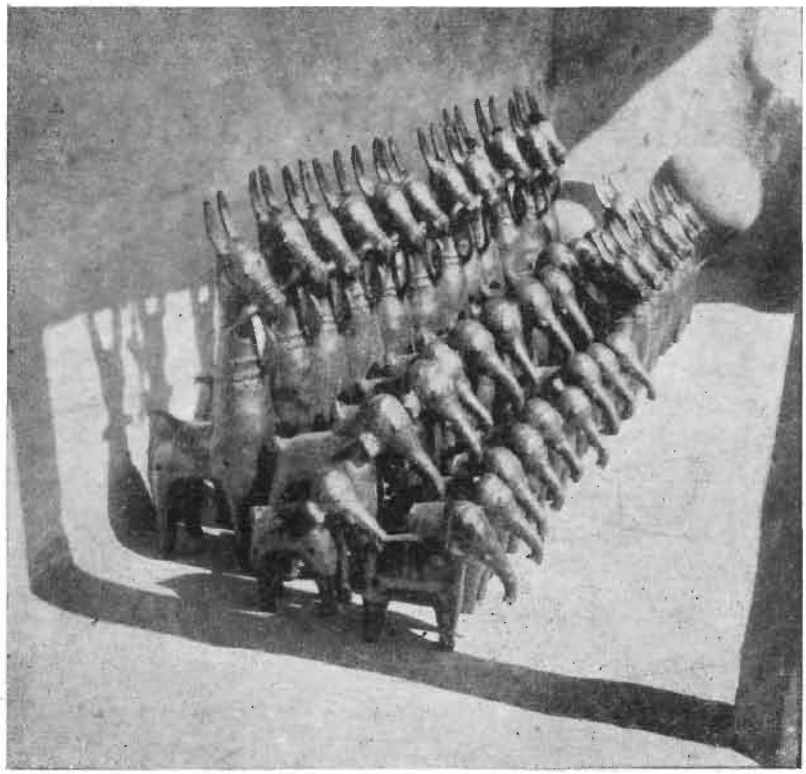
Plate III



Plate IV



Plate V



The green full pieces are kept for drying under sun rays.



The womenfolk of the artisan's family apply clay dye on dried forms, which are again dried.



A typical fire-place.



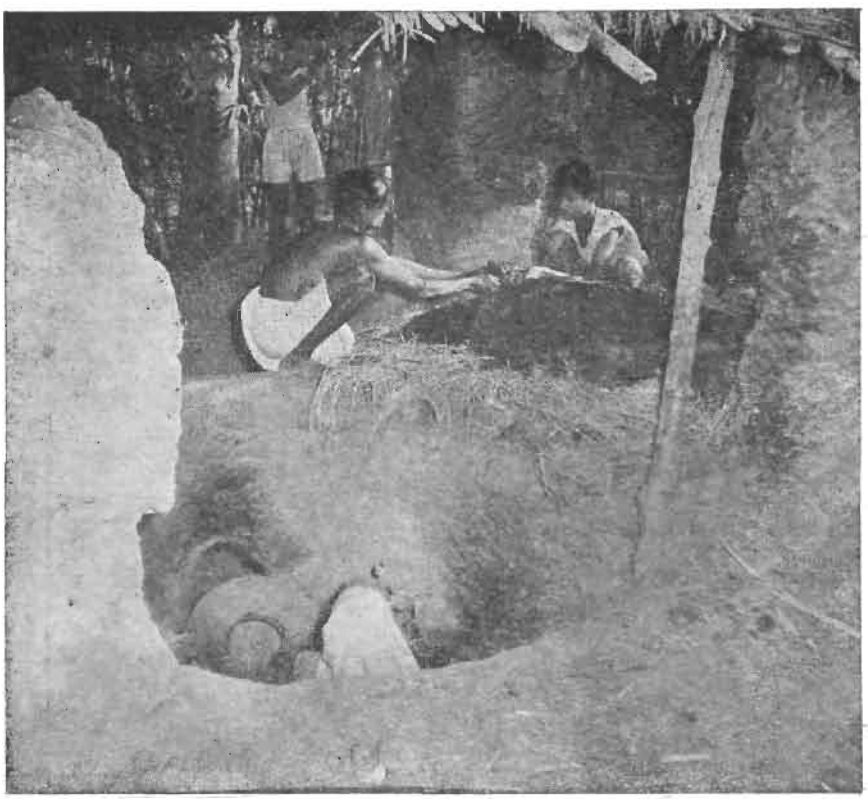
The arrangement of green figures inside the Puān.



Placement of broken piles of pitchers.



Paddy straw on pitchers.



Mud-plastering on the top.



Firing and the feeding of the fire with cowdung cakes.



Cementing of the fire passage with clay.



Watching of the fire inside.

TABLE 9

3.2 TEST REPORT OF CLAY DYES

(i)	Kharigad (applied on Blocks prepared from 5′ deep soil)	Pleasant Brick red colour	No glossy appearance
(ii)	Gad (applied on blocks prepared from 3′ deep soil)	Brick red	Do.
(iii)	Banak (applied on Blocks prepared from 6′ deep soil)	Dirty dark red	Do.
(iv)	Above three samples at a time layer by layer as done by the potters on the site (applied on blocks prepared from 6′ deep soil)	Dark red	Do.

Findings therefrom

3.3 Table 9 shows that soil clay collected from layers 5 to 6 feet below the surface is most suitable for manufacturing terracotta images. But, the workability of this type of soil is practically nil due to its hardness and stickyness. A mixture of sand in the proportion of 10% increases its workability and the sample turns ideal for the craft. Actually, craftsmen of Panchmura mix sand with common clay for their work. Potters of other places of West Bengal sometimes mix clay from the upper layers of the soil instead of sand with sticky clay. But, craftsmen of Panchmura always use sand because the clay from the upper layer of the soil of District Bankura is so mixed with stone chips, roots of trees etc., that an admixture proves a failure in producing the desired sample.

3.4 Test report of Table 9 justifies the craftsmen's selection of special types of clay for colouration. They really produce a desired effect and make the image beautiful. The use of Gad and Banak imparts on the images a very dull yet soothing effect, which commands everybody's appreciation.

3.5 A comparative Statement on the workability of Panchmura clay and clays of other places of Tiles and Bricks is given below:

TABLE 10

WORKABILITY OF DIFFERENT SOIL SAMPLES

	Bamuha (Burdwan) East Centre		Mouza Ajhapur (Dist. Burdwan)		Panchmurah (Bankura)	
Water of Plasticity (%)	24		22.5		23.4	
Workability	Fair		Good		Fair (Sticky)	
Dry Shrinkage (at 110′ C) (%)	7		5		5	
Firing behaviour at	1000′C	1050′C	1000′C	1050′C	1000′C	1050′C
Fired shrinkage (%)	3	5	1	1	1	1
Total shrinkage (%)	10	12	6	6	6	6
Porosity (%)	28.3	20.4	27	26	26.3	24.1
Water absorption (%)	16.4	9.6	15	13.4	12.7	12.3

TABLE 10—*Contd.*

	Bamuha (Burdwan) East Centre		Mouzha Ajhapur (Dist. Burdwan)		Panchmurah (Bankura)	
Colour	Light red	Brick red	Light red	Brick red	Dull red	Brick red
Ring	Good	Metallic	Good	Good	Good	Good
Bloating	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Scumming	Little	Little	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Compressive Strength, Tons/Sqr. inch	1.7	2.8	1.10	1.15	2.08	2.3

Remarks: Above clays are quite suitable for the manufacture of Bricks & Tiles. Moderate water of plasticity, low water absorption, shrinkage, pleasent brick red colour high compressive strength etc., are quite satisfactory and akin to the specifications of Brick & Tile making clays. But as the Panchmurah clay is bit sticky, admixture of sand to the extent of 10% is advised.

Source: Bengal Ceramic Institute, Calcutta.

4. *Tools in use*

4.1 Tools used by the artisans in their workshop in the different stages of the work are detailed below: —

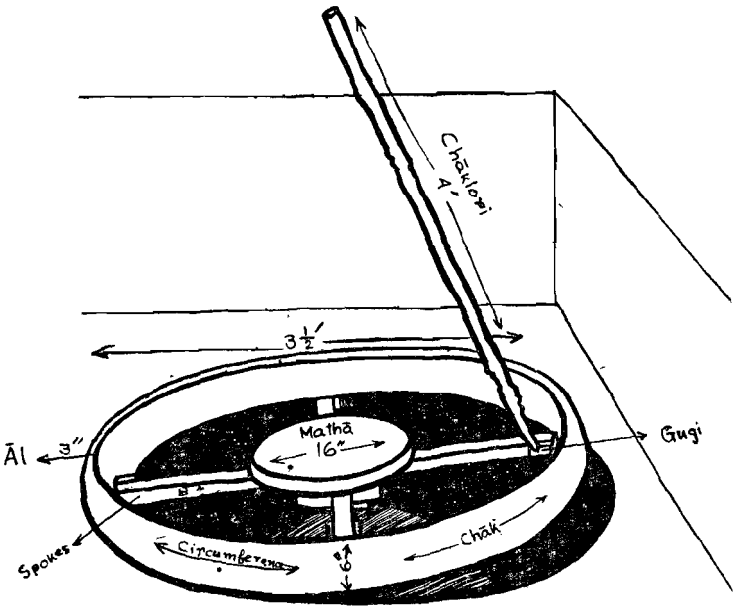
TABLE 11

TOOLS

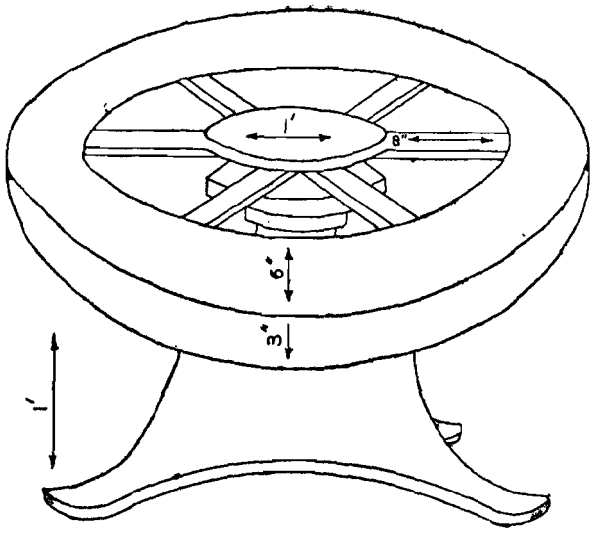
Items (Local Name)	Function	Reference of illustration (No.)
1	2	3
Chālnā	For sieving	47
Chāchnā	To slice off moist clay	46
Chāk	Potter's wheel for throwing (Traditional & ball-bearing)	43-44
Chāk-lori	A wooden stick to rotate the wheel	56
Unchā	For finishing green articles while still on the wheel	45
Kāntā	A needle to detach the green articles from the wheel	48
Pitnā	For beating and enlarging green articles	51
Ballā	Support used at the time of beating	52
Āthāli	Water container	49
Nichā	For making grooves during beating	
Cheāri	For finishing green articles and decoration as well	53

Their availability

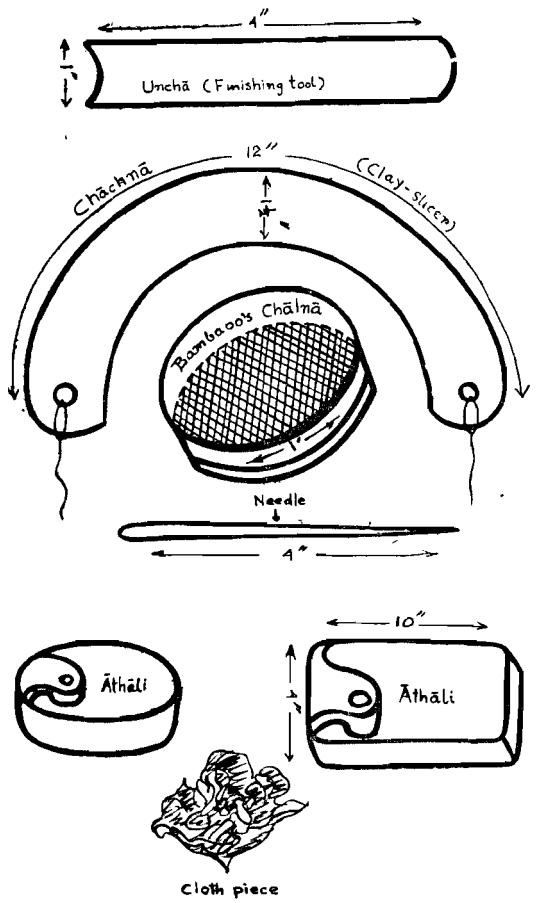
4.2 Of the eleven items mentioned above, excepting 'Pitnā', 'Nichā', 'Bāllā' and 'Chāk', the rest are manufactured by the artisans themselves according to their needs. 'Pitnā', 'Vichā' and 'Ballā' are either made to order by the local craftsmen or are purchased from Bankura Town. Chāk or Potters wheel is bought either from Rajgram or from Bankura. Very recently, the local cooperative of the potters has introduced some modern Ball-bearing wheels. These have been purchased by the Cooperative from the Government. In the colony of craftsmen, at present, 40 old type of Potter's wheel and 3 Ball bearing wheels are being operated.

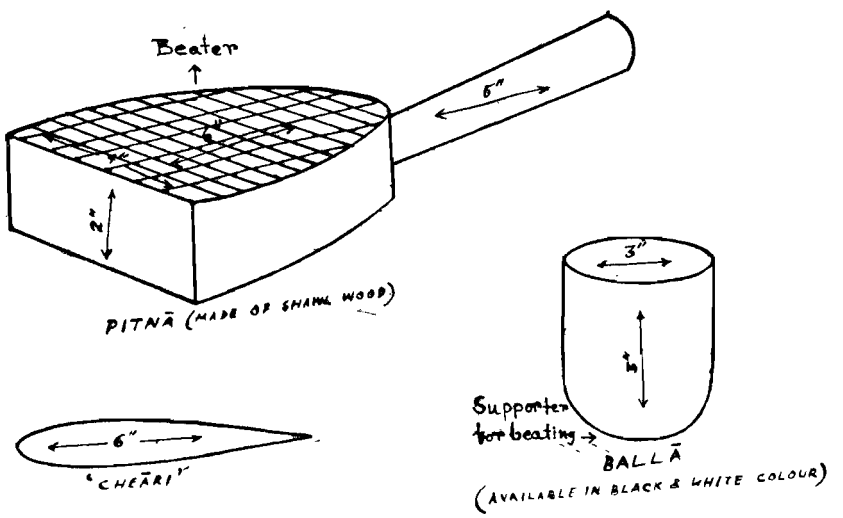


Traditional Potter's Wheel (chāk)



Ball bearing Wheel


4"
1"
Unchā (Finishing tool)
Chāchnā
12"
(Clay-slicer)
Bambaoo's Chālnā
Needle
4"
10"
Āthāli
Āthāli
Cloth piece


Beater
6"
PITNĀ (MADE OF SHAMAL WOOD)
3"
Supporter for beating
BALLĀ
(AVAILABLE IN BLACK & WHITE COLOUR)
6"
'CHEĀRI'



Use of chānchnā



Processing of clay



The use of Chāklori on the wheel (chāk)

Workshop

Adjoining Worksheds and Dwellings

5.1 Worksheds and the dwellings of these artisans are not separated. Different portions of their dwellings are generally used as work places. These families are so clustered in a limited area that, separate plots of land for factory site, even if desired, are mostly not available. But, this is not the only hurdle in the way of establishing separate workshops. Economic distress is another determining factor. Besides, a long tradition of working in the congenial atmosphere of their dwelling houses has so moulded the pattern of their activities that, they find no incentive in setting up workshops outside.

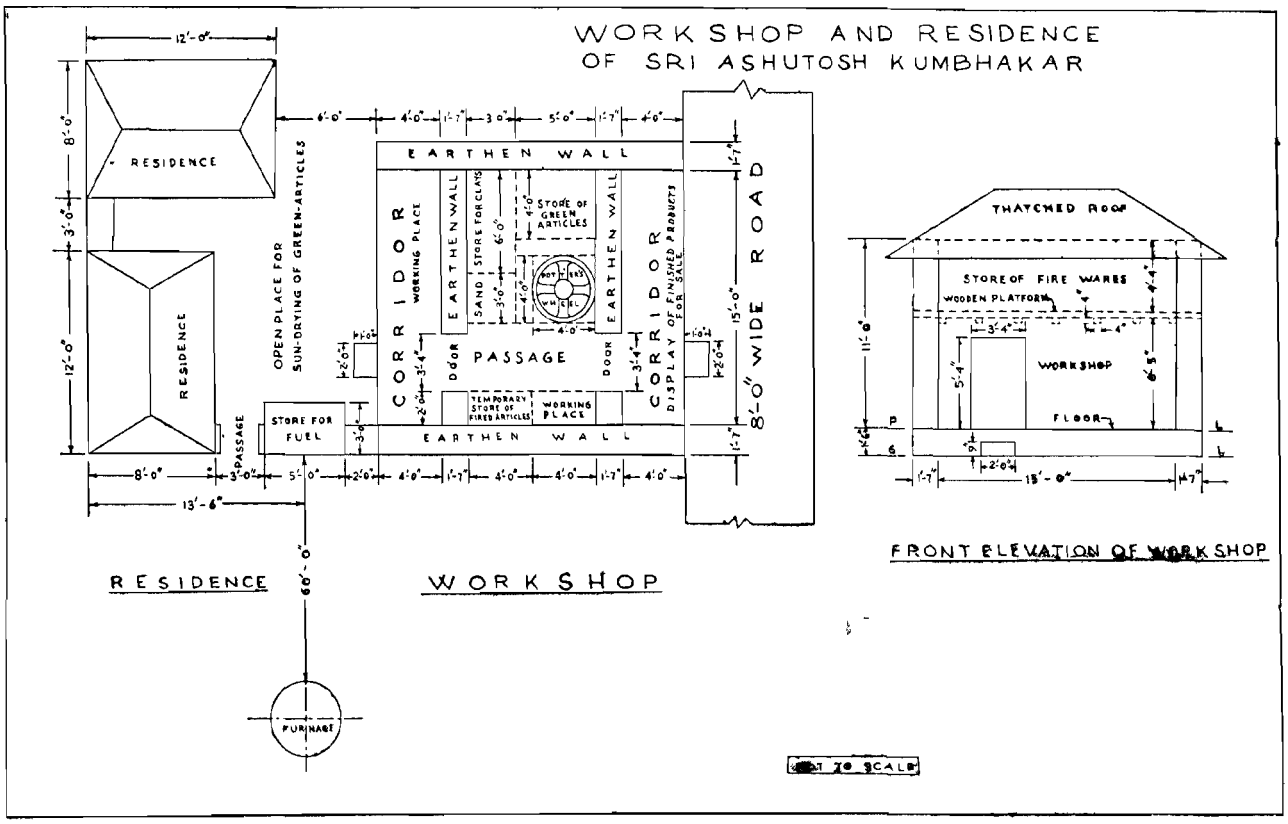
Distribution of Dwelling houses and available Space and Workers.

5.2 Out of 30 families, 2 families are not connected with the occupation. They possess no workshops or godowns except their own dwelling houses. Of the remaining 28 families, fifteen families have separate dwelling houses per family. But, for the other 13 families, 2 or 3 families together share a house. For these families, there are only 5 joint houses. The maximum concentration observed never exceeds four families per house. The only house that affords shelter to 4 such families measures 1600 square feet and it is a two-storeyed construction. Another house where 3 of the families live together, measures 56 square feet and it is also a two-storeyed construction. Of the other 3 houses, each of which, affords shelter to two combined families, the lowest in measurement is 120 square feet and the highest one is 254 square feet only. Of the single family houses, the biggest one is a three-storeyed construction and measures 374 square feet and the smallest one is one-storeyed and 209 square feet in measurement.

5.3 The above description of the dwelling houses of the craftsmen families provides a good basis for imagining the actual condition of their workshops and store-rooms. In Panchmura, 7 craftsmen families have separate workshops each. Another 8 families use the verandahs of their houses as worksite. In some cases, a single family occupies a verandah, in other cases, the verandah is shared by two families. 6 families work in 3 separate workshops, two in each factory. Seven families have combined workshops and store rooms.

The largest of the single workshops, measures 242 square feet and the lowest in measurement is 108 square feet. The measurement of the verandahs used by the artisans as worksites are limited between 40 to 96 square feet. The largest of the combined workshops and store-rooms measures 665 square feet and is two storeyed and the smallest one is 255 square feet in measure and one-storeyed.

5.4 Out of these families, only one family possesses a separate store-room. Most of the other store-rooms are either located in one corner of the workshops or in the dwelling houses of the artisans. Two or three families use a portion of their verandah as store-rooms. The Sketch of the workshop and the residence of Sri Asutosh Kumbhakar is given below:



5.5 In the family based pottery of Panchmura, no outsiders are invited as labourers. The close proximity of the workshops to the dwellings provides ample opportunity to each and every member of the household to co-operate with the artisans in their work and such work of craft does not disturb the family way of life.

Construction of Workshed

5.6 Separate workshops and the workshops situated on the verandahs or attached to the above rooms in most of the cases face the small village roads. Single workshops are constructed on clay foundation and have mud-walls and thatched roofs. Pillars and frames used there are all made of Sal, bamboo and palm. In cases of combined workshops and store rooms, two rooms are in the first floor and are covered with corrugated iron sheets and the one-room below is also covered overhead with tin-sheets. But, their foundation and walls are all constructed with muds. The pillars, frames, doors and windows are all prepared from Sal, bamboo and palm. Workshops located in the verandahs of the houses have, on one side, the walls of the dwelling houses in the background and the rest of the sides are open. Workshops generally have two doors, one facing the village road and the other leads to the interior of the inner household. The verandahs of the workshops, facing the village road are generally used as the display floors of the products manufactured. Where a workshop is constructed combined with the store, the former is located in the ground floor and the latter is constructed above with wooden panels. In many families, the bed chambers in the first floors are used as store-rooms. A particular place in the workshop is marked for setting the wheel and the other tools and instruments are also placed there. Inside, the huge dumps of clay are kept covered

with mats or gunny bags. Unfinished green products are also kept in the workshop. Before firing, finished products are generally kept in the workshop or in the store room in such a way that, the light and air from outside cannot reach these products.

Working Space inside and outside

5.7 Before firing, these products are brought out in the open court-yards for application of clay-dye. Out of the total number of houses, shared by 28 families, the boundaries of the houses, occupied by 8 families only have some open space. The maximum open area measures 782 square ft. and the minium one is only 54 square feet. The families having no open space in their compounds, use the verandahs, alleys of their houses and also the village roads, for colouring the images. In this connection, it may be mentioned that, each workshop or store-room generally measures in height from 10 feet to 15 feet. The heights of the verandahs from ground level generally vary from 1 ft. to 2 ft. and the width varies from 3 ft. to 5 ft. Windows measure from 2′ × 1′ to 2′ × 2′ and the doors are generally 5′ × 3′. Their number in the workshops is very limited. As the workshops are mostly situated by the way side, there is no dirth of light and air.

Cost involved

5.8 The construction cost of a workshop is generally limited to Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 only. If it is thatched with straw, after every 3 years, the need for rethatching is felt. The workshops and dwelling houses are generally constructed by the local men belonging to Khaira caste. A cottah of land generally costs Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 only.

Working Hours

5.9 The peak period of the work in the shed is generally from the Bengali calendar month Ashina to Chaitra. During these months, work is performed in 3 shifts a day. The first shift is from about 8 O' clock in the morning till 11 A.M. (before noon). The next one begins from immediately afternoon and ends at about 3 p.m. and the third one starts at 4 in the evening and continues till about 7 p.m. in the night. Out of the rest 5 months, the work remains completely suspended for 3 months due to various religious functions and onset of harvesting season. The schedules for closure of the workshops has already been stated in Para 3.3 in Economy Chapter.

During the periods in between these holidays, very little work is performed in the workshops. This period is slack period. During this slack period, work is generally done for one shift from noon-time to about 4 in the evening.

6. *Process of Manufacture*:

Use of wheel for the turning of figures

6.1 Most of the products, discribed at chap. 5, 6.1 are prepared on Potter's wheels, except in a few cases, where, the artisans partly use their hands to give the mould to desired shape. Images of goddess Sasthi, Ash-trays, Conches and toy railway Engines are completely prepared by hand. The use of WHEEL for the production of the primary terracotta items is the speciality of Panchmura artisans. Instead of lump clay being put to moulds, the artisans bring out hollow fighures in parts, to be joined subsequently by hand, with the help of the wheel. In the manufacture of horses, elephants, and tigers, the process adopted is quite similar, while, in the manufacture of other products, excepting Manasar jhar and the products made entirely by use of hands only, the process, though different from the first one, is quite similar for the products of this group. The use of wheel for the purpose of animal and other forms, besides the age-old domestic wares is an illustration of creative genius of Bankura potters. [Drawing No. 27, p. 79.]

In the following paragraphs, we are dealing in details the manufacturing process of Horses and Pona-handi only:

Process of manufacturing a terracotta Horse—Green Stage

6.2 Artisans of Panchmura manufacture horses, elephants and tigers of various sizes. These sizes generally vary from 60 inches, to 42 inches, 36 inches, 24 inches, 18 inches, 12 inches, 8 inches and 6 inches. Process adopted in the manufacture of a 24 inches horse is given below: —

The first stage of the process is the turning up of the two front and two hind legs of the horse. In the second stage, the trunk of the body between these two pairs of legs are turned. In the third stage, a neck and in the fourth stage, a face are turned out. These seven segments are prepared by a single artisan by throwing process. Tools required in the entire process consists of a potter's wheel, a 'Chāklari', 'Unchā' and 'Kāntā' only. The measurement of each leg, the trunk, the neck and the dimension of the face of a 24 inches horse in the green stage is 8 inches, 6 inches, (diameter of the trunk is 10″), 8 inches and 4 inches respectively. The weight in the green stage of each leg, trunk, neck and face, when finished is 1 k.g., $\frac{1}{2}$ kg., $\frac{1}{4}$ kg. and $\frac{1}{4}$ kg. respectively. Time taken for manufacturing these parts is 2 minutes (legs = 4 × 2 minutes = 8 minutes), 3 minutes, 2 minutes and 2 minutes respectively. These segments are assembled with the help

of three chunks of clay measuring 8″ × 6¼″ within 2 to 3 hours of time. Total weight of these three chunks is 1 kg. It takes only 30 minutes to assemble all the seven segments. For assembling and finishing of the image, the artisans use their hands, 'Pitnā', 'Ballā' and 'Āthāli'. The following table includes the detailed information of the operation:—

6.3 TABLE 12

TERRACOTTA HORSE IN MAKING IN GREEN STAGE

Particulars	Legs	Body	Neck	Face	Additional clay required at the time of journey i.e. Chapra
1	2	3	4	5	6
Manufactured by . .	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	Throwing	
Tools & limbs required .	Chak & Chaklari, hands; uncha, Kanta	The same as in No. 2	The same as in No. 2	The same as in No. 2	Only by hands
No. of Pieces . .	4	1	1	1	3
Dimension . .	8″ high	6″ long & 10″ diam.	8″ high	4″ long.	8″ × 6¼″
Weight . .	1 kg.	½kg.	¼kg.	¼kg.	1 kg.
Time of making . .	2×4=8 minutes	3 mts.	2 mts.	2 mts.	1×3=3 mts.

6.4 These seven segments as stated in the table above, when assembled, gives a total height of 26 inches. But, after firing, this height decreases by 2 inches and comes to 24 inches. The process does not cease with assemblage only. After assembling the different segments, the craftsmen by the use of fingers gives the face of the horse its proper shape. The craftsman produces by his hands two ears, one tail, a flower of the forehead and a bridle and fixes them to their proper positions. In this way, by fixing different parts, and after making the whole surface quite polished, the artisan inscribes some ornamental designs on the surface of the forehead, head, chest, back seat, neck and eyebrows with the help of a 'Chearī' and the nails of the fingers. Two or 3 hours after this ornamentation, the craftsman, without destroying the physical beauty of the whole thing, makes 8 holes in the 4 legs, two holes on both sides of the neck and two holes in the trunk i.e. in total, 12 holes are made. Diameter of each hole is generally ¼″ inches. These holes are made to prevent the cracks likely to appear due to contraction of the surface during drying and firing or due to the pressure of steam from inside. For drying, the finished products are usually left in an almost closed chamber for 8 days. These images are to be dried in gentle, cool and dry air; otherwise, the risk of appearance of cracks on the surface cannot be avoided. Next, these dried figures, after the scheduled period, are brought out from the chamber on the open courtyard and, just two or three hours before firing of the images in the furnace, arrangements for applying clay dyes like 'Gād' and 'Banak' are to be completed. At first, a thin layer of Gād is applied on the surface of the horse by a thin cotton cloth piece. After half an hour, another coating of the same clay dye is applied. This second coating is rather thick. Half an hour after such application of 'Gād' colour, 'Banak' dye is applied similarly. Then, these figures are submitted for firing in the furnace. The job is done in losts of any one item by an artisan at an particular time.

Process for Similar other figures

6.5 The process of production of elephants and tigers on wheels is the same as in the case of horses. 'Manasār Jhār' parts are also on wheels and then joined together by hands with clay 'Chāprā' (Chunks). Then, the designs are set.

Process of Manufacturing a Ponā-Hāndi

[a vessel for minnows]—Green Stage

[Drawing Nos. 41-46, pp. 87 & 88]

6.6 A 'Ponā-Hāndi' generally measures 1 foot in height and 1½ feet in dia. Manufacturing process is quite easier than that of horses, elephants, tigers or Manasār Jhār. At first, the upper part of the vessel is prepared by throwing process. This portion is called 'Pāgui'. For preparation of the part, the craftsman uses chāk, chāk-lari, unchā and kāntā. Time required for manufacturing each 'Pāgui' is nearly 5 minutes and clay consumed weighs approximately ½ kg. After this,

only with the help of hands, artisans prepare 'Chāprā' with prepared clay (Pākmāti). This operation takes nearly 5 minutes of time and $\frac{3}{4}$ kg. of clay is consumed. This chāprā, when fixed below a 'Pāgui', Completes a Ponā-Hāndi. Then, the outer surface is smoothened. During fixing and smoothing operations, artisans use Ballā, Pitnā, Nichā, and Āthāli. The craftsman holds the Ballā in his left hand inside the vessel and beats the outer surface with his Pitnā in the right hand as required and thus fixes the Pāgui with chāprā. During the process of beating, artisans frequently apply water, contained in the 'Āthāli' on the surface with a linen. Within 25 to 30 minutes, the construction of a Ponā-hāndi is generally completed.

In this connection, it may be noted that, the artisans generally pick up the work of fixing these segments of Ponā-hāndi and polishing the same towards evening. Pāguis and chāprās are prepared in the day time and the excess water from the clay surface dries up by the evening and becomes sticky. And this particular stage is considered most suitable for fixing operations. Thus the artisans have selected evening as the best time for the particular work. And, gradually, this has become a traditional custom.

Ponā-Hāndi, thus manufactured, are left in a closed room for drying as in the cases of horses etc. and the same procedure for colouring before firing is adopted as observed during the manufacture of horses. In the closed chamber, generally 6 to 7% of Ponā-hāndis break down and get rejected.

Features of work on wheel

6.7 Thus, without any use of moulds for preparation of these images, different sections of horses, elephants or tigers are prepared by throwing process on Potters wheels. This requires a great skill, dexterous handling of the whole operation and a perfect command over the use of own hands on the part of the artisans. Each segment coming out of the wheel maintains a sandard size and records a standard weight. This type of perfection can only be achieved through age old devotion to the craft and complete mastery over the art. While the artisans work on the Potter's wheels, the following facts have been noted. A single artisan operates a single wheel. Potter's wheels are operated by the male artisans only. (Illustrations—39, 47, 49 pp. 82, 89, 96). They sit erect on their legs and operate the wheels by both hands. In moving the clay lump above the wheels, they sometimes work standing by bending their upper portions from the waist towards the front and operate on the clay on the wheels by both hands. Only when the necessity for rotating the wheels arises, they separate their legs according to their need and lean forward standing in the same position and, with the help of a 'chaklari'. p. 82, [Drawing 39] rotate the wheel for one or more minutes to impart momentum. When they are engaged in the moving wheels, it has been observed that, the maximum number of rotations per minute is 100 and the minimum is 50 per minute. Much of their skill is displayed in assembling the different segments of elephants, horses and tigers. This type of work is generally undertaken towards evening. During assembling, generally, one or more artisans of the family work together and distribute the work among themselves. While one artisan fixes the segments, the others assist him by inscribing the ornamental designs on the surface. This type of skilled work is also generally performed by the male artisans only.

When they set to conjoin the upper portion of the vessel with the lower one, the posture in which they sit is bit different from the previous one. In this case, they sit generally a bit stretching forward their right legs and fix the two segments by beating with 'Ballā' and 'Pitnā'. In this field also, the male artisans predominate.

Ball-bearing wheel

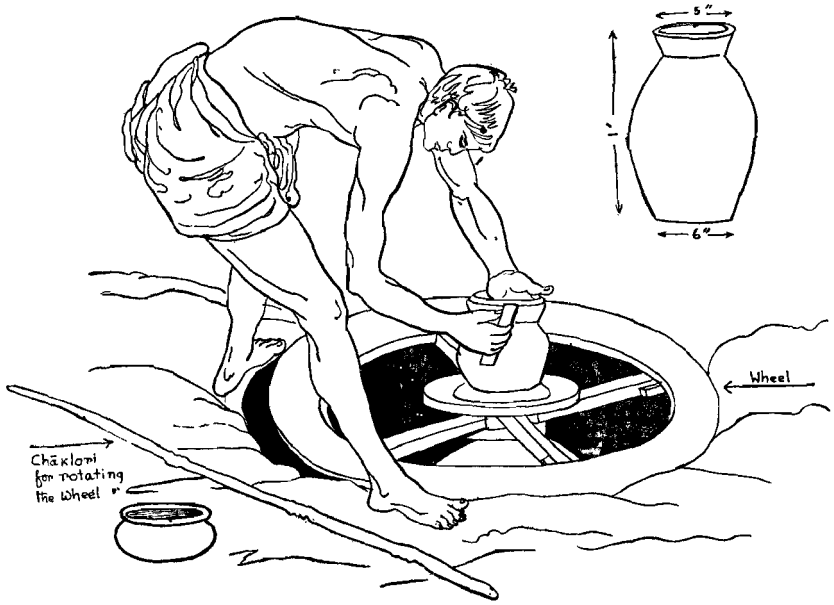
6.8 In this connection, it may be noted that, the advent of Ball-bearing wheels has minimised the labour used to be expended in old types of wheels. Old wheels are placed on pivots over a slab of stone and, the circumference of the wheels usually carry a load of nearly 2 mds. of clay. As a result, the rotation of this old type of wheels is fewer, and, at the sometime, greater force is required to be exerted to turn the wheels. But the modern ball-bearing wheels turn in a socket containing 8 balls and are placed over three-legged iron slabs and it is easier to manipulate these wheels due to their lightness and simple mechanical arrangements. The speed of these wheels is greater than that of the old types of wheels and much less effort is required to move these wheels. These wheels are of very recent introduction in just a few cases. It is the traditional 'Chāk' that predominates.

Role of female members

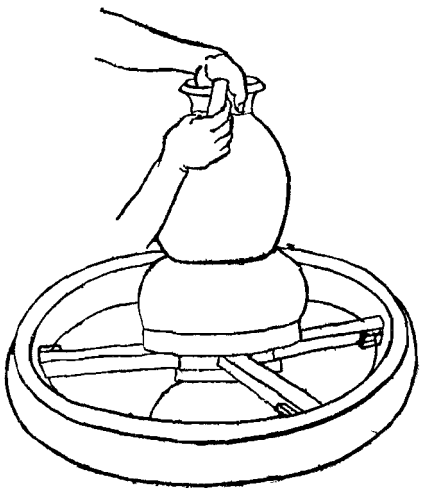
6.9 Another speciality of the manufacturing process lies in the application of colours. In this field, of course, the female members of the craftsmen's families predominate. They prepare colours and are most expert in the use of these colours on the images prior to firing. During the firing operations too, the female members play an important role in assisting their male members in various ways. They

as well carry the images to be fired from the drying chambers to the open courtyard and from there to the furnace Site after the application of colours like 'Gād' and 'Banak'. This is the traditional way of the combined efforts of labour and devotion of the male and female artisans for the production of the terracottas of Panchmura.

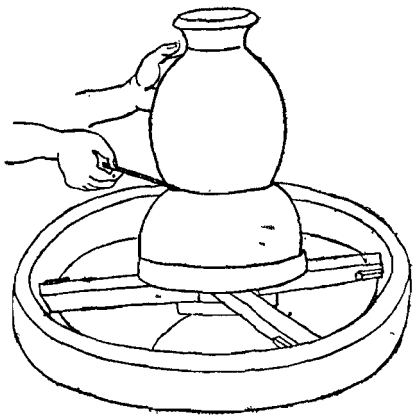
The traditional wheel turns out earthen ware



GREEN STAGE

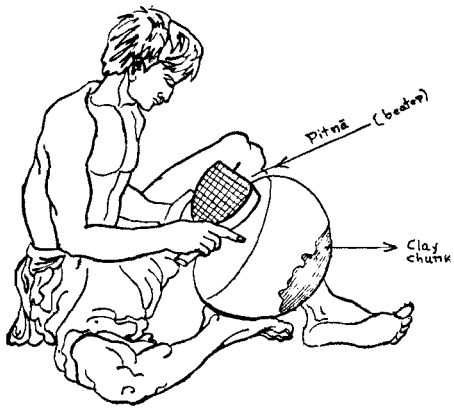


Use of *Unchā* to give shape of the mouth of the pot



The needle separates the green pot from the wheel

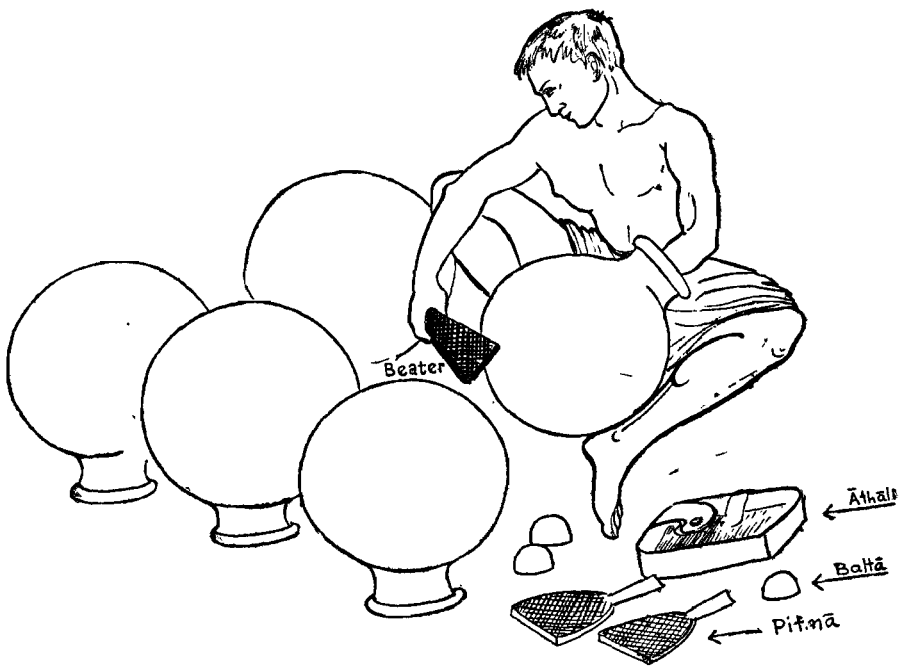
Use of *Pitna* for the upper portion of the pot



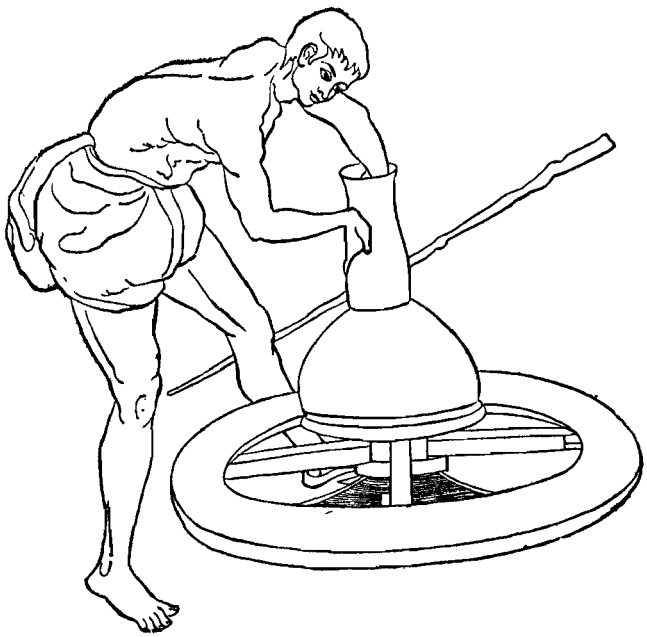
Use of Pitna for the lower portion of the pot



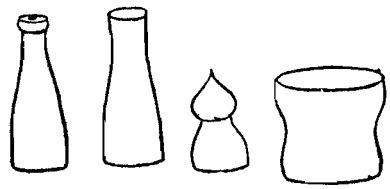
Pots unfinished



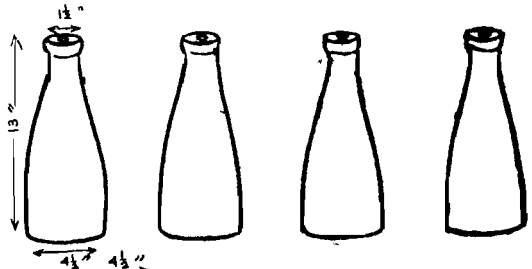
Pots (Hāndi) being finished one after another



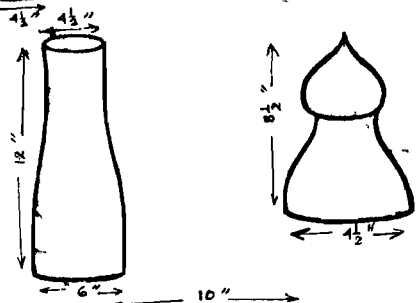
Stages of work in turning out a terracotta horse (Green Stage)



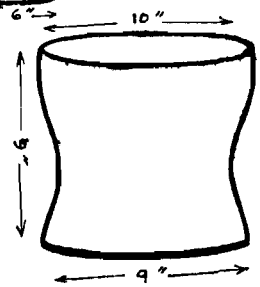
Legs of horse



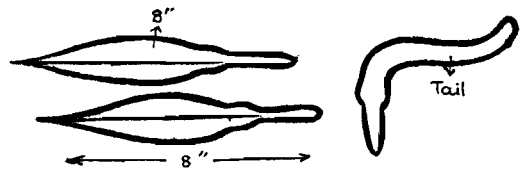
Neck of the horse
Rightside: Face of the horse

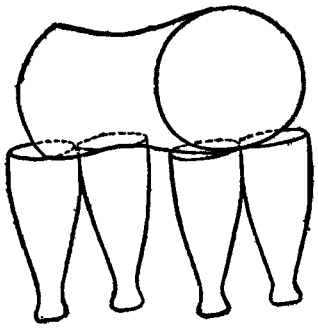


Body of the horse

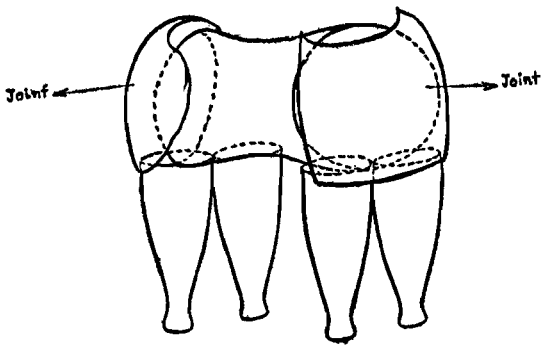


Ears and tail of the horse





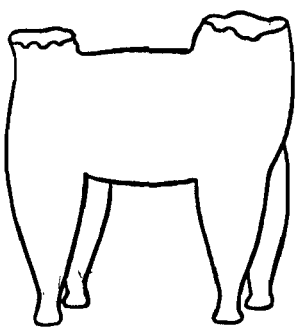
The trunk is placed on the legs



Chunks of clay join them

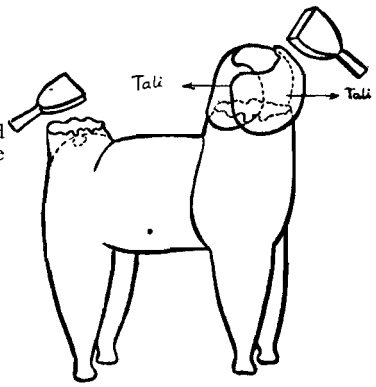


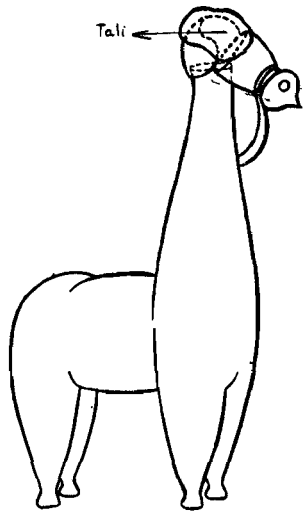
Tools like *Pitna*, *Baltā* and *Āthā li* are used for assembling the parts and finishing



Unfinished horse

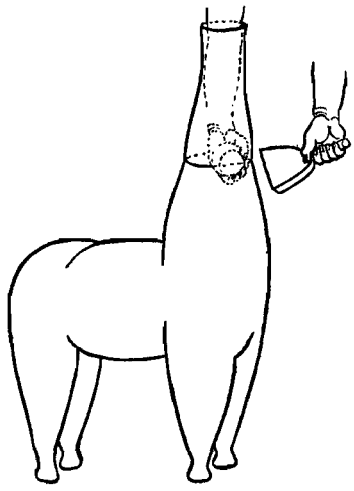
Clay chunks being applied to the back and to place the neck in two ends

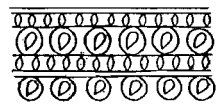




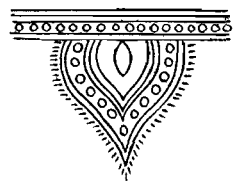
The face of the horse is being assembled in proper place with clay chunk

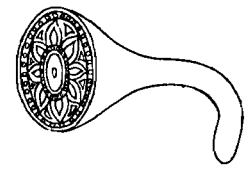
The neck of the horse is being set





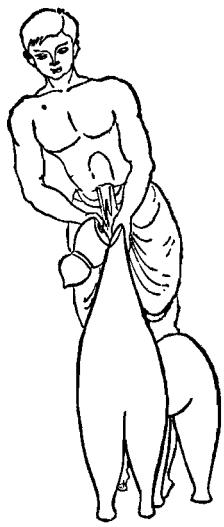
Designs on the head of the horse

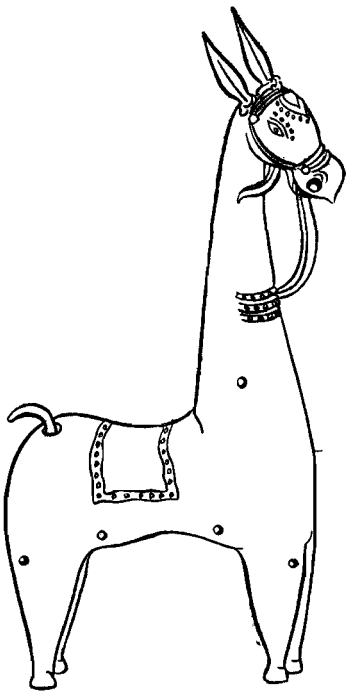






The face is brought to the point of the neck for fixation



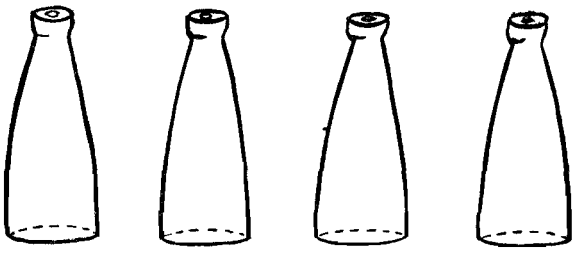


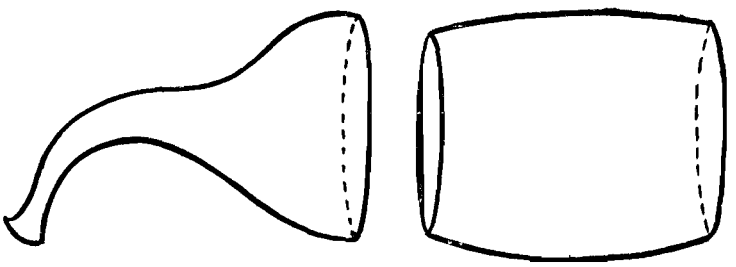
A horse when finished



Stages of work in turning out a terracotta lephant (Green Stage)

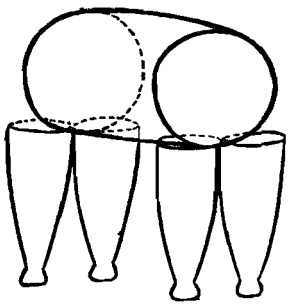
The legs of the elephant



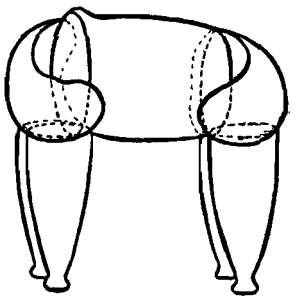


Head of the elephant

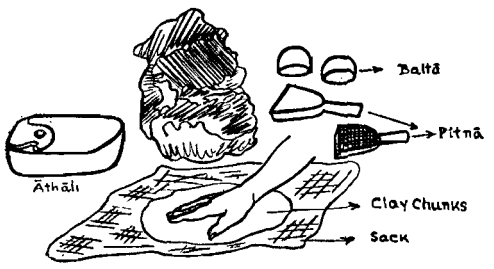
Body of the elephant



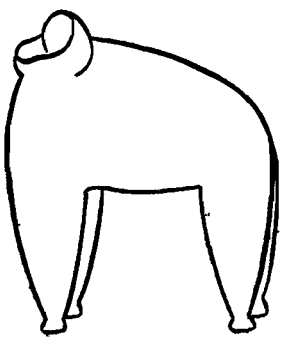
The body of an elephant being placed on the legs



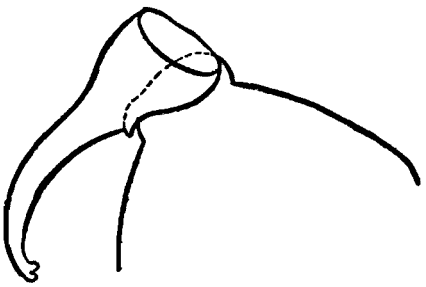
Parts are joined by clay chunk



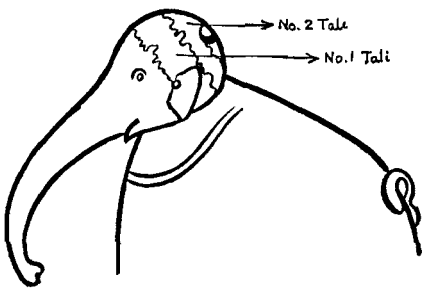
Tools used



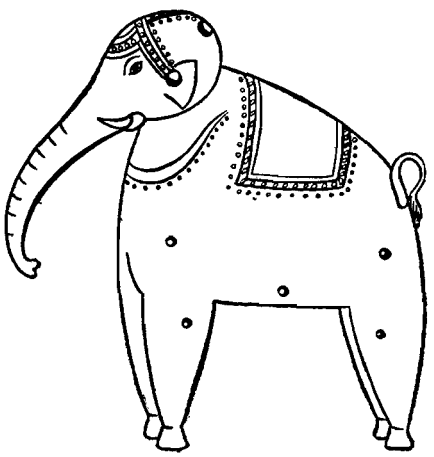
The body without the head and the mouth



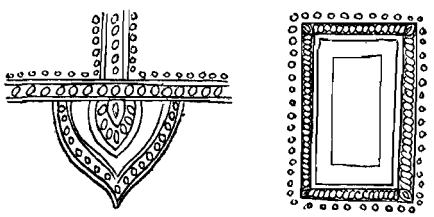
The head and the mouth being set for fixation



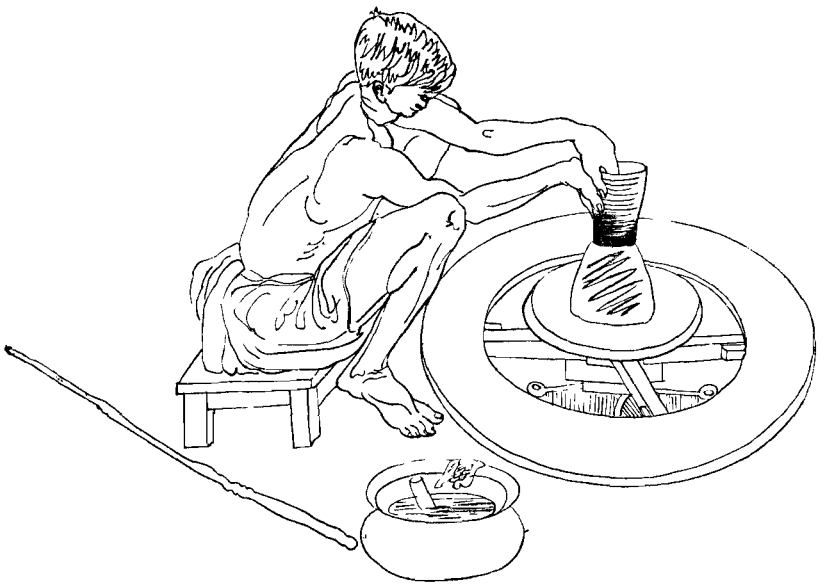
The body is finished with clay chunk and the rest work for tail, eyes etc. being done



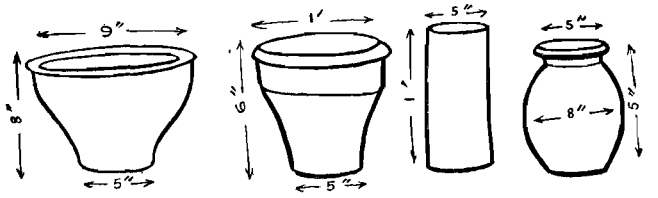
An elephant when complete with designs



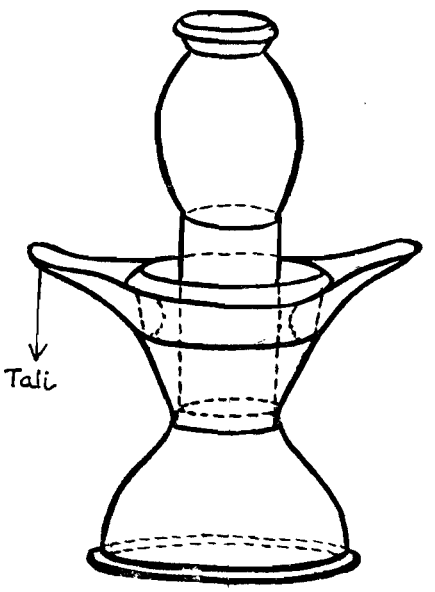
Designs for the elephant head



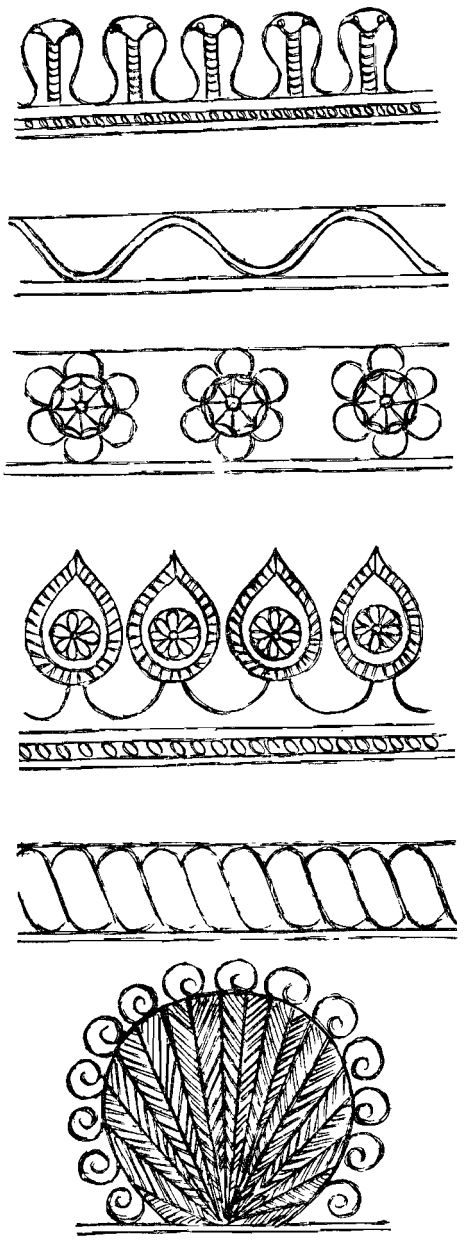
Stages of work in turning out a terra-cotta Mā Manashār Jhār (Green Stage)



Parts of Manashār Jhār

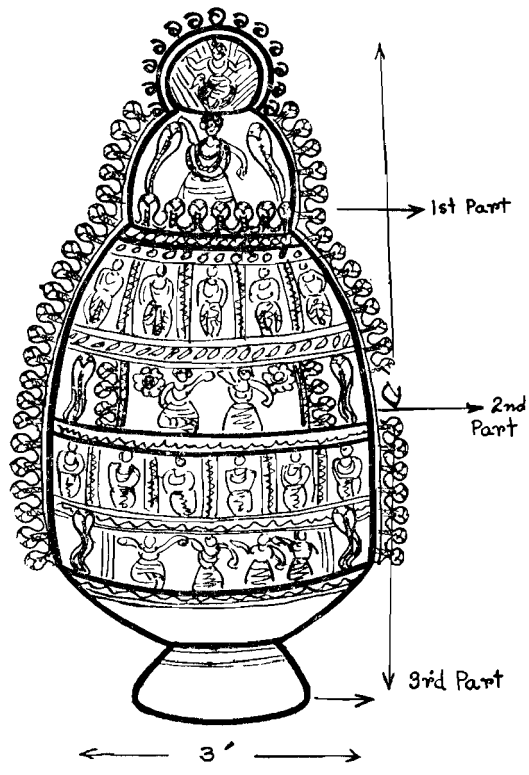


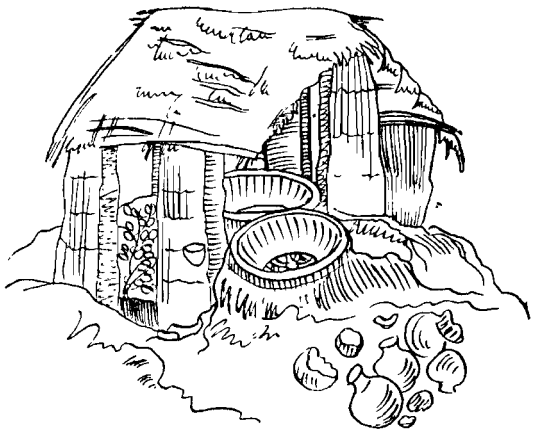
Parts are being assembled



The designs for Manashār Jhār

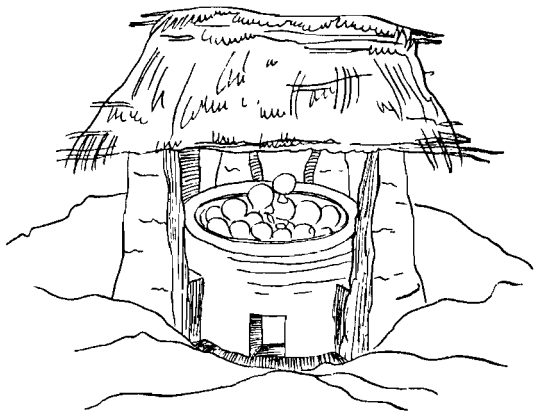
The Manashār Jhār when finished after design work



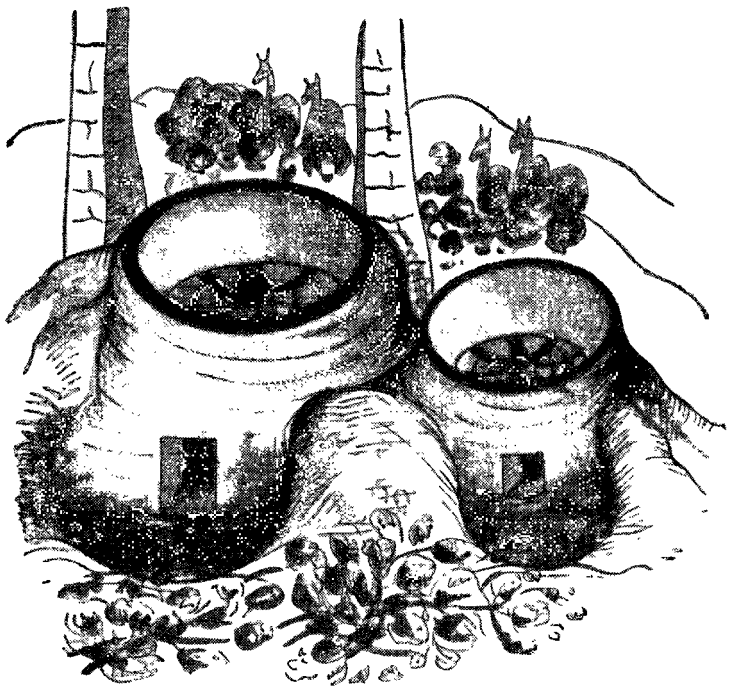


PUĀN

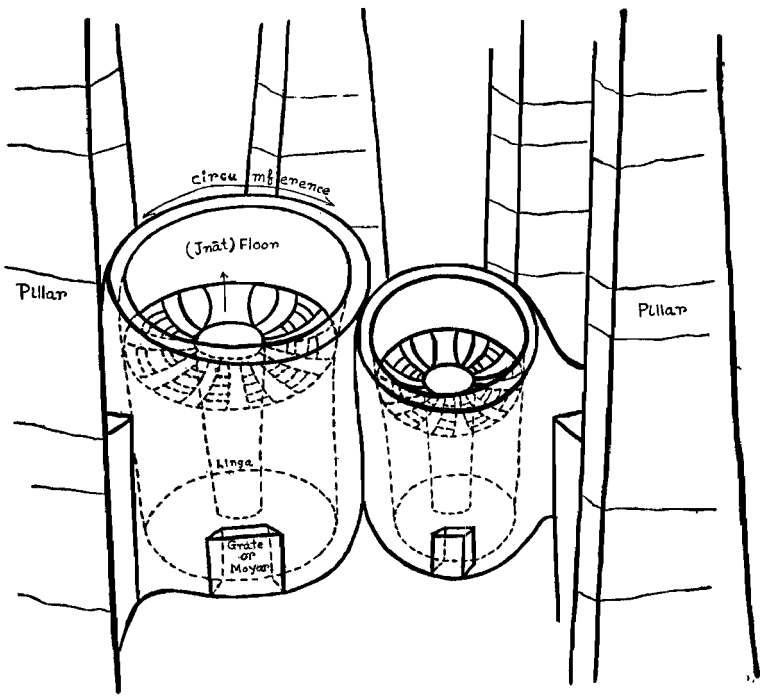
Under the shed there is the joint Puāns



Under the shed there is a single Puān



A joint-kiln (Puān)



Internal picture of a Puān

KILN ("Puān") and their distribution

7.1 Craftsmen of Panchmura call their furnace "Puān". These are for the firing of green products.

7.2. For the 28 working families of artisans in Panchmura, there are, in total, 8 big and 7 small "Puāns". These 15 puans are distributed amongst the families in the following manner: Two families have 4 big and 2 small "puāns". One family has 2 small "puāns". 4 big "puāns" are shared by another 4 families. 3 families have one small "puān" each. Thus, only 10 of the total number of families own these 15 furnaces. The rest 18 families have no furnaces of their own. However, these 18 families use their neighbours furnaces at the opportune idle moment. For this, the owners of the furnaces do not charge any fees. This type of assistance has turned to a traditional custom.

Merits in different types of Kilns

7.3 In a few cases, under the same roof, adjacent to a big "puān", a small "puān" has been observed. There is no speciality in the construction and firing methods of these joint "Puāns", excepting only that, the pair is located under a common shed. However, this type of paired furnace offers one working benefit i.e., if necessary, a single artisan can feed the 2 furnaces at a time during the firing operation. This prevents loss of time and energy. But, separately, for some particular types of work, a small "puan" is found to be more suitable than the bigger one. These small "puan" are most suitable for firing images of smaller sizes, viz 18 inches, 12 inches and 6 inches. In big "puāns", a large number of images are stacked at a time; as such, the risk of breakage of horses and tigers is quite inevitable; but, in small "puāns", the same risk is minimum. Besides this, when it becomes necessary to render on the images the effect of black hue through process of firing, these small "puāns" are found to be more convenient in manipulation.

7.4 Circumference of the inner portion of the kiln of the various level is as stated below: —

TABLE 13

SPECIFICATIONS OF KILN

	Bug Puan	Small Puan
Ground level	10'-8'	5'
Middle	21'-16'	10'
Upper portion	30'-24'	18'

Specifications and locations of kilns

7.5 A careful inspection of the spots where the artisans have constructed these "puans" reveals a striking fact that, they were very alert while selecting these spots for erection of "Puans". Though situated in the campus of their dwelling houses, these have been constructed on some raised but vacant plots of lands, at a distance of 50 to 60 yards from the house. For construction of a "Puan", 2 × 15 man days are required at an approximate total expenditure of Rs. 50 to Rs. 60.

7.6 Most essential parts of this furnace is its perforated flooring, locally known as "Jant". This Jant has 42 holes. The diameter of each peripheral hole measures 8" and the rest are 5" holes each. Initially, it is a temporary framework of bamboo and cane coated with thick earth Through firing process, bamboo burns away; but the clay structure remains fixed to the circumference. The flame enters into the green products through the perforated flooring. There is a grate or "Moyar" (2' × 2') at the bottom of each "puan", from where, fuel-like dry leaves and twigs are fed to maintain the flame. The floor or Jant is surrounded by a circular wall (2' in thickness), constructed by ordinary clay, rice-husks and straw. This is known as "Ber" of the "Puan" and 70 to 80 maunds of clay are consumed in its construction. The rice-husk gives insulation to heat during operation and thus ensures economy of fuels to some extent. The inner diameter of the "Big puan" is 6'-7' and the depth of the floor is about 3'. For the small "puan", the corresponding measures are 4' and 2' ft. respectively. The capacity of a big puan is about 10- 12 mds (green weight basis), while that for the latter is nearly 6 to 8 mds (green weight basis). In number, a big one can accommodate 250- 300 items. The sketch of a 'Puan' is attached

Pre-firing action

7.7 During loading, three persons are employed and it takes about one and half-hour to complete the operation. These men arrange the green objects on the floor of the "Puan" standing on the "Linga" of the "puan". This "linga" measures 4' in length and 1' 7" in width and 2' 4" in height. Female members of the household assist in carrying these green objects upto the "puan". At the time of arranging the materials in the "puan", big horses or elephants are placed at the feeding mouth and earthen vessels and pitchers are arranged upside down. When loading is completed, the green products are covered with spread-out straw and then coated with ordinary pastes of clay and water. The thickness of the coating is usually 4". 8 big orifices (each orifice is 5" in diameter) are made on the surface of the coating, which act as outlets to hot gases as well as peep-holes. Moreover, about 200 small bores are made on the surface to liberate smoke from inside the "puan" due to burning straws.

Firing

7.8 The duration of firing is three hours. Temperature maintained is 850°C—900°C (approx). The artisans have no Pyrometer. During the first one hour, the green objects are subjected to a slow firing, (one bundle of straws or twigs is consumed in 5 minutes) and during the remaining two hours, these are subjected to intensive firing (one bundle in two minutes). At this stage, the colour inside the furnace is dull red. The artisans are guided by the colour of the flame and the products as seen through peep-holes. When the firing is completed, the peep-holes and the grate of furnace are completely covered with broken pitchers, so that, no fresh air may find inlet to the "puan". This is indeed a very crucial stage of the operation. The furnace is discharged after 12 hours. This operation requires two heads—and is completed in 1 hour. The total fuel consumption per firing operation varies 5 mds to 10 mds. The cost of fuel is Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per firing. It is reported that, generally, per Puan, there are 5 "Bhatas" (firing) in 2 months.

7.9 The colour (red or black) of the finished products depend on the condition of firing. In the case of red colour, the firing is conducted by Sal leaves and twigs under an oxidising atmosphere and the products appear red due to oxidisation of iron to the ferric state. When the atmosphere is reducing during firing, ferric oxide is reduced to a ferrous state, ultimately, to ferrous silicate which is black. The reducing firing is generally carried out with moist cakes of cowdung. Before feeding these cakes, the temperature of the "puan" is allowed to drop at about 500°C. at this stage of firing, orifices are closed as usual excepting the grate. The grate is afterwards completely closed. The moist cakes burn very slowly and thus create a unique reducing atmosphere inside the furnace and the products appear black due to formation of ferrous silicate. These cakes of cowdung weigh 50 gms. each and the total requirement is found to be about 1000 pcs. per firing. The percentage of breakage at this stage varies from 10% to 25% depending upon handling and firing condition. However, the breakage is mostly accounted for due to air leakage into the furnace.

Finished Products

7.10 By dint of hard labour, complete devotion and skilful application of technique and use of implements, beginning from the processing of clay and ending in firing, the beautiful terracottas of Panchmura are born.

7

Economy of Poramatir Kaaj (Terracotta) in Panchmura

Type of unit
(*Para* 1)

Source and consumption of raw materials
(*Paras* 2.1—2.3)

Annual cost excluding labour in connection with raw materials and fuel
(*Paras* 2.4—2.6)

Peak period
(*Para* 3.1)

Slack period
(*Para* 3.2)

Suspension of work
(*Para* 3.3)

Production capacity and actuals of representative artisans
(*Paras* 4.1—4.9)

Markets and marketing facilities
(*Paras* 5.1—5.5)

Peak for particular items
(*Para* 5.6)

Sale rates
(*Para* 5.7)

Daily sales and consumers
(*Paras* 5.8—5.10)

Annual sales of representative artisans

(*Para* 5.11)

Source of financ

(*Para* 6)

System of keeping account and csting

(*Paras* 7.1—7.8)

The Panchumura Mritsilpi Samabaya Samity Ltd.

Paras 8.1—8.5)

General Problems

(*Paras* 8.6—8.9)

Conclusion

Para 9

Economics of the Craft and Economic behaviour of the Craftsmen of Panchmura

1. TYPE OF UNIT. Each and every Unit is an independent Unit controlling its production and sales. In the village, neither do the artisans secure the raw materials from the Mahajans nor do they offer their products to them against payment for their labour. But, in this connection, one aspect should be noted. The families, whose resources are small, generally take a loan of Rs. 15—50 per family from the money-lenders during the month of Jaistha to store the raw material mud for the whole year. These families also take some loans in the month of Aswina to collect fuels. It has also been found that, out of the total member of the working families, only 11 families take such loans. The prevailing rate of interest on the loan is 3 paise per rupee per month. Beginning from the end of Bengali Calendar month Pousa to the end of Chaitra, they pay off their loans along with interest. Such borrowings and sharings of ovens do not, however, curb the independent controlling power of the artisans over their production activity.

Source and Consumption

2.1 RAW MATERIALS: Basic raw material is mud i.e. common clay (including sand, "banak" and "gād" for pigmentation). The original sources were at the villages of Jankarsole and Daulvira. Artisans never purchase these muds from any Mahajan. They are used to collect them from the nearest uncultivable field Paschim Danga, (2 miles from the village) from a depth of 4′ or from the side of the river and canals, particularly, from the bed of the nearby Joypanda river. Recently, the Co-operative society of the artisans has purchased a plot of land at Janakisol, at a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the village, measuring 3 bighas from one Sri Haripada Dey and 1/3 of total demand is met by this plot. Of late, clay is also procured from the villages of Jambedia and Bapmara. The owner of the lands from where the artisans collect mud generally gets 50 paise as compensation for each cart load of the supply weighing 10 mds approximately. When the artisans collect mud from the land owned by the Cooperative Society, they are to pay charges at the same rate to the Society. "Gād", the first clay dye that is applied after drying of the products before firing used to be obtained from a fallow land and beds at Jambedia, 2 miles away from the village. The old stock having been exhausted, the new source of "Gād" is Natungram canal, situated at a distance of 3 miles from Panchmura. "Banak", the second dye before firing is obtained from Amjore canal, one mile away from Panchmura. But, the stock appears to have been exhausted, and no new source has been found.

2.2 It has been observed that, each big craft unit generally consumes 25—30 cart loads of mud (clay + sand + clay dye) every year. Medium and Small Units consume 16 to 20 and 12 cart loads of mud respectively every year. Every Unit secures 1 cartload of 'Banak' and 'Gād' every year for colouring the products. They collect this mud twice every year. Generally, the major portion of the muds is collected during the month of Jaistha and the rest is collected during the month of Pousa.

2.3 In the following Table, the period and the quantity of collection of 3 big, 3 medium and 3 small representative Units are presented.

TABLE 14

COLLECTION OF RAW MATERIALS

Name of the head of the Unit	Qnty. of mud collected (each cart-load = 10 mds.)	How much at what time	
		Jaistha	Pousa
	Big Units		
1 Rash Behari Kumbhakar.	30 carts	20 carts	10 carts
2 Sadhu Charan Kumbhakar.	25 carts	16 carts	9 carts
3 Gangadhar Kumbhakar.	30 carts	20 carts	10 carts
	Medium Units		
1 Bholanath Kumbhakar	16 carts	10 carts	6 carts
2 Dasarath Kumbhakar	20 carts	14 carts	6 carts
3 Panchanan Kumbhakar	16 carts	10 carts	6 carts
	Small Units		
1 Bhaskar Kumbhakar	12 carts	8 carts	4 carts
2 Krishnachandra Kumbhakar	12 carts	8 carts	4 carts
3 Dhananjoy Kumbhakar	12 carts	8 carts	4 carts

Cost of collection

2.4 The expenditure for carrying the mud to the worksite by bullock carts has to be met. Out of the 28 units, 17 Units have their own carts. Even those who have their own carts have to hire other's carts in some cases. They pay Re. 1 as hire charges for each cart.

On this basis, the maximum expenditure incurred in carrying materials by each large Unit has been estimated to be Rs. 30 per year. The charges of the Medium and Small Units are Rs. 20 and Rs. 12 respectively on this account.

Cost of fuel

2.5 For firing the products, fuels are essential Artisans generally use branches of Sal tree, dry leaves, straw and Cow-dung cakes as fuels. Out of these items, straw and dung-cakes are generally available from the houses of the artisans themselves. But, for the other items, the artisans have to approach the local traders in wood and they complete the purchase during the months of Jaistha, Ashwina and Magh. A cart-load of fuels (10 mds) costs Rs. 5, the carrying cost is Rs. 2. The consumption of fuels of each Unit for one year is generally equal to that of mud in terms of cart-load. Thus, the maximum consumption per year, when calculated on this basis comes to 30 cart-loads, 20 cart-loads and 12 cart-loads respectively for large, medium and small Units, the respective expenditure is Rs. 210 and Rs. 140 and Rs. 84 for a large, medium and small unit.

Total annual cost excluding labour

2.6 Thus, apart from manual of labour, each large, medium and small Unit incurs every year a total expenditure of Rs. 45 + 210 = Rs. 255, Rs. 30 + 140 = 170 and Rs. 18 + 84 = Rs. 102, respectively for mud, fuel and compensation and cart hire charges. As these items are collected by artisans themselves direct from the fields and the traders, the middlemen do not have any role at this stage.

Peak Period

3.1 Peak period of the business of these artisans is during the months of Ashwina to Chaitra. After the rainy season, the economic condition of the local people improves a bit. Moreover, during these months, the local inhabitants, observe various festivals. These religious performances and festivals begin with "Dāk-Sankrānti" of Ashwina and continue with "Makar Sankrānti" of Pousa (locally known as "Ekan Puja"), 'Māgh Panchami' and "Dol Jātra". Many items are also sold during the festivals of the Santals like the worship of "Jahar Beri", "Sālui" (at the time of emergence of new leaves of Sal trees) and "Bongā" worship. On the occasion of these festivals, elephants, horses and 'Manasār Jhārs' are sold like hot cakes. Besides these, on the eve of "Shrāvana Sankrānti" (Mākhal puja) and 'Dasaharā' (Gānga puja) in Jaistha, some of their products find good market. Beginning from Kartick towards the end of Chaitra, when the road communications with the outside local markets improve, the supply of materials to the outside markets increases. These seven months constitute the peak period of their business. The total sale of all the Units during these seven months is estimated to be Rs. 15 to Rs. 16 thousand. The income of three families of reputed artisans during this period is reported to be Rs. 1500 to Rs. 1700 each and that of 4 families on an average Rs. 900 to Rs. 1100 each; and that of the remaining 21 families is on an average Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

Slack Period

3.2 The slack period of these Units is from Baisak to Bhadra. Out of these five months, all the activities remain completely suspended from Baisakh to 15th of Jaistha. During this period, each and every member of the "Kumbhakar" community participates in "Gājan" festival of Lord Shiva. Besides, the tradition of worship of the Potters' wheel ("Chāck" Puja) that is in force amongst the Kumbhakar families engages every artisan in the worship which coincides with this period also. Every pottery artisan believes to the core of his heart that, to operate the wheels during this period, is contrary to social and religious customs. As a result, the work remains completely syspended. After this, the rainy reason sets in and prolongs through the month of Jaistha to the end of Bhadra. It has been found that, rainy season is not ideal for mud work and moreover, almost all the families of craftsmen remain engaged in cultivation during these months. Little work is performed during Jaistha to Bhadra. These five months are marked as slack period for the pottery and terracotta work in Panchmura.

Suspension of work

3.3 Terracotta and other pottery artisans of Panchmura suspend all their work during the following period and on the occasions mentioned below:

(i) Full months of Baisakh and the first fifteen days of Jaistha.

(ii) "Dasaharā" [Gangā puja] in Asarh.

(iii) "Ambubāchi" one day on the seventh of Asar.

(iv) "Janmāstami".

(v) "Rādhāstami".

(vi) "Jitāstami" [fifteen days before "Durgā" puja]

(vii) Fifteen days during Durga Puja.

(viii) Four "Panchamis" in
- (a) Saraswati Puja.
- (b) Nāg Panchami.
- (c) Hurā Panchami.
- (d) Manashā Panchami.

(ix) Four "Sasthis"
- (a) Jāmāi Sasthi.
- (b) Durgā Sasthi.
- (c) Sashthi (next day of Saraswati Puja).
- (d) Sital Sasthi.

(x) Srāvana Sankrānti, Biskarmā Puja, Durgā Puja, Kali Puja, Laxmi Puja, Mākar Sankranti, Sivarātri, Doljatrā.

(xi) Days of cultivation during the months of Asarh and Sravana.

Production Capacity and Actuals

4.1 The Units of Panchmura do not maintain any written accounts of productions. But, on the basis of investigations done, some information on the monthly maximum and actual output during the peak and slack periods in respect of seven representative artisans are given below:

(Specifications, where shown, are in terms of height of a product in inches).

Name of the Head of Unit

4.2 (1) Rash Behari Kumbhakar

(a) Name of Product and monthly Maximum Capacity during Peak period

Horse : 60″-4 Pcs. 42″=4 Pcs. 36″-4 Pcs. 24″=20 Pcs. 18″-20 Pcs. 12″=50 Pcs. 6″=50 Pcs.

Elephant: 60″-2 Pcs. 42″-4 Pcs. 36″-5 Pcs. 24″-20 Pcs. 18″-20 Pcs. 12″-50 Pcs. 6″-50 Pcs.

Tiger : 24″-1 Pcs. 18″-1 Pcs. 12″-2 Pcs. 6″-2 Pcs.

Manasār Jhār: 4 Tier (ht. 4′ br. 4′) 1 Pc. 3 Tier (2′×4′)-1 Pc. 2 Tier (2′×3′)-1 Pc. 1 Tier (2′×2′)-1 Pc.

Manāsār Ghat: 50 Pcs. ('Ghat' means pot)

Fish bowls : 60 Pcs.

Dolls & Toys : 50 Pcs.

(b) Name of the Product and the monthly maximum output during Slack period

Horse : 36″-2 Pc. 24″-10 Pcs. 18″-10 Pcs. 12″-25 Pcs. 6″-25 Pcs.

Elephant : 36″-1 Pcs. 24″-10 Pcs. 18″-10 Pcs. 12″-25 Pcs. 6″-25 Pcs.

Tiger : 24″-1 Pcs. 18″-1 Pcs. 12″-1 Pc. 6″ -1 Pc.

Manasār Jhār : Same as that of Peak Period.

Manāsār Ghat': 50 Pcs.

Fish Bowls: 5 Pcs.

Dolls & Toys: 25 Pcs.

(c) Actual monthly output during the Peak Period.

60″ & 42″ elephants, horses and Manasarjhars are not produced. All the other products are manufactured at par with capacity.

(d) Actual monthly output during the Slack Period

Rate of actual output is equal to that of maximum output during slack period.

Thus, on the basis of the above figures, the average monthly sale of Sri Rash Behari Kumbhakar during the peak period has been calculated to be Rs. 325 taking into consideration the maximum capacity of his unit. During the slack period, the sale comes down to Rs. 150 per month. The actual sale of Sri Rash Behari Kumbhakar during the peak period is Rs. 275 per month and Rs. 150 per month during the slack period.

4 3 (2) Sri Sadhu Charan Kumbhakar (Since dead)

Maximum monthly capacity in Peak Period

(a) Regarding Horse, elephant, tiger 'Manasarjhar', 'Manasar Ghat', 'Pona handi' and Dolls and Toys — same capacity as that of Rash Behari, Kumbhakar.

In addition, he can produce every month 'Khole' -10 Pcs., 'Mridanga'-10 Pcs 'Dugi' (Musical Instrument) -10 Pcs.

(b) Same as that of Rash Behari Kumbhakar.

(c) Same as that of Sri Rash Behari Kumbhakar.

(d) Actual output during the Slack *months.*

Same as that of Rash Behari Kumbhakar.

The sale of maximum output of Sadhu Charan's Unit during peak and slack months amounts to Rs. 347.50 Paise and Rs. 150 respectively. Actual sale during the peak and slack months is Rs. 275 and Rs. 160 only.

4.4 (3) Sri Gangadhar Kumbhakar

(a) Name of the product manufactured and monthly maximum output during Peak months

Utensils: Hāndi - 200 pcs. Kalas - 150 Pcs. Khola - 100 Pcs. Bhand - 100 Pcs. Khāpri - 10 Pcs. Kunri -10 Pcs. Other Small utensils - 100 Pcs.

Horse : 12″ - 30 Pcs. 6″ -50 Pcs.

b) Maximum monthly output during slack period.

Utensils: Hāndi - 150 Pcs, Kalas - 100 Pcs Khola - 75 Pcs, Khapri - 5 Pcs· Kunri - 5 Pcs. Other Small utensils - 75 Pcs.

Horse: 12″ - 40 Pcs. 6″-40 Pcs.

(c Actual output during Peak period is equal to *maximum*.

(d' Actual out put (months) during slack months corresponds with capacity.

Sale of the maximum output of Gangadhar Kumbhakar during Peak and slack period amounts to Rs. 150 and Rs. 120 per month respectively. Actual sales during the above periods are equal to that of estimated sale of maximum output mentioned above.

4.5 (4) Sri Bhola Nath Kumbhakar (a) Monthly maximum capacity during the Peak period

Horse: 60″-2 Pcs. 42″-4 Pcs. 36″-4 pcs. 24″-16 Pcs 18″-16 Pcs. 12″-20 Pcs. 6″-20 Pcs.

Elephant: 60″-1 Pcs. 4″-2 Pcs. 36″-2 Pcs. 24″-8 Pcs. 18″-8 Pcs. 12″-10 Pcs. 6″-10 Pcs.

Tiger : 24″-1 Pcs. 18″- 1 Pcs. 12″-3Pcs. 6″-3 Pcs.

Manaşār Jhār 3 tier (2′×4′) - 1 Pc. 2 tier (2′×3′) - 1 Pc. 1 tier (2′×2′) - 1 Pc

'Manasār Ghat': 20 Pcs.

Dolls and Toys: 20 Pcs.

(b) Approximately a half of the maximum quantity of the peak Period is the maximum for the slack period.

(c) The actual output during the peak period produced corresponds to the maximum of the same period.

(d) The actual output corresponds to the maximum capacity of the slack months.

Maximum output of Shri Bholanath Kumbhakar during the peak and slack period in value amounts to Rs. 142 and Rs. 75 respectively. Actual sale during these periods remain same.

4 6 (5) Sri Dasarath Kumbhakar (a) Monthly maximum capacity during peak period.

Utensils : Hāndi - 50 Pcs. Kalas - 40 Pcs. Khola- 50 Pcs. Bhānd - 50 Pcs. Khāpri - 6 Pcs Kunri - 6 Pcs.

Horse : 42″-4 Pcs. 36″ - 4 Pcs, 24″-8 Pcs. 18″ - 8 Pcs. 12″-20 Pcs 6″ - 20 Pcs

b) Maximum monthly ouput during slack months.

A half of that of Peak period.

(c) Actual out put during Peak months.

(d) Actual out put (monthly) during slack months. Equal to the maximum of the period.

Sale proceeds of the maximum output of Sri Dasarath Kumbhakar during peak and slack months have been estimated to be Rs. 75 and Rs. 40 respectively. Sale of actual output during peak and slack period remains same.

4.7 (6) Sri Panchanan Kumbhaka (a Monthly maximum capacity durir g Peak period

Horses : 60″ - 1 Pc. 42″ - 4 Pcs. 36″ - 4 Pcs. 24″ - 10 Pcs. 18″ - 10 Pcs. 12″ - 20Pcs. 6″ - 20 Pcs.

Musical Instruments: Khole - 10 Pcs. Mridanga - 10 Pcs. Dugi - 10 Pcs.

Manasārjhār : 3 tier (2′×4′) 1 Pc. 2 tier (2′×3′) 1 Pc. 1 tier (2′×2′) 1 Pc.

Manāsār : Ghat': 10 Pcs.

(b) Maximum monthly capacity during slack period

A half of the Peak months.

(c) Actual output during Peak months

Equal to that of maximum for this peiod.

(d) Actual output during slack mohths.

Equal to that of maximum for the period.

Sale of maximum output of Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar during peak and slack period amounts to Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 respectively. Sale of actual output for these two periods is equal so that of maximum output, mentioned already.

4.8 (7) Sri Bhaskar Kumbhakar (a) Monthly maximum capacity during the Peak period

Utensils : Hāndi - 80 Pcs. Kalas - 50 Pcs. Khola - 40 Pcs. Bhānd - 50 Pcs. Khāpri - 6 Pcs. Kunri - 6 Pcs. Ponāhāndi - 10Pcs.

Horse : 6" - 20 Pcs.

Other Small Varieties : 100 Pcs.

(b) Maximum Capacity during Slack *months*.

Three fourth of the maximum during the Peak Period.

(c) Actual monthly output during peak *months*.

Maximum for the period.

(d) Actual output during the slack months.

Maximum for the Period.

Sale of the maximum produce during the peak and slack periods amounts to Rs. 60 and Rs. 45 respectively. Actual sale proceeds during these two periods also tally with these figures.

4.9 On the basis of these figures collected during the sample Survey, the following can be observed:

Firstly, it is apparent that, the units selling artistic products viz. elephants, horses, tigers, 'Manasārjhārs', 'Manasār Ghat', Dolls etc. are economically well placed in comparison to other units. Secondly, the monthly income of these units is limited to Rs. 325 on the maximum side and on Rs. 50 on the minimum side. These limits have never been crossed by any of the units. Thirdly, the monthly maximum income of the units manufacturing utensils is Rs. 150 and the minimum is Rs. 45 only.

Markets & Marketing facilities

5.1 There are a number of medium and Small rural markets in Taldangra Block cater ing to the daily needs of the people. But none of these markets are Centres for wholesale trade. Trading goes on every day in the markets of Panchmura, Taldangra, Amdangra, Sabracone and Harmasra. Only in Panchmura and Taldangra markets, some items are sold and purchased at wholesale rates. Other markets are meant only for the retailers. The distances of these markets from Panchmura village (excepting it's own market) are 8, 8, 8 and 18 miles respectively. Over and above these, there are three other main retail markets in Taldangra Block. These markets remain open only once in a week. These are at Deulvira, Ghola and Bibarda. The distances of these markets from Panchmura are 2, 9 and 14 miles respectively. Only in Panchmura market, Terracottas are sold.

5.2 Generally, 75% of the producers of items like horses, elephants, cats and clusters of lamps go direct to the local consumers. The co-operative society formed by the artisans organise sale of these products outside West Bengal occasionally in places like, Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Madras and other cities. Purchases are mostly different private and Government trading organisations who sell them as handicraft items for decorative purposes. 10% of the total sale is effected through these organisations. Another 15% sale is done by individual organisation through their own efforts in private and state-owned shops in the city of Calcutta. Some exports have also been effected in countries like U.S.A., U.K., and France with the efforts of State Directorate of Industries and All India Handicrafts Board. 80% of the product 'Manasārjhār' are sold in the local market and in the markets of adjacent areas. 20% of the said product are placed in the shops of Calcutta owned by the Govt. for sale.

TABLE 15

SALES

Item	Local	Outside
Horses etc.	75%	25%
'Manashā Jhārs'	80%	20%
Musical items	100%	..
'Sai Sailee', 'Bonga'	100%	..
Dolls	75%	25%

5.3 100% of the musical products like 'khole', 'Mridanga', 'Dugi' etc. are sold in the local markets or in the markets of adjacent areas. Pona handis (containers for fish-eggs and small fishes) are also sold locally entirely. Handi, Pitchers, kunja (special type of pitcher), Glasses, which are meant for daily use, are sold to the local people. 100% of the manufactured 'Sai-Sailee' and 'Bongā' are sold locally. 75% of toy Rails, Sasthi, and other clay dolls are sold in the local markets, 10% are sold through the Co-operative Society and the rest 15% are sold through the efforts of the individual units in the private and state-owned shops at Calcutta.

5.4 The interest of the outside markets for various terracotta articles is obviously not for the original purposes of their production. But, to strengthen the economy of the artisans, the expansion of the non-traditional markets is a dire necessity. The attraction for these products in depots and other sales Centres in big cities is rather recent. It has been gathered that, when Sri Ashoke Mitra I.C.S. was the Secretary of the Commerce and Industries Department of Govt. of West Bengal in the year 1956, Exhibition Section of the Directorate of Industries arranged an exhibition of State Handicrafts.

On the advice of Sri Mitra, Sri P. K. Guha, the then District Industrial Officer for the District Bankura sent, for the first time, to Calcutta the terracottas of Panchmura for exhibition and sale. The craftsmen of Panchmura are reported to have then visited the city for the first time in connection with sale of their

produce. From that time onwards, the state-owned shops continued to display the products of Panchmura for sale and, gradually, their products attracted the notice of Calcuttans and the arrangements for export of these products for the overseas buyers also stated from that time. The main limiting factor in popularising these items in other markets is that, these products are brittle and take sufficient space. As such, even in view of demand in the overseas markets, profuse quantities cannot be exported. Publicity should be more satisfactory towards better sales in such markets.

5.5 Due to the above reasons, the business of these products almost entirely depends on the purchasing power of the local people and their periodical festivals. Most of the products are still sold in rural and semi-urban areas of the Districts of Bankura and Midnapur.

Peak for particular items differs

5.6 Though it has been observed that, most of the products are sold during the months of Ashivna to Chaitra, the demand in the market for various products fluctuates from time to time. Elephants, horses, tigers etc. are mostly sold in the months of Pousa and Magha. During the months of Falgun and Chaitra, Handi, pitchers (containers for cereals, waters) etc. are best sold. Maximum sale for Ponahandi (vessel for fish eggs) has been recorded in Jaistha and Ashada. A major portion of Manasārjhār is sold during Dasahara of Jaistha and Dak Sankranti of Ashivna. Bhadra and Ashivna are the suitable months for sale of Khole, Mridanga (musical items).

Sale rates

5.7 The retail price for 60″, 42″, 36″, 24″, 18″, 12″ and 6″ elephant, horse and tiger in Panchmura is Rs. 6, Rs. 3, Rs. 2, Re. 1, 0.62 Paise, 0.50 Paise and 0.50 Paise respectively. That of 4 tier, 3 tier, 2 tier, and 1 tier 'Manashājhār' is Rs 10, Rs. 6, Rs. 4, and Rs. 2 respectively. Sale price of a 'Manasār Ghat' is 0.25 Paise. That of a 'Ponāhāndi' is 0.62 Paise. The retail price of a doll or toy is 0.12 Paise.

Price of a large, medium and Small 'Hāndi' and pitcher is 0.25 Paise, 0.19 Paise and 0.12 Paise respectively. Large and Small 'Khāpra' is sold at 0.75 Paise and 0.50 Paise each respectively. The sale price of 'khola', 'Mridanga' and 'Dugi' is Re. 1, 0.75 Paise and 0.50 Paise respectively.

The rates quoted by the artisans to outside customers/organisations for Elephants/Horses are quoted against local retail rate:

TABLE 15

SALE RATES OF DIFFERENT ITEMS

Specifications	Local Retail Rate (Rs.)	Rate for Outsider organisations (Rs.)	Sale rate of Govt. Sales Emporium 1971 at Calcutta for Terra-cotta Horse (Rs.)
1	2	3	4
60″	6	30 00	37.50
42″	3	10.00	12.50
30″	2	5.00	6.25
24″	1	2 50	3.75
30″	..	4.00	..
18″	0.62	1.75	2.50
14″	..	1.25	..
12″-6″	0.50	1.00	1.25-1.88 (9″-12″)

For wholesale, the artisans allow a commission of 20-25%. Rates do not vary between peak and slack periods quantities.

Daily Sales and Consumers

5.8 From the spot enquiry, it has been gathered that, a particular unit can sell daily horses, elephants and tigers worth Rs. 5 and other products worth Rs. 2. During slack period, sales dwindle. The units, whose items of manufacture are only utensils (viz 'Hāndi'. 'Kalsi' etc.), can have a daily average sale not exceeding Rs. 2. Out of all the Units, 3 or 4 units are in some occasions in a position to sell products worth even Rs. 20—25 in a day. Specially, the sale value of 'Ponāhāndi' records a maximum of Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 on occasions. Buyers of this particular product are fish cultivators of Panchmura, Deulvira, Lalbandh etc.

5.9 Retail purchasers come to Panchmura from about 200 villages of Districts of Bankura, Midnapur and Burdwan. During peak months, daily, on an average, there will be 60—75 buyers. During the slack season, the daily average will be 20—25 buyers. Roughly, only 25% of the productions are sold to the wholesalers at wholesale rates. Wholesale buyers are the residents of Onda, Bankdaha, Teliberia, Bishnupur, Purushottampur and Chagulia of District Bankura. These buyers purchase their required products from the workshops of the artisans of Panchmura. They carry their wares on their shoulders in Bamboo Banks' (Hangers looking like a Scale) and reach their own place on foot. Some of the buyers, however, carry the load by bullock carts. On a reported estimate, the monthly purchases of these businessmen will be about

20 cart-load. Each cart-load values about Rs. 100. But for the products which are sold to the private and State-owned Shops in Calcutta, the delivery is made by the artisans themselves in the Shops. Very recently, Santhals and the persons of Lohar Community of District Midnapore have been visiting Panchmura to purchase elephants and horses directly from the artisans. It is the general opinion of the sellers of Calcutta that, the products of Panchmura are increasing in demand. Members of the 3 or 6 artisans' families in Panchmura even go on hawking their products during the months of Ashvina to Chaitra every vear around the villages situated a radius of 5 to 6 miles around Panchmura. They usually carry their products on head in baskets.

5.10 It may be mentioned that, there are no Sale Centres for products of Panchmura in the markets of Block areas, the list of which, has already been given. In Panchmura village, in the month of Jaistha, during fullmoon, a fair is held in connection with—"Chabbis Prahar". Another fair is held in Baisakh in connection with Gajan festival and still another fair is held in the month of Ashivna in connection with Durga Puja. But, in some of these fairs, there is hardly any trading on the terracottas of Panchmura. Only, in the fair which is held only for a day at Kantor, a village 7 miles away from Panchmura, in connection with Gajan festival, Kalo handi (Black pitcher) manufactured by the artisans are sold. In one day, they sell goods worth about Rs. 500.

Annual Sales of representative artisans

5.11 In the following table, the extent annual sales of four representative artisans during the peak period and slack period are given below:

TABLE 16

ANNUAL SALES OF REPRESENTATIVE ARTISANS

Name of the Head of Unit	Names of the articles	Annual Sale during the Peak Period	Annual Sale during the Slack Period
		(Rs.)	(Rs.)
Rash Behari Kumbhakar . . .	Horse, Elephant clusters of lamp	1,200	200
	'Manasar-Jhār'	100	50
	'Hāndi' (Fish Bowls)	100	100
	'Hāndi', 'Kalas' etc.	50	..
	Dolls & Toys	25	..
	Others	25	..
		1,500	**350**
Gangadhar Kumbhakar . . .	'Hāndi', 'Kalas' etc.	1,250	200
	Others	50	..
		1,300	**200**
Bholanath Kumbhakar . . .	1. Horse, Elephant, Tiger, clusters of lamp	700	150
	2. 'Manasar-Jhār'	50	25
	3. Dolls & toys	25	..
	4. Others	25	..
		800	175
Bhaskar Kumbhakar . . .	'Handi', 'Kalas' etc.	300	100

In absence of proper accounts, the information obtained regarding figures for Peak/Slack Periods or item-wise totals may not tally exactly. But, the figures as gathered, with the limitation of approximations, have only been reproduced, after verification.

Source of Finance

6. Capital invested in the business is mostly earned by the individual labour of the artisans. Of course, in different phases of the manufacturing process, when they run short of

funds, they approach the money lenders for working capital. Only 11 of the total number of families take loans from various sources. It has been gathered that, 15% of the total credit are advanced by the local money lenders or Mahaganas, 10% has been made available to the artisans by the Co-operative Society and 75% by the Block Development Officer, Taldangra. Rate of Interest is different for different types of loans. Rates on the loan by Mahajans is 36% per annum. Co-operative loan is interest-free and the loan offered by the B.D.O. carries an interest of 3% per annum on timely repayment. From the local money-lenders, a family takes, on an average, a maximum loan of Rs. 50 only per year. Four years back, i.e., in 1961-62, almost all the artisans took state aid from the Block Development Officer for the first time. They were advanced on an average Rs. 70 only. They have already repaid half of the amount to the Government. Credit is obtained from the local money lenders during the months of Baisakh to Ashivna and is paid back by Pousa to Chaitra.

Sometimes, some of the artisan families have to take loan for purposes other than business or industry. The amount of such loan generally varies. It is practically not possible to collect actual figures for such loan However, if the amount of such loan exceeds Rs. 100, the local Mahajans generally demand land or ornaments as Security against such advance. Transactions on land are generally done during the months of Baisakh to Asadh.

System of keeping accounts and Costing

7.1 None of the artisan families of Panchmura does keep any written, and chronological accounts of their purchases or sale proceeds. General custom is to keep such accounts in memory. As such, the actual facts regarding expenses, receipts, profit and loss per unit cannot be brought forth on records. The craftsmen's Co-operative is the only organisation which is very keen about keeping proper accounts. Their accounts are checked annually by the auditers of the Co-operative Societies.

7.2 The systems of securing raw material and of deploying family labour in various processes of manufacture do not permit an easy costing of the products of the Units. On the other hand, it will be expediant to do the costing on the basis of a definite quantity of production for a definite period at some definite rates of local labour charges. The green products of individual artisans are allowed to accumulate for 10/15 days before arrangements are usually made for firing. And the whole cycle of manufacturing process culminates in firing. As such, we can mark the period of 15 days as a manufacturing turnover for products like horses, tiger etc. and that of 10 days for other traditional items. Hence, provided the period of calculation is taken to correspond with turnover period for manufacture, the costing in reference to that period may be meaningful. In connection with the manufacture of elephants and horses etc., a male artisan is generally required to pay 15 days time working 8 hours a day. His helping hand, generally a female member of the household, remains in the process for 12 days working 1 hour a day and for 3 days working 3 hours a day. In case of manufacturing utensils, a male artisan is required to offer his 10 days, labour working 8 hours a day and a helper female artisan remains in the process for 9 days working 1 hour a day and 1 day for 3 hours.

7.3 In the following way, we can find out the cost of productions of horses, elephants etc. on the one hand and utensils on the other, in respect of separate manufacturing turnovers:

TABLE 17

COST OF TERRACOTTA PRODUCTS IN ONE TURNOVER RE. CLAY AND FUEL

Name of the Product	A fortnight's products		Raw materials consumed (Quantity)	Fuels consumed (Quantity)
	Height	Number		
1	2	3	4	5
Horse	60″	2 Pcs	30 Seers of Clay	
	42″	2 Pcs	18 ,, ,, ,,	
	36″	4 Pcs	24 ,, ,, ,,	
	24″	4 Pcs	14 ,, ,, ,,	
	18″	8 Pcs	18 ,, ,, ,,	
	12″	8 Pcs	12 ,, ,, ,,	
	6″	20 Pcs	15 ,, ,, ,,	10 mds. of wood
Elephant	42″	1 Pc	12 ,, ,, ,,	
	36″	1 Pc	10 ,, ,, ,,	
	24″	1 Pc	6 ,, ,, ,,	
	18″	4 Pcs	14 ,, ,, ,,	
	12″	4 Pcs	8 ,, ,, ,,	
	6	4 Pcs	4 ,, ,, ,,	

7.4 According to above figures, for each manufacturing turnover, drawn on highside, approximately, ½ cartload of clay is consumed. It's cost of collection is 0.25 Paise and carrying cost is 0.50 Paise. Daily wages of a labour in Panchmura is 1.75 Paise. On this calculation, wages for 15 days of a labour amounts to 1.75 × 15 = Rs. 25.75 Paise. Working hours of a helper woman for the whole turnover to 1 hour × 12 days = 12 and 3 hours × 3 days = 9 hours = 21 hours = 3 days. Her wages amounts to Rs. 1.75 × 3 = Rs. 5.25 Paise. Costs of a cartload of fuels is Rs. 5 and carrying cost is Rs. 2. Thus, the manufacturing cost of terracotta horse/elephant for a turnover—extended over a period of 15 days becomes:

0.25 + 0.50 + 25.75 + 5.25 + 5.00 + 2.00 = Rs. 38.75 Paise:

7.5

TABLE 18

COST OF OTHER TRADITIONAL ITEMS IN ONE TURNOVER RE. CLAY AND FUEL

Name of the Product	Ten day's Production		Raw materials consumed (Qty)	Fuels consumed (Quantity)
Handi	Large	30 Pcs	8 mds. Clay	10 mds. of wood
,,	Medium	30 Pcs		
,,	Small	30 Pcs		
Bhand		20 Pcs		
Khola		20 Pcs		
Khapri		4 Pcs		
Kunai		4 Pcs		
Other utensils		50 Pcs		

7.6 The requirements of clay for a manufacturing turnover is found to be a cartload. Cost of collection and carrying the some is 0.50 Paise + Rs. 1.00 respectively. Wages for a labour for 10 days is Rs. 1.75 × 10 = Rs. 17.50 Paise. Hours devoted by a helping woman are 1 hour × 9 and 3 hours × 1 = 12 hours = 1½ days. Her wages comes to Rs. 1.75 × 1½ days = Rs. 2.62 Paise. Cost of a cartload of fuels and carrying charges are Rs. 5.00 + Rs. 2.00 = Rs. 7.00. Thus the manufacturing cost of other traditional items for a turnover spread over a period of 10 days = 0.50 + 1.00 + 17.50 + 2.62 + 7.00 = 28.62 Paise.

7.7 No outside labours are engaged in the pottery workshops of Panchmura. With every manufacturing process, the able-bodied male and female artisans of the same family remain attached. Units are not to pay any house rent as the jobs are performed in their own premises. Children below 15 years of age are not allowed to be associated with the trade. The local sale price of the elephants and horses manufactured during this period of 15 days has been found to be Rs. 61.50 Paise approximately and that of the utensils manufactured in 10 days is Rs. 38.00.

7.8 It becomes apparent from the list of expenditures mentioned above that, a goodsum of the expenditure is due to fuel. The price of fuel is gradually rising. As such, the artisans are very much eager to switch over to any less expensive fuels or advanced type of furnances.

The Panchmura Mrit Silpi Samabaya Samity Ltd.

8.1.1 The artisans formed the above cooperative Society in 1959. It started working in 1962. It had 35 worker-members. The particulars of members are given below:

TABLE 19

PARTICULARS OF MEMBERS OF PANCHMURA MRIT SILPI SAMABAYA SAMITY LTD.

Sl. No.	Name	Age	Community	Main occupation	Subsidiary occupation
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Shri Netai Pada Kumvaker	35	Hindu	Mrit Silpa	Cultivation
2	,, Pashu Pati Kumvakar	29	Do.	Do.	Do.
3	,, Rajendra Nath Kumvakar	44	Do.	Do.	Do.
4	,, Subal Chandra Kumvakar	30	Do.	Do.	Do.
5	,, Kalachand Kumvakar	40	Do.	Do.	Do.

TABLE 19—*Conta.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
6	Shri Bholanath Kumvakar	38	Hindu	Mrit Silpa	Cultivation
7	,, Ashutos Kumvakar	48	Do.	Do.	Do.
8	,, Shibsankar Kumvakar	24	Do.	Do.	Do.
9	,, Anil Baran Kamvakar	28	Do.	Do.	Do.
10	,, Madan Mohan Kumvakar	30	Do.	Do.	Do.
11	,, Gora Chand Kumvakar	37	Do.	Do.	Do.
12	,, Bhuban Mohan Kumvakar	28	Do.	Do.	Do.
13	,, Dasarath Kumvakar	59	Do.	Do.	Do.
14	,, Helaram Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
15	,, Rajkisore Kumvakar	38	Do.	Do.	Do.
16	Sm. Chabibala Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
17	Shri Gour Kumvakar	30	Do.	Do.	Do.
18	,, Nityananda Kumvakar	27	Do.	Do.	Do.
19	,, Nalini Kumvakar	44	Do.	Do.	Do.
20	,, Bangsi Badan Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
21	,, Panchanan Kumvakar	37	Do.	Do.	Do.
22	,, Mihir Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
23	,, Govinda Kumvakar	42	Do.	Do.	Do.
24	,, Dhirendas Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
25	,, Kalipada Kumvakar	23	Do.	Do.	Do.
26	,, Manik Ch. Kumvakar	45	Do.	Do.	Do.
27	,, Amulyo Kumvakar	53	Do.	Do.	Do.
28	,, Subal Chandra Kumvakar	24	Do.	Do.	Do.
29	,, Sudhir Kumvakar	36	Do.	Do.	Do.
30	Sm. Genibala Kumvakar	26	Do.	Do.	Do.
31	Shri Govinda Kumvakar	38	Do.	Do.	Do.
32	,, Bhaskar Kumvakar	30	Do.	Do.	Do.
33	Sm. Mithila Dassya	39	Do.	Do.	Do.
34	Shri Dhananjoy Kumvakar	43	Do.	Do.	Do.
35	,, Krishna Chandra Kumvakar	44	Do.	Do.	Do.

8.1.2 The names of the members of the managing Committee of the Panchmura Mrit-silpi Samabaya Samity are:—

1 Sri Asuthosh Kumbhakar	President
2 Sri Panchanan Kumbhakar	Secretary
3 Sri Netai Kumbhakar	Member
4 Sri Rajendra Kumbhakar	Do.
5 Sri Bholanath Kumbhakar	Do.
6 Sri Anil Kumbhakar	Do.
7 Sri Bhubon Kumbhakar	Member
8 Sri Amulya Kumbhakar	Do.
9 Sri Dasarath Kumbhakar	Do.

8.2.1 The Value of each share is Rs. 10. The paid up share Capital is Rs. 860, out of which, the loan amount of Khadi & Village Industries Board is Rs. 500. In June, 1962, it received on interest-free Capital loan of Rs. 2,000. The statement showing the financial position as received from the Assistant Registrar

of Co-operative Societies, Bankura is placed below:

TABLE 20

FINANCIAL POSITION OF SOCIETY

Year	Purchases (Rs.)	Sales (Rs.)	Profit/Loss as per B/S. (Rs.)	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1966-67	304	770	—36	As per audited Balance Sheet.
1967-68	628	1,536	+230	Do.
1968-69	49	100	—151	Do.
1969-70	1,950	2,000	+267	As per Annual Return

Current Membership on 30-6-70 : 36 (As per Annual Return)

8.2.2

TABLE 21

BALANCE SHEET OF THE SOCIETY AS AT 30-6-70

Liabilities			Rs. p.	Assets	Rs. P.
Paid up Share			860.00	Land of Building	3,000.00
Member's Deposit			300.00	Appliances and equipments	226.36
Loan from Govt.			800.00	Loan outstanding from individuals	500.00
Reserve Fund			30.29	Closing Stock	100.40
Govt. Grant:				Dead Stock	69.68
For Land	Rs.	3,000.00		Due from Sales Emporium	100.25
For Appliances	Rs.	500.00	3,500.00	Previous less to be recouped	1,212.95
Audit Fee			10.00	Cash-in-hand	210.76
Net Profit of the year			266.86	Savings deposit with Bankura District Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	346.75
TOTAL			**5,767.15**		**5,767.15**

8.3 As early as in 1965, the management of the Society reported that, previously for want of funds and godown facilities, the Society could not enroll the active cooperation of members. The subsequent performance was not also very encouraging, although, the condition did not worsen. The earnest desire of the traditional artisans to survive remains in the background of the Society. It is true, however, that, due to the financial weekness of the Society, their contact with outside parties have not been sufficient and the Society could not always stand in front of the work and orders for all the artisans. Obviously, a few other mastercraftsman have maintained their reputation on the basis of their own efforts.

8.4 Recently, in 1971, with the assistance of the District Industrial Officer, Bankura, the Society participated in Exhibition held in Delhi, from where, $2\frac{1}{2}$ years back also, bulk orders for 2000 horses were received and executed by individual artisans.

8.5 Some particulars of the meetings of managing Committee held upto 1967 are given below:

TABLE 22

MEETING OF MANAGING COMMITTEE

Calendar Year	Meetings held(No.)	Members present (No.)
1	2	3
1959	2	19, 6
1960	11	5-6
1961	8	6 (4 times), 9 (3 times), 25.
1962	13	12, 6, 8 (5 times) 9 (5 times), 26.
1963	10	15, 9 (5 times), 8 (2 times) 3, 2, 11.
1964	4	9 (3 times), 14
1965	3	9 (2 times), 12
1966	1	6
1967	5	8 (3 times), 7, 11.

Other general problems

8.6 One of the important problems faced by the artisans during 1964-66 enquires, is with the collection of raw materials. Artisans are now collecting clay from other's fields and, thus, they are wholly dependent on the mercy of the owners of the lands. In the meantime, the owners of the land at Deulvira are reported to have started raising objection in collection of clay. The artisans are feeling embarassed. These artisans are also dissatisfied with the arrangements for marketing of their products. In the local markets, the prices paid for their products are very nominal. But if they could sell the same products in Calcutta and in other cities of India, their margin of profit would have been higher. Illustrations will perhaps make the thing clear. A horse of 60" size sells in the local market of Panchmura at Rs. 6, whereas, the same fetches Rs. 30 in the shops of Calcutta. Similarly, horses of Sizes 42", 36", 24", 18", 12" and 6 inches sell in the markets of Panchmura at Rs. 3, Rs. 2, Rs. 1, 0.62 P, 0.50 P and 0.50 Paise respectively; whereas, prices paid for the same sizes in Calcutta markets are Rs. 10, Rs. 5, Rs. 2.50, Rs. 1.75, Rs. 1.25 and Rs. 1 respectively. Again, the shop keepers of Calcutta keep about 20 to 25% profit on the products while selling to customers. But to send these products to Calcutta or other cities, both capital and arrangements for special type of packing are extremely necessary. The artisans are lacking in these two vital requirements; as such, they are not in a position to exploit the favourable markets outside.

8.7 In production, these artisans have no doubt reached a definite standard of perfection. In this respect, they may not require any external assistance; but, to make their products more popular to modern minds, who generally purchase the things for decorating their rooms, some changes or additions in the traditional designs will, of course, being a welcome effect. In this way, the sale can considerably be increased. In fact, the artisans are eager to work on new designs.

8.8 Artisans engaged in the production of terracotta images are economically well advanced. These terracotta images are now quite popular with the connoissures of art objects; as a result, the artisans are earning better through increased production. But 10 or 12 units are confronted with bad times. They neither possess any form land nor are experienced in manufacturing images. However, the prospect of manufacture of terracotta images has lent them sufficient incentive to learn the techniques of manufacture. For the economic development, the artisans have their own demand as stated below:

1 Supply of modern wheels.

2 Arrangements for sending their products to outside markets.

3 Installation of modern types of furnaces.

4 Introduction of new designs.

5 Credit facilities from the Co-operative Society for the units.

6 Flow of orders of out-side markets in bulk through the Co-operative Society.

8.9 *Cultivation remains as a subsidiary occupation for the artisans.* The Pottery artisans are as well connected with the cultivation work either as small owners or as labour. The statement below will reveal this actual position in respect of 9 representative artisans families.

TABLE 23

OTHER ASSETS OF REPRESENTATIVE ARTISANS

	Head of the unit	Land		Bullocks	Milk Cattle	Plough	Goat	Tank
		Paddy	Fallow					
1	Rashbehari Kumbhakar	18 bighas	20 bighas	2	5	1	..	..
2	Sadhucharan ,,	15 "	6 "	2	6	1	..	..
3	Gangadhar ,,	4 "	4 "	2	2	1	..	..
4	Bholanath ,,	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
5	Dasarath ,,	20 "	3 "	2	3	1	..	..
6	Panchanan ,,	4 "	4 "	..	..	..	..	..
7	Bhaskar ,,	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
8	Krishnachandra ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Dhananjoy ,,	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The last two landless families find employment as labourers for 5 months in a year. But, still then, the main occupation of all these families are manufacture of terracottas.

A regular opening of the non-traditional market may bring in some economic gain to the majority of the craftsmen's families.

Conclusion

9. After having discussed in some details about the economic condition of the terracotta artisans of Panchmura, it can now be said that, by and large, general earthenware and other images together form the techno-economic base. The picture is the same too in the other Centres of the District. Of course, the predominance in the proportion of production in latter category depends on craftsmanship attained. Given better and continuous marketing of terracotta images inside and outside the Centres, there are indications that a few craftsmen may exclusively devote themselves to this category throughout the year. The degree of present activities in productions and sales, however, corresponds to the periods of seasonal cultivation and local festivals, i.e. to the traditional way of rural life. In the circumstances, improvements, if any, in the overall condition of the craft and the craftsmen has to be visualised in the context of the environmental, physical and ritualistic settings of the craft centres, which are not expected to be radically changed. The pattern of cultivation, the condition of communications, the presence of forests, the cycle of festivals, the absence of power, and the slow economic and cultural life with which the communities there moves do not suggest immediately the entire potters community to come out from the tradition and start with commercial activities in greater volume in lines of tiles, bricks, glazed pottery, design terracotta involving some changes in technique, additional investment and marketing facilities. This may not be possible all at once. But, diversification will have to be done gradually with sustained efforts. Otherwise, the pressure of economy will lead new entrants to go in more for other occupations including cultivation and age-old craftsmanships will not be regarded as a paying preposition. The pride of the older master craftsmen in being able to produce large-sized decorated hollow-figures on wheels will gradually be in memory only. Therefore, in the best interest of the survival of both the 'poramati' craft and the craftsmen, it is highly needed that, some work be done from Government level to introduce new designs, improved firing technique, glazing, and better packaging in selected units. Markets will just not be a serious problem. Still, as new cooperatives may not be expected to function effectively in all centres excepting in Panchmura, because of the dearth of adequate number of similar terracotta artisans, it will be advisable to organise a District-level Services-cum-Marketing Industrial Cooperative Society having it's constituents as primary cooperatives and individual Units [in absence of Coops] to cater to the different types of Handicrafts [including terracotta] in the District. The Government may consider setting up a ceramic service centre in Panchmura with facilities of improved glazing, firing, designing, packaging and storages, which may, in due course, be taken by the same District Cooperative Society to be run on business lines. It is only hoped that, the future generations should see the common terracotta in the rural shrines and the commercial terracotta as well in the sophisticated drawing rooms, originating from the same sources.

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(as on 7th October, 1972)

AGRA
1 National Book House, Jeoni Mandi (Reg.)
2 Wedhwa & Co., 45, Civil Lines (Reg.)
3 Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra (Rest)
4 Asa Ram Baldev Dass & Sons, Bagh Muzaffarpur (Rest)

AHMEDABAD
1 Balgovind Booksellers, Gandhi Road (Rest)
2 Chandra Kant Chimanal Vora, Gandhi Road (Reg.)
3 New Order Book Co., Gandhi Road, Ellis Bridge (Reg.)
4 Mahajan Bros., Super Market Basement, Ashram Road, Navrangpura (Rest)
5 Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kava Relief Road (Reg.)
6 Gujarat Law House, Near Municipal Swimming Bath (Rest)
7 Himanshu Book Co., 10, Mission Market, Near Gujarat College (Rest)

AHMEDNAGAR
1 V. T. Jorkar, Prop. Rama General Stores, Navi Path (Rest)

AJMER
1 Book Land, 663, Madar Gate (Reg.)
2 Rajputana Book House, Station Road (Reg.)

ALIGARH
1 Friend's Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.)
2 New Kitab Ghar, Mill Market (Rest)

ALLAHABAD
1 Chandralok Prakashan, 73, Darbhanga Colony (Rest)
2 Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road (Reg.)
3 Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 (Reg.)
4 Ram Narain Lal Beni Modho, 2-A, Katra Road (Reg.)
5 Universal Book Co., 20, M.G. Road (Reg.)
6 University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road (Reg.)
7 Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg (Rest)
8 Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest)
9 S/s. A.H. Wheeler & Co. P. Ltd., City Book Shop (Rest)

AMBALA CANTT.
1 English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. (Reg.)

AMBALA CITY
1 Sethi Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala City (Reg.)

AMRITSAR
1 Law Book Agency, G.T. Road, Putligarh (Reg.)
2 The Booksellers Retreat, Hall Bazar (Reg.)
3 Amar Nath & Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi (Reg.)

ANAND
1 Vijaya Stores, Station Road (Rest)

BANGALORE
1 Atma Stores, 5th Cross, Malleswaram (Rest)
2 S.S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road, Hanumant Nagar (Reg.)
3 Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P.O. Box 507 (Reg.)
4 Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road (Reg.)
5 Vichara Sahitya Ltd., Balepet (Reg.)
6 Mukkala Pustak Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar (Reg.)
7 International Book House (P) Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
8 Balajee Book Co., No. 2, East Tank Bank Road, Ramakrishnapura (Rest)

BANSDRONI
1 S/s. Monoj Book Corner, B-20, Niranjan Pally, 24-Parganas (Rest)

BAREILLY
1 Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar (Reg.)

BARODA
1 Sh. Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah Gaini, Shankar Bldg., Diwanji's Wada, Dandia Bazar (Rest)
2 New Medical Book House, 540-Maden-Zampa Road (Rest)

BELGHARIA
1 Granthloka, 5/1, Ambica Mukherjee Road, 24-Parganas, W.B. (Rest)

BHAGALPUR
1 Paper Stationery Sotres, D.N. Singh Road (Reg.)

BHOPAL
1 Bhopal Sahitya Sadan, Publishers, Booksellers & Stationers, 37, Lalwani Press Road (Rest)
2 Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.)

BHUBANESHWAR
1 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Bhubaneshwar Marg (Reg.)

BHAVANAGAR
1 Shah Parsotam Dass Gigabhai, M.G. Road (Rest)

BOLPUR
1 Bolpur Pushtakalaya, Rabindra Sarani, P.O. Bolapur, Birbhum, W.B. (Rest)

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2 World Literature, Pyare Singh Chug House, Agra Road (Rest)
3 Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji Street (Reg.)
4 Current Technical Literature Co. (P) Ltd., India House, 1st Floor (Reg.)
5 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M.G. Road (Reg.)
6 Lakhani Book Depot, Girgaum (Reg.)
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12 N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Princess Street (Reg.)
13 Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road (Reg.)
14 C. Jamnadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street (Reg.)
15 Indo Nath & Co., Office No. 8, 1st Floor, 257, Frase Road (Reg.)
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18 N. & J. Services, 2-A, Bahri Building, P.B. 6007 (Rest)
19 Swastik Sales Co., Scientific & Technical Booksellers (Rest)
20 All India Supply Co., 342, Kalbedevi Road (Rest)
21 Amalgamated Press, 41, Hamam Street (Rest)
22 Secretary, Salestax Practitioner Association, Room No. 8, Palton Road (Rest)
23 Usha Book Depot, 585, Chira Bazar (Reg.)
24 Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar (Reg.)
25 S/s. Taxation Publications, B/22, Sea Gull Appartment, 4-A, Bholabhai Desai Road (Rest)

CALCUTTA

1 Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Beachram Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
2 Dass Gupta & Co. Ltd., 54/3, College Street (Reg.)
3 Hindu Library, 69-A, Baranam De Street (Reg.)
4 S.K. Lahiri & Co. Ltd., College Street (Reg.)
5 M.C. Sarkar & Sons P. Ltd., 14 Bankim Chatterjee Street (Reg.)
6 W. Newman & Co. Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street (Reg.)
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1 Touring Book Stall, Court Road (Rest)

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1 Jain Law Agency, Shop No. 5, Sector No. 22 D (Reg.)
2 Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 (Reg.)
3 Universal Book Store, Booth No. 25, Sector 22 D (Reg.)
4 English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22 D (Rest)
5 Mehta Bros., 1933, Sector 22B (Reg.)

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1 Cuttack Law Times, Cuttack (Reg.)
2 D. P. Soor & Sons, Mangalabad (Rest)
3 New Students Store (Rest)

DEHRADUN

1 Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road (Reg.)
2 National News Agency, Paltan Bazar (Reg.)
3 Bishan Singh & Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala (Reg.)
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6 Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar (Rest)
7 Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road (Rest)

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3 Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar (Rest)
4 The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street (Rest)

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1 C. Sitaraman & Co., 33, Royapettah High Road (Reg.)
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3 C. Subbiah Chetty, 62, Big Street, Triplicane (Reg.)
4 K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384 (Reg.)
5 P. Varddachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.)
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8 Madras Book Agency (Rest)
9 Nav Bharat Agencies, 18, Andiappa Street, Sadhana Sadan (Rest)
10 The Rest Trading Co., P.B. No. 5049, 31 & 32, James Street (Rest)
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12 Naresh Co., 3, Dr. Rangachari Road, Mylapore (Rest)

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1 Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street (Reg.)
2 Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street (Reg.)

MANDSAUR
1 Nahta Bros., Booksellers & Stationers (Rest)

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2 K. Bhoga Rao & Co., Kodail Bail (Rest)

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1 Rath & Co., Tilohi Bldg., Bengali Ghat (Rest)

MEERUT
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1 Hind Traders, N.A.A. Centre, Dick Road (Rest)

MUZAFFARNAGAR
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2 The Executive Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House, Near All India Radio Square (Rest)

NAINITAL
1 Consal Book Depot, Bara Bazar (Reg.)

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2 Bhawani & Sons, 8F, Connaught Place (Reg.)
3 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
4 Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
5 English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P.B. 328 (Reg.)
6 Subhas Book Depot, Shop No. 111, Central Market, Srinivaspuri (Rest)
7 Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place (Reg.)
8 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House (Reg.)
9 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place (Reg.)
10 N. C. Kaunchal & Co., 40; Model Basti, P.O. Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5 (Rest)
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12 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
13 Jayana Book Depot, P.B. 2505, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
14 Navyug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
15 Ravindra Book Agency, 4D/50, Double Storey, Lajpat Nagar (Reg.)
16 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road (Reg.)
17 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Stationery, P.B. 96, Connaught Place (Reg.)
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20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath (Reg.)
21 People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., Ranijhansi Road (Reg.)
22 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadonpura, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
23 Sharma Bros, 17, New Market, Moti Nagar (Reg.)
24 Glob Publications, C-33, Nizamudin East (Rest)
25 Scientific Instruments Stores, A-355, New Rajendra Nagar (Rest)
26 Shyam Pustak Bhandar, 3819, Arya Samaj Road (Rest)
27 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23/B/2, Rohtak Road (Rest)
28 Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest)
29 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Rangarpura, Karol Bagh (Rest)
30 Sant Ram, Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lodi Colony (Rest)
31 Jain Map & Book Agency, Karol Bagh (Rest)
32 Hukam Chand & Sons, 32226, Ranjit Nagar (Rest)
33 Star Publications (P) Ltd., 4/5B, Asaf Ali Road (Rest)
34 Indian Publications Trading Corporation, A-7, Nizamuddin East (Rest)
35 Sheel Trading Corporation, 5/5777, Sant Nari Das Marg (Rest)

NILGIRIS
1 Mary Martin Booksellers, Kotagiris, Madras State (Rest)

PATIALA
1 Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nashin Bazar (Reg.)

PATNA
1 To-day & To-morrow, Ashok Rajpath (Rest)
2 J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri-ki-Haveli (Reg.)
3 Luxmi Trading Co., Padri-ki-Haveli (Reg.)
4 Moti Lal Banarsi Dass & Co., Padri-ki-Haveli (Reg.)

PONDICHERRY
1 Honesty Book House, 9, Rue Duplix (Rest)

POONA
1 Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana (Reg.)
2 Imperial Book Depot, 266, M.G. Road (Reg.)
3 International Book Service, Deccan, Gymkhana (Reg.)
4 Raka Book Agency, Opp. Natu's Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk (Reg.)
5 Saraswat, 67, Patel Flats, 2, Bombay Poona Road (Rest)
6 Secy. Bharati Itihasa Samshodhalla Mandir, 1321, Sadashiv Path (Rest)

PUDUKKOTTAI
1 Sh. P. N. Swaminathan Shivam & Co., East Main Road (Rest)
2 Meenakshi Pattippagam, 4142/ East Main Street (Rest)

PUNALUR
1 Shri M. J. Abraham, Kerala (Rest)

RAJPUR
1 Pustak Pratisthan, Sati Bazar (Rest)

RAJKOT
1 Mohan Lal Dossbhai Shah, Booksellers & Subs & Advt. Agent (Reg.)

RANCHI
1 Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar (Reg.)

REWARI
1 Tika Ram Singh Lal (Rest)

SAUGAR
1 Yadav Book Stall, Publishers & Booksellers (Rest)

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

SECUNDERABAD
1 Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street (Rest)

SIMLA
1 Minerva Book Shop, The Mall (Reg.)

SIVAKASI
1 Ganesh Stores, South Car Street (Rest)

SURAT
1 Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road (Reg.)
2 Gujarat Sub. Agency, Jawahar Lal Nehru Marg., Athwa Lines (Rest)

TEJPUR
1 Jyoti Prakashan Bhawan, Tejpur, Assam (Rest)

TIRUPATI
1 Ravinder Book Centre, 204, Bazar Street (Rest)

TRICHINOPOLLY
1 S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chandra Bose Road (Rest)

TRIPURA
1 G.R. Dutta & Co., Scientific Equipments Suppliers (Rest)

TRIVANDRUM
1 *International Book Depot, Main Road* (Reg.)
2 Reddiar Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 (Rest)
3 Bhagya Enterprises, M.G. Road (Rest)

TUTICORIN
1 Shri K. Thiagarajan, 51, French Chapal Road (Rest)

UDAIPUR
1 Ashutosh & Co., Station Road, Opp. University of Udaipur (Rest)
2 Book Centre, Maharana Bhopal College, Consumers' Co-operative Society Ltd. (Rest)
3 Jagadish & Co. (Rest)

UJJAIN
1 Rami Bros., 41, Mallipura (Rest)

VARANASI
1 Viswavidyala Prakashan, K/40/18, Bhairo Nath Marg (Reg.)
2 Chowkhamba Sanskrit Saries Office, Gopal Mandir Lane, P.B. No. 8 (Reg.)
3 Glob Book Centre, P.O. Hindu University (Rest)
4 Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka (Reg.)
5 The Manager, Banaras Hindu University Book Depot (Reg.)

VELLORE
1 A. Venkatasubban, Law Booksellers (Reg.)

VISAKHAPATNAM
1 Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building (Reg.)
2 The Secretary, Andhra University General Co-operative Stores (Rest)

WARDHA
1 Swarajeya Bhandar, Rathi Market (Reg.)

For Local Sale

1 Govt. of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp. India Coffee House, New Delhi, Phone No. 312561
2 Govt. of India Book Depot, 8, Hastings Street, Calcutta, Phone No. 23-3813
3 High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London W.C. 2
4 Sales Counter Publication Branch, Udyog Bhawan, New Delni, Phone No. 372081.
5 Sales Counter Publication Branch, C.B.R. Building, New Delhi
6 Sales Counter, Mohan Singh Market, I.N.A. Colony, New Delhi.

S. & R. Agents as on 31-3-72

1 The Asstt. Director, Extension, Centre Bhuli Road, Dhanbad.
2 The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Santnagar, Hyderabad-18.
3 The Asstt. Director, Govt. of India, S.I.S.I. Ministry of C & I Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum.
4 The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.I.)
5 The Asstt. Director, Footwear, Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur
6 The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat).
7 The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, Udyog Bhawan, New Delhi.
8 The Dy. Director, Incharge, S.I.S.I., C/o Chief Civil Admn., Goa, Panjim.
9 The Director, Govt. Press, Hyderabad.
10 The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel, Nagpur.
11 The Director, S.I.S.I., Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat
12 The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar, Madhya Pradesh.
13 Do Gopal Bhavan, Morena
14 Do Jhabue
15 The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad.
16 The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona.
17 The Officer-in-Charge, Assam, Govt. B.D.,Shillong.
18 The O.I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur.
19 The O.I/C, Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi
20 The O.I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad
21 The O.I/C., S.I.S.I., Extension Centre, Malda.
22 The O.I/C., S.I.S.I., Habra, Tabaluria, 24-Parganas.
23 The O.I/C., University Employment Bureau, Lucknow.
24 The O.I./C., S.I.S.I., Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra, 33/1, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—*Contd*.

25 The O.I./C., S.I.S.I., Extension Centre (Footwear), Calcutta-2

26 The O.I/C., S.I.S.I., Model Carpentry Workshop, Puyali Nagar, P.O. Buripur,-24 Parganas.

27 Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi.

28 The Press Officer, Orissa Sectt., Cuttack.

29 The Registrar of Companies, Andhra Bank Bldg., 6, Linghi Chetty Street, P.B. 1530, Madras.

30 The Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong.

31 The Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Journal Road, Patna-1.

32 The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore.

33 The Registrar of Companies, Everest, 100, Marine Drive, Bombay.

34 The Registrar of Companies, Gujarat, State Samachar Building, Ahmedabad.

35 The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior (M.P.)

36 The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-87, Hyder Guda, Hyderabad.

37 The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 70 Feet Road, Ernakulam.

38 The Registrar of Companies, M.G. Road, West Cott. Bldg., P.B. 334, Kanpur.

39 The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Bldg., Brabourne Road, Calcutta-1.

40 The Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Chandni Chouk, Cuttack.

41 The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry.

42 The Registrar of Companies, Punjab & Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City.

43 The Registrar of Companies, Rajasthan & Ajmer, Sh. Kumta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg., Jaipur.

44 The Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Bldg., Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi.

45 The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur.

46 Soochna Sahita Depot, (State Book Depot), Lucknow.

47 Supdt. Bhupendra State Press, Patiala.

48 Supdt. Govt. Press & Book Depot, Nagpur.

49 Supdt. Govt. Press, Mount Road, Madras.

50 Supdt. Govt. State Stores and Pubs., P.O., Gulzenbagh, Patna.

51 Supdt. Govt. Printing & Stationery Depot, Rajasthan, Jaipur City.

52 Supdt. Govt. Printing & Stationery, Rajkot.

53 Supdt. Govt. Printing & Stationery, Punjab, Chandigarh.

54 Supdt. Govt. State Emporium, V.P. Rewa

55 Dy. Controller Printing & Stationery Office, Himachal Pradesh, Simla.

56 Supdt. Printing & Stationery, Allahabad, U.P.

57 Supdt. Printing & Stationery, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh.

58 Supdt. Printing & Stationery, Charni Road, Bombay.

59 Supdt. State Govt. Press, Bhopal.

60 The Asstt. Director, Publicity & Information Vidhan Sandha, Bangalore-1.

61 Supdt. Govt. Press, Trivandrum.

62 Asstt. Information Officer, Press Information Bureau, Information Centre, Srinagar.

63 Chief Controller of Imports & Exports, Panjim, Goa.

64 Employment Officer, Employment Exchange (Near Bus stop) Sidhi (M.P.)

65 The Director, Regional Meteorological Centre, Alipur, Calcutta.

66 The Asstt. Director, State Information Centre, Hubli.

67 The Director of Supplies and Disposals, Deptt. of Supply, 10, Mount Road, Madras-2.

68 Director General of Supplies and Disposals, N.I.C. Bldg., New Delhi.

69 The Controller of Imports & Exports, Rajkot.

70 The Inspector, Dock Safety, M/I & E Madras Harbour, Madras-1.

71 The Inspecting Asstt. Commissioner of Income Tax, Kerala, Ernakulam.

72 The Under Secretary, Rajya Sabha Sectt., Parliament House, New Delhi.

73 Controller of Imports & Exports, 7, Portland Park, Visakhapatnam.

74 The Senior Inspector, Dock Safety, Botanalla Chambers, Sir P.M. Road, Bombay.

75 Controller of Imports & Exports, I.B. 14-P, Pondicherry.

76 Dy. Director Incharge, S.I.S.I. Sahakar Bhavan, Trikon Bagicha, Rajkot.

77 The Publicity and Liaison Officer, Forest Research Institute & Colleges, Near Forest, P.O. Dehradun.

78 The Asstt. Controller of Imports and Exports Govt. of India, Ministry of Commerce, New Kandla.

79 The Dy. Director General (S.D.), 6, Esplanade East, Calcutta.

80 The Director, Govt. of India, S.I.S.I., Ministry of I & S. Industrial Areas—B, Ludhiana.

81 The Govt. Epigraphist for India.

82 The Asstt. Director, Incharge, S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, Varanasi.

83 The Director of Supplies, Swarup Nagar, Kanpur.

84 The Asstt. Director (Admn.), Office of the Dte of Supplies & Disposal, Bombay.

85 The Chief Controller of Imports & Exports, Ministry of International Trade, Madras.

86 The Dy. Collector of Customs, Custom House, Visakhapatnam.

87 The Principal Officer, Merantile Marine Department, Calcutta.

88 The Director, I/C, S.I.S.I., 107, Industrial Estate, Kanpur.

89 The Director, S.I.S.I., Karan Nagar, Srinagar.

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—*Contd.*

90 The Director of Inspection, New Marine Lines, Bombay-1.

91 The Dy. Chief Controller of Imports & Exports, T.D. Road, Ernakulam.

92 The Asstt. Director, Govt. Stationery & Book Depot, Aurangabad.

93 The Asstt. Director, I/C, S.I.S.I., Club Road, Hubli.

94 The Employment Officer, Talcher.

95 The Director of Inspection, Dte. of G. & S. Disposal, 1, Ganesh Chandra Avenue, Calcutta-1.

96 The Collector of Customs, New Custom House, Bombay.

97 The Controller of Imports & Exports, Bangalore.

98 The Admn. Officer, Tariff Commissioner, 101, Queen's Road, Bombay.

99 The Commissioner of Income Tax, Patiala.

100 The Director, Ministry of I & Supply, (Deptt. of Industry), Cuttack.

101 The Dy. Director of Public Relations, State Information Centre, Patna.

102 The Officer-in-charge, State Information Centre, Madras.

103 The Asstt. Director, S.I.S.I., M.I. Road, Jaipur.

104 The Collector of Customs, Madras.

105 National Building Org., Nirman Bhavan, New Delhi.

106 The Controller of Communication, Bombay Region, Bombay.

107 The Karnatak University, Dharwar.

108 The Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar

109 The Principal Publications Officer sending commission for Scientific & Tech., Terminology, UGC Building, New Delhi.

110 The Officer-in-Charge, Information Centre, Sawai Ram Singh Road, Jaipur.

111 The Director General of Civil Aviations, New Delhi.

112 Controller of Aerodromes, Delhi

113 Do Calcutta

114 Do Bombay

115 Do Madras

116 The Registrar, Punjab Agrl. University, Ludhiana.

117 The Land & Development Officer, M. of Health Family Planning, W.H. & U.D., Nirman Bhavan, New Delhi.

118 Acting Secretary, Official Language (Leg.) Commission, Ministry of Law, Bhagwan Dass Road, New Delhi.

119 The Director of Industries & Commerce, Bangalore-1.

120 The Registrar General, India, 2/A, Mansingh Road, New Delhi-11.

121 The Director of Census Operations, Manipur, Imphal

122 Do West Bengal, 20, British Indian Street, 10th floor, Calcutta-1, Phone 23-8533.

23 The Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, 11-4-646, Khushro Manzil, A.C. Guards, Hyderabad-4.

124 Do A. & N. Islands, Port Blair.

125 Do Bihar, Boring Canal Road, Patna

126 Do Madhya Pradesh, Opp. Vidya Vihar P.O. Civil Lines, Bhopal-2.

127 Do Tripura, 14/1, Krishnanagar, Agartala.

128 Do Nagaland, Kohima.

129 Do Mysore, 23, Basappa Cross Road, Shanthinagar, Bangalore-1.

130 Do Himachal Pradesh, Boswel, Simla-5.

131 Do Goa, Daman & Diu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Navelkar Building, 2nd floor, Dr. A. Broker Road, Panaji-403001.

132 Do Punjab, No. 72, Sector-5B, Chandigarh

133 Do Tamilnadu, 10, Poes Garden, Madras-6.

134 Do Gujarat, Kerawala Building, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad-6.

135 Do Delhi, 2 Under Hill Road, Delhi-6.

136 Do Arunachal Pradesh, Laithumkharah, Shillong-793003.

137 Do Assam, Bomfyle Road, Shillong-1.

138 Do Haryana, Kothi No. 1, Sector 10-A, Chandigarh.

139 Do Jammu & Kashmir, 19, Karan Nagar, Srinagar-190010.

140 Do Kerala, Bella Vista, Kowdiar, Trivandrum-3.

141 Do Maharashtra, Sprott Road, Bombay-400001

142 Do Meghalaya, Nongrim Hills, Shillong-3

143 Do Orissa, Chandni Chouk, Cuttack-2.

144 Do Rajasthan, Rambagh Palace Annexe, Sawai Ram Singh Road, Jaipur.

145 Do UttarPradesh, 6, Park Road, Lucknow-1

146 Do Chandigarh, Kothi No. 1012, Sector 8-C, Chandigarh-160018.

147 Do L. M. & A. Islands, Kavaratti, Calicut.

148 Do Pondicherry, 10, Poes Garden Madras-6.

RAILWAY BOOK STALL HOLDERS

1 S/s. A.H. Wheeler & Co., 15, Elgin Road, Allahabad.

2 S/s. Higginbothams & Co., Ltd., Mount Road, Madras.

3 S/s. Gahlot Bros., K.E.M. Road, Bikaner.

FOREIGN

1 S/s. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathmundu (Nepal).

2 S/s. Aktiebologat, C.E. Fritzes Kungal, Hovbokhandel, Fredsgation-2, Box 1656, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

3 Reise-und-Ver Kehrsverlage Stutt Gart., Post 730 Gutenleergstrelee, 21, Stuttgort Nr. 11245 Stuttgart, den (Germany West)

4 S/s. Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansion, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan).

5 S/s. Drghi Ranchi International Booksellers, via Cavour, T-9-11, 35000 Padova (Italy).

6 S/s. Wepf & Co. Booksellers, English Deptt., Elsengasse 5 Basel (Switzerland).

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS—*Contd.*

7 Otto Harrassowitz, Buchhandiung Und Antiquarial, 6200 Wisesbaden, Taunustra (Germany)

8 S/s. A. Asher & Co., 386 Herengracht, Amsterdam C. (Holland).

9 S/s. Swets & Zettlinger N. V., 471 & 487 Keizersgracht Amsterdam (Holland).

10 M. G. Von Piere, Rechitract 62, Eindhoven (Holland).

11 Herbert Wilson Ltd., Booksellers & Sub-Agents, 161, Borough High Street, London S,E.I. (England).

12 H. K. Lowis & Co. Ltd., 136, Gower Street (London C.I.)

13 Buch Und Zettachrifren, M.B.H. 1-IND Export. Grosso Und. Knnissionbuch Handling Internation Verlagsaulieferundenm, Humbarg, (Germany).

14 S/s. Store Nordiske Videnskaboghandel, Remersgade 27 DK 1362 (Compenhagen K).

15 The Ex-libris, Buchhandeisgellschaff, Hainnon Oswold & Co. K.G. Frankfurat/Main (Germnay)

16 Dr. Ludwing Hantaschel Universitats-Buchhandlung, 34, Cottingen (Germany).

17 Otto Koeltz Antiquaiat, 624, Koenigsting/ Taunus, Rerrnwaldstr-6 (West Germany)

18 Asia Library Service, 1841, 69th Avenyes, California (U.S.A.)

19 Publishing and Distributing Co. Ltd., Mitre House, 177, Regent Street, (London W.I.).

20 Reise-U-Verkehrsverlag, 7, Stuttgart-Vaihingen, Posfaih-80-0830, Hosigwiesenstr-25 (Germany).

21 Arthur Probsthian Oriental Booksellers & Publisher, 41, Great Russel Street, (London W.C.I).

22 Independent Publishing Co., 38, Kennington Lane, London S.E. II.

23 Inter Continental Marketing Corporation, Tokyo, (Japan).

24 Fritzer Kungl Havbokhondal AB, Stockholm-16 (Sweden).

MGIPCBE—S7—1 Gensus/Cal/75—28-10-77—500.