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15. TRADITIONAL SILVER ORNAMENTS

R. K. TRIVEDI

Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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CONTENTS

			Pages
Foreword			ix–xii
Preface			xiii
SECTION	I	INTRODUCTION	
		Introductory—Location—(i) Rajkot—(ii) Paddhari (Rajkot district—(iii) Palitana (Bhavnagar district)—(iv) Anjar (Kutch district)—(v) Bhuj (Kutch district)—(vi) Mandvi (Kutch district)—(vii) Nadiad (Kaira district)—Antiquity of the Craft	1–5
SECTION	II	CRAFT AND CRAFTSMEN	
		Soni—Luhars—Working Force—Literacy—Workshop and Dwelling—Hired Workers—Social and Personal Characteristics—Hobbies and Recreational Activities of the Craftsmen	6–11
SECTION	III	RAW MATERIALS	12–13
SECTION	IV	TOOLS AND TECHNIQUE	
		I. Tools—II. Technique—(i) Assaying—(ii) Alloying—(iii) Rolling and Pressing—(iv) Designing, Shaping and Soldering—Enamel Work—Polishing—(i) Pokhani—(a) Refining, Rolling and Pressing—(b) Shaping of a Reel—(c) Shaping of Flower and Designing—(d) Making a Chain—(e) Polishing—(ii) Chhada or Sankala—(a) Rolling of Metal—(b) Wrapping of Wire, Cutting of Ring and Arrangements of Rings—(c) Soldering, Finishing and Polishing—(iii) Making of a Betel Box—Pan Dabo or Pan Dani—(a) Refining and Pressing—(b) Shaping, Sketching and Designing—(c) Heating, Chiselling, Filing and Finishing—Designs	14–21
SECTION	V	FINISHED PRODUCTS	
		Ornament Type—Speciality of Different Centres—Size and Shape—Traditional Type—Price—Production	22–28
SECTION	VI	MARKETING	
		Sale Procedure—Agency—Sale	29–30
SECTION	VII	ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS	
		Capital Investment—Source of Capital—Cost of Production—(i) Pokhani/Toti—(ii) Chhada/Sankala—(iii) Pan Dabo—Wage Structure	31–33
SECTION	VIII	ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS	
		Structure of the Craft—Association and Cooperation—Cooperative Society—Membership—Capital Structure—Training—Akhil Hind Shrimali Soni Mahamandal Training Institute, Rajkot—Shri Vishvakarma Hunnarshala—Rajkot Engraving School No. 1—Bhanvad Pattani Soni Gnati Hunnarshala	34–37
SECTION	IX	CONCLUSION	38–39
APPENDIX	I	Tables	43–45
APPENDIX	II	Biographies	46–48
Glossary			49–50
Index			51–52

LIST OF STATEMENTS IN TEXT

Statement	I	Establishments and workers engaged in manufacture of jewellery, silverware and wares using gold and other precious metal, Gujarat	8
	II	Castewise distribution of households	9
	III	Raw materials	12
	IV	Tools and implements	14
	V	Distribution of centres according to types of ornaments and wares	23
	VI	Particulars of different types of ornaments	23–27
	VII	Price index of fashion articles	28

LIST OF TABLES IN APPENDIX I

Table	I	Distribution of surveyed households	43
	II	Distribution of family members according to age, sex and earning status	43
	III	Literacy according to age and sex	44
	IV	Workshops	44
	V	Distribution of artisans' families according to income group	45

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE — Between pages 40-41

I Silver bars and silver nugget
II Silver sheet, wire and bar
III Tools
IV Tools and implements
V Traditional design on a silver pendant known as potaliya—a neck ornament worn by Kanbi woman
VI 1 to 5. Traditional designs of pendants—a neck ornament called 'potaliya'; 6. Front and 7. Rear of 'pokhani' an ear ornament
VII Some more designs
VIII Traditional designs in pendants
IX Wire-drawing—a manual operation
X Winding wire to make a coil
XI Flattening the wire
XII Heating
XIII Top: Checking with the help of design drawn on paper
Bottom: Flattening the sheet
XIV Arranging wire according to the design prior to soldering
XV Soldering
XVI Cutting silver sheet into shape
XVII Making of a chain
XVIII Affixing hooks to 'potaliya'
XIX Fixing chain to 'potaliya'
XX Removing redundant parts
XXI Polishing with a brush in soap-nut water
XXII Soldering the pieces of a chain
XXIII Filing
XXIV Final touch

TRADITIONAL ORNAMENTS (PLATES XXV-LV)

XXV 1. Tholia; 2 and 3. Taroti
XXVI Top and Bottom: Front and back of 'kokarva'—an ear ornament
XXVII Necklace with leaf-like pendant and coins worn by tribals
XXVIII 'Hansadi', a beautifully designed neck ornament
XXIX 1. Hansadi; 2. Ekdami
XXX Madaliyu
XXXI Kadu (Armlet) with tiger head
XXXII 1. Armlet; 2. Vank and 3. Bangle
XXXIII Plastic bangles, beautifully designed and set with motifs in gold and silver
XXXIV 1 and 4. Bedi; 2. Kadan and 3. Girdle (Kandoro)
XXXV Kambi (Anklet)
XXXVI Beautifully designed anklets
XXXVII Artistic shapes of anklets
XXXVIII Different types of anklet (Toda)
XXXIX Varieties of anklets
XL Langar (Anklets)
XLI Ornaments: 1. Chudi; 2. Kataria; 3. Vadhlo; 4 and 6. Bhorinda; 5. Earrings and 7. Hansadi
XLII Bangles, ear ornaments and necklaces
XLIII Ear ornaments, necklaces and bangles: 1, 2 and 4. Toti (Ear ornaments); 3 and 7. Necklaces; 5. Anklet (Kalli) and 6. Vintla
XLIV Ear, neck and arm ornaments: 1. Bracelet (Sarai); 2. Balaiya; 3 and 5. Anklets (Kadu); 6, 7, 8 and 10. Earrings; 4 and 11. Necklaces; 9. Kada; 12. Ponchi; 13. Vintla and 14. Armlet (Kadu)

ILLUSTRATIONS-*contd.*

Between pages 40-41

PLATE XLV Top: 1 and 2. Balaiyas; 3 and 4. Armlets (Kambi); 5 and 6. Anklets (Kada); 7 and 8. Jhanjhar
Bottom: Different types of 'kalla' worn on feet by Marwadi and Bharwad women

XLVI 1 and 4. Necklaces; 2. Jhanjhar; 3. Earring; 5. Bracelet and 6. Button set with chain

XLVII Top: 1. Vadhlo and 2. Earrings
Bottom: Hand and neck ornaments

XLVIII Traditional necklace

XLIX Various types of traditional necklaces

L 1 and 2. Bangles (Kada); 3. Neck ornament (Hansadi); 4 and 5. Earrings

LI 1 and 5. Kanthi; 2, 3 and 4. Earrings and 6. Pendant in fish shape

LII Modern set of 'Jadtar' (Inlay work): 1. Necklace; 2 and 3. Ear-tops and 4. Bracelet

LIII 1 and 3. Earrings; 2. Nose-pin; 4. Necklace; 5 and 6. Ponchi; 7 and 8. Kangan (Bangles); 9 and 10. Pendants

LIV 1. Patla (Bangles); 2. Kangan (Bangles); 3. Necklace and 4. Earrings

LV 1. Traditional ornaments on display for sale by a silversmith

MODERN ADAPTATION OF TRADITIONAL DESIGNS (PLATES LVI–LXXIII)

LVI 'Tanmaniyu' adapted to modern fashion

LVII Kandora (Girdle) and ear ornaments

LVIII 1. Kangani and 2. Madaliyu

LIX Jayshree fancy set : 1. Har; 2. Earrings and 3. Bracelet

LX 1. Necklace; 2. Earrings and 3. Finger-ring

LXI Jayshree Ghugharu set: 1. Neck ornament; 2. Earrings and 3. Bracelets

LXII Hansadi worked in enamel

LXIII Enamelled set : 1. Hansadi; 2. Bangles (Kada) and 3. Earrings

LXIV Enamelled set: 1. Bracelet; 2. Hansadi; 3. Earrings; 4. Finger-ring and 5. Kada (Bangles)

LXV Katak set : 1. Bracelet; 2. Har; 3. Earrings and 4. Finger-ring

LXVI Top: Katak necklace
Bottom: 'Pan-no-necklace'

LXVII Jayshree fancy set in traditional style : 1. Collar; 2. Earrings; 3. Finger-ring and 4. Bracelet

LXVIII Armlet (Kadu) and earrings in different shapes and designs

LXIX 1. Armlet; 2. Kangani; 3. Kada (Bangles); 4. Earrings and 5. Button set with chain

LXX 1. Madaliya; 2. Kangani and 3. earrings

LXXI 1 and 4. Baju bandha (Armlets); 2 and 3. Balaiya

LXXII 1. Kalla and 2. Jhanjhar

LXXIII Pendants in traditional shape have come into fashion also with the upper classes

LXXIV Not a pendant but a key bunch

LXXV A silver jug

LXXVI Arti (A silver lamp with a handle)

LXXVII Specimens of Kutch work—A silver coffee set

LXXVIII A silver wine jar wrought into a beautiful design of Kutch work

LXXIX A silver jug

LXXX A 'hookah' covered with silver sheet

LXXXI Traditional neckwear of a tribal

LXXXII Their ornaments, their pride and pleasure

LXXXIII Traditional ornaments have their own charm

LXXXIV They please those who wear them and those who look at them

LXXXV Woman bedecked with traditional ornaments

FOREWORD

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

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

An early opportunity was therefore taken in February 1960 to suggest to State Census Superintendents, that the Census provided a unique opportunity for conducting and documenting a survey of this kind. As such a survey was quite outside the usual terms of reference of Census work it was thought prudent cautiously to feel one's way with the thin end of the wedge of what would, it was hoped, prove to be an exciting pursuit. It was therefore considered the wiser course to wait until the State Census Offices felt so interested that they would no longer take the inquiry as an imposition but rather want to do it on their own and ask for the necessary staff and equipment. This office, too, in its turn, could make use of the interval to organise and elaborate the design of inquiry in order to feed the appetite that work in progress would serve to whet. Because it was a labour of love, sought to be unobtrusively thrust on one's colleagues and because the inquiry itself was so vast that normally it would demand in any country as big a set-up; if separately established, as the Census organisation itself and that over a much longer period, and because it was almost a poineer venture, nothing like it having been undertaken since the 1880's, it was decided to move towards a build-up by stages, to let the inquiry unfold itself only as fast as my colleagues chose to ask for more.

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

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

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

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

Thus the first part of the questionnaire, purporting to be a village schedule, sought to take account of the size and population of the village, its remoteness from a proximity to centres of trade and commerce, in short, the degree of isolation in which the artisan worked, and the relative strengths of various communities in the village which would afford clues to social interdependence and the prevalence of the *jajmani* system. The second part was devoted to artisan communities in the village: the several castes of artisans, the number of families in each, the total number of workers, males and females, the extent of cooperative activity among them, the extent of dependence upon employers and of wage of contract labour. There were questions on the raw materials used, the means of their procurement, the possible extent of dependence on others for raw materials, the extent of the material that artisans can handle within the limits of their skill. There were other questions on the exchange and flow of designs, the use of colours, the ancientness of the craft and legends associated, the colonization of the craftsman, on patrons and customers and on social and economic contact with the world inside and outside the village. There

were specific questions on the workshop itself and particularly the tools and the source of supply of these tools, because it was felt that tools decide everything and are the surest index of inertness or flexibility. Separate blocks of questions were designed to bring out the ramifications of artisan castes throughout the country and the ways they sustained themselves, the type of clientele they catered for, the extent to which they operated on money or barter or service, how specialized their craft was, how wide the market, how dependent they were on their socially preordained clientele and how restricted the latter was by the seemingly unalterable laws of social custom; the extent to which they could operate in the open market, the range of their wares and the sizes to which these were ordinarily restricted either by the limits of their own skill or the length of their customer's purse-strings. Inquiries were to be made about the operation of middlemen and of cooperative societies, the people who gave new designs and demanded new products. Finally the several stages of production of the articles themselves were to be fully described including the final and finishing stage and a list of very skilled craftsmen of each community was to be furnished. The third part was devoted specially to tribal communities and designed to find out how self-sufficient or dependent they were on the production and supply of manufactured goods, the extent to which they produced themselves or depended on others, their contacts with other communities and the specific forms of production and commerce through which these contacts were maintained.

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

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

Investigations conducted between September 1961 and May 1962, including a study group of all States and the Social Studies Division in December 1961 at Delhi, stimulated many of the States into going in for a much enlarged schedule. The revised village schedule itself, the counterpart of the first part of the February 1960 schedule, contained 19 large sections containing elaborate and probing questions. The Family Schedule for practising artisan families similarly contained 19 main questions each subdivided into many questions. The Family Schedule for non-practising artisan families contained 21 questions. There were schedules for the study of cooperative societies, of production-*cum*-training centres, and of consumer's preference. This enlarged schedule of investigation, in the formulation of which the States themselves actively assisted, was greatly welcomed. The surveys that will appear in this series will therefore consist of two main types : (a) those based on the original short schedule and (b) those based on the much enlarged schedule. In some cases Census Superintendents felt enthused enough to scrap the work based on the original short schedule and do it over again on the enlarged schedule. In the meantime much experience was gained on the analysis of facts and figures to clothe each observation with plenty of authentic information so that the reader could make his own judgement instead of being expected to see all the time through another pair of eyes.

This programme of survey of handicrafts and household industries has been fortified by several ancillary surveys, each one of which would deserve major attention. Along with the survey a compilation has been made of all handicraft centres in each State and an inventory prepared of skilled craftsmen. Photographic and other documentation has been built up to constitute what may now be regarded as the

most considerable repository in the country. Elaborate and accurate maps of craft centres in taluks, tehsils and districts are either ready or under preparation. A full census of all fairs and festivals, weekly hats and markets, throughout India, has been taken and is being published for the first time. Andhra Pradesh has embarked upon a project of chronicling the social and religious antiquity and uniqueness of every fair and festival. A separate volume will be devoted to each district which promises to be of the utmost value to sociologists and orientalists. A full and complete inventory, replete with sketches and measurements of every object, has been prepared of exhibits in museums of tribal crafts in India. There has been a fairly satisfactory survey of houses and buildings, indigenous architectual designs and use of local building material of the whole country. All this has been entirely a labour of love, patiently organised and executed under great strain and in disregard of health and comfort, for which I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation and grateful thanks to my colleagues.

NEW DELHI,
JULY 30, 1964.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

Handicrafts have always played a significant role in the life of the people of this land. India is essentially a land of villages where the entire economic structure is based primarily on agriculture supplemented by crafts either as a whole or part-time activity. Besides producing articles of utility, handicrafts in India have acquired great fame and popularity for their artistic excellence. And Gujarat has been well-known in the country and abroad for its crafts since ages. A special study, therefore, of the selected crafts in this region along with the 1961 Census offered a good scope of finding out what they were in the past and are capable of in present times.

This monograph embodies the results of a comparative study in the making of traditional silver ornaments and artwares at 7 centres in Gujarat. It is one of the crafts selected for intensive study besides others taken up for general study. The earlier publications which include monographs on crafts for general as well as special study relate to:

(i) Agate Industry of Cambay,
(ii) Wood Carving of Gujarat,
(iii) Patara Making at Bhavnagar,
(iv) Ivory Work of Mahuva,
(v) Padlock Making at Sarva,
(vi) Scale Making of Savarkundla,
(vii) Perfumery at Palanpur,
(viii) Crochet Work of Jamnagar,
(ix) Sujani Weaving of Broach,
(x) Soap Making at Kapadvanj,
(xi) Mashru Weaving of Patan,
(xii) Glass Work at Kapadvanj,
(xiii) Jari Industry of Surat and
(xiv) Transparent Lacquer Work of Sankheda.

Besides the field staff and other members of the Census Organisation who have contributed to this survey, I must also acknowledge the useful comments offered by Dr. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, while going through the draft monograph as also to Shri Asok Mitra, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, for his valuable guidance in the organisation of this survey in Gujarat.

R. K. TRIVEDI,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Gujarat.

AHMEDABAD,
October 11, 1968.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTORY

I.1 HANDICRAFTS IN INDIA have an importance of their own. They represent a great tradition and cultural heritage of the country. Manufacture of ornaments is one of the most prosperous and age-old handicraft of India. Love of mankind to adorn the body with ornaments is innate. Primitive man who had not the means to satisfy his inherent desire turned to his surrounding for personal adornment. He painted various parts of the body with liquid mixture of vegetable colours, made from turmeric powder, *kumkum* or *chandan* for tatooing. The cowry or sea-shell, stone, wood, glass and clay beads, cotton, silk and woollen threads and thin wooden pieces were the usual means of adornment, before the invention of brass, copper, silver and gold ornaments.

I.2 It is rather difficult to say exactly when and where the art of gold and silversmithy started. Going through the pages of history it is found that the craft was started soon after the discovery of metal. "Both men and women used various ornaments made of gold, silver, copper and other well-known metals, shell, faience with beads of semi-precious stones such as carnelian, steatite, agate, chalcedony, jasper, amazon, lapis lazuli, turquoise, amethyst, etc. These were marked by variety of designs and high technical skill. Men wore fillets, necklaces, finger-rings and armlets, while the women decorated themselves, in addition, with head-dress, earrings, bangles, bracelets, girdles, and anklets. The ladies at Mohenjodaro were not probably far behind their sisters of the present day in culture of beauty."[1] Various kinds of ornaments are mentioned in Rigved. The great classics like the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, also refer to various types of ornaments. Numerous representations of Hindu gods and goddesses and other deities so far excavated all over India and a study of Ajanta paintings reveal extensive use of ornaments of a variety of shapes and designs. Even the code of Manu, probably about 2,000 years old, contains a description of jeweller's art. As described in *Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India*, "It is certain that finger rings have been in common use in India since very early ages, and even the Brahmins of old who dwelt in the dark jungles and lived a life of utter simplicity, used to wear rings made of the *khus* (*Saccharum spontaneum*) grass."[2]

"Wealth inevitably brings luxury in its train. Megasthenes observes that the Indians 'love finery and ornament'. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin.....jewels and precious stones, like diamond, ruby, etc., used as ornaments by men and women; and costly utensils made of beryl, crystal, gold, silver, copper and glass, some of them being painted and set with jewels.....give a fair idea of the ease and luxury of Indian life, and the height to which materialistic civilisation had reached in olden days."[3]

I.3 As described in the *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, 'If the Indian people wore simple dress they were very fond of ornaments. In fact the taste of the Indian people is in this respect exactly the reverse of the people of the West (who spend more on dress than on ornaments). Contrasted with the simplicity of their dress and habits Hiuen Tsang thus speaks of their ornaments. The ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras of precious stones are their head ornaments and their bodies

1. MAJUMDAR, R. C., *Ancient India*, p. 21, 1952
2. MEHTA, RUSTOM J., *Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India*, p. 16, 1960
3. MAJUMDAR, R. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 230-231

are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy merchantile people have only bracelets (Watters I.P. 51). Even now the rage for ornaments in India is excessive, though perhaps want of gold and precious stones has now compelled men to go about without ornaments. But merchants, sardars and princes even now wear profusion of ornamets according to their means. The tiara, however, has now disappeared and properly enough as perhaps since the days of the Mahomedans there has been no crowned king as such, (except Shivaji alone) in India. Harsha is said by Bana to have put on one bracelet indicative of his sovereignty but strangely enough is not said to have put on a crown. He was presented with a necklace of big pearls by Divakaramitra as a fitting person to wear such a priceless ornament. Armlets or Angadas have also not been noticed by Hiuen Tsang though they are by Bana as also Kundalas and Keyuras or earrings. The case of women is different. They, even the poorest in India, must have some ornaments on their person while as for rich women, they have a profusion of gold, pearl and stone ornaments."[1]

I.4 History thus bears testimony to the fact that man's fascination for ornaments is age-old. Before gold came into use, copper and iron, ivory and agate were in vogue as the medium of ornaments. With the passage of time, gold and silver took their place and ornaments made of gold and silver became more popular on account of the permanency of their colour and lustre.

I.5 Ornaments made of gold and silver served a dual purpose in the past. They satisfied the innate love of adornment and also served as insurance against evil days when they could be converted into ready cash. With the advent of banking facilities and peoples' increasing faith in them, this form of investment became less prevalent. Making of ornaments is not only a craft but an art-craft practised not only in towns, and cities of Gujarat but even in most of the rural area where a silversmith/goldsmith, occupies a respectable place in the village community. There is a number of places well-known for the art of making modern and traditional ornaments, artwares and setting of precious stones in the State. Rajkot and Paddhari in Rajkot district, Palitana in Bhavnagar district, Anjar, Bhuj, Mandvi in Kutch district and Nadiad in Kaira district are some of the important centres besides Ahmedabad. Palitana specialises in fixing metal plates especially silver-plates on carved wooden articles mostly used in Jain temples. The fame of engraved silverwares of Kutch, popularly known as 'Kutch-work' has spread far and wide in India and abroad. The silver artwares including traditional and modern ornaments made at Paddhari are in demand even in foreign countries. Among in five leading centres of India famous for the manufacture of silver ornaments, Rajkot ranks third in order—(i) Madras, (ii) Salem (Madras), (iii) Rajkot, (iv) Kolhapur and (v) Ahmedabad. The subject matter of this monograph is the result of a comparative study in the making of traditional and modern silver ornaments and artwares at 7 centres in Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Kutch and Kaira districts conducted in May 1961 followed by further investigation during succeeding years.

Location

I.6 The details of location and other particulars pertaining to these centres are given below.

(i) *Rajkot*

Situated on 22° 18' North latitude and 70° 5' East longitude, Rajkot is an important metre gauge railway junction in the centre of Saurashtra peninsula, from where railway lines branch off to Wankaner, Jamnagar and Gondal. It is also a similar nerve centre of State Road Transport Service in all directions, being on the National Highway from Ahmedabad to Porbandar and State Highways from Rajkot to Jamnagar and Bhavnagar. It has also an aerodrome served by air services from Bombay, Jamnagar, Bhuj and Gandhidham.

Rajkot has been the political capital of Saurashtra peninsula ever since the advent of

1. Vaidya, C. U., *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 92, 1921

British sovereignty in the region. It was in Rajkot that the nationalist movement of Satyagraha for responsible Government was started in 1938-39. Rajkot reached its climax in the political field in 1948 when it became the temporary capital of Part-B State of Saurashtra and the divisional headquarters after the reorganisation of States in 1956. Among the six cities of Gujarat, Rajkot stands 4th having a population of 194,145 persons according to 1961 Census. It has been a marketing centre since long but recently industrial development is taking place especially in the sphere of small-scale industries. A number of small engineering units is established there. Rajkot boasts of the first Industrial Estate in India, having 110 sheds let out to small industrial establishments producing machinery, spare parts, hand pumps, barbed wire, machine tools, diesel engines, wall-clocks, electric accessories, plastic articles and cotton yarn. The Small Industries Service Institute and a Prototype Centre producing machine tools provide valuable guidance and assistance to small industries. This shows that Rajkot because of its central location in the peninsula and other favourable factors has been fast developing in the industrial field after Independence.

(ii) *Paddhari* (Rajkot district)

Paddhari is a mahal headquarters situated on the east bank of the river Dondi about 18 miles north of Rajkot on the State Highway from Rajkot to Jamnagar. It is a railway station on the Rajkot-Okha metre gauge section of the Western Railway. It is also connected with Jamnagar, Rajkot, Dhrol, etc., by bus services. Formerly the merchants of Paddhari carried on a considerable trade in oil and oil-seeds with Jodiya. Covering an area of 6.22 sq. miles Paddhari has a population of 4,069 persons.

(iii) *Palitana* (Bhavnagar district)

Situated on the foot of mount Shetrunjay on the south bank of Khari (a tributary of the Shetrunji), Palitana is a taluka and subdivisional headquarters having a population of 24,581 and covers an area of 12.95 sq. miles. It is a terminus of Sihor-Palitana metre gauge railway section and is also connected by bus with Bhavnagar and other near-by towns. Palitana is well-known for its rose flowers, harmoniums, lever locks and silver work especially patronised by the Jain temples.

Shetrunjaya is the most sacred pilgrim centre of the Jains who call it Siddhakshetra. It is a hill that lies about a mile south of the town. This is the most sacred of the five sacred hills of the Jains. Kinlock Forbes, the author of *Ras Mala* refers to it as the "first of all places of pilgrimages, the bridal hall of those who would win everlasting rest." The author of Kathiawar Gazetteer points out that owing to the sanctity of this hill, Jains from all parts of India are most anxious to construct temples on this hill and all members of this faith feel it a duty to, if possible, perform one pilgrimage here during their life. The entire summit of the hill is covered with numerous Jain temples. Most of the temples were built in the 11th century but destroyed in the 14th and 15th centuries and the present shrines were built in the 16th century. Magnificently built with marble, they are palatial and have beautiful carvings, the best of their kind in Gujarat. Because of these Burgess calls Palitana 'a city of temples'. There is a shrine of Angor Pir on the summit of the hill where childless women take a vow to offer miniature cradles for getting children.

(iv) *Anjar* (Kutch district)

Situated on 23° 12′ North latitude and 70° 10′ East longitude, Anjar is a railway station on the Bhuj-New Kandla section of the Western Railway. It is the taluka and subdivisional headquarters with a population of 23,301 and covers an area of 3.50 sq. miles.

Anjar was founded in 805 A.D. by Ajepal, brother of the king Ajmer, who became an ascetic after being defeated by some Muslim invaders. In the latter half of the 16th century it rose to much importance under Khengarji and was fortified in the first half of the 18th century.

Anjar had often succumbed to earthquakes in 1819, 1844, 1845, 1874, 1941 and the last in 1956 when the loss of life and property was tremendous and unparallel. A new township has come up after the last earthquake by the joint efforts of the Government and the people.

The shrines of Jesar and Turi popularly known as Jesal–Toral stand in Anjar to this day. Anjar is an important trading centre with a textile mill and cotton-ginning and pressing factories.

(v) *Bhuj* (Kutch district)

Situated on 23° 15′ North latitude and 69° 49′ East longitude, Bhuj is a town having a population of 40,180 persons. It is a terminus on Bhuj–New Kandla section of the Western Railway and the headquarters of the State Road Transport Division. It is connected by regular bus services with most of the taluka headquarters and other important places in Kutch. It is also served by regular air service with Jamnagar, Rajkot and Bombay. It was the capital of the former Kutch State and is today the district and taluka headquarters of Kutch district.

Great Bhuj fort is the most striking characteristic of the landscape around the town. It has historic buildings like Feteh Mahmad's house, his tomb, Muhammed Panna Masjid, the Darbargadh, the Aina Mahal, and Ra Lakha's Chhatri which are beautiful specimen of the old architecture which flourished in Kutch.

(vi) *Mandvi* (Kutch district)

Thirty five miles away from Bhuj, and on the confluence of the river Rukmavati with the sea, Mandvi situated on 22° 49′ North latitude and 69° 20′ East longitude covers an area of 14.89 sq. km. It is the headquarters of Mandvi taluka and is also called Kutch Mandvi.

Mandvi has been known as a good port since long. For centuries past this port was considered to be a good trading centre. Its merchants steered their vessels long ago to the shores of Africa and exchanged their cargoes of rough cotton cloth and silk for ivory and other articles. Bhatias and Vanias of Mandvi had made their fortune in Zanzibar and Mombasa. It was the principal and important port of Kutch before the partition of India, which brought to an end its trade with Karachi. Development of Kandla has also reduced its former importance to some extent.

(vii) *Nadiad* (Kaira district)

Nadiad, 22° 42′ North latitude and 75° 52′ East longitude, a junction station on the Bombay–Ahmedabad broad gauge line of the western railway, is the largest town in Kaira district. Situated on the National Highway No. 8 it is well-connected by State Transport buses with Ahmedabad, the State capital, Baroda, Godhra and all important towns in the district. It has a population of 78,952 souls according to the Census of 1961.

Nadiad which covers an area of 28.28 sq. km. was one of the largest and the thriving towns of Gujarat in the 19th century, and ranked next only to Ahmedabad as an important trading centre. During 1917–18, at the time of Kaira Satyagraha, when Gandhiji led the movement against oppressive levy of land revenue, he selected Nadiad as his headquarters, which became an important landmark in the struggle for Independence.

Nadiad is a centre of considerable trade and commerce. Situated in the fertile tract of Charotar well-known for its progressive agriculture, its main corps are food-grains and tobacco. There are several *bidi* factories also. Apart from being the biggest market of grocery in the district, it is one of the important trading centres of India dealing in cumin and fennel seeds exported to Delhi, the Punjab and other parts of North India. There is a large number of establishments manufacturing silverwares, iron safes, soap, furniture, brass and copper vessels and iron articles. Making of steel furniture claims the biggest factory in Gujarat. Making of snuff, coir ropes and bamboo baskets are the other handicrafts of the place.

ANTIQUITY OF THE CRAFT

I.7 No definite detail about the significant history of the centres, bearing on the history of the craft is available. But various legends are afoot regarding the beginning of the craft at different centres. As has been stated by the local craftsman of Bhuj, some craftsmen working in gold and silver ornaments are said to have migrated from Rajasthan. The language spoken even now by them is similar to the language spoken in Rajasthan. According to them because of a famine in Rajasthan about 500 years ago, people from some of the States like Jodhpur, Sirohi, Jesalmer and Bikaner migrated to other parts of the country for earning their bread.

Some of them came to Kutch and settled there. These people were expert in making ornaments and so the Maharao of Kutch patronised them. In Mandvi it is said to have been started about 400 years ago, while in Anjar the craft is believed to have existed since the town was founded in 805 A. D. by Ajepal. The origin of reputed Kutch work can be traced to Maharao Shree Lakhapatji 1741–1760 A. D., who employed one Ramsang Malam, who had acquired training in the art of crafts in Holland. With the assistance of Ramsang Malam, he established industries for engraving and enamelling work of gold and silver, manufacture of watches, guns, rifles and glass, etc., in Kutch. Ramsang Malam who was instrumental for their development also gave training in these crafts to several people.

I.8 In Paddhari most of the artisans are Vania or Bania. It is said that about 300 years ago one family of Vania Soni came from near-by rural area and settled here. The exact period of the beginning of the craft in Rajkot is also not known. But in the beginning there were 10 households which gradually increased to 40. At that time the work of setting of diamonds, precious and semi-precious stones was done in Tankara by Parajiya Soni. When there was scarcity of rain they migrated to Rajkot with a view to get regular work at one centre only. Today there are approximately 1,000 households of these castes in Rajkot working in making of gold and silver ornaments. Most of them have migrated from Kutch, Morvi, Paddhari, Tankara and Dhrol. All the households are traditionally engaged in the craft of working in gold and silverwares and ornaments.

I.9 The craft of silver work is practised at Palitana for the last 60 to 65 years. The local legend regarding the origin of the craft is as under:

Four brothers, namely, (1) Dharmasinh Premji, (2) Ramji Premji, (3) Daya Premji and (4) Chaku Premji, were doing blacksmithy at Ranpur in Junagadh district. In course of time they started manufacturing silver ornaments for women. After some time, they were engaged in silver work in Jain temple at Veraval-Patan. When they were attending to silversmithy work at Veraval, Mansinhji Gohel, ruler of Palitana happened to pay a visit to the famous Somnath temple. On his return journey he happened to see these four brothers doing silversmithy work at Veraval. He had a battered silver jug which he was not so far able to get repaired to his satisfaction by any silversmith. He showed the said jug to these four brothers. Dharmasinh Premji repaired it so nicely that the ruler was pleased with the work and invited all the four brothers to settle at Palitana. Consequently this family of artisans settled at Palitana. After migration to Palitana, they started manufacturing idols, coronet and ornaments of God instead of ordinary silver ornaments. These articles are still manufactured at Palitana.

I.10 No definite information is available regarding the origin of the craft at Nadiad. As stated by the local artisan, Keshavlal Mansukhlal Panchal, his forefathers followed the occupation of gunsmiths before 50 years, but due to Government restrictions on the manufacture of arms they had to leave that work and take up silver work.

SECTION II

CRAFT AND CRAFTSMEN

II.1 Though Soni and Luhar are the principal castes working as silversmith and goldsmith, participation of various other castes is the peculiarity of this craft. They are Soni, Luhar, Suthar, Kansara, Maru-Kansara, Mochi, Gosai, Salat, etc. Soni includes Brahman Soni, Vania Soni, Parajiya Soni and Girana Soni. The force of circumstances has compelled some of the so called higher castes like the Brahmins and Kshatriyas to liberalise their attitude in the matter of orthodox adherence to caste principles and practise this craft. Since most of the workers belong to Soni and Luhar castes who are the traditional manufacturers of ornaments, historical legend regarding their origin and settlement, etc., is briefly reviewed below.

Soni

As regards Sonis, Enthoven observes :

> "The term Soni connotes an occupation which is followed by many other castes besides Sonis, such as Luhars, Sutars, Kansaras, Mochis, etc., who are called Luhar Sonis, Sutar Sonis, and so on. Out of these, the Kansara Sonis have already evolved an endogamous group in Marwar, and the others perhaps may, at a not distant date, do the same, as the occupation of a Soni is more respectable than that of a Luhar, Sutar, Mochi, etc. Many of the Mochis have already formed distinct groups by taking to cleaner callings and severing all connection with the parent caste.
>
> Sonis have twelve endogamous divisions as follows:
>
> 1. Gujar
> 2. Kansara
> 3. Maratha
> 4. Maru
> 5. Mel
> 6. Mevada
> 7. Mostan
> 8. Mulehari
> 9. Parjia
> 10. Shrimali or Vania, also called Gujar in Cutch
> 11. Traged
> 12. Vohora

The Gujar belong to the great Gujar or Gurjar tribe, who gave their name first to Rajputana and then to modern Gujarat. Kansara Sonis are found in Cutch. They are Kansaras by caste, who have taken to the goldsmith's calling, and in several villages in Cutch they alone are the village goldsmiths.....They appear to be in process of forming a separate caste, and in Marwar they have already done so by adopting the name Brahmaniya Soni. Maratha Sonars are found in very small numbers here and there. They are said to have settled in Gujarat during Maratha rule, between 1711 and 1727 A. D. They have not mixed with Gujarat Sonis. Their home speech is Marathi and their dress, habits and customs are the same as Maratha Sonars. Mel Sonis are found in Kathiawar. They claim to be the first *Ad* Sonis and to have been created by Parvati from the dirt *mel* of her body. Marus or Marwaris as their name shows, are immigrants from Marwar. Mevadas are supposed to be an offshoot of the Mevada Vanias. Parjias, called after the village of Parjar about twenty-four miles south of Junagadh, claim to be Rajputs. They are supposed by some to have come from Persia, on account of the reverence they show to fire, but this theory is difficult to accept as there is no other evidence in support of it, fire being worshipped more or less by all Hindus. Their character and physique support their claim to a Rajput descent, and it is conjectured by some that they belonged to the Palhavas mentioned in Sah or Sinha inscriptions. They have two branches (1) Garana and (2) Patni. The first branch was founded by Gango, the second by Nando, a Songhad Rajput. Nando is said to have gone to Patan during

the reign of Sidhraj Jaysing (1094–1143 A. D.) and so astonished the king by his skill that he promised Nando to give him whatever he asked. Nando asked to be allowed to reign in Patan for three and a half days. During these days he remitted all taxes and set free all prisoners, and for these chartiable actions his descendants claim immunity from giving alms to beggars. The Garanas are found in Halar, Sorath and Bhavnagar in Kathiawar, the Patnis in Cutch and Kathiawar. The Patnis of Cutch do not like to be called Parjias. They consider Garana Sonis to be inferior to them, alleging that though, originally of one stock, the Garanas adopted certain customs from castes of lower status, such as marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. The two do not intermarry. Shrimali Sonis or Soni Vanias originally belonged to the Vania community of the same name. They have a tradition that they are descended from a Brahman. They are the most respectable of all Sonis, and enjoy more confidence of the people than any other Soni division. They have two divisions (1) Ahemedabadis and (2) Charotarias. These two eat together. The Ahmedabadis used to take Charotaria wives but not give their daughters to Charotaria men. The Shrimali Sonis of the Charotar have now formed *gols* or marriage groups and keep their girls within the villages forming the *gol*. Cambay is one such *gol*, and Mehmadabad, Kaira, Vaso, Sojitra, Petlad and Borsad form another. Tragads claim descent from a Vania father and Brahman mother. In token of their past Brahman origin they wear the Brahman thread and do not eat food cooked by anyone other than a Brahman. They have two divisions—Motu or large and Nanu or small. Vohora Sonis are found in Cambay. They are Daudi Bohoras and are so called because they do goldsmith's work.

Each of the Soni divisions proper have several exogamous sections, some of local origin such as Kadi-Kalolia, Khadsaria, Kondhia, Mandlia and Raidhanpura, some named after Rajput clans, e.g., Budha Bhatti, Chhatralu Bhatti, Ghelot, Komal or Pomal, Parmar, Solanki, Trambela, and some after their occupation, as Panchigor, Luhar, Jataria, etc. In Cutch the Shrimalis have the following divisions :—Kondhia, Asambiac, Patania, Godhaya, and the Patnis have Dhakan, Sunsania, Jakhia, Hanjha, Satpokhya, Dhoeda and Khimani divisions."[1]

LUHARS

"Luhars, consider themselves to be the descendants of one Pithvo, so called because he was created by Parvati out of the dust clinging to Shiv's back, to prepare weapons in Shiv's wars against the two demons Andhkar and Dhundhkar. When Shiv killed the demons, Pithvo turned their skulls into anvils, their hands into hammers, and their lungs into bellows. With these tools Pithvo repaired the axle of Shiv's chariot wheel, and, in return, Shiv gave him the boon that every time he cleared his furnace he would find one gold *mohar* (Rs. 15). Pithvo spoiled by this wealth grew insolent and declined to mend Shiv's chariot. Shiv withdrew the gold from the ashes and Pithvo fell on his knees and begged the God's pardon. After much entreaty Shiv decreed that, to save Pithvo from the labour of clearing the furnace, however much fuel might be burnt no ashes would remain.

Among Luhars are six main divisions, four, Bhavnagris, Panchals, Sirohias, and Suratis found mostly in south Gujarat, Khambhatis in central and north Gujarat, and Parajias in Kachh. These six divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. All speak Gujarati.

The competition of European ironware has forced some Luhars to give up their original calling and become silversmiths, carpenters, watch-repairers, weavers, and in some cases field and day labourers. In large towns some, known as Sonari Luhars, undertake every kind of silver work

1. ENTHOVEN, R. E., *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. III, pp. 344-347, 1922

making gold and silver anklets of various patterns.

Luhars belong to many religious sects: Godiapanthis, Kabirpanthis, Margipanthis, Meherajpanthis, Ramanandis, Shaivs, Swaminarayans, and Vallabhacharyas. Most of them believe in witchcraft, exorcism and the ordinary omens. Some of them regard their bellows as a symbol or home of Devi and on big days worship the bellows and set near it a lamp fed with clarified butter. Their priests belong to many divisions of Brahmans who are known by the name of Luhar Gors and are despised by other Brahmans. As a class they are fairly religious."[1]

WORKING FORCE

II.2 It is rather very difficult to assess the total number of households or craftsmen working in silver work or in purely traditional and modern silver work. The nature of the work is such that most probably, silver work and gold work go together. The regular customer entrusts the work of making gold and silver ornaments or artwares to his family goldsmith or silversmith in whose establishment these types of ornaments are being made for the customer's family since generations. For these reasons, a goldsmith sometimes engages a silversmith for undertaking the silver work for his regular customers or he himself attends to it in spare hours. In most of the rural areas where there is only one craftsman, it is but natural that he works in both gold and silver. On the other hand, separate establishments making silver articles and ornaments on a large scale are found to exist in some of the big cities and towns.

Gold and silversmiths are generally found in big villages and towns. According to 1961 Census there are 7,051 establishments and 28,638 workers engaged in the manufacture of jewellery, silver and other precious metalwares in Gujarat State. The district-wise distribution given hereunder shows that Surat, Kaira, Ahmedabad and Rajkot districts have large concentration of workers than the rest of the districts in the State.

STATEMENT I

Establishments and workers engaged in manufacture of jewellery, silverware and wares using gold and other precious metal, Gujarat

District	No. of establishment	Workers	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
Gujarat	**7,051 (100.00)**	**28,636 (100.00)**	**28,304**	**332**
Jamnagar	399 (5.66)	1,401 (4.89)	1,393	8
Rajkot	910 (12.91)	2,907 (10.15)	2,897	10
Surendranagar	412 (5.84)	1,177 (4.11)	1,176	1
Bhavnagar	316 (4.48)	1,361 (4.75)	1,352	9
Amreli	238 (3.37)	668 (2.33)	665	3
Junagadh	611 (8.67)	1,699 (5.93)	1,687	12
Kutch	346 (4.91)	1,182 (4.13)	1,162	20
Banaskantha	155 (2.20)	1,133 (3.96)	1,106	27
Sabarkantha	75 (1.06)	753 (2.63)	730	23
Mehsana	480 (6.81)	1,487 (5.19)	1,470	17
Ahmedabad	914 (12.96)	2,958 (10.33)	2,931	27
Kaira	600 (8.51)	4,095 (14.30)	4,005	98
Panchmahals	336 (4.76)	803 (2.81)	797	6
Baroda	373 (5.29)	1,477 (5.16)	1,467	10
Broach	74 (1.05)	399 (1.40)	394	5
Surat	812 (11.52)	5,134 (17.93)	5,070	64
Dangs	..	..	..	..

NOTE:
Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

The study carried out during 1960-61 covered seven centres (i) Rajkot, (ii) Paddhari, (iii) Palitana, (iv) Nadiad, (v) Anjar, (vi) Bhuj and (vii) Mandvi where a total of 252 households was covered. Repeated investigations

1. CAMPBELL, JAMES M., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX, Part-I, Gujarat Population-Hindus, pp. 190-191, 1901

were also carried out in subsequent years for studying the various aspects of the craft.

About 300 households are entirely engaged in silver work at Rajkot. Their caste-wise distribution is given below.

STATEMENT II

Castewise distribution of households

Caste/community	No. of households	No. of workers
1	2	3
Soni	150	600
Luhar	50	160
Kumbhar	30	60
Rajput	15	30
Kanbi	7	14
Charan	4	8
Ahir	4	8
Koli, Brahman & others	40	120
Total	**300**	**1,000**

In most of the centres craftsmen have inherited this occupation from their forefathers. They have no subsidiary occupation, as they practise the craft exclusively. In Mandvi even though most of the workers are traditionally working in the craft, a few families have changed their occupation, because they could not work skilfully.

LITERACY

II.3 Out of 1,935 family members of all the households surveyed at the seven selected centres, 1,397 or 72.20 per cent are literates of whom 804 are males and 593 are females. Among literates 203 can read and write, 1,062 have taken primary education, 90 have taken secondary education, 38 have passed S.S.C. Examination, 3 are diploma holders and 1 is a graduate. Among 804 literate males, 108 can read and write, 589 have taken primary education, 71 are having secondary education, 32 have passed S.S.C. Examination, 3 are diploma holders and 1 is a graduate. Among literate females, 95 can only read and write, 473 have received primary education, 19 have taken secondary education and 6 are matriculates. This shows that literacy standard is fairly high, as all the centres except Paddhari are towns whereas Rajkot happens to be one of the six cities of Gujarat, where all facilities of education are available, Nadiad is known in the field of education and its contribution to Gujarati literature. Moreover, general awakening and comparatively better economic condition of these castes is an additional factor which has contributed to a relatively higher standard of literacy.

WORKSHOP AND DWELLING

II.4 Residential pattern differs in different centres. In Paddhari the artisans are scattered throughout the whole village. Their residence and workshop are located in separate place. Hygienic condition of their houses and workshops is quite moderate. Nearly 60 per cent of the artisans have their own houses and the remaining 40 per cent stay in hired buildings.

II.5 In Rajkot artisans are found to have been working in rented workshops, admeasuring about 10'x12' to 15'x20'. The monthly rent is estimated to be Rs. 30 to 50. Most of the artisans live in rented houses within a radius of a mile from their workshops.

II.6 There are only 3 families in Palitana engaged in this craft. They are all settled in the main bazaar, where they have their workshop-*cum*-dwellings.

II.7 In Bhuj and Anjar workers are scattered in the various parts of these towns. The workshop, the smallest being 8'x8' usually located in Shroff Bazaar is separate from the place of residence which is in the locality known as Soniwad. Persons other than Soni caste also reside in Soniwad. Residence-*cum*-workshop is quite rare case here. The residential buildings are mostly owned, whereas the workshops are mostly rented. Generally the customers trust the artisan who own building. Thus the ownership of building also forms a part of the guarantee and safety to the customers. It is not so much the hygienic condition as the safety of the precious metal that matters in the location of the workshop.

II.8 In Mandvi, 75 per cent of premises used as workshop are taken on hire and 25 per cent have their own workshops. They are moderately ventilated. In Nadiad, gold and silversmiths are settled in the area called Satpipli at Bhavsarwad. There are two types of

Sonis, viz., Shrimali Soni and Dhakla Soni. Most of the Dhakla Sonis have their own workshop-*cum*-dwelling while Shrimali Sonis have a separate shop from their residence which they generally own. Thus, it will be seen that in villages and in small towns, Sonis generally practise the craft at their residence as their dwelling-houses are used as workshop-*cum*-residence. In highly urbanised localities and cities, workshops are separated from the residence and the craft is practised at the workshops which is generally a hired shop in a separate locality. Residences are mostly owned by the craftsmen and situated a little away from the place of work.

II.9 Out of 252 establishments those are surveyed, 185 are away from the residential houses of the artisans, while 67 have workshop-*cum*-dwelling. 152 establishments are within a distance of less than a mile, 2 about a mile away from the residence, and there are 23 establishments for which no specific distance has been shown. Most of the workshops admeasure about 12′ x 14′ and are moderately ventilated.

Hired Workers

II.10 The number of hired workers employed in this craft is very small. There is only one centre, viz., Nadiad, where out of 78 households engaged in this craft, 17 households engage 33 hired workers. It can be said that man-power required for this craft is available from the family of artisans themselves. Average number of persons per household being 7.67, artisans have not to seek outside help.

II.11 Information derived from knowledgeable persons reveals that Rajkot has 10 to 12 establishments engaged in selling of gold and silver, 10 to 12 in selling of silver ornaments, 5 are refineries, 25 are engaged in engraving and diamond setting, 10 rolling and pressing, 100 in making of silver ornaments, and 100 in enamelling work. In addition to these, there are 200 shops which are making gold ornaments. At Nadiad there are about 17 units which are entirely working in silver, of which 3 are engaged in selling silver, 12 in selling silver ornaments while 2 in rolling and pressing work.

Social and Personal Characteristics

II.12 Out of a total of 1,563 households estimated, 252 households have been surveyed, of whom 37 are from Rajkot, 13 from Paddhari, 3 from Palitana, 45 from Mandvi, 31 from Anjar, 45 from Bhuj and 78 from Nadiad. The total number of members in the surveyed households is 1,935, of whom 431 are workers and 1,504 are non-workers. Among workers, 424 (419 males and 5 females) are engaged in this craft while 7 that remain work in other occupations. Only in Paddhari, Mandvi and Bhuj, a few females are reported to have been working in this craft. Further investigations in Nadiad has revealed that females are engaged in this craft in polishing work only. Minors are not engaged in this craft.

II.13 Out of 1,935 persons in the households surveyed, 431 or 22.27 per cent are workers and 1,504 or 77.73 per cent are non-workers. Among workers 336 or nearly 78 per cent are in the working age group of 15 to 59; whereas only 29 are 60 and above. Out of 431 workers, 426 are males and 5 females. Among 1,504 dependents, 605 are males and 899 females. There are no workers in this craft in the age group of 0-10. There is only one worker in the age group 10-14 which shows that minors are not employed in this craft.

II.14 As the artisans have to work constantly sitting at one place, they require a healthy body with sharp eyesight for minute carving and steady hands for accurate movement during the work. Artisans working in this craft are found to have succumbed to diseases like T.B. and cancer. Moreover as they have to concentrate on one part of the ornament all the time, their eyes becomes weaker and weaker and they have to wear spectacles in early ages.

Hobbies and Recreational Activities of the Craftsmen

II.15 The craftsmen in this craft are very hard workers and have no other hobbies except their work. At the most they are accustomed to take tea and *bidi*. The Sonis are religious-minded and in their leisure time they engage

themselves in *bhajan-kirtan.* Sometimes they gather for gossiping with their friends and relatives. Because of the application of Shops and Establishments Act to Municipal towns, workshops are closed at prescribed hours on working days as also on Sundays. Thus in the evening they have leisure hours when they often visit parks and gardens, cinema houses and participate in other entertainment programmes. They celebrate occasions like Divali, Holi, Janmashtami, Navratri and other holidays of religious importance. As a class Sonis are religious and worship the gods of Hindu pantheon. Some of them are Shaivs, some are Vallabhacharyas and some Swaminarayans. All have their family goddesses. The family goddesses of most of them are Vagheshvari and Mahalaxmi and of others Hinglaj, Momai and Asir.

SECTION III

RAW MATERIALS

III.1 THE MAIN RAW material used in making traditional silver ornaments is silver. Other subsidiary materials required in the production are brass, copper, zinc, amonia, acid, borax, shop nuts, potash, nitrate, ochre, plastic, lac, etc. Enamel is used in the ornaments decorated and designed with enamel at Rajkot and Bhuj.

III.2 Previously the unit of measure for the purchase of silver was *tola* and pound or local *seer* for other raw materials, but after the introduction of the Metric system in 1957 it is purchased in gram units. Even though the prices of raw materials slightly differ from centre to centre, it is more or less the same as given in the following statement.

STATEMENT III

Raw materials

Raw materials	Unit	(Year 1964 June) Price (in Rs.)
1	2	3
Silver . .	10 gm.	3.00
Copper . .	1 kg.	6.50
Zinc . .	,,	2.50
Tincal . .	,,	2.00
Soap nut . .	,,	1.10
Sulphuric acid .	,,	2.15
Lac . .	,,	2.00
Kerosene . .	Tin	8.80
Coal . .	32 to 35 kg.	5.50
Enamel . .	Tola	0.50 to 12.00
Cow-dung cakes .	Per 100 cakes	0.50
Groundnut oil .	1 kg.	2.15

III.3 Silver is not available in required quantity from the local market in all the centres. In Rajkot it is locally available and so the artisans have not to purchase it from outside. Sometimes customers also supply silver, the main raw material. Silver is sometimes obtained from Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Delhi. Enamel which was imported from some of the Western countries like Britain and France at the cost of Rs. 15 per lb., is now purchased from Amritsar and some other places in North India. Artisans experience some difficulty in procuring enamel, as Government gives import licences to traders who charge very high prices. Licence-holders take advantage of import restrictions and sell enamel at Rs. 40 to 45 per lb. far in excess of their procurement price.

III.4 In Paddhari, main raw materials are bought from Rajkot. In Palitana, most of the articles are made of silver. Silver, copper, brass, zinc, etc., are purchased from local market as well as imported from Bhavnagar city. Sometimes customers also supply the material. In Nadiad also it is available in the local market as well as purchased from cities like Ahmedabad, Bombay and Rajkot.

III.5 Among the centres of Kutch, in Mandvi raw material is bought from the local market or Bhuj, while in Bhuj it is imported from Ahmedabad, Bombay and Rajkot on wholesale basis. In Anjar also it is sometimes purchased from Bombay. As described in the *Report on Rapid Survey of Handicrafts in the District of Kutch*, "while gold and silver are available in the local as also upcountry markets at fluctuating prices, those smuggled from across the border have an attraction because they are comparatively cheaper. Another source of bullion, particularly silver, is the holding of old families in the form of jewellery and other articles, which they sell in view of the changed economic and social conditions. 'Meena' is mainly imported from Switzerland and costs about Rs. 6 to 7 per *tola*. It is in short supply in the market owing to import restrictions. Indigenous 'Meena' manufactured at Calcutta is available at almost half the price. However, this variety is considered a poor substitute."[1]

III.6 In most of the centres precious raw materials used for the purpose are supplied

1. All India Handicrafts Board, Bombay, *Report on Rapid Survey of Handicrafts in the District of Kutch*, Gujarat State, 1961

by the customers and so the difficulty of storage does not arise. In some centres where raw materials are brought from other parts, they are preserved in a safe in the workshop. Sometimes old ornaments are melted and then given for making new ornaments. In Palitana as there is no big workshop silver bullion is purchased according to need or supplied by the customers who pay the labour charges. Due to lengthy procedures of purchase of bullion and sale of finished articles artisans prefer to make the ornaments by charging for their labour. Payment of purchasing the raw materials is mostly in cash, but sometimes the traders give credit for 15 days to 1 month.

III.7 As regards the type of fuel and power used, it has been observed that coal is the most important fuel used by most of the establishments though machinery is introduced in some work like polishing, die-making, wire-drawing, etc. Analysing the distribution of households surveyed, it is noticed that out of 252 households, 212 units are using coal, 35 households are using electric power, and 5 households have not reported the type of fuel used.

SECTION IV

TOOLS AND TECHNIQUE

I. Tools

IV.1 The implements used by the artisans in making ornaments are very simple and for the most part traditional in most of the processes. There are no improved tools though machinery is introduced in some work. Main tools and implements used in various stages of processing are given below with their use and price.

STATEMENT IV

Tools and implements

Sl. No.	Local term	English equivalent	Use	Price (in Rs.) June, 1964
1	2	3	4	5
1	Eran	Anvil	Support for the metal while hammering	10 to 125
2	Ekalvai	'T' shaped rod	,,	5
3	Hathodo, Hathodi, Mathanu	Hammer, small hammer, square hammer	Hammering	1 to 30
4	Sigro	Vice	Holding firmly the article to be worked upon	5 to 25
5	Kapni	Shears	Cutting the metal sheets	1 to 10
6	Sansi	Pincers	Holding/bending	1 to 5
7	Sano	Fork	Holding or picking up hot substances	1 to 5
8	Kaidapati	Stripe	Design work	2 to 10
9	Sagdi	Hearth	Heating	50 to 100
10	Divi	Lamp-stand	Heating	10 to 40
11	Kanas	File (rough and polished)	Filling	1 to 10
12	Pech patli	Screw-vice	Preparing screws	1 to 15
13	Divadhami	Blower (small and big)	Blowing	3 to 15
14	Adi/Dai	Mould	Moulding	2 to 20
15	Lagiyo	Crooked iron and wooden rod	Measuring and supporting	2 to 10
16	Pakad, Savadho	Pliers	Wire-drawing	3 to 10
17	Trak	Iron spoke (spindle shaped)	Preparing pipe	20 to 30
18	Shardi	Drill (iron and wooden)	Drilling	5 to 25
19	Pahlo	Half-holed sqaure	For making depressions	5 to 20
20	Gotilo	Round headed nail	,,	20 to 25 (set of 25 to 30 pieces)
21	Rejo	Mould	Design/casting	5 to 7
22	Opni	Polishing implement	Polishing	2 to 10
23	Mus	Earthen crucible	For melting the metal	4 to 5
24	Asbestos nu patiyu	Asbestos sheets	For putting the metal to be melted	1 to 5
25	Chhini	Chisels	Cutting metal	1 to 2
26	Chhipna	Gravers	Engraving	1 to 5
27	Jatardo	Sizing plate (holed-stripe)	Wire-drawing	4 to 8
28	Ari	Saw	Cutting work	5 to 10
29	Brush	Brush	Polishing	1 to 5
30	Buff pati	Polishing-stripe	Polishing	0.25 to 2
31	Hemri	Emery	Sharpening of tools	5 to 25
32	Kanta tola	Scales-weights	Weighing	70 to 80
33	Role machine	Rolling machine	Rolling	3,000
34	Press	Pressing machine	Punching	800 to 1,000
35	Motor	Motor 7½ H. P. and other pulleys	Supplying power to the machine	3,000

IV.2 Tools and implements enumerated above are found to be used in all the centres of the State. Analysing the centrewise procurement of tools, it has been observed that in Rajkot most of the tools are available from the local market. Sometimes tools like rolling and pressing machine costing about Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 800 to 1,000 respectively are purchased from Ahmedabad. Small tools are prepared by local blacksmiths or are procured from near-by towns of Muli and Limbdi. In Paddhari required tools are not available from the local market and purchased from Rajkot. These tools are manufactured mostly at Jamnagar, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, etc. In Anjar most of the tools are manufactured by local blacksmiths but anvils and press rolls are imported from Rajkot and Ahmedabad. In Mandvi and Nadiad tools are mostly procured from cities like Bombay and Ahmedabad though small tools are manufactured by local blacksmiths. In Bhuj and Palitana also simple tools are prepared by the local blacksmiths while others are imported from Delhi, Rajkot, Bombay, Jamnagar, Bhavnagar, etc.

IV.3 Investment made in the tools and implements is not the same in all the centres. In a city like Rajkot where production is on a large scale, the investment comes to about Rs. 20,000 to 25,000 in a rolling and pressing unit. This amount sometimes raises to Rs.100,000 also. In other establishments it ranges from Rs. 500 to 2,000. In some households where ladies are working at home, tools worth Rs. 5 to 25 only are required. It is estimated that total investment in tools and implements in this craft at Rajkot comes to Rs. 120,000. It has been assessed that Rs. 250 to 300 are spent towards the replacement of tools and implements in case of a big establishment whereas in case of a small unit it comes to Rs. 50 to 150 on an average.

II. Technique

IV.4 Every ornament made of gold or silver has to pass through various stages of production. Its technique and processes may be described in the following stages.

(i) Assaying the metal,
(ii) Mixing the metal with alloys,
(iii) Rolling and pressing,
(iv) Cutting, shaping and soldering of metal pieces,
(v) Designing, viz., fretting, engraving, stone setting and enamelling,
(vi) Polishing.

(i) *Assaying*

IV.5 Before a gold or silver ornament is produced its assaying is very important. Rubbing the metal on touchstone (*orkal*) is the most familiar method. It is a piece of soft black stone on which gold or silver leaves a mark, by the colour of which the quality of metal is judged. If there is a dark tinge in case of gold, it is of copper alloy and if there is a whitish mark it is of silver alloy. Sometimes a hole is bored in case of gold and is put in the furnace for sometime, after which the colour of the interior indicates its quality. Silver can be tested by its ring, or by cutting it. If it cuts soft, there is probably a zinc alloy, if it cut hard, copper alloy is indicated. The most thorough method is to cut the metal and heat it, or heat it first and then cut it. Copper alloy shows a blackish tinge and yellowish colour shows zinc alloy.

(ii) *Alloying*

IV.6 After the metal is tested, it is necessary to give a certain hardness to it to make it fit for ordinary wear and tear as well as for working intricate patterns and designs on it. In making gold ornaments, copper alloy is mixed while in silver ornaments copper, zinc and sometimes cadmium alloy is mixed. The proportion of alloy is not the same at all places and in all types of ornaments. Ornaments of 100 per cent silver are also made. In preparing simple dishes, cups, etc., pure silver without any alloy is used. It differs at different places according to the ornaments to be made and their uses. As noticed in Rajkot, the proportions in which other metals are mixed with silver are: Superior quality: 97 per cent silver + 3 per cent copper; and inferior quality: 36 per cent silver + 64 per cent zinc. The proportion of alloy in silver varies from 3 per cent to 6 per cent for ornaments of superior quality.

IV.7 Ornaments to be prepared out of old ornaments are first refined in furnace. They are

put in earthen crucible, tincal is added therein and then heat is given for about 10 minutes by blow-furnace. After the metal is melted, it is poured in a mould which is a long, narrow through with a handle known as *rejo*. It is thus reduced to a form which is easy to work upon. The metal, when cool, comes out in a long, narrow bar which can readily be cut, bent or hammered as required. The same procedure holds good for ornaments made of gold as well as silver.

(iii) *Rolling and Pressing*

IV.8 The next stage is the rolling and pressing of the rod which emerges after the metal is refined. The rod is passed through the machine according to requirement, e.g., for making a wire, it is passed through a press machine, while for making a plate, it is passed through a rolling machine. For an embossed ornament, the plate is passed through a punch-machine.

(iv) *Designing, Shaping and Soldering*

IV.9 After sheets or wires are obtained, design work is taken in hand. At this stage design is superimposed on the sheet. In making traditional ornaments like *bedi*, *toda*, *kallan*, *chhada*, *kandoro*, etc., no new designs are to be traced but it is made by the artisan himself with the help of chisels, etc. In some ornaments, first, the design is traced on a paper and then pasted with gum on the sheet which is to be designed. The artisan marks it with the help of some pointed nail, whereafter, the traced paper is taken away. The design proper is then worked with other instruments.

IV.10 Soldering is also an important process from which most of the ornaments have to pass through. After the design work is over, designed pieces are arranged on an asbestos sheet or iron net and liquid solder prepared from zinc, copper and tincal is put between the pieces to be joined with the help of a brush. Heat is then applied by a primus stove and the various pieces joined in the form of an ornament.

IV.11 Fret work is done after drawing or tracing a design on the ornament. This is done with the help of bow-shaped saw, admeasuring about 2" to 12" in length, keeping the ornament in the hand. A wire admeasuring 5" is fixed in the saw which works as a blade. This method is usually applied for perforating the ornaments and other articles. After the fret work is over, filing is done to remove rough points on the design.

IV.12 Engraving is one of the ways of decorating the ornament. For engraving, melted lac or tar is applied to the wooden block and the silver sheet is stuck into it so that the sheet would remain in the fixed position while working. With the help of a hand-graver and a small chisel the design is sketched and carved. Rough points are then removed by file or rough and glazed polishing paper. Emery stone is used to sharpen the tools in this process. It is the proficiency of the artisan which matters more than tools. Some articles require diamond-setting also. The ornament is then taken out by melting the medium lac or coal-tar and washed in solution of soda to remove the particles of lac or tar attached to it.

IV.13 There are two methods of setting diamonds and precious stones viz., (i) *Panchgari* and (ii) *khulas*. In *Panchgari* settings, diamonds are set in and pressed on sides so that the border of the metal is not seen; while in that of *khulas* settings, about six to eight or even more diamonds are set in the metal with borders somewhat raised and pressed on sides.

Enamel Work

IV.14 Gold or silver ornaments are often decorated with enamel. Enamelling is the process adopted in jewellery making by fixing multi or uni-colour designs. Enamel colours are procured in vitreous lumps. They are cleaned in the solution of sulphuric acid and thereafter ground with pestle and mortar mixed with water. While grinding, milky substance comes out of it which is taken out. Water is then added and again pounded till it becomes just like a pith. This again is washed or cleaned in distilled water. During this process coloured powder is washed about 30 to 40 times. Nitric and hydrochloric acids are also used to clean it. Enamel prepared in this way is heated and then sprayed over ornaments with the help of a brush. While enamelling for *opal* shade, heat is given till the required shade comes out. Sometimes heat is given by blowpipe also.

IV.15 Before the enamel is applied, the surface is thoroughly burnished and cleaned. Thereafter the enamel is inserted in the design with the help of a brush meant for the purpose. This is done much in the same way as a picture is painted. Colours are applied in the order of their hardness or power of resisting fire. The order of hardness and application of colours are white, blue, green, black and red. The paint which may have overflowed is carefully wiped out with a piece of cotton and the article is left in fire for half hour or so till the enamel sets nicely. It is then rubbed with corundum bone. It is again put in fire rubbed with a file and cleaned with the acid of tamarind or lemon. Steel *opni* and polishing papers are used for glaze. To keep the ornament in direct contact with fire, an article to be enamelled is placed on a plate of mica or wire-mesh. It is very carefully shielded while cleaning or drying to prevent any dust attaching to it.

IV.16 Rajkot and Bhuj have acquired great reputation for enamel work. Most of the enamelled ornaments are hollow and filled inside with shellac. Some ornaments are still enamelled but the quality of enamelling has deteriorated considerably on account of low quality of enamel available in Cambay. It cannot compare with the earlier work either in brilliance of colour, beauty of design or lasting quality.

Polishing

IV.17 After an ornament is fashioned, polishing is the final process to which it is subjected. Before the present century pure gold was used for the manufacture of ornaments. Gold of less purity is now being used after alloying it with copper which makes it hard. Very high degree of polish has, therefore, become possible during the current century. Bringing out high degree of polish was first introduced in Bengal from the west and then adopted by other parts of the country. Polishing is done with the help of sodium sulphate, alum salt, sulphuric acid, etc., mixed in required proportion. Ornaments are first boiled in this solution, washed with clean water and then brushed with a glass brush. Wire brushes operated by hand or electric machines are also used for washing and polishing. In carved ornaments, only hand-polishing is done with the help of *opni* and soap-nut water. To remove the wetness, ornament is put in lime-powder or saw-dust. Polishing powder which is the mixture of acid, wax, etc., is also used. This type of polish is known as 'buff polish'. After all these processes are over, the ornament becomes ready.

IV.18 The technique of making different types of ornaments for different castes and tribes involves numerous processes varying from place to place. If we examine these aspects in case of Rajkot region, the ornaments of Mer community in Porbandar taluka (Junagadh district) will differ from those of Sathwara of Morvi taluka (Rajkot district) or Vagher of Jamnagar district or Koli, Kanbi, Bharvad, Ahir, Boricha, Garasiya and others of Rajkot taluka. Hence it is very difficult to do proper justice to this craft which has been studied at a few selected centres of the State. The fancy of the people in decorating various parts of the body varies from caste to caste, community to community and tribe to tribe. The extent of ornamentation resorted to by the craftsmen varies according to the economic status of the caste/community. The artisans have thus devised simple as well as complicated methods in the manufacture of ornaments to satisfy the fancy of each class of people.

IV.19 Processing of silver metal into *pokhani* and *chhada* and its manufacture into *pan dabo* by different stages of production are described below.

(i) POKHANI

IV.20 Making of a pair of *pokhani* or *toti*, i.e., an old type of an earring shaped like a reel worn by the women of Kanbi, Koli, Ahir, Rabari and Mer castes on the tip of the ear. Weight: 50 gm., Price: Rs. 26, Metal: Silver.

(a) *Refining, Rolling and Pressing*

IV.21 Raw silver in the form of ingot or old ornaments is refined in the furnace by a separate establishment and a mould is prepared. The mould is converted by electrically operated press into sheets and then stretched by roll into square wires in another establishment at the rate of 6 to 12 paise per 10 gm. The silversmith makes the above arrangement on behalf

of the customer. This process is fully mechanised now in most of the urban areas.

IV.22 The artisans still bit the moulded metal continuously on an anvil by a hammer to shape it into thin sheet of required gauges at those centres where this process is not yet mechanised. Similarly they drew round wires of required gauge after beating the mould with hammer on an anvil on which it is kept with the help of a pair of pincers. It is then drawn through an iron plate having holes of different sizes. The wire-drawing machines now in use has a device both of shaping square wires and redrawing them manually into round shape according to the required gauge.

(b) *Shaping of a Reel*

IV.23 A ring is first prepared from wire according to the size or the circumference of the earrings with the help of small pincers. Similarly, two small circles which can be fitted on the wire ring are cut from a sheet with shears and a hole is cut from the middle with a chisel. A small ring of wire is likewise made for fitting it on the frill in the middle hole of both the rings. On each circle a small ring and a big ring is soldered with an alloy stick after applying solution of borax and ammonia. A small pipe is formed with pincers after cutting the sheet with shears and joined by soldering. This small pipe is placed between the two circular holes and then soldered to shape a reel. In case of *pokhani* conical in shape, the inner portion of the cone is filled in with lac.

(c) *Shaping of Flower and Designing*

IV.24 A flower of six petals, which can be fitted on the outer surface of the pipe, is cut with shears. Its replica is also prepared and both are then soldered on the top of the pipe each in front and at the back. Almond shaped design locally known as *veni badam* is first made with the help of thin wires and then soldered. Minute grooves in the form of small dots are engraved with the help of chisels. Sometimes small particles known as *rava* in local parlance are cut with the shears and soldered into particular design. Dots are often placed on the background or on that portion where there is space of design. Soldering is done on the flame of a primus. The work of arranging the particles is called *rava bharat*, i.e., embroidery work with *rava*.

(d) *Making a Chain*

IV.25 A pointed iron rod locally known as *trak* is gripped with a hand-drill. This drill is again fixed on the handvice fitted on a low wooden stool. The drill is turned for giving rapid rotation to the iron rod. One end of the silver wire is fixed with the rod. As the rod rotates the wire is wrapped on it. This process is also done without the drill by turning the pointed rod on the wooden stool and pressing and turning the wire with a wooden strip. The wire when removed from the rod assumes the shape of a coil, which is cut with shears into circular pieces, which are linked with each other to form a chain. Finally a hook or *ankdo* at one end and a staple or a *kadi* at the other end are added to make the chain complete. The chain is then pressed with the help of a hammer on the anvil to form two rings placed one over the other in the form of '8' known as *angreji athdo* in local parlance. Links forming the chain are then soldered in the usual manner. The metal stick melts easily because of the solution and joins two ends of each piece in the chain. The end of this chain with a hook or *ankdo* is affixed to the back circle of *pokhani*. The staple or *kadi* at the other end of the chain is placed in the braid of hair to reduce the weight of the ornament in the ear. It also distributes the weight between the braid and the ear.

(e) *Polishing*

IV.26 The ornament is shabby and blackish in appearance. It is again heated on the flame of a primus and dipped in the mixture of sulphuric acid and water. The ornament is then washed in the mixture of water and soapberry solution with a wire brush and glass beads are rubbed for bringing lustre. The wet ornament is put in lime powder to remove moisture. Edges of the design are chiselled with tin gravers to give it shine. It is finally polished with *opni* to bring out the desired lustre.

IV.27 One man can complete all the processes described above in making *pokhani* or *toti*, i.e., earring within 10 to 12 hours without using any electrically operated machine in any of techniques. The time will be reduced to 8 hours by using mechanised devices for refining, rolling and pressing the metal. In most of the castes formerly wearing this type of ornament, it is noticed that modern earring like *dul, lavingiya, kamp, buti*, etc., have taken the place of traditional ornament as a result of their contact with other castes wearing them. Changing fashion has thus influenced the lower strata of society who have a tendency to imitate those in the higher walk of life.

(ii) CHHADA OR SANKALA

IV.28 The process of making *chhada* or *sankala*, i.e., anklets mostly worn on the ankle by women of all castes except Bharvad, Ahir, Mer, Boricha is described below.

IV.29 The ornament is known as *chhada* which literally means 'alone' but here it means that an ornament without the embellishment of small gingling bells, whereas *sankala* involves chain work. The ornament varies from 10 to 25 grams in weight and is 9.5" to 11" in length. The cost price of the ornament of 15 gm. of silver at the time of further investigation in 1964 was approximately Rs. 5 while the sale price was Rs. 5.50 or 5.62 per pair. The technique of making *chhada* or *sankala* can be examined in the following stages.

(a) *Rolling of Metal*

IV.30 The silver used for making these two types of ornaments is *ensi tachi chandi*, i.e., mixture of silver and copper in the proportion of 80 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. The square wire of 16 gauge drawn by machine is transformed into round wire of 18 gauge by manual redrawing. For this a square wire of 18 gauge is manually drawn through a perforated iron plate having circular holes of different gauges. The iron plate is held in position by two iron pillarets fixed on the wooden plank. The artisan stretches the wire through appropriate hole with the help of a pliers.

(b) *Wrapping of Wire, Cutting of Ring and Arrangements of Rings*

IV.31 These processes are similar to those described for making chain in *pokhani* the only difference being in the gauge of the silver wire used, which is much thicker.

(c) *Soldering, Finishing and Polishing*

IV.32 The processes of soldering, finishing and polishing involved in the manufacture of *chhada* or *sankala* are also the same as described earlier. An artisan can complete the work of making 10 pairs of *chhada* or *sankala*, weighing 20 grams each in a working day of 8 to 10 hours and can earn approximately Rs. 5 as wages.

(iii) MAKING OF A BETEL BOX—PAN DABO OR PAN DANI

IV.33 A silver artware, viz., *pan dani* or *pan dabo*, i.e., box for keeping betel and other accessories measures 9" x 6" x 2" approximately and weighs 30 *tolas*. It has embossed or perforated design and costs about Rs. 170 to 180. The technique of making it is described below.

(a) *Refining and Pressing*

IV.34 Raw silver is refined with a view to mix other metal like copper or cadium in the proportion of 85 per cent silver and 15 per cent other metal. This work is undertaken by a separate refinery unit @ Rs. 1.50 per kg. through the artisan on behalf of the customer or trader. The refined metal in the form of a broad slab locally known as *paholo rejo* is passed through the rolling and pressing machine, with a view to obtain a sheet of 22 to 26 gauges in the required sizes of 8" or 9" breadth. The charges payable for this operation are at the rate of Rs. 2 to 2.50 per kg. Previously, the sheet was obtained by constant hammering of metal on an anvil.

(b) *Shaping, Sketching and Designing*

IV.35 The silver sheet is cut with shears according to the size of various parts of the box to be manufactured. These sheets are hammered to make them ductile and easier to work upon.

Each part of the box is then given shape according to requirement. These parts are then taken up separately for designing. For this purpose the part to be designed is affixed on a wooden plank or support with the help of *damar* or tar mixed with *rajan*. The design to be engraved or perforated is traced with a pencil on a tracing paper and transferred to the sheet or by markings made with a pointed instrument. The artisan then engraves or perforates the various parts of the box with the help of minute chisels, gravers and a wooden stripe.

(c) *Heating, Chiselling, Filing and Finishing*

IV.36 The engraved or perforated article is taken out from its position on the wooden plank after melting the tar, etc., by a primus flame. It is then chiselled with *chholani* or a scraper and file. All the parts are thus shaped and designed to make a lid and box by soldering. The article is polished with buff powder after which it is heated and dipped in mixture of sulphuric acid and water and washed by a brush in the water mixed with berry-fruits. *Opni* or a polishing instrument gives the final touch and the article becomes ready for sale.

IV.37 An artisan can complete a *pandani* within four days by working 8 to 9 hours daily. He gets Rs. 25 to 30 as labour charges from which the artisan pays Rs. 10 to other establishments like refinery, rolling and pressing, etc.

DESIGNS

IV.38 A wide variety of designs is adopted for ornamentation in ornaments and wares of different workmanship. Designs which are generally in vogue are floral and geometrical. Traditional as well as modern designs are adopted in almost all types of ornaments. Rural folk mostly prefer traditional designs which are customary. Many ornaments of gold and silver imitate flowers but no definite flowers have been chosen. In traditional ornaments sometimes coins and plaques with some writings and sometimes embossed with mythological figures are strung together to form a necklace. Pendant suspended from a necklace is often embossed with the image of gods and goddesses. It is also decorated with simple balls, flowers, leaves or other designs. Geometrical patterns such as straight and zigzag lines, dots, squares, rhombus, triangles, mathematical signs such as +, × and flowers and leaves and continuous loop coils are the common designs adopted. Swastik of Hinduism, meaning auspiciousness is also preferred.

IV.39 Animal figures also came into use and the ends of ornaments like bangles and bracelets were shaped to resemble animal heads. As found in certain ornaments heads of lion, elephant, alligator and tiger seem to have been preferred. Fish also is very popular in all types of ornaments.

IV.40 Flower traceries and creepers are the common motifs adopted in silverwares. In most of the silverwares floral pattern runs all over the article and covers every inch of it. Wares manufactured in the past were also decorated with hunting and dancing scenes. Atmosphere and objects of nature have also porvided the subjects of artistic expression.

IV.41 Religious articles like *mugat*, *bhandar*, *kalash*, door-frames for temples, etc., that are made at the centres like Rajkot and Palitana are richly embossed. In these articles designs are mostly floral, though other designs are also depicted at times. As found on certain *bhandars*, 14 dreams which the mother of Lord Mahavir had prior to his birth are embossed. And naturally so, when symbols have played a very significant role in the religious life of the people of this land.

IV.42 Opening ceremony locks which are the special products of Nadiad are designed with the map of India or the miniature form of the building for which they are made. Other designs which are popular are Kutch-work, Chinai-work, Kashmiri-work, ground-work, dead-polish work and emboss-work. Engine turning work is another variety which is newly tried at Nadiad and Rajkot. Porbandar, however, is noted the most for the excellence of this work. The peculiarity of this work is that the design produced on the articles manufactured from silver sheet is made by the machine operated by hand. These designs are geometrical without any artistic appeal.

IV.43 National and international traffic has now gone far to do away with the local and national

characteristics in ornaments. Ornaments are now becoming more and more alike all the world over. Traditional shapes and designs have undergone a few changes, and modern designs which are nowadays introduced are less decorative. Ornaments have such a large range of variety and designs that there can be no such thing as standardisation. There are neither restrictions nor limitations in designs which multiply everyday. Sometimes it is the artisan who gives the design of the customer's choice and taste and sometimes he makes it according to the idea or design given by the customer.

SECTION V

FINISHED PRODUCTS

Ornament Type

V.1 Silver being cheaper, its use as traditional ornaments is widespread. *Per contra* gold being very costly is popular and much in use among the higher economic strata of the society. Change in fashion has, therefore, brought about varied changes in the manufacture of gold ornaments; while traditional designs have been retained in case of silver ornaments. Silversmiths are skilful in making the traditional ornaments suitable to the taste of different castes and tribes.

V.2 The ornaments made are varied. Those in most common use are necklace, bangles, bracelets, *kadas*, earrings, rings, anklets, waist-band, nose-ring, buttons, cuflinks, lockets, hair-pins, *zanzar* and other foot-ornaments like *pagpan*, *kallan*, *sankala*, etc. Besides ornaments, silverwares were in great demand two decades ago, when the art was patronised by the princes and their nobles. Some of whom were great lovers of art. Various centres are noted for their workmanship and technique flourished. The articles which were made with exquisite skill and excellence included wares of daily necessities like cups, saucers, dishes, tea-set, coffee-set, and other articles like lamps, photo frames, flower-vases, locks, scissors, powder-box, *pan-supari* dish, trowel (*Lelo*), statues, casket, *pokhnas* or articles with which the ceremony of welcoming the bride and bridegroom is performed, *ramandivo* (a hanging lamp carried by the bridegroom's mother in the wedding procession), *kankavati*, i.e., container for red turmeric powder, various types of ornaments for gods and goddesses (idols), etc.

Speciality of Different Centres

V.3 In India there are 5 centres, namely, Madras, Salem (south), Rajkot, Kolhapur and Ahmedabad which are very famous for silver work. Among these centres, Rajkot stands third in rank. It has big factories engaged in the silver work. Most of the articles are produced in large quantity and exported to other parts of the country. However, the workmanship of the traditional ornaments of Rajkot is unique one. Centres of Kutch, viz., Bhuj, Anjar and Mandvi are also very popular for what is known as 'Kutch-work'. Gold and silver articles manufactured in Kutch may broadly be classified into *kutchi kam* and *meena kam*. Kutch is long famous for its superior design and workmanship in cups, flagons, flower-vases, cigar cases, egg stands, tea and coffee-sets, muffineers, rose-water sprinklers, etc. *Meena kam* or enamel work is also a speciality of Kutch which is known as *meena kam*. Nadiad and Palitana also have their own speciality. Nadiad is the important centre in India which manufactures silver locks and scissors used in opening ceremonies, while Palitana is the most important centre which has specialised in the manufacture of ornaments for idols. *Bhandar*, *kalash*, *bajath*, etc., are the other varieties which are manufactured at Palitana.

V.4 Types of ornaments and wares made are numerous and varied. Necklaces produced at Rajkot and Kutch are of a large variety. They are of square, round, triangular and oblong plaques chased with floral and geometrical designs. Coins are not infrequently utilized to make a necklace particularly for the tribals and other backward communities. Sometimes images of gods and goddesses are also embossed thereon. A pendant placed in the middle of the necklace is of various sizes and shapes. It may be square, circular, triangular or leaf-like in shape. Component parts of every traditional neck ornament are strung together in threads of either gold or cotton. Bracelets and bangles are, however, the commonest variety of

ornaments made at all the centres. They are either flexible or solid. Bangles are at times made in two parts and joined with hinges to facilitate its wearing on the hand.

V.5 Earrings are of two types, (i) circular which are worn close to the ear and (ii) which are kept hanging from the ear by fine chains worked in a variety of designs. Designs in anklets are also varied. They are mostly made of twisted silver links. They are linked together to form English numeral '8' or alphabet 'S'. A clip joins both the ends which is sometimes plain and sometimes chased with decorative work. Another variety of anklets is *kadla* and *toda* which are either solid or hollow.

SIZE AND SHAPE

V.6 There can be no definite size and shape of the articles produced. Ornaments of the same type may be of various sizes and shapes. The following statement shows some of the ornaments produced at various centres with their size and use.

STATEMENT V

Distribution of centres according to types of ornaments and wares

Centre	Article	Size	Part of the body on which they are worn or use to which it is put
1	2	3	4
Paddhari	Necklace	18" to 20" in length	Neck
	Bangles	2" to 3" in diameter	Hand
	Locket	8" to 10" in length	Upper part of hand
	Ankle chain	10" to 11" in length	Ankle
Palitana	Mugat	6" in diameter 4" in height 18" in length	Head (For idols)
Mandvi	Photo frame	4" x 2½" to 12" x 4"	Photo-keeping
Mandvi-*contd.*	Powder-box	3" in diameter	Powder-container
	Bangles	1½" to 2½" in diameter	Hand
	Kadla	2" to 3½" in diameter	Leg
Nadiad	Casket	8", 12", 16"	Presentation article
	Tray	10", 12", 16"	Presentation article

TRADITIONAL TYPE

V.7 During the detailed investigation at Rajkot, particulars relating to the traditional ornaments worn by both the sexes of different castes and communities on a particular part of the body have been collected. The details of approximate weight, price and general description of design, etc., given in the following statement will prove interesting.

STATEMENT VI

Particulars of different types of ornaments

Sl. No.	Local name	English equivalent	Part of the body where put	Worn by male/female	Metal	No. of articles	Approximate weight	Approximate price in 1964 (June) (in Rs.)	Caste/tribe using the ornament	General description of design, etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Pandadi	Earring	Upper portion of the ear	Female	Silver	1 or 2	20 gm. (two pieces)	16.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Flower, leaves, dots, circles, etc.
2	Nagli	Earring	Upper and side portion of the ear	Female	Silver	7	700 gm. (seven pieces)	50.00	Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Wire spring, flower, rings, round part, serpent (two shapes)

STATEMENT VI-*contd.*

Particulars of different types of ornaments-*contd.*

Sl. No.	Local name	English equivalent	Part of the body where put	Worn by male/female	Metal	No. of articles	Approximate weight	Approximate price in 1964 (June) (in Rs.)	Caste/tribe using the ornament	General description of design, etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3	Vedhla	Earring	Upper and side portion of the ear	Female	Silver	7	700 gm. (seven pieces)	35.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Ring, square and triangular flower
4	Vali	Earring	Upper and side portion of the ear	Female	Silver	7	200 gm. (seven pieces)	12.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad, Ahir, Rabari	Ring, curves, whirlpool
5	Nakhli	Earring	Middle portion of the ear	Female	Silver	2	2.5 gm. (two pieces)	1.75	Kanbi, Bharvad, Ahir	Simple ring thick from middle
6	Dul	Earring	Back side of the ear	Female	Silver	2	1 gm. (two pieces)	1.00	Ahir	Simple small ring
7	Tholia/ Kokarva	Earring	In the central portion of the ear	Male & female	Silver	2	5 gm. (M) 2.5 gm. (F) (two pieces)	5.00 4.00	Kanbi Kanbi	Circular shape of slope, flower, dots, zigzag
8	Akota	Earring	Tip of the ear	Female	Silver	2	400 gm. (two pieces)	35.00	Bharvad, Ahir	Flower, leaves, dots
9	Toti/ Pokhani	Earring	Tip of the ear	Female	Silver	2	400 gm. (two pieces)	35.00	Big size-Kanbi, small size, Ahir, Koli, Rabari, Mer	Flower, mango, star, dots, almond, wheat
10	Butiya, Kamp, Lavingiya, Chapva	Earring	Tip of the ear	Female	Silver	2	15 gm. (two pieces)	16.00	Kanbi, Koli, Garasiya	Flower, mango, dots
11	Paro	Necklace	Neck	Female	Silver	1	30 gm.	50.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Dots, zigzag border, (Arranged knitted with black beads)
12	Kanthi (Panch potalia)	Necklace	Neck	Female	Silver	1	30 to 50 gm.	50.00	Kanbi, Bharvad, Ahir, Koli, Rabari	Dots, oblong shape, leaves
13	Zarmar	Necklace	Neck	Female	Gold	1	30 gm.	500.00	Kanbi (Now not in vogue)	Round and oblong circles, flowers
14	Kanthlo	Necklace	Neck	Female	Silver	1	300 gm.	150.00	Bharvad	Coin shaped pieces, square pendant, dots, flowers, leave-set
15	Hansadi	Necklace	Neck	Female & Children	Silver	1	200 gm.	90.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad	Dots, lines, etc.

STATEMENT VI-*contd.*

Particulars of different types of ornaments-*contd.*

Sl. No.	Local name	English equivalent	Part of the body where put	Worn by male/female	Metal	No. of articles	Approximate weight	Approximate price in 1964 (June) (in Rs.)	Caste/tribe using the ornament	General description of design, etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
16	Kantesari	Necklace	Neck	Female	Gold	1	10 gm.	175.00	Kanbi, Koli	Hollow, golden bead of oblong or rectangle shape, hollow portion is filled in with lac
17	Ekdamiya	Necklace	Neck	Female	Gold	1	80 gm.	1,300.00	Kanbi, Koli, Ahir, Boricha	10 round hollow beads and one round pendant, diamond of beads. Hollow portion is filled in with lac
18	Kumpiyo	Necklace	Neck	Female	Gold	1	10 gm.	175	Kambi, Koli, Ahir, Boricha	Thin sheet of gold is wrapped on designed (engraved) copper bar
19	Madaliyu	Amulet	Neck	Male/female	Silver	1	5 gm.	3.50	Koli, Bharvad	Geometrical design, flower
20	Tika	Head ornament	Forehead	Female	Silver	1	5 gm. (3 to 8 gm.)	10.00	Originally Kathi, Garasiya, now Hindu, Jain, Muslim	Flower, star
21	Damni	Head ornament	Forehead	Female	Gold	1	30 gm.	500.00	Garasiya	Flower, star
22	Pin	Hair pin	Braid	Female	Silver	2	15 gm.	5.00	Hindu, Jain, Muslim, esp., Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad	Flower, geometrical design
23	Chipiya	Hair pin	Braid	Female	Silver	6	10 gm.	6.00	Hindu, Jain, Muslim, esp., Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad	Flower, ringling small bells
24	Bakal	Buckle	Braid	Female	Silver	2	10 gm.	6.00	Hindu, Jain, Muslim, esp., Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad	Bird, flower, geometrical design
25	Lokit	Armlet	Elbow	Female	Silver	1	30 gm.	15.00	Bharvad	Swastik, birds, flowers, creepers, etc.
26	Konidodiyu	Armlet	Elbow	Female	Silver	1	60 gm.	30.00	Bharvad	Swastik, birds, flowers, creepers, and oblong, silver beads (dodi) on both sides

STATEMENT VI-*contd.*

Particulars of different types of ornaments-*contd.*

Sl. No.	Local name	English equivalent	Part of the body where put	Worn by male/female	Metal	No. of articles	Approximate weight	Approximate price in 1964 (June) (in Rs.)	Caste/tribe using the ornament	General description of design, etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
27	Khelvana	Broad bangle	Forearm	Female	Silver	2	100 gm. (1,100 & 1,200 gms. also)	50.00	Kanbi	Swastik, birds, flowers, creepers, and oblong silver beads (dodi) on both sides, angreji athdo (8)
28	Kandiya	Broad bangle	Forearm	Female	Silver	2	80 gm. 100 gm. 160 gm.	45.00 75.00	Bharvad, Rabari Boricha	Zigzag shape (hollow) (solid)
29	Sareliyu	Bracelet	Forearm	Male	Silver	2	400 gm. (300 to 400 gm.)	170.00	Bharvad	Six or eight edges of the rod and flower or star on the end (solid)
30	Kada	Bracelet	Forearm	Male	Silver	2	300 gm.	140.00	Bharvad	Flower, geometrical design
31	Anti	Ring	Finger	Male/Female	Silver	1	5 gm.	3.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Simple two welded ring
32	Vinti	Ring	Finger	Male/female	Silver	1	5 gm.	3.00	Koli, Bharvad	Flower, almond on the ring
33	Kaydo/Ghodo	Ring	Finger	Male	Silver	1	10 gm.	8.00	Koli, Bharvad, Kanbi, Rabari, Ahir	Dots or stars on the diamond shaped top of the ring
34	Kanbi	Ring	Finger	Female	Silver	1	5 gm.	3.00	Bharvad, Rabari	Silver wire in zigzag shape
35	Athiya	Ring	Finger	Female	Silver	1	10 gm.	6.00	Bharvad, Rabari	Simple ring
36	Ferva	Ring	Finger	Male	Silver	1	10 gm.	6.00	Bharvad	Spring shape
37	Arsi	Ring	Second finger	Male	Silver	1	20 gm. (100 gm. to 300 gm. in the past)	10.00	Bharvad	Almond framed mirror and soldered on ring, flowers, star
38	Kandoro (Ek-serno/B-serno)	Waist band	Waist	Male	Silver	1	100 gm. (300 gm. in the past)	50.00	Kanbi, Bharvad (Now also worn by women of advanced caste)	Flower, star, almond

STATEMENT VI-*concld.*

Particulars of different types of ornaments-*concld.*

Sl. No.	Local name	English equivalent	Part of the body where put	Worn by male/female	Metal	No. of articles	Approximate weight	Approximate price in 1964 (June) (in Rs.)	Caste/tribe using the ornament	General description of design, etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
39	Toda	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	200 gm. (800 to 1,000 gm. in the past)	100.00	Darjee, Suthar, Valand, Garasiya, Kathi	Dots, stars, flowers, etc.
40	Ghannla	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	200 gm. (400 to 500 gm. in the past)	100.00	Darjee Suthar, Valand, Garasiya, Kathi	Broad shape with hollowed design like wheat
41	Bedi	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	200 gm. (300 to 400 gm. in the past)	95.00	Kanbi, Ahir, Garasiya	Deep curves on the rod and ring, flowers
42	Kadla/Kalla	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	400 gm. (600 to 800 gm. in the past)	170.00	Bharvad, Koli, Ahir, Mer, Kanbi	Solid rod, simple or designs of flowers, stars, creepers, dots, etc.
43	Kambi	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	400 gm. (600 to 800 gm.)	170.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Solid rod with curved shape from the middle
44	Pagpan	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	100 gm. (150 gm.)	60.00	Kanbi, Bharvad	Leaves, flowers, creepers, geometrical design
45	Chhada/ Sankala (Angreji athdo)	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	15 gm.	5.50	Brahmin, Luhana, Bania, Suthar, Luhar, etc., advanced caste	Design of '8'
46	Zanzari	Anklet	Ankle	Female	Silver	2	25 gm.	9.00	Brahmin, Luhana Bania, Suthar, Luhar, etc., advanced caste	Star, flower, diamond with small ringling bells
47	Chapda	Toe-ornament	Both the big toes of feet	Female	Silver	2	40 gm.	17.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Simple, broad and flat ring from the middle portion
48	Anguthadi	Toe-ornament	Both the big toes of feet	Female	Silver	2	15 gm.	6.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Dots
49	Chhipni	Toe-ornament	First toe	Female	Silver	2	20 gm.	10.00	Kanbi Koli, Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Geometrical designs
50	Kaida	Toe-ornament	Second toe	Female	Silver	6	20 gm.	10.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Simple ring or ring having curves
51	Tachakada	Toe-ornament	Second toe	Female	Silver	6	40 gm.	20.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad Rabari, Ahir	Two simple rings and one with geometrical designs
52	Fuliya	Toe-ornament	Third, fourth and fifth toe	Female	Silver	6	30 gm.	15.00	Kanbi, Koli, Bharvad, Rabari, Ahir	Ring with a flower on a top
53	Button	Button	Shirt	Male	Silver	4	10 gm.	5.00	Bharvad, Kanbi	Flower, almond
54	Sat	Button with chain	Shirt	Male	Silver	4	60 gm.	30.00	Bharvad, Kanbi	Flower chain with small ringling bells

PRICE

V.8 In Rajkot, all these ornaments are mostly used for ornamental purposes by Ahir, Kharwa, Charan, Boricha, Kanbi, Rabari, Koli, Garasiya, Mer, Kathi, Bharvad castes while in Nadiad they are worn by Kshatriya community. The castes/communities like Darjee, Luhar, Suthar, Valand, Lohana, Brahmin, Bania, i. e., Hindu, Muslim and Jain also use some of them. Rural folk all over Gujarat for the most part wear these traditional ornaments. The main purpose behind it is investment for future security. The same types of ornaments have now come into fashion in urban area and are becoming popular with advanced castes and communities who have adopted them with certain changes in design and shape. They are :

STATEMENT VII

Price index of fashion articles

Sl. No.	Name of article	Unit	Weight	Price in Rs. 1964 June
1	2	3	4	5
1	Pin-buckle	Pair	10 gm.	2.87 to 3.12
2	Earrings	Pair	5 gm.	1.00 to 1.50
3	Nose-ring	Doz.	Less than 1 gm. each	4.00 to 5.00
4	Chain	No.	15 to 20 gm.	8.00 to 10.00
5	Necklace	No.	25 to 30 gm.	20.00
6	Button	No.	2 gm.	1.00
7	Armlet	Pair	45 to 50	13.00
8	Loose bangle	Pair	20 gm.	15.00
9	Bangles	No.	1 tola	3.00
10	Rings (for finger)	No.	2 to 3 gm.	Doz. 6.00 to 12.00
11	Waist-band	No.	5 to 50 tolas	15.00 to 150.00
12	Anklet	Pair	1 to 50 tolas	5.00 to 150.00
13	Ring (for toes)	Pair	3 to 4 gm.	1.50 to 2.00
14	Key-holder	No.	2 to 5 tolas	6.00 to 20.00

NOTE: (i) 3 tolas=35 grams (ii) Labour charges for one tola of ornament can be estimated at Re. 0.31 to 0.37.

PRODUCTION

V.9 Articles produced in the past are made even today with some variations. Those manufactured in the past were heavier in weight because of people's desire to invest their money in gold and silver. With refinement in the taste of the people and rise in the prices of precious metals, the ornaments now in use by the middle and upper classes are much lighter in weight. At present due to the introduction of Gold Control Order, the products of gold are very rare and the craftsmen have switched over to the application of their art to silver. All the ornaments which were formerly made of gold are now made of silver.

The annual production of the ornaments manufactured at Rajkot is estimated to Rs. 5,000,000. For Paddhari, it is assessed that silver ornaments of 100,000 *tolas* worth Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs are processed into finished products every year. In Palitana raw material is usually supplied by the customers and as such no definite particulars of goods produced are obtained during the survey but it is estimated that the artisans get about Rs. 3,500 per annum as labour charges. In most of the centres ornaments are produced per demand and so the question of storing the finished products does not arise at all. As soon as the work is over artisan delivers the goods to the customers.

SECTION VI

MARKETING

Sale Procedure

VI.1 Market is the most important aspect in the growth and development of any craft or industry. If there is no market or no facility of marketing, craft cannot flourish. In most of the centres like Anjar, Nadiad, Palitana, articles are made by the craftsmen to order and so the problem of marketing as such does not arise. Nearly all the centres have both local as well as outside market. In Rajkot the merchants from Surat, Bardoli, Ratlam, Indore, Haripur, etc., send precious metals to be formed in ornaments and wares. Lucknow, Amritsar, Banaras, Patna, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Nathdwara, Kanpur and Delhi also are the main centres of marketing. Nadiad artisans get their orders from the traders of Bombay, who export them to some eastern countries. Silver articles made at centres like Kutch and Paddhari are in great demand in some of the foreign countries. It has been observed that traditional jewellery which is mostly made of silver has a regular market in East Africa and Middle-east countries where most of the Gujarati merchants handle this trade through agents in Aden. A cooperative society at Mandvi has been able to capture a good market for ornaments known as 'Lezim'. It also sells various other types of village jewellery.

VI.2 Concentration of silver work in Palitana may be due to its religious importance and great centre of Jain pilgrimage to Shetrunjay, the 'city of temples', where articles for the deity are in great demand. Likewise the concentration of the silver work in Kutch may be attributed to the patronage of rulers.

Agency

VI.3 There is not a single specific method or agency for selling the finished products. Mostly the articles are sold on cash. But if the customers are familiar to artisans they sell them on credit for some period. As much of the work is done against remuneration for labour and skill involved the business is naturally conducted on cash payment. In Rajkot the merchants from Surat, Bardoli, Ratlam, Indore, Haripur, etc., supply the main raw material silver, through *angadia*, i. e., a system of transport of goods by establishments engaged in this work who employ their own men to carry articles from one place to another and deliver them in person to the consignee on payment of reasonable fees and the ornaments made on piece wage basis. Labour charges are also paid through the agency of *angadia*. In Rajkot there is one cooperative society established in 1963 which sometimes undertakes the sale of ready-made ornaments in the Bombay market. The cooperative society at Mandvi also sells finished products. Finished products are at times sold through agents, or cooperative society and often by the individual craftsman directly to the consumers.

Sale

VI.4 Before the finished products are delivered to the customers, they are wrapped in white or coloured tissue paper and put in paper box or card-board boxes. Costlier ornaments are put in a box padded with velvet.

VI.5 Field inquiry has shown that Rajkot makes ornaments worth about Rs. 5,000,000. In Nadiad also annual production of silver work is estimated to be Rs. 840,000 during 1964-65. Ornaments worth Rs. 5 lakhs are reported to be exported per year from Paddhari.

VI.6 Time lag between production and sale is very little as the articles are mostly made to order or in anticipation of demand in the near future. The demand is obviously greater during the marriage season when people generally go

in for ornaments. In rural area of Paddhari, articles manufactured are found to have been sold in larger quantity after the harvest time when the farmers get ready cash on hand. In all the centres except Palitana July to September are the months of slack season while October to June are the months of busy season. In Palitana February to October are the months of busy season and November to January are the months of slack season.

SECTION VII

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Capital Investment

VII.1 No craft can run without capital. Before a craft can be established an artisan or proprietor must have sufficient fund on hand to start with besides essential tools and equipments. It is estimated from local inquiry that in a centre like Paddhari, about a sum of Rs. 1,000 to 5,000 is required to be invested in tools and implements besides working capital to the tune of about Rs. 10,000 to 50,000. In Anjar it is estimated at Rs. 10,000 per unit, out of which about Rs. 1,000 are for tools and implements, Rs. 1,000 each for the rent of the building and labour charges and Rs. 7,000 for raw materials and miscellaneous expenses. Total investment in the craft at Palitana including that on workshop building, tools and implements is reported to be Rs. 15,000 while in Rajkot working capital alone is estimated to be Rs. 1,200,000. The economic status of choksy is better compared to that of artisans engaged in the craft. They purchase bullion on wholesale basis, pay for labour charges and get good profit on sale.

Source of Capital

VII.2 Establishments are for the most part run on individual basis. As the business is not carried on large scale basis the amount of capital required is also not very big. In most of the centres craftsmen are found to be working with their own capital and hardly like to borrow from others. As discussed earlier ornaments are made according to the demand of customers who supply the raw material, the artisans have not to provide their own capital. In Rajkot where ornaments and wares are made and stocked on an appreciable scales, large capital is to be invested by individual proprietors. A cooperative society was established in 1963 with the object of raising necessary funds from the bank and undertaking joint production and sale of ornaments; installing necessary machinery required for the craft and procuring raw material for the craft in bulk and supplying them to its members at a reasonable price.

VII.3 According to the survey of households conducted in different centres, it has been reported that out of 37 households surveyed in Rajkot, only one household had taken financial help of Rs. 2,000. In Palitana, out of 3 households two had borrowed Rs. 2,000 for the development of the business and the purchase of implements. This did not increase in any increase in production. In Mandvi, 12 had taken financial help amounting to Rs. 20,200 for the development of business, out of which 4 of them utilised it in increasing production.

Cost of Production

VII.4 Estimation of cost of production of finished products is very difficult as the articles are not of the same weight, same size, design and workmanship. Broadly speaking it can be said that the cost of production generally depends on the cost of the raw material, accessory materials and the labour charges to be paid to the labourers for their craftsmanship. This can be better reviewed by giving the cost of production of some articles which is supplied by the artisan at Nadiad with a view to have a general idea about the cost structure and profit accruing to the manufacturers.

The cost of manufacturing a silver cup of 100 grams is approximately as follows:

	June 1964 (in Rs.)
Main and subsidiary raw materials . .	37.00
Moulding and casting . . .	00.10
Rolling	00.30
Design-making	5.00
Polishing	00.60
Total	**43.00**

The cup is ordinarily sold at Rs. 44.50 in wholesale and Rs. 46.50 in retail.

The field inquiry at Rajkot has revealed the following facts about annual production at that centre.

Rs. 5,000,000–Price of ornaments
Rs. 4,500,000–Silver (raw material)
Rs. 200,000–Subsidiary raw material and other charges
Rs. 100,000–Remuneration paid to the workers
Rs. 200,000–Estimated profit

Below is given the estimated cost of production in respect of (i) *Pokhani/Toti*, (ii) *Chhada/Sankala* and (iii) *Pan dabo* or betel box of Rajkot with a view to give a comparative picture of the economic characteristics of the craft at that centre.

(i) *Pokhani/Toti*

VII.5 *Pokhani/Toti* or earring weighing 50 gm. is still worn by women on the tip of each ear. A chain attached to the earring is hung in the braid of hair with a hook at one end. This ornaments is made from pure silver metal. The mixture of any other metal say copper is avoided as it will create adverse effect on the ears on account of heat during summer. Approximate cost of production is computed as follows. A man can complete two pieces without the help of any machinery within 10 to 12 hours; within 8 hours if machinery is used in pressing and wire drawing.

	June 1964 (in Rs.)
Silver (Pure) 5 gm.	20.00
Labour charges (including refining, rolling, pressing charges, etc.)	4.00
Cost price	24.00
Profit	2.00
Sale price	26.00

(ii) *Chhada/Sankala*

VII.6 *Chhada/Sankala* or anklets of 10 to 25 gm. having shape like numeral '8' are worn on ankles by women. Its length varies from 9½" to 11" according to the measurement of the ankle. The cost of production is calculated approximately on the basis of a pair of 11" weighing 15 gm. One man can make a pair from ready-made wire within 2 hours.

	June 1964 (in Rs.)
Raw silver metal (Silver 80 per cent + 20 per cent copper) 15 gm.	4.50
Labour charges (including rolling, pressing and refining charges)	0.50
Cost price	5.00
Profit	0.50
Sale price	5.50

(iii) *Pan dabo*

VII.7 *Pan dabo* or betel box of 300 gm. having *jali* work is used by the well-to-do and also given as a presentation article on auspicious or ceremonial occasion. The particulars of cost of production are described below.

	June 1964 (in Rs.)
Raw silver metal (Silver 90 per cent + 10 per cent copper)	142.50
Plastic tin	2.50
Labour charges (including rolling, pressing, refining, etc.)	30.00
Cost price	175.00
Profit	5.00
Sale price	180.00

Analysis of the cost of production at various centres reveals that while the cost of material remains more or less the same, the labour charges fluctuate considerably for different products depending upon size, skill and craftmanship of the articles produced. After the introduction of Gold Control Order charges for making similar silver ornaments has gone up 2 or 3 times more in some of the ornaments.

(d) WAGE STRUCTURE

VII.8 There is no definite standard of wage structure in this craft. In some shops most of the workers are family members and all of them contribute to the work done. In some shops hired workers are engaged on monthly salary and sometimes on piece wage basis. At Nadiad most of the workers in silver are working on piece wage. Further investigation at Rajkot has shown that an artisan working in a refinery and rolling-pressing unit, earns Rs. 80 to 110 per month, whereas in the making of ornaments, a worker earns Rs. 50 to 100 per month. The monthly income of a worker in other branches of the craft is estimated to be Rs. 100 to 150 per month. About 1,000 workers

employed in this industry earn an annual remuneration of Rs. 100,000. Hundred women are also working at home on piece-wage system during leisure hours. The rates of remuneration are:

Preparation of hooks	Rs. 2 to 2.50	per 100
Polishing of rings (toes)	Re. 0.75	" 100
Polishing of rings (fingers)	Re. 0.50	" 100
Preparation of ring (toes)	Rs. 2	per 100 tolas
Knitting of anklets	Re. 0.37	per pair

VII.9 Generally the artisan works for 8 to 10 hours a day. In the peak season he may work even for 12 hours, while in the slack season about 6 hours a day. October to June, which correspond to the marriage season, are the busy months of the year and July to September are slack months.

The very nature of the craft precludes employment of women and children, though there are a few simple processes wherein their services are sometimes utilized. Children who go to school help his father after his school-hours. They do the minor works of the shop. Females also do the work like polishing of the ornaments, preparing the hooks, etc.

VII.10 In the past, in addition to the important Hindu holidays, the Sonis did not work on the dark eleventh and fifteenth of every month as also on the *vyatipat* and *vaidhrit* which number about three in a month. Some Gujjar Sonis do not work during the Paryushana or days of fast in August. After the introduction of Shops and Establishments Act, these days are not strictly observed but the shops remain closed once a week and on other days in the year which are mostly religious. It has been reported that the shops usually remain closed on Amas even today in the centres like Anjar and Paddhari. Over and above these days shops remain closed on the death of a Soni Mahajan, i.e., one of the members of the guild also. The total number of working days in a year comes approximately to 300.

SECTION VIII

ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Structure of the Craft

VIII.1 Craftsmen can be broadly classified according to conditions of work into three groups (i) independent or self-employed craftsmen, (ii) craftsmen working for master craftsmen or dealers on daily wages or piecework system and (iii) craftsmen working for cooperative societies.

Independent or self-employed craftsmen are more common in villages and smaller towns. But in larger towns and cities craftsmen working on wages are found in good number. The general practice is to make ornaments to order. But in larger commercial centres they are also made and stored for sale according to the financial capacity of the owner. While working at home, they sometimes take assistance of female members in certain minor processes worked at home.

Those employed by others are mere wage-earners either on time basis or piece-wages according to the nature of articles to be made and the skill required.

Wherever cooperative societies undertake production through member artisans, craftsmen work for society on piece-rates. The society supplies the raw material to member artisans who shape them into the requisite finished articles and deliver them back to the society, which arranges for their sale and distributes the profit among the member craftsmen according to the number of shares held by each.

Association and Cooperation

VIII.2 In the present-day economy, it has been realised by the workers that cooperation is a necessary factor for developing a competitive industry, eliminate middleman's profit, procure raw material and promote sale. With this end in view cooperative societies have been formed in Rajkot, Mandvi and Nadiad to help their members. In Rajkot such a society was organised in September 1963. Rajkot Choksy Association was also organised about 7 or 8 years ago with a membership of 50 persons. A person desirous of joining the association has to pay Rs. 11 as entrance fee plus the yearly contribution of Rs. 3. The Association used to refine gold and make available these gold bars for sale before the introduction of Gold Control Order 1963.

Cooperative Society

VIII.3 After the introduction of the Gold Control Order it was very difficult for the artisan to get gold and have enough work in the absence of this precious metal. Cooperation was considered to be the most effective remedy to meet the situation. The artisans, therefore, formed themselves into 'Rajkot Sona Chandi Udyog Mandali Ltd.,' on September 24, 1963 as a result of the constant efforts made by the office of the Pilot Project Officer, Rajkot division.

The main objects of the society are :

(1) to borrow necessary funds from the bank and to undertake joint production and sale of gold and silver ornaments;
(2) to undertake export of articles manufactured by the society;
(3) to install necessary machinery required to improve the working of the craft;
(4) to procure in bulk raw materials required for this craft and to supply them to its members at a reasonable price; and
(5) to undertake all ancillary activity in the interest of the members connected with the craft.

Membership

VIII.4 The membership is open to any artisan engaged in this craft and residing in Rajkot, but not elsewhere. There are 7 directors of the society of whom 6 are from artisans and

dealers and one is a sympathiser. Artisan desiring to become a member of the society pays Re. 1 as admission fee. The total number of existing members today is 27 including 2 sympathisers.

CAPITAL STRUCTURE

VIII.5 Authorised share capital of the society is Rs. 20,000 only. The total number of shares sold till today are 125. The existing share capital is Rs. 3,125. Government also has contributed Rs. 3,000 towards share capital of the society repayable after 15 years. The total amount of paid up share capital of the society thus comes to Rs. 6,125. The society has received Rs. 299 from the Government as subsidy in 1963-64 towards the expenses of management.

The society was granted Rs. 10,000 by way of cash credit in the year 1964 at 2½ per cent interest by the Saurashtra Small Scale Industrial Cooperative Bank Limited, Rajkot to be repaid in November 1966. The society has attempted to get a loan of Rs. 20,000 from Saurashtra Small Scale Industrial Cooperative Bank Limited, Rajkot with a view to keep the craft alive. Its activity is likely to suffer if the loan is not sanctioned. As the prices of silver fluctuate from day to day the society has not operated cash credit so far and has not started regular production till today because of insufficient finance. Total purchases and sales of the society during the years 1963 and 1964 came to Rs. 8,613 and Rs. 5,972.50 respectively.

VIII.6 There is one cooperative society of silver-goldsmiths, namely, The Soni Udyogi Sahakari Mandali Limited at Mandvi established in 1954, constituting 50 members—45 artisans and 5 sympathisers. The society had started functioning from the following year. It authorised capital is Rs. 20,000. The paid-up capital of the Mandali amounts to Rs. 6,455 of which a sum of Rs. 3,000 has been contributed by the State Government towards its share capital. In 1960, the society obtained a loan of Rs. 15,000 towards its working capital from the Rajkot Small Industries Bank Limited, Rajkot, and another loan of Rs. 1,500 from the State Government towards the purchase of tools and equipments.

The society purchases silver from Bombay on wholesale basis and supplies it to its members and gets specified articles prepared by them on the payment of piece-rate wages. The society also purchases ready-made silver ornaments from artisan members and sells them. Gold articles are not produced as it being costly, demands large investment. The society is able to provide work only to 30 members and the rest have to seek work outside. It serves as a common facility centre where its members can have the use of a wire-drawing machine installed in its premises.

VIII.7 Confronted as it is with the problem of marketing, the society is not in a position to expand its production activities so as to provide regular work to all its members. The loss of Aden market for silver articles on account of relatively higher prices of silver in India, has further aggravated the marketing problem. The society can undertake purchase and sale of gold and equipments required for the craft if the import policy of the Government is favourable. The society cannot undertake any business on credit basis as it has got limited financial resources which remain mostly locked up in bullion to be given to the artisans for making ornaments on piece-wage system. The society feels that share capital should be raised for the development of the craft. The society has also requested the State Government to make necessary arrangements for the purchase of enamel colours.

VIII.8 In the past it was not difficult for the artisans to work in gold and silver as they enjoyed patronage of ruling princes. After the integration of princely States it suddenly came to an end causing certain degree of unemployment which was further aggravated by the Gold Control Order of 1963. Finance was a serious handicap which they tried to overcome at Nadiad by forming a cooperative society on 15th June, 1960 with an initial membership of 19. The society was styled "Shree Nadiad Chandi, Pittal Nakshikaroni Audyogic Sahakari Mandali Limited". Today the society has 44 members and one sympathiser. Every artisan is entitled to be enrolled as a member of the society by paying Re. 1 as admission fee. It has enabled artisans to get reasonable compensation for their labour and freed them from exploitation of the dealers. The society supplies raw materials,

solves their financial problems and undertakes responsibility for the sale of finished products, besides providing work to the artisans working in silver and brass.

During the year 1964-65 (i.e., from 1st July, 1964 to 30th June, 1965), the society has sold artistic silver ornaments in the various cities of India and paid Rs. 5,151.61 as labour charges to the member artisans of the society. With the introduction of Gold Control Order workers in gold have started working in silver.

TRAINING

VIII.9 As found in most of the centres the craft is a traditional one handed down from generation to generation. The training that was imparted was on the basis of apprenticeship in a goldsmith's shop either of the family or some relative or acquaintance, where training is acquired in all types of work by actually working in the craft.

In the past, some secrets of shaping the ornaments and work of enamelling, engraving, etc., were not shown to other artisans outside the family circle. In one case a goldsmith was found keeping some electrical arrangement of passing electrical currents on the staircase to prevent anybody coming up.

With the influx of time the articles produced had to face the competition of foreign imitation goods and it was realised that some sort of training would help develop the craft. In order to impart systematic and scientific training to artisan in various processes involved in the making of ornaments, an institution under the auspices of 'Akhil Hind Shrimali Soni Mahamandal, Rajkot' was established in 1947.

Akhil Hind Shrimali Soni Mahamandal Training Institute, Rajkot

VIII.10 Any person having aptitude for gold and silver work is admitted to the institution. The classes are conducted in two shifts, one in afternoon from 12 noon to 6 p.m. and the other at night from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. Fees are to be paid at the rate of Rs. 5 per month for afternoon classes and Rs. 2 for night classes, with provision for freeship for deserving candidates. Residential facilities are also extended to the trainees coming from outside. Each trainee has to purchase implements worth Rs. 300 on his own during the period of training. The total expenditure both recurring and non-recurring comes to Rs. 3,500 per year and whenever there is any deficiency, the loss is met by contributions from the community fund.

Detailed theoretical and practical training in drawing including designs of various types, engraving and diamond setting, manufacturing of *bhat* pattern ornaments, enamel and dip work, etc., is imparted to the trainees. The course is ordinarily for one year but the trainees who complete their course within a year and acquire the desired standard of efficiency are relieved earlier.

VIII.11 About 700 trainees are trained in this institution. In the year 1963, 56 candidates were trained in the institution. A merit certificate is being awarded to the successful trainees by the institute. Though there is no special programme to follow up the trained students, all of them are settled in the craft.

The institution is the only one of its kind in India. Students from other States are also coming here for training. This year a student from Manipur was sponsored by the All-India Handicrafts Board. Rajkot is perhaps the only centre in Gujarat where such a private school is run to impart such a perfect training to the candidates of all castes and communities.

Shri Vishvakarma Hunnarshala

VIII.12 Attempts were also made in the past to establish a private training school, as a result of which 'Shri Vishvakarma Hunnarshala' was started in 1942 but no details are available regarding it.

Rajkot Engraving School No. 1

VIII.13 There is another school, namely 'Rajkot Engraving School No. 1' established by Gagubhai Khushalbhai Soni in 1935. The particulars of the school are as follows:

It is said that the famous Soni artisan of Jamnagar, late Purshottamdas Jadavji, who had written a book entitled 'Soni Hunner Prakash' published in 1907 had thought of establishing a training school but could not do so due to his old age and other hindrances. This inspired another Soni craftsman, Gagubhai Khushalbhai to

establish Rajkot Engraving School No. 1 in Rajkot. When Morvi State came into the existence, this family came to Morvi from Kutch and settled there as State goldsmith. Gagubhai also worked in Bombay for sometime. The father and grandfather of Gagubhai had also worked in Bombay. Most of the trainees are of Soni caste as the basic knowledge required for training is usually found in students of this caste only.

VIII.14 A person who joins this school has to pay a monthly fee of Rs. 10 to 20 according to the work selected for training. Each trainee has to work for 8 hours a day. No definite period is prescribed for training. It depends on the grasping power of the trainee concerned. Though the average period of the training is 14 months a student with good grasping power can complete the course within 6 months also. The training imparted is essentially practical, and the trainee has neither to read nor write any papers.

Students from various parts of the country like Marwar, Punjab as well as from far off countries of South and East Africa, viz., Kenya, Yuganda, Tanganika, Zanzibar, Madagaskar, Mozambique and Natal have taken training in this institution, which has turned out about 600 to 700 students in various fields of ornament making.

Bhanvad Pattani Soni Gnati Hunnarshala

VIII.15 There was another training school namely 'Bhanvad Pattani Soni Gnati Hunnarshala' which was established on 15th December, 1959. It trained about 75 students within period of 3 years. After the introduction of Gold Control Order the crafts has suffered reverses resulting in closing of such centres.

SECTION IX

CONCLUSION

IX.1 ALTHOUGH the foregoing pages deal with the craft of silversmithy at a few important centres in Gujarat, this craft is so widespread that there is hardly a village or a town where a gold or silversmith is not found. The art of silver and goldsmithy in India is very old and its references are found even in the Rigved, Ramayan, Mahabharat and various other books. Ramayan and Mahabharat offer abundant evidence to show that Hindus were perfectly familiar with gold and silver work. The fascination to decorate oneself with silver and gold jewellery is so innate that it has been in existence since ages. Even today there is hardly a household which lacks gold or silver jewellery to adorn its femalefolk. Fancy for ornaments is inherent in human nature and interwoven with the social life of the people which has given rise to the age-old custom of presenting them to the bride at the time of marriage. This along with their utility and value as an undoubted means of social security in the hour of stress have greatly contributed to their immense popularity and demand by the various strata of society, high and low. Ornaments also reveal through the variety of their designs and shape, the stage of culture and civilization the people have attained, as can be seen from the exquisite pieces of jewellery which adorn both males and females in the frescoes of Ajanta and stone sculptures of Ellora and numerous other places all over India.

IX.2 Though the craft is widely practised, there are certain centres which have acquired fame for special designs which at times are confined to a few families only. There are peculiarities also in the shapes and designs of ornaments of different tribes and castes worked at different centres. The silversmiths very skilfully satisfy the aesthetic taste of all strata of the society. Besides ornaments for mass consumption, highly artistic articles and wares were manufactured in the past by renowned craftsmen for ruling families and the wealthy. Though the patronage from ruling families has practically disappeared after independence and the production of beautiful artwares has suffered a severe set-back, even today there are some centres which are renowned for the making of artistic ornaments and wares. The craft is also adversely affected by cheap imitation jewellery amply available in the market. The demand for ritual objects has also decreased considerably because of change in the attitude of people towards religion. For obvious reasons the present generation is more inclined towards cheaper articles owing to high prices of bullion, which is in greater demand than ever before by Governments of the world to back up their currency.

IX.3 Since silver has taken the place of gold to an appreciable extent after the introduction of Gold Control Order, 1963 restricting the use of gold to the making of ornaments of 14 carat only, silver work has a bright future. Demand for silver ornaments is naturally on increase, as people who can afford gold ornaments at its present price are few and far between. Various silver ornaments like *collar*, necklace, earrings, key-holders, etc., having artistic appeal have come into fashion. The old idea of holding wealth in the form of jewellery is fast changing as alternate facilities for investment are now readily available. This has naturally created a demand for light ornaments with artistic designs. The liking of the people for traditional designs in ornaments, as in case of other articles produced in the past, is an added factor which has contributed further to the extension of the market for silver ornaments in general and traditional ones in particular.

IX.4 The following are some of the steps that may be taken for the promotion of the craft.

(1) Marketing should be properly organised particularly in towns and cities. With a view

to build up market in foreign countries, highly artistic articles of jewellery and wares formerly made for the ruling princes should be exhibited in emporia and advertised in the country and abroad.

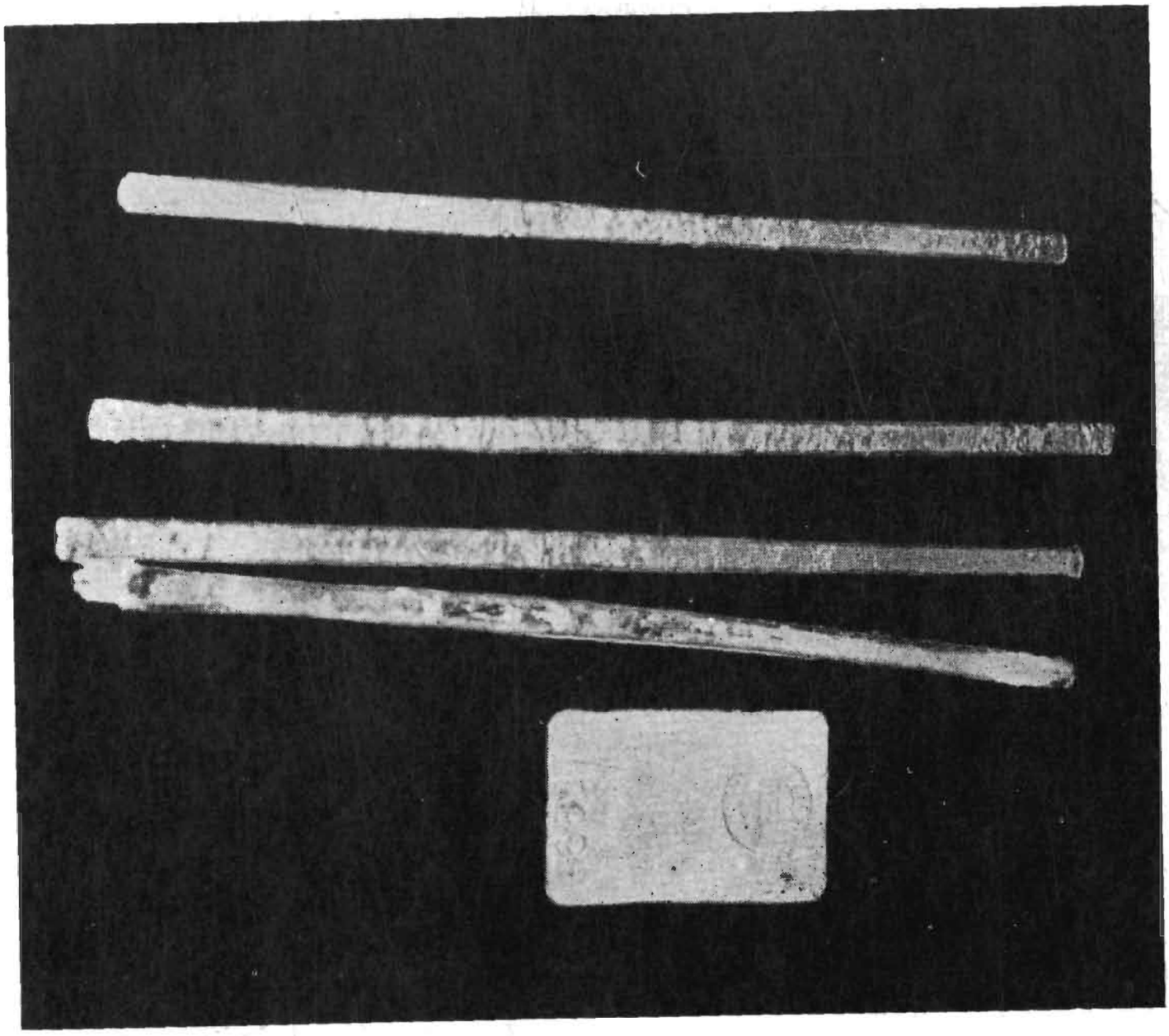
(2) Labour and time-saving devices should be introduced in the equipments and appliances used by the craftsmen.

(3) Traditional designs should be revived and the new designs furnished through National Designs Institute.

(4) Publicity and propaganda should be undertaken in the country and outside through modern means of publicity.

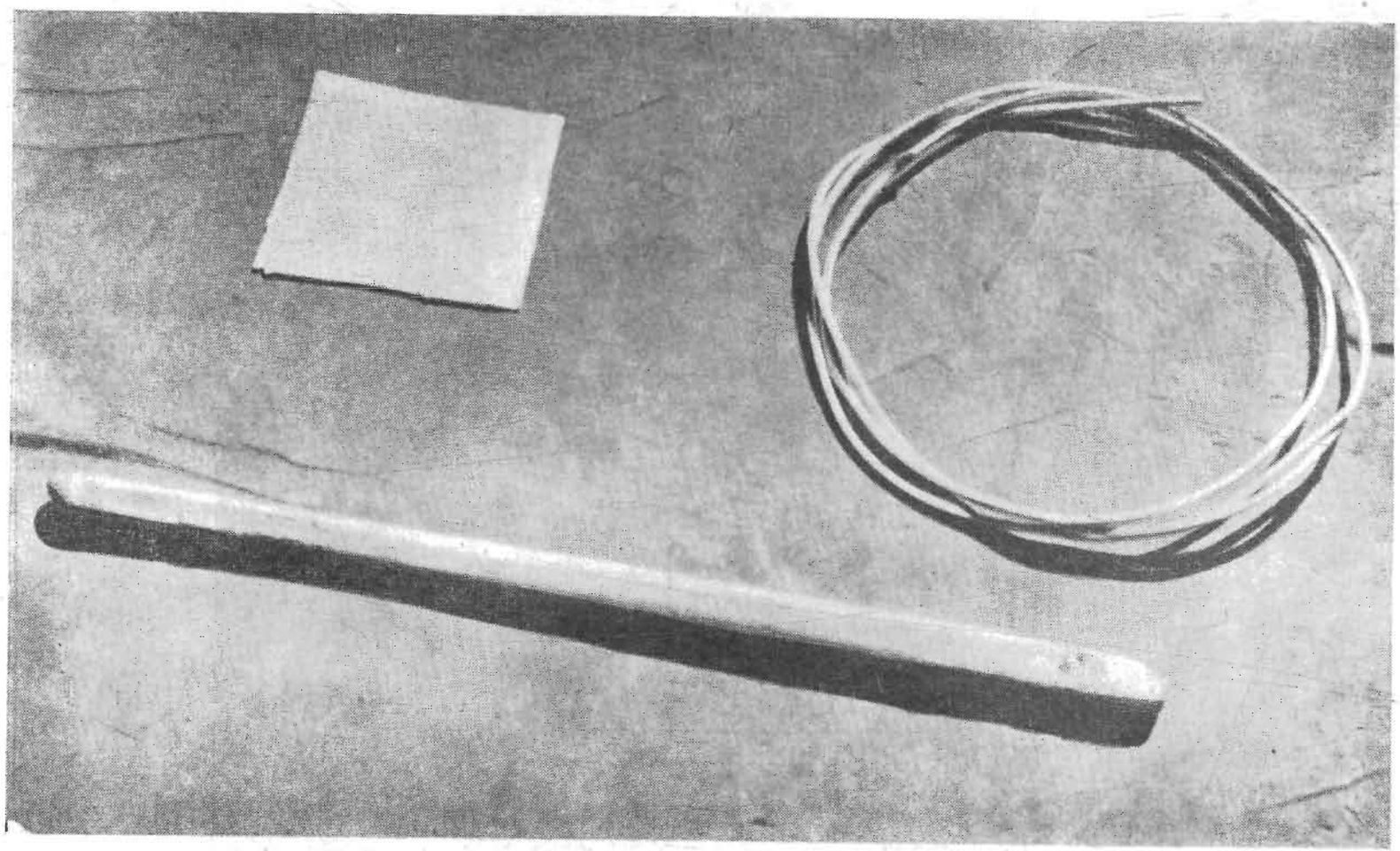
(5) There is a scope for widening the use of photographic and multi-colour enamel work. Standard enamel required for the purpose being not available in the country may be made available by import.

PLATES



Silver bars and silver nugget

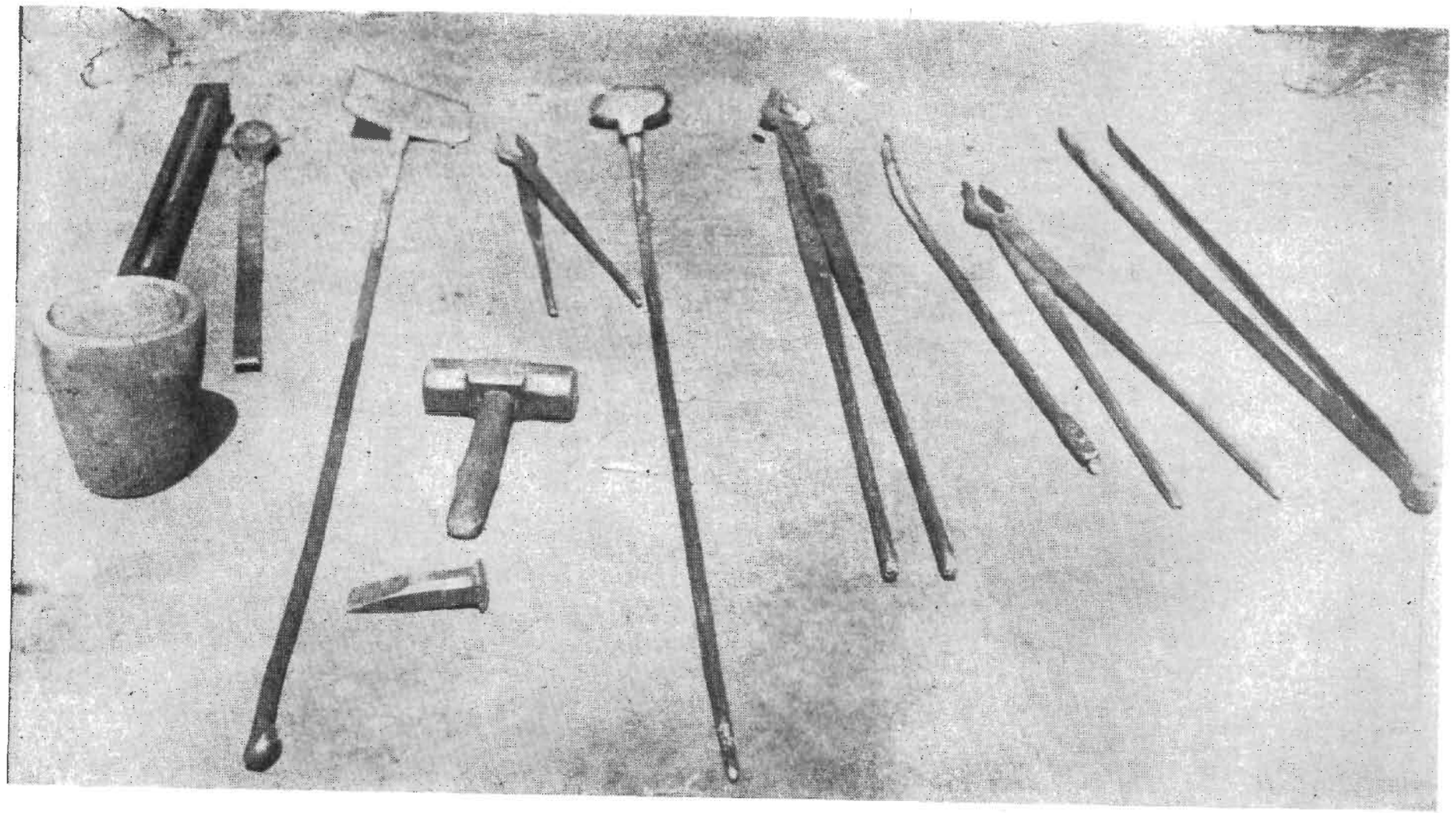
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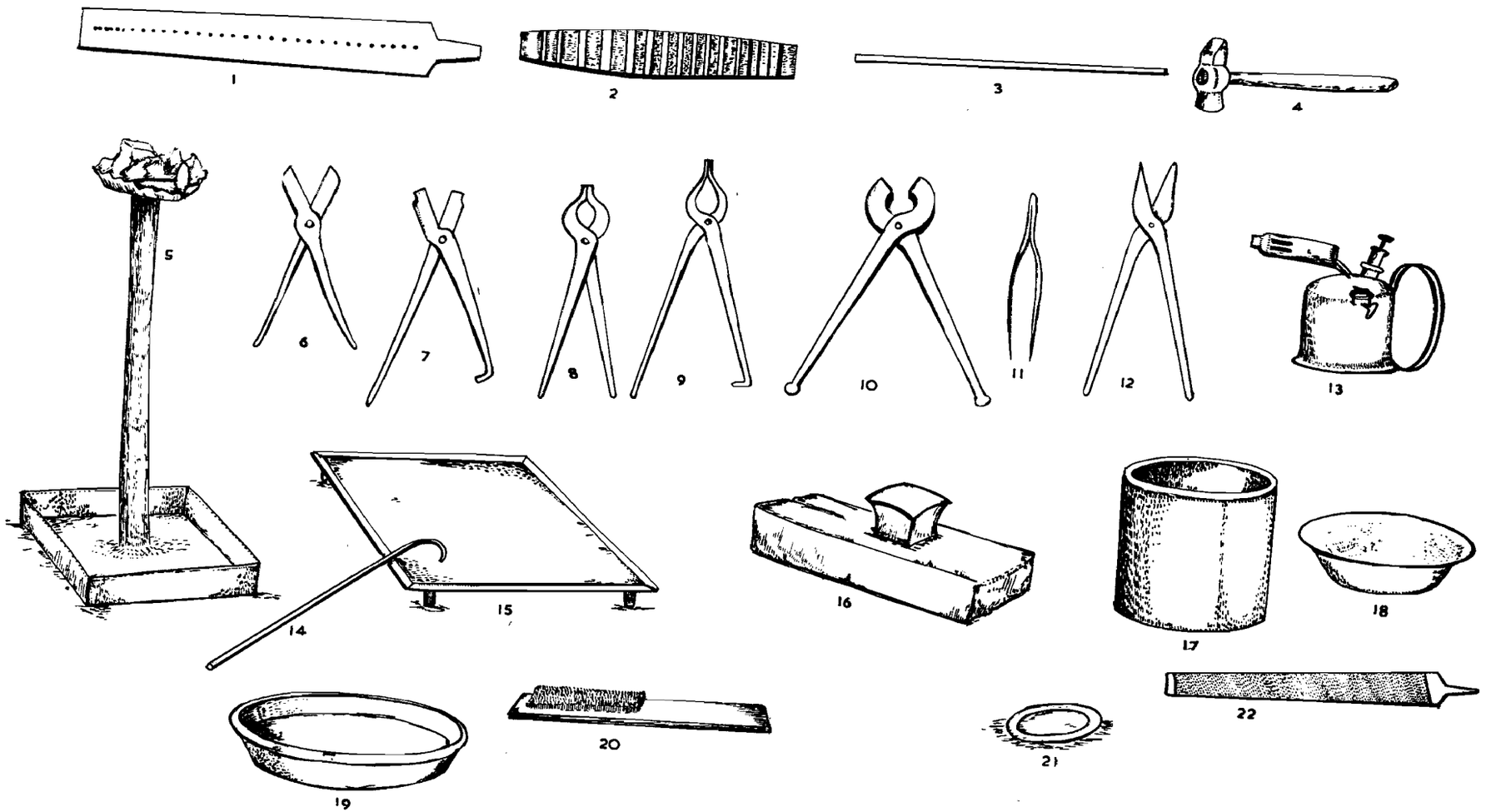
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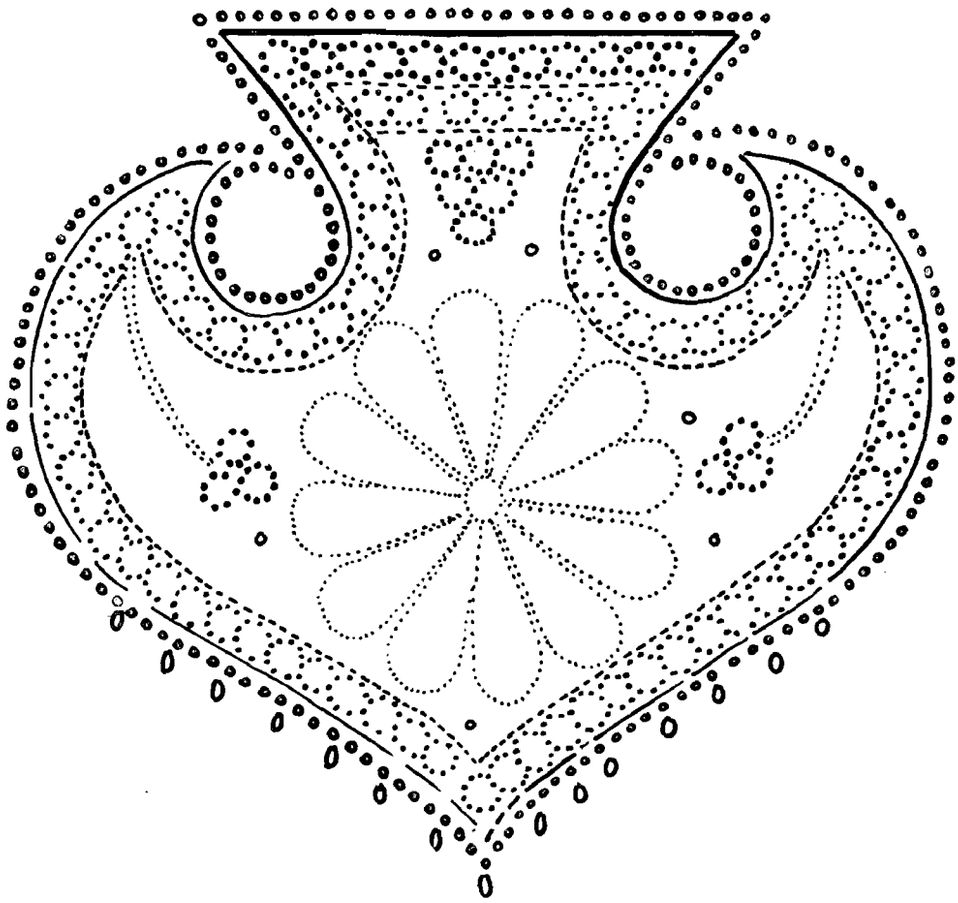
Silver sheet, wire and bar



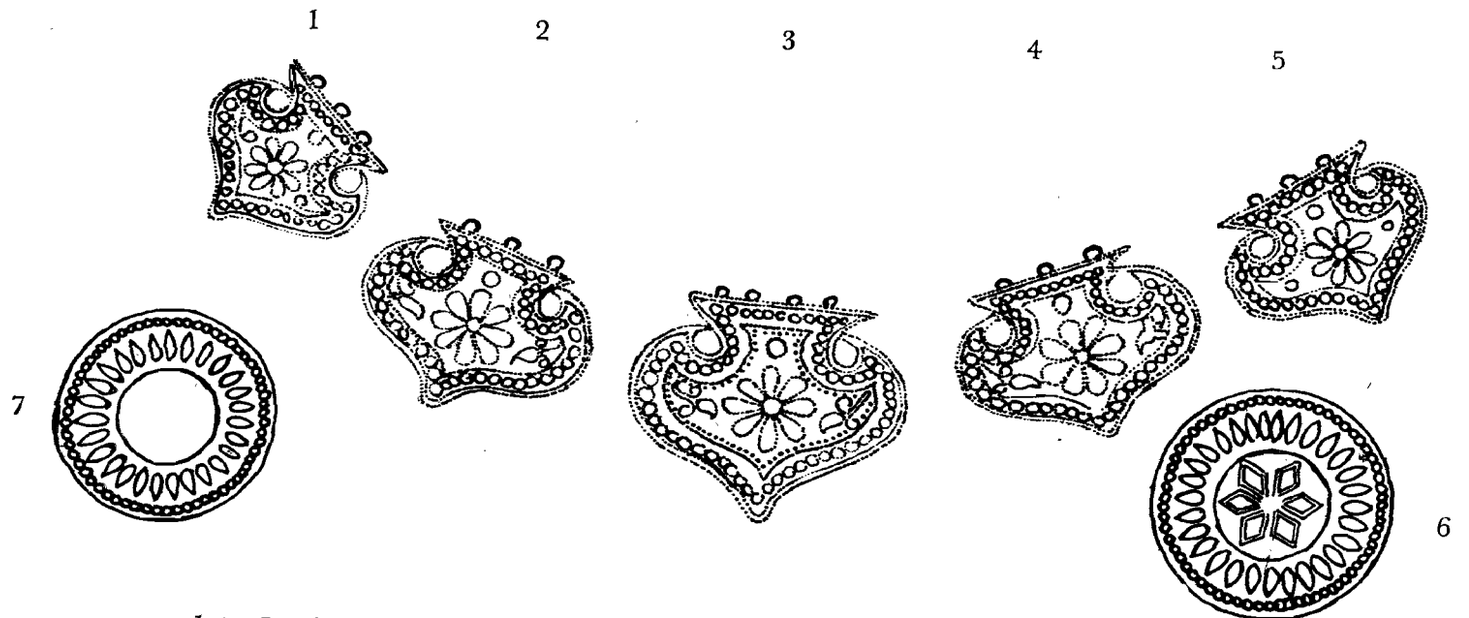
TOOLS : *1. Mus (Crucible); 2. Rejo (Mould); 3 and 12. Chipiyo (Fork); 4 and 8. Tavetho (Ladle); 5, 9 and 11. Sansi (Pincers); 6. Hathodo (Hammer); 7. Chhini (Chisel) and 10. Lagiyo (Curved iron rod)*



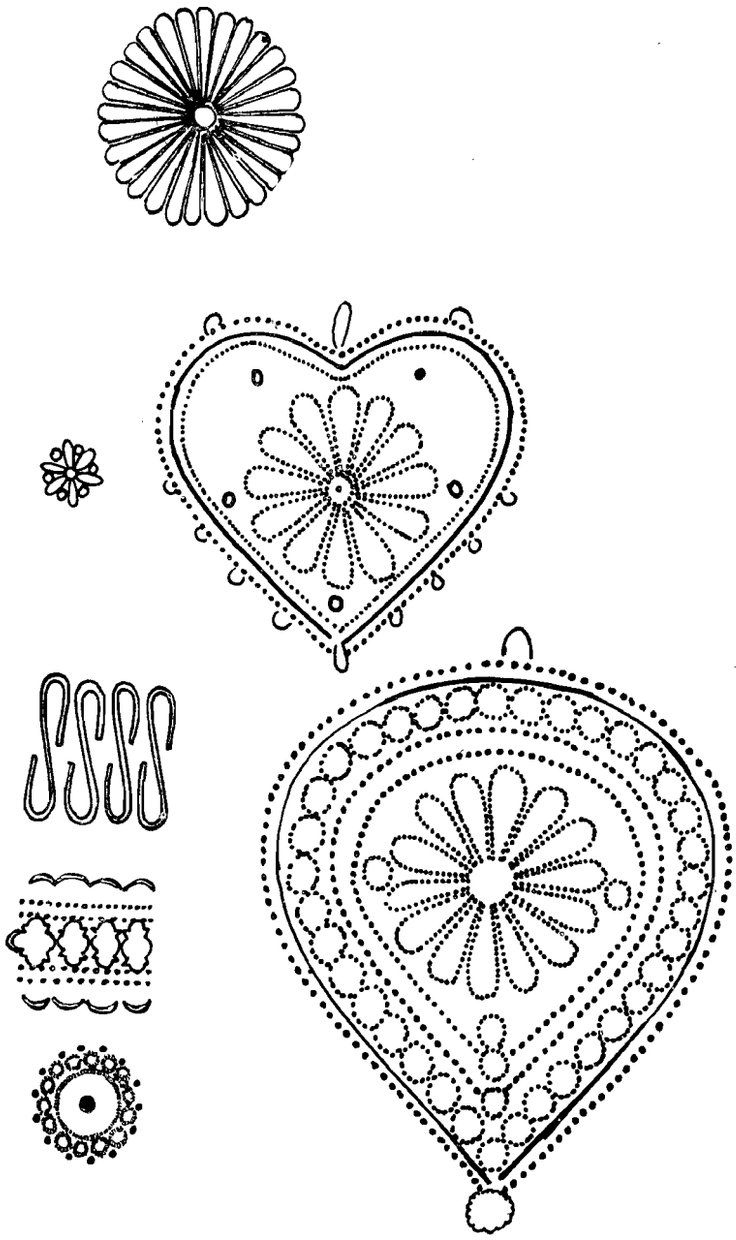
TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS : *1. Jatardo (Holed-strip); 2. Kaida patti (Strip); 3. Lagiyo (Curved iron rod); 4. Hathodi (Hammer); 5. Divi (Lamp stand); 6, 7 and 12. Kapni (Shears); 8 and 9. Sansi (Pincers); 10. Pakkad (Pliers); 11. Chipiyo (Fork); 13. Stove; 14. Divadhami (Blowpipe); 15. Patli made of wood for keeping soldering and other implements; 16. Eran (Anvil); 17. Pavalu (Pail); 18. Tub; 19. Earthen vessel; 20. Brush; 21. Tin plate and 22. Kanas (File)*



Traditional design on a silver pendant known as potaliya — a neck ornament worn by Kanbi woman

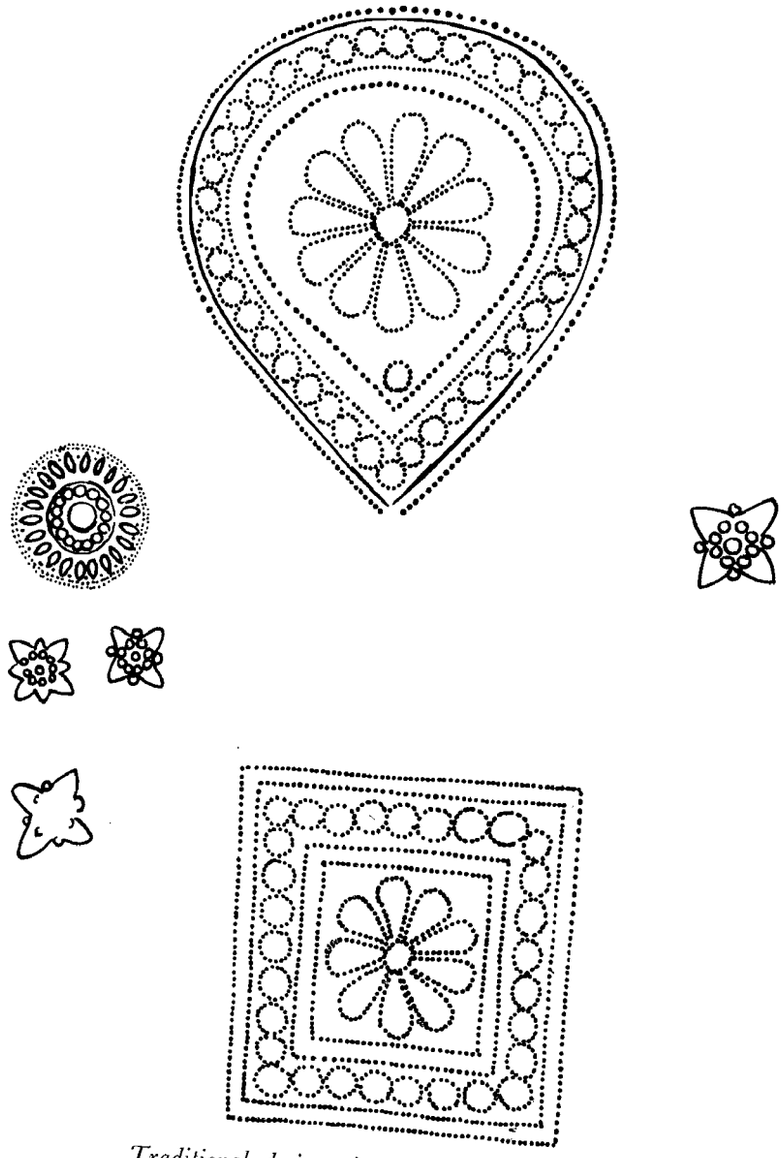


1 to 5. Traditional designs of pendants—a neck ornament called 'potaliya'; 6. Front and 7. Rear of 'pokhani' an ear ornament

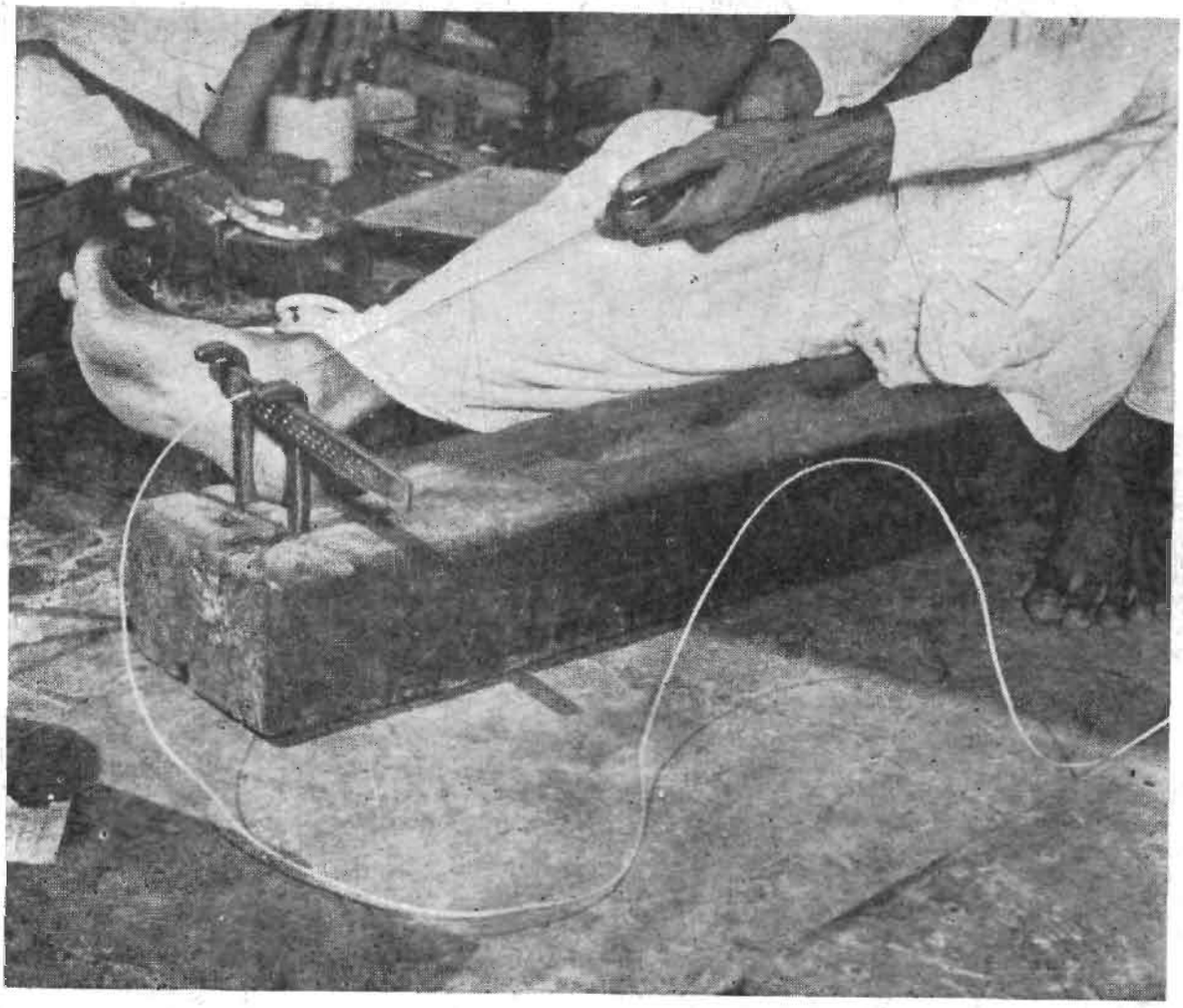


Some more designs

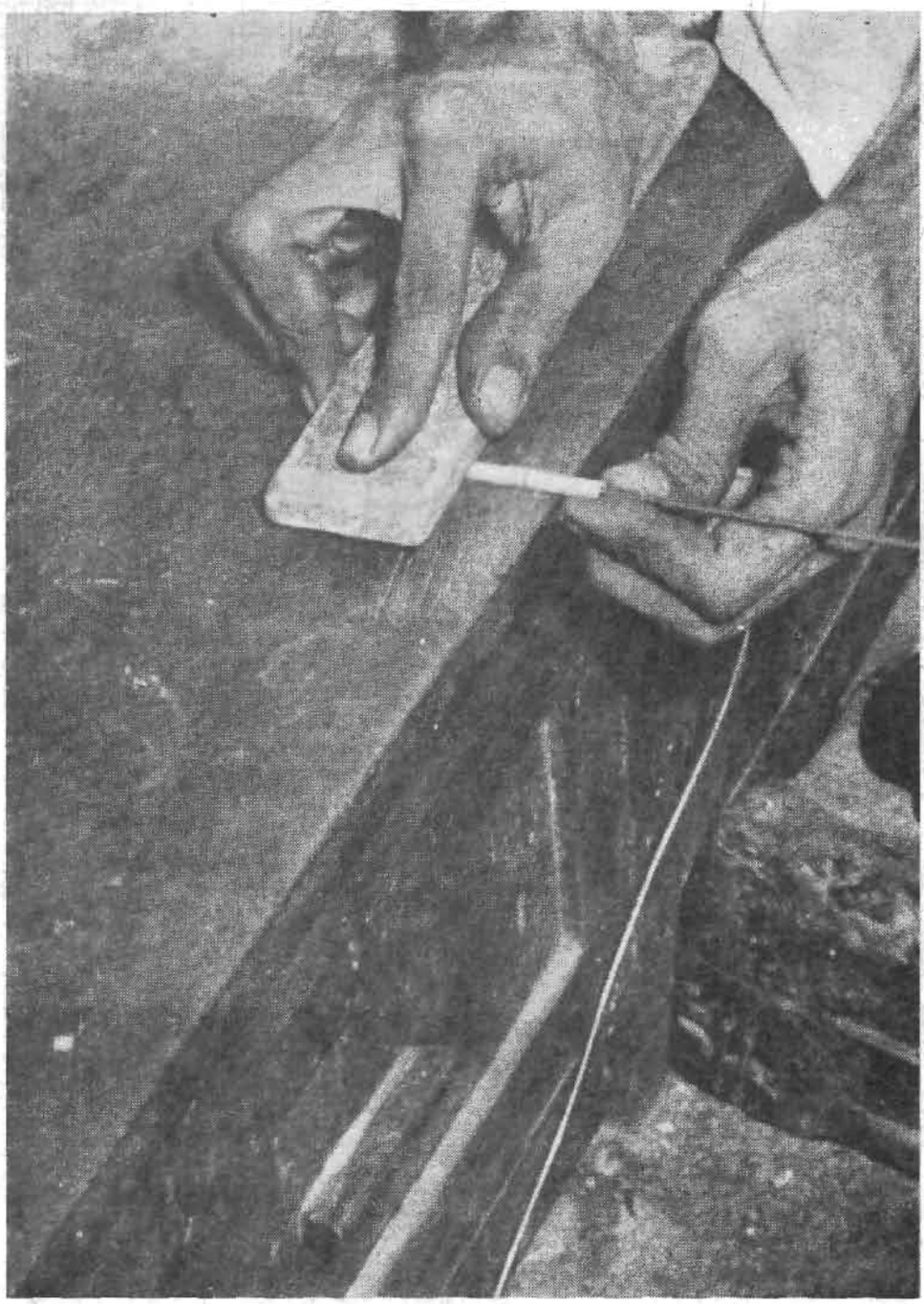
PLATE VIII



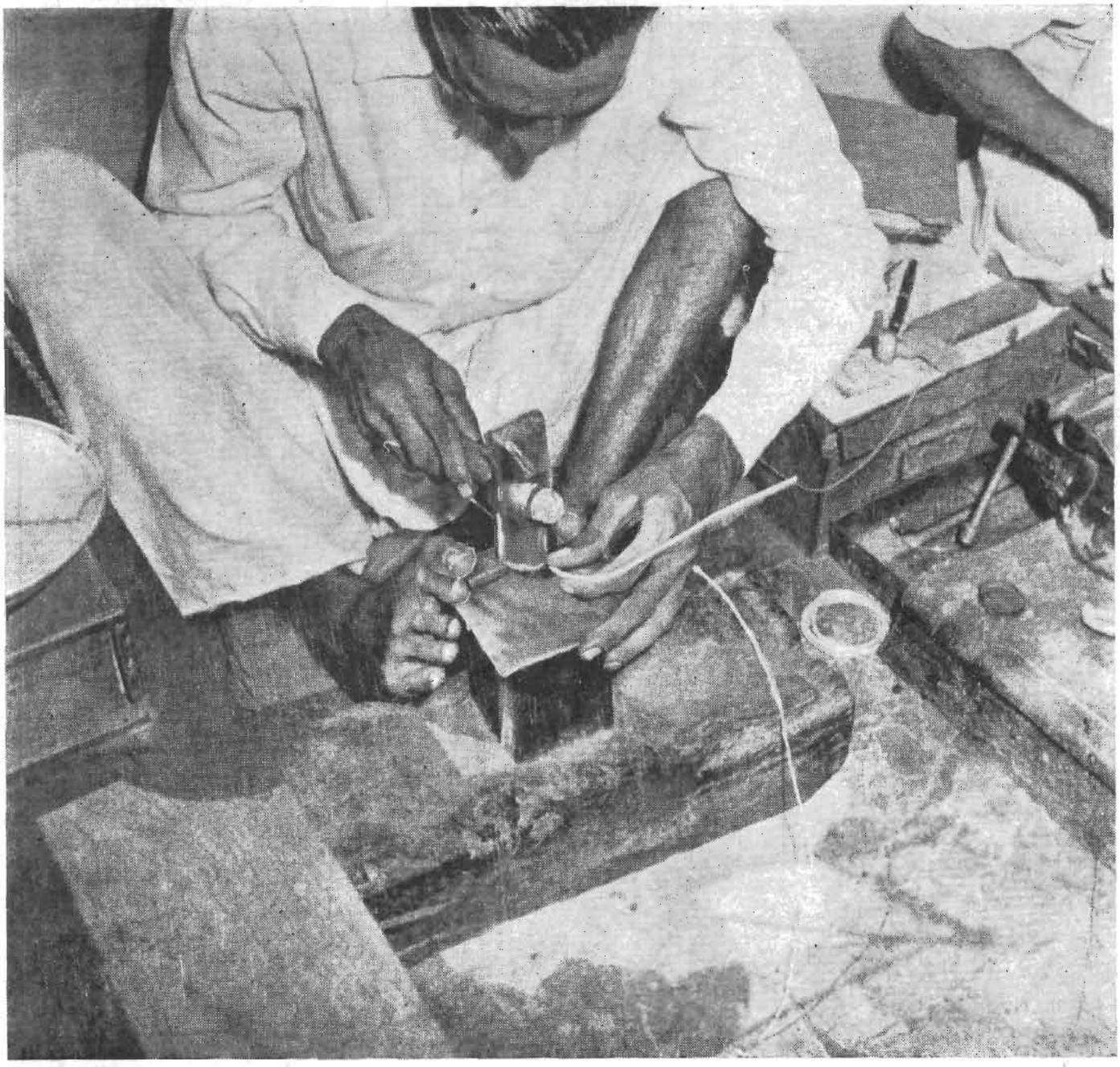
Traditional designs in pendants



Wire-drawing — a manual operation



Winding wire to make a coil

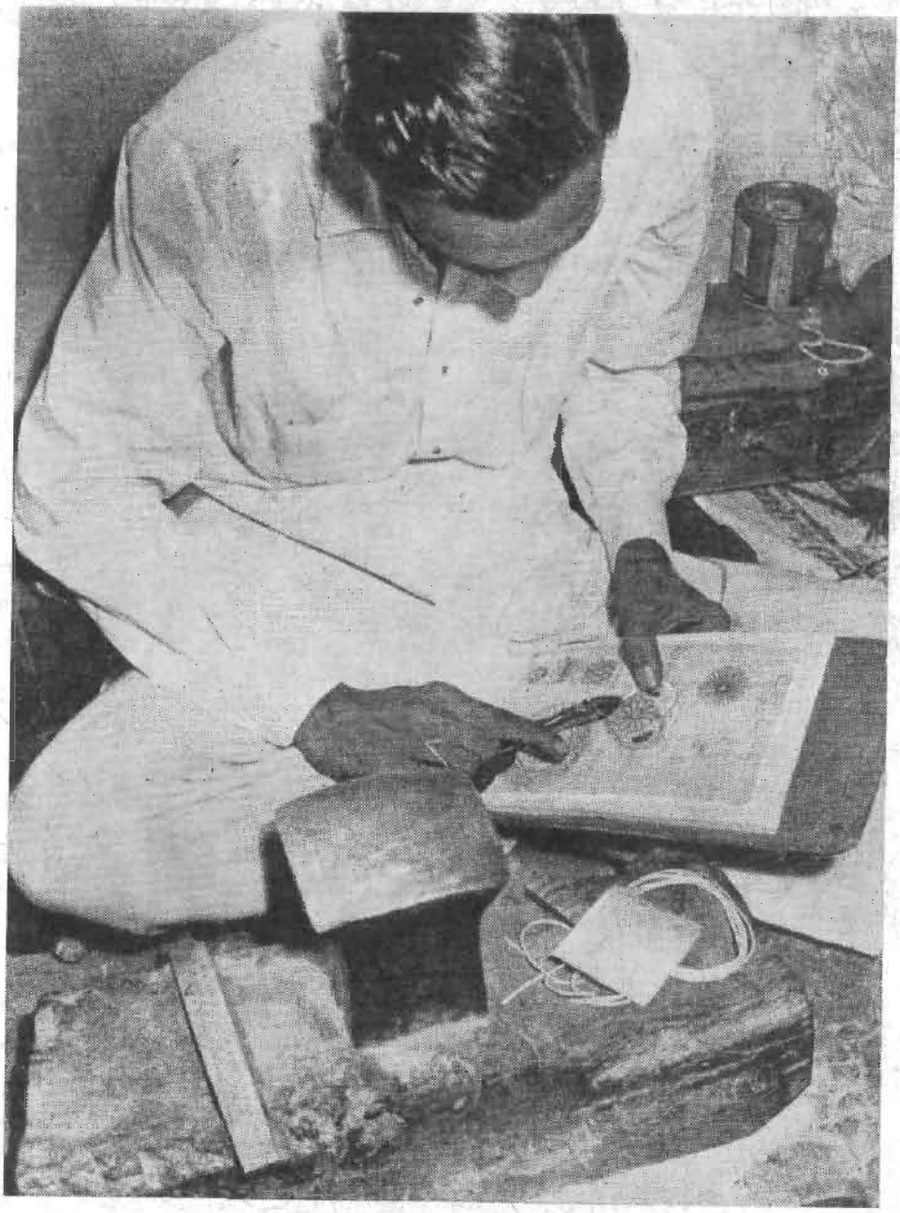


Flattening the wire

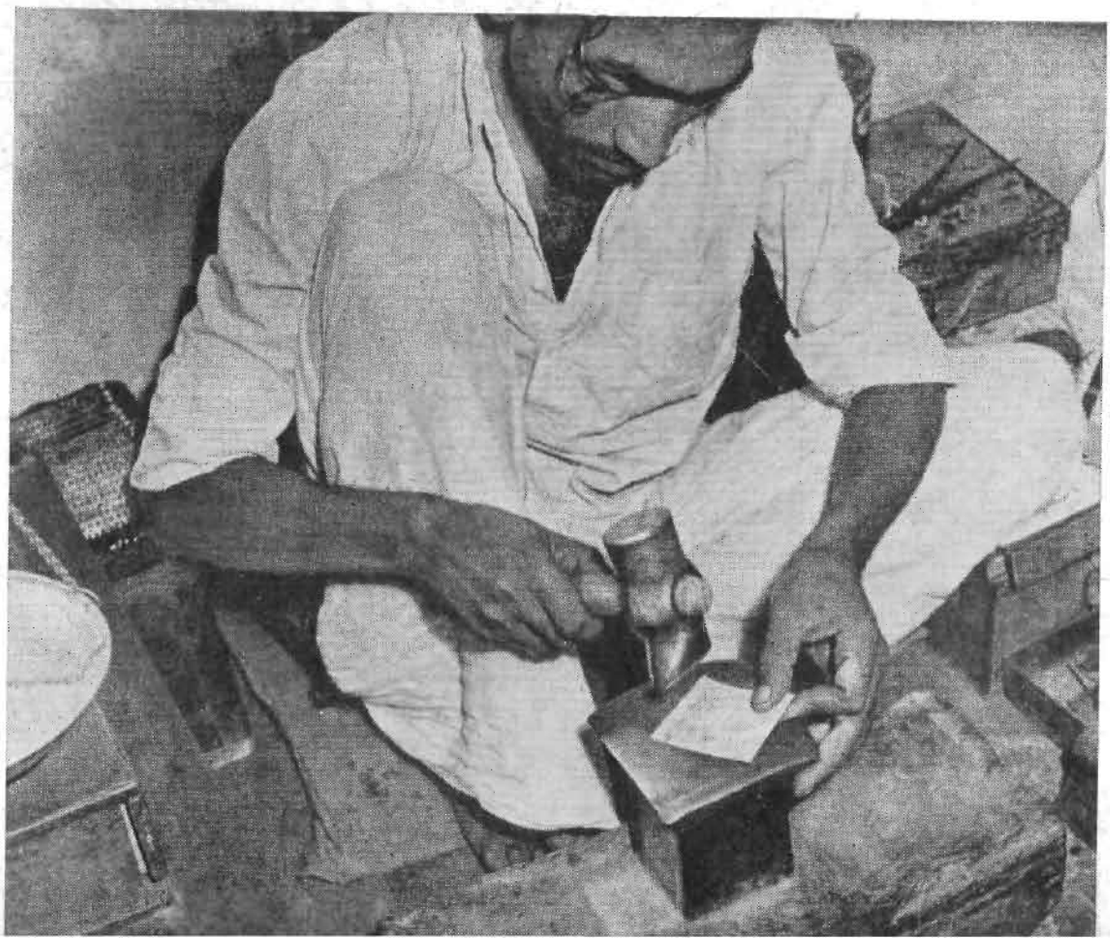
PLATE XII



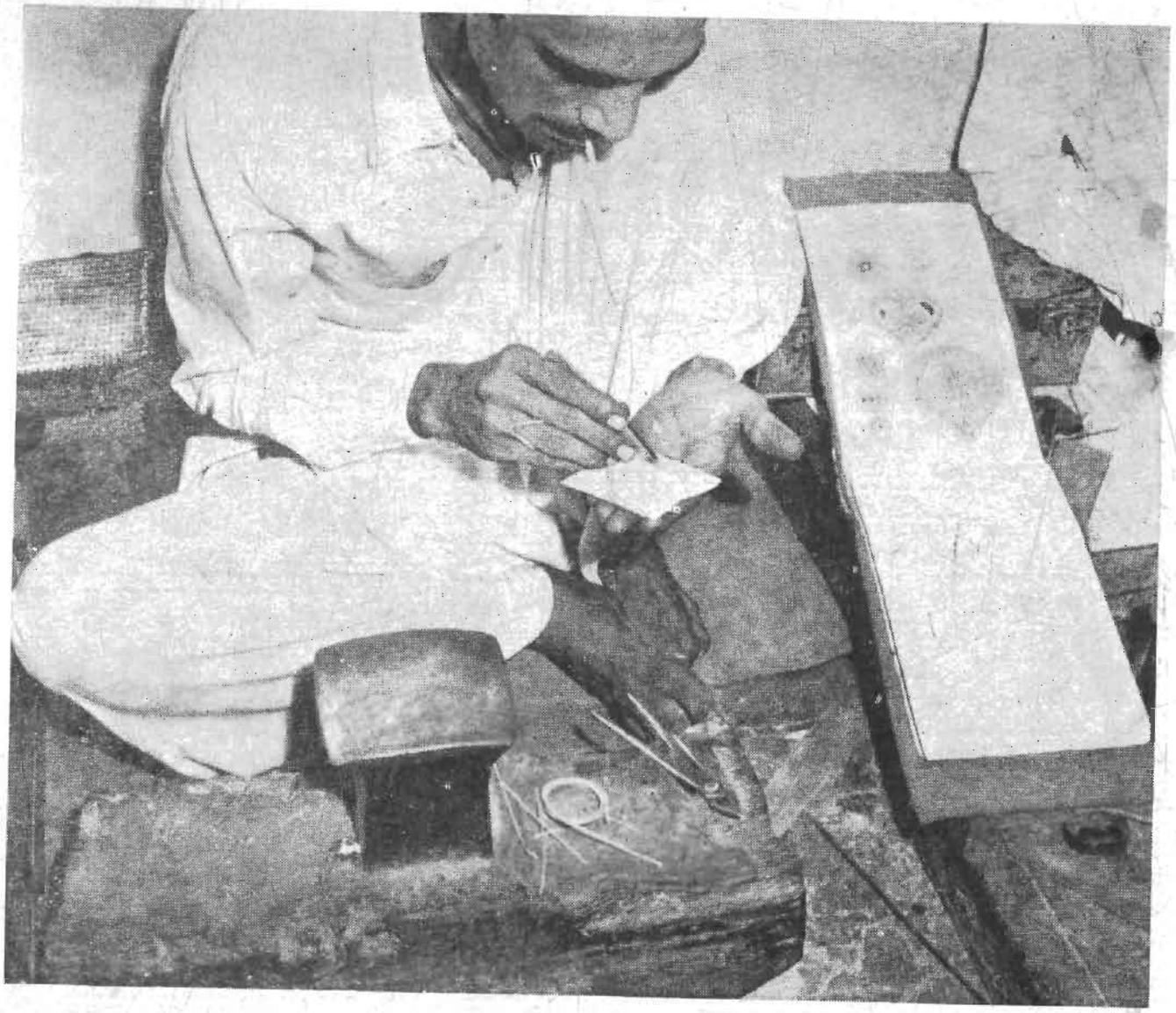
Heating



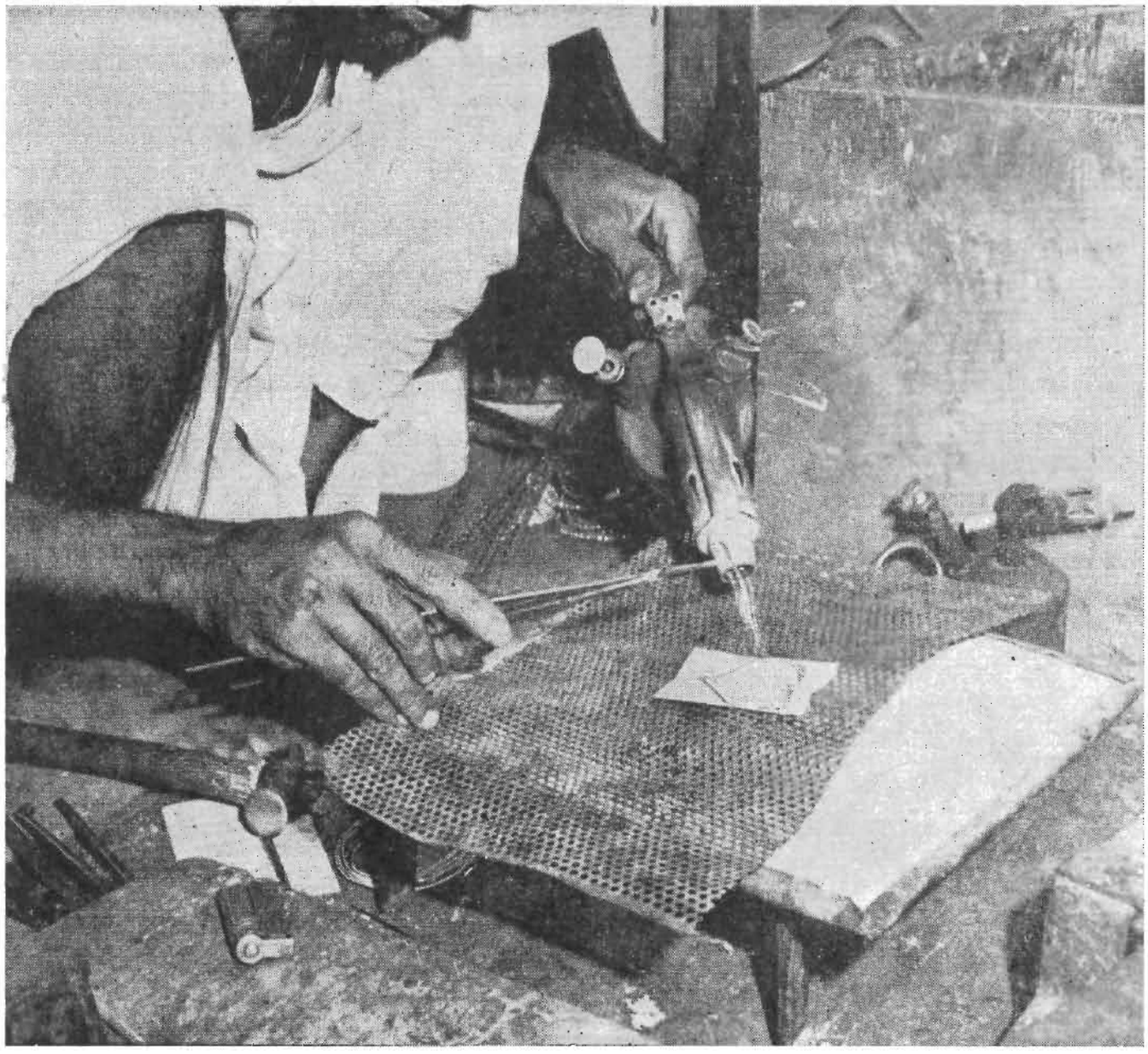
Checking with the help of design drawn on paper



Flattening the sheet



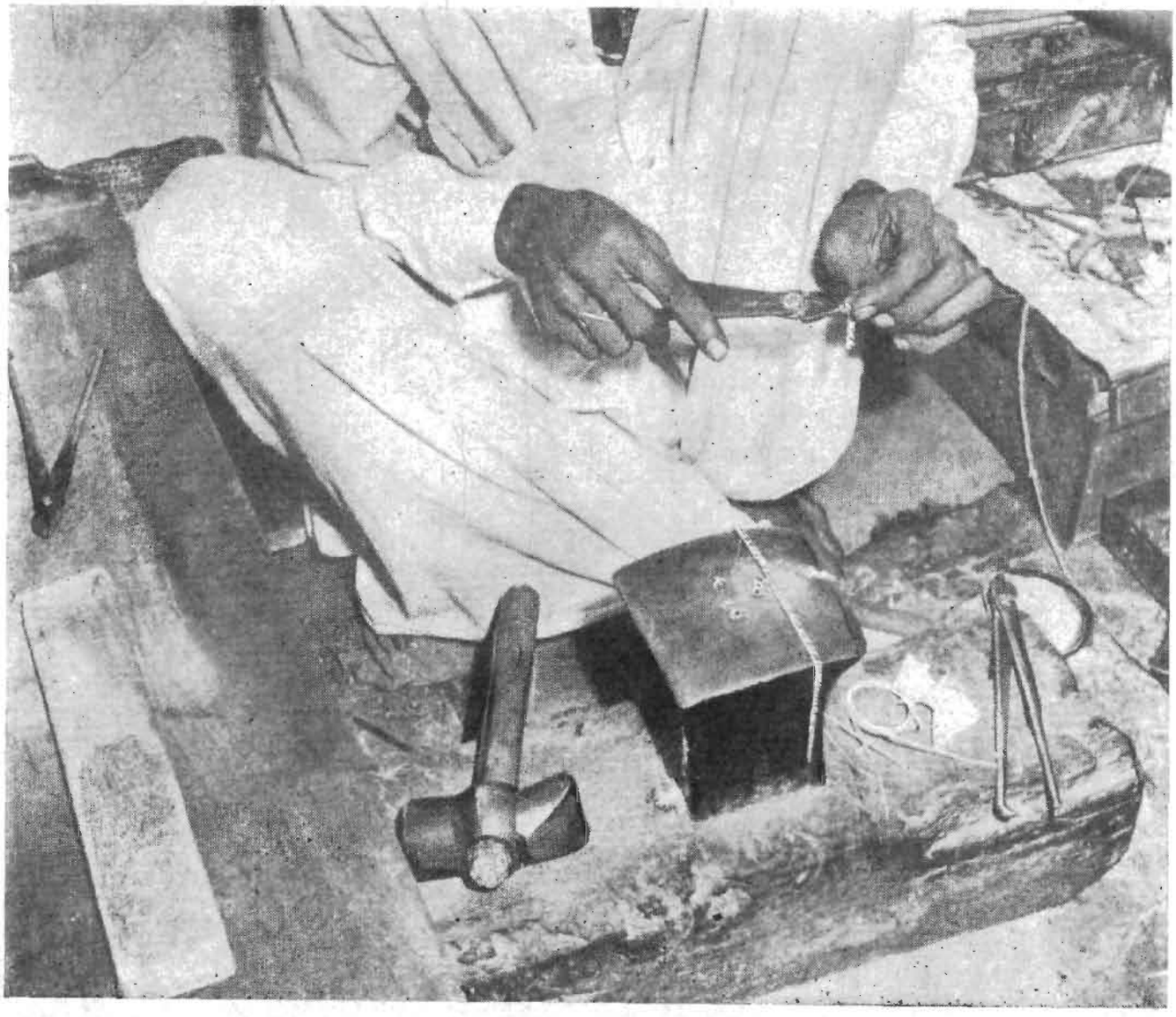
Arranging wire according to the design prior to soldering



Soldering



Cutting silver sheet into shape



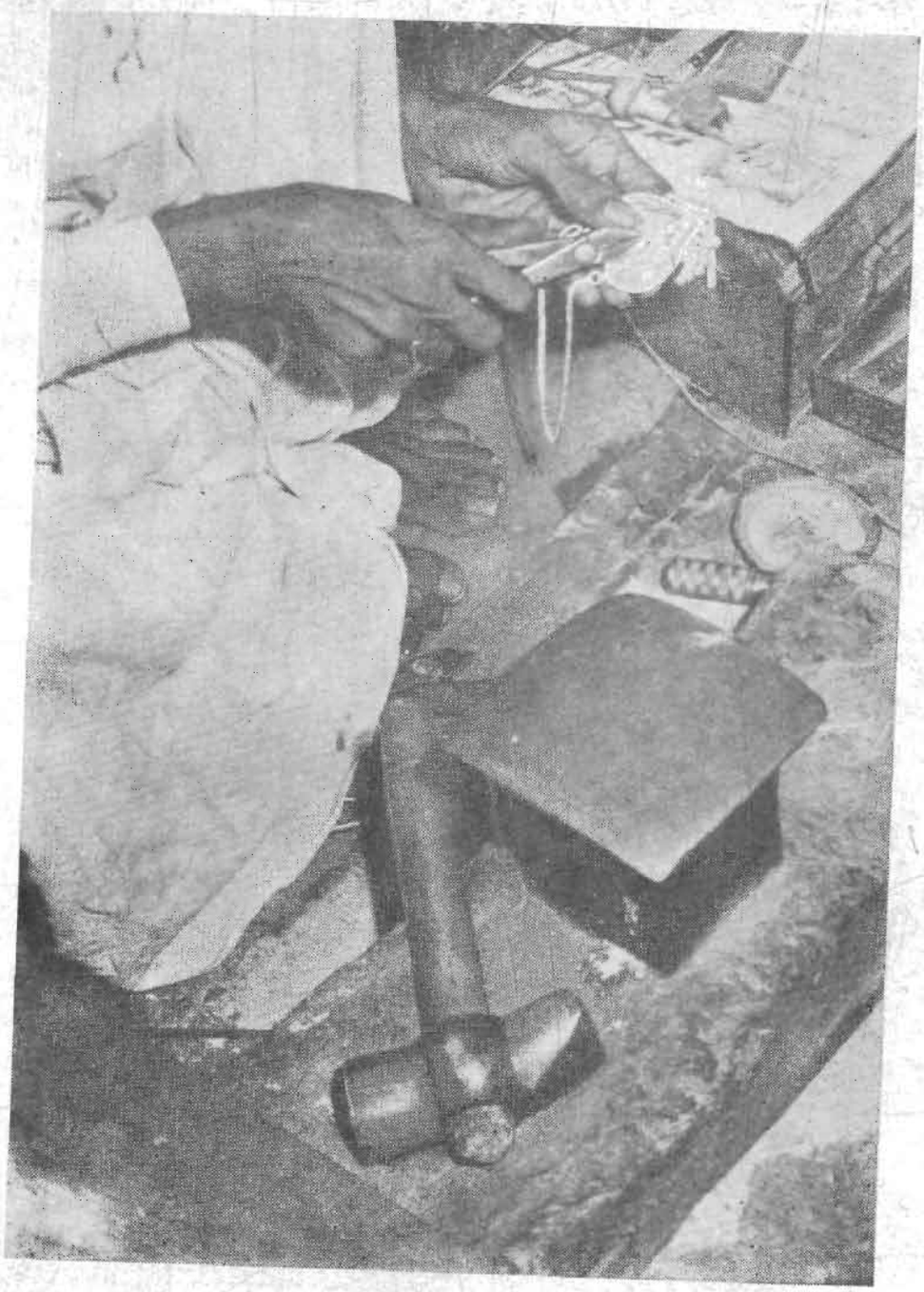
Making of a chain



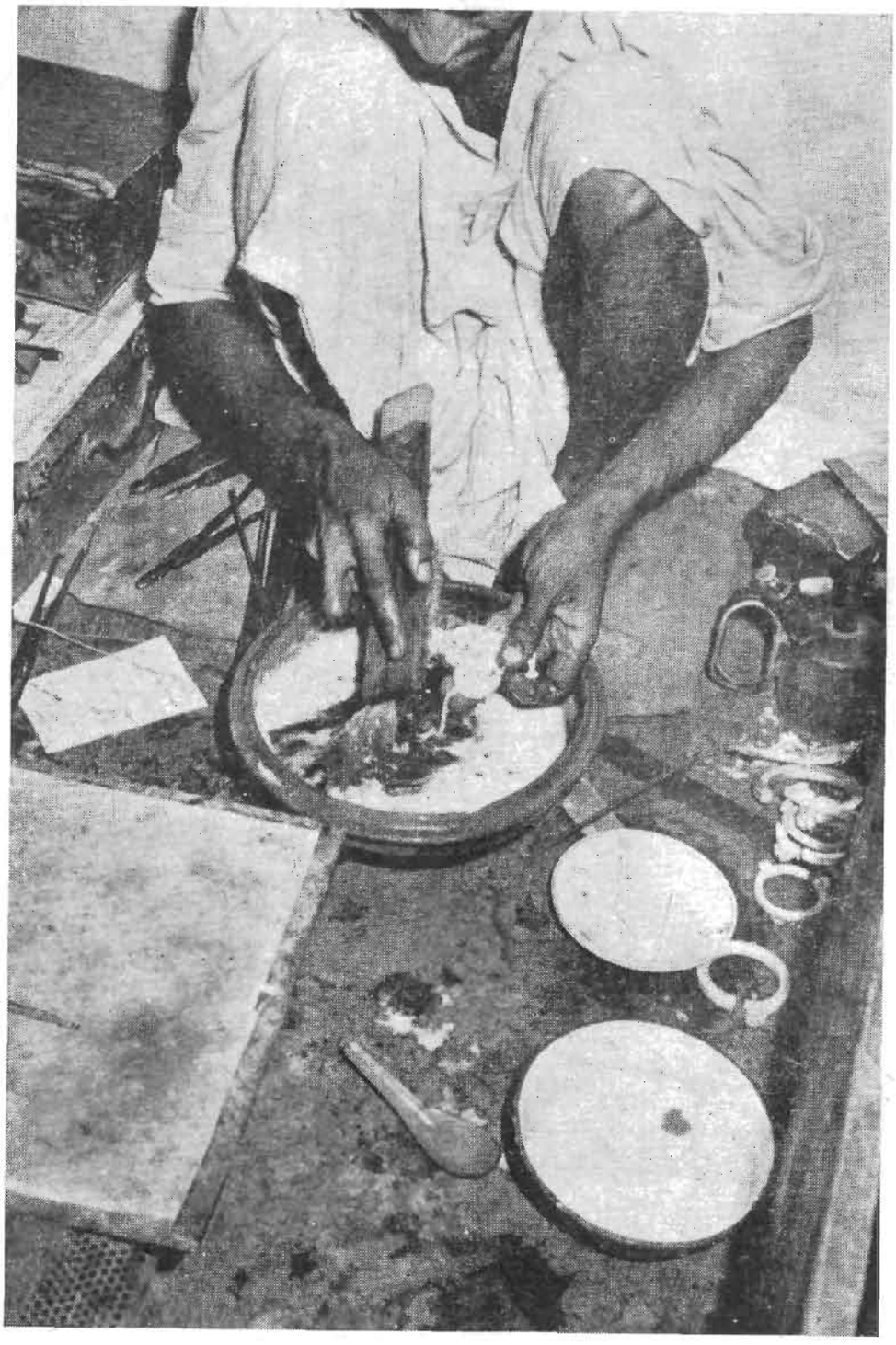
Affixing hooks to 'potaliya'



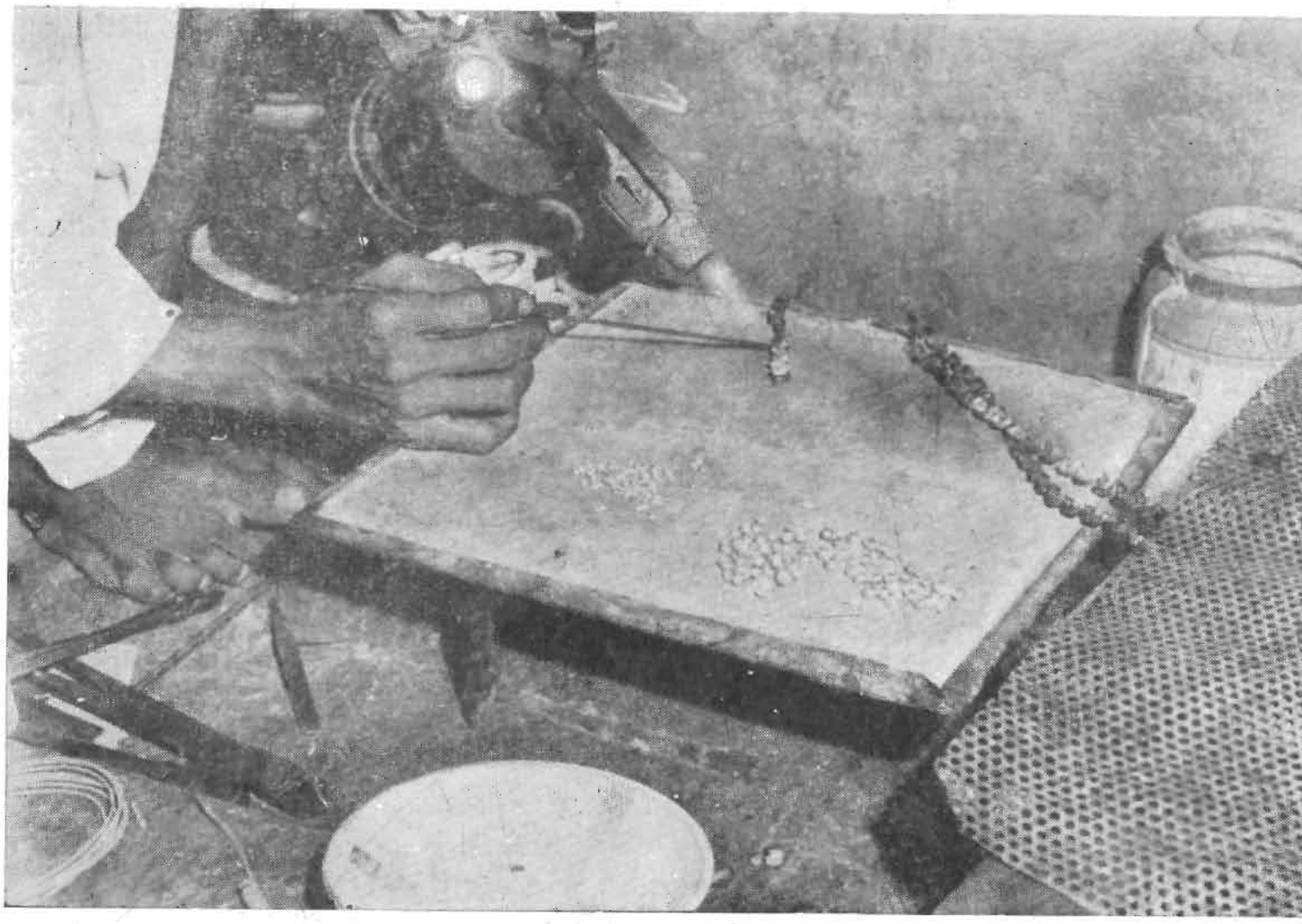
Fixing chain to 'potaliya'



Removing redundant parts



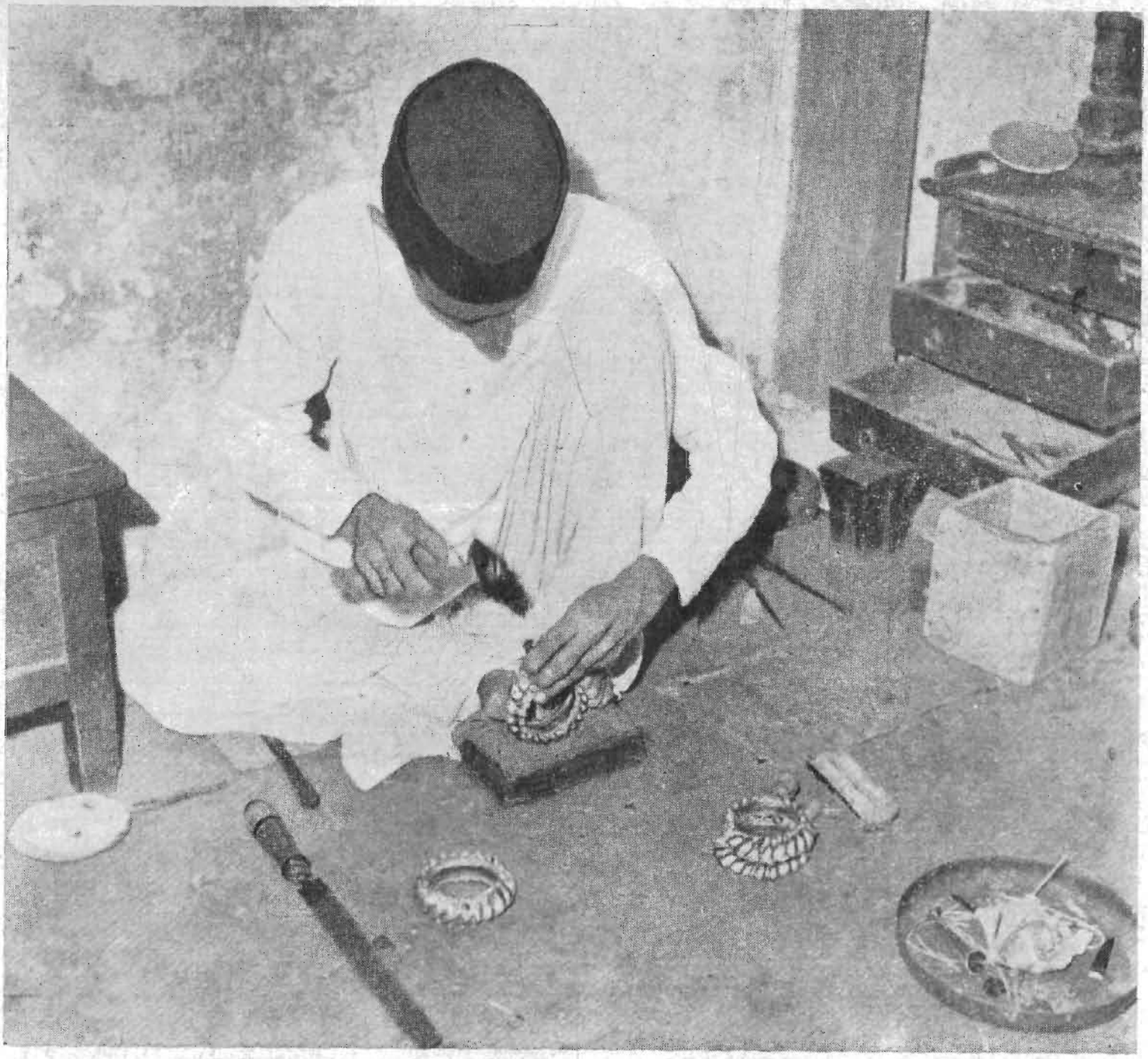
Polishing with a brush in soap-nut water



Soldering the pieces of a chain



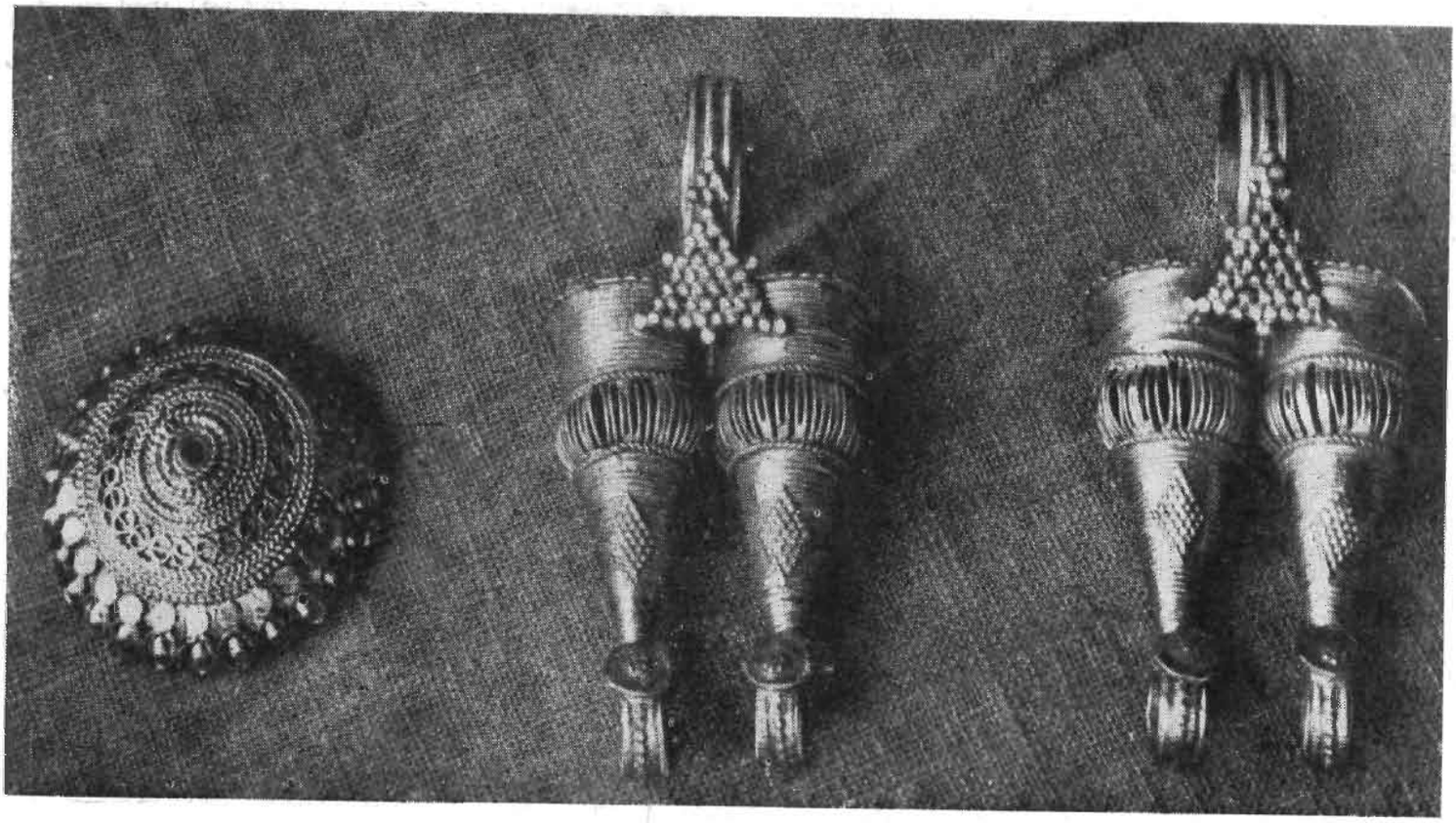
Filing



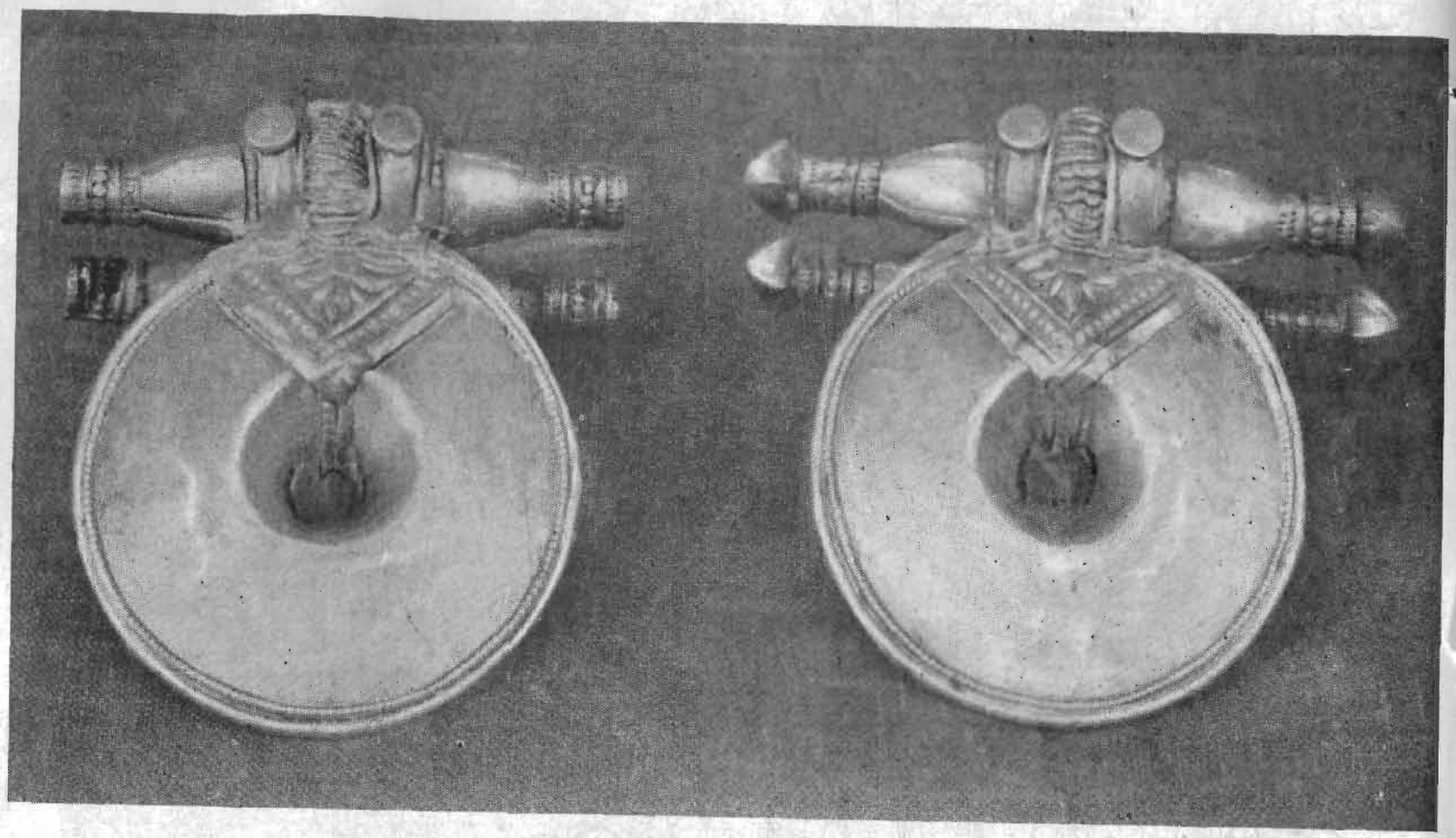
Final touch

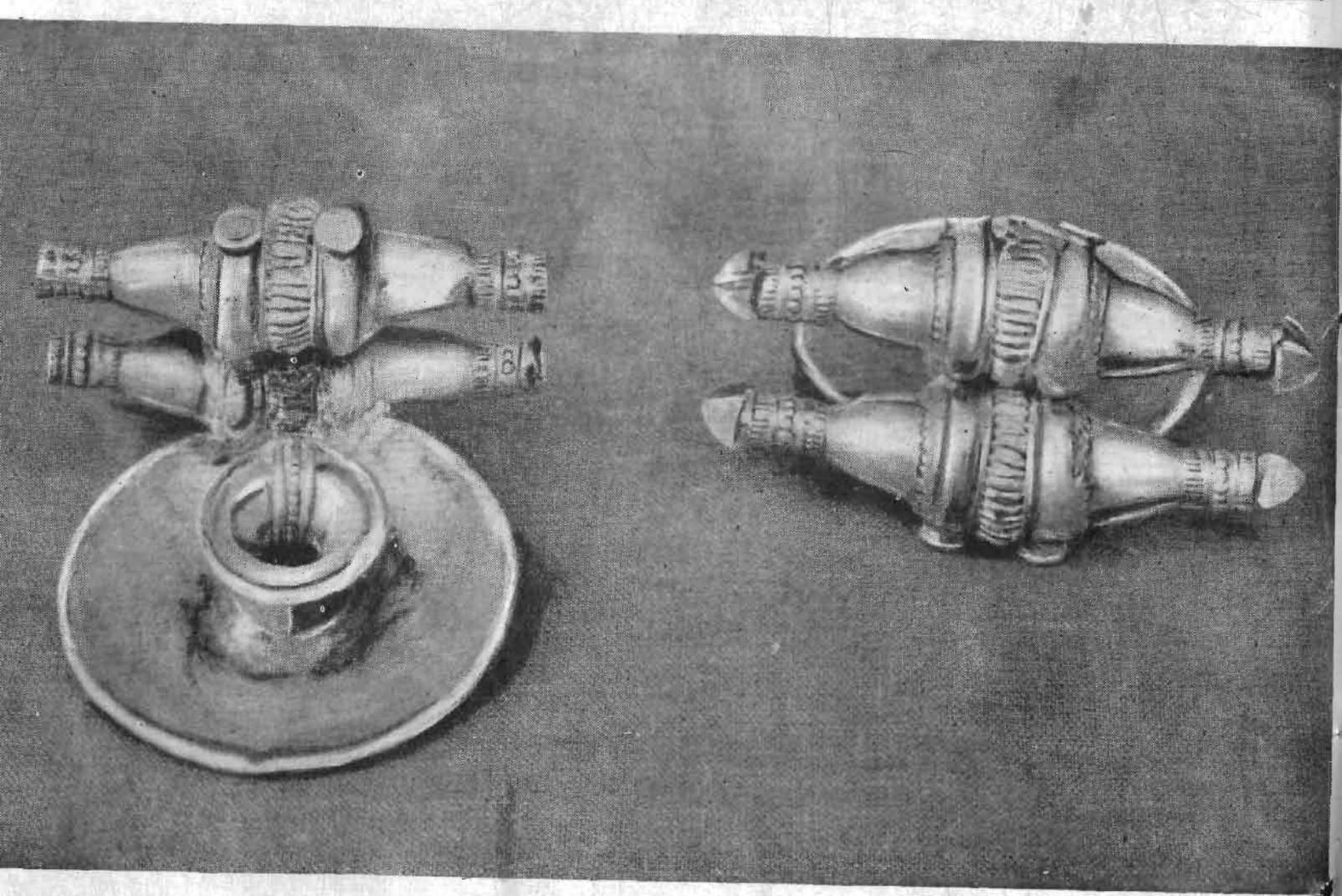
Traditional Ornaments (PLATES XXV–LV)

1 2 3

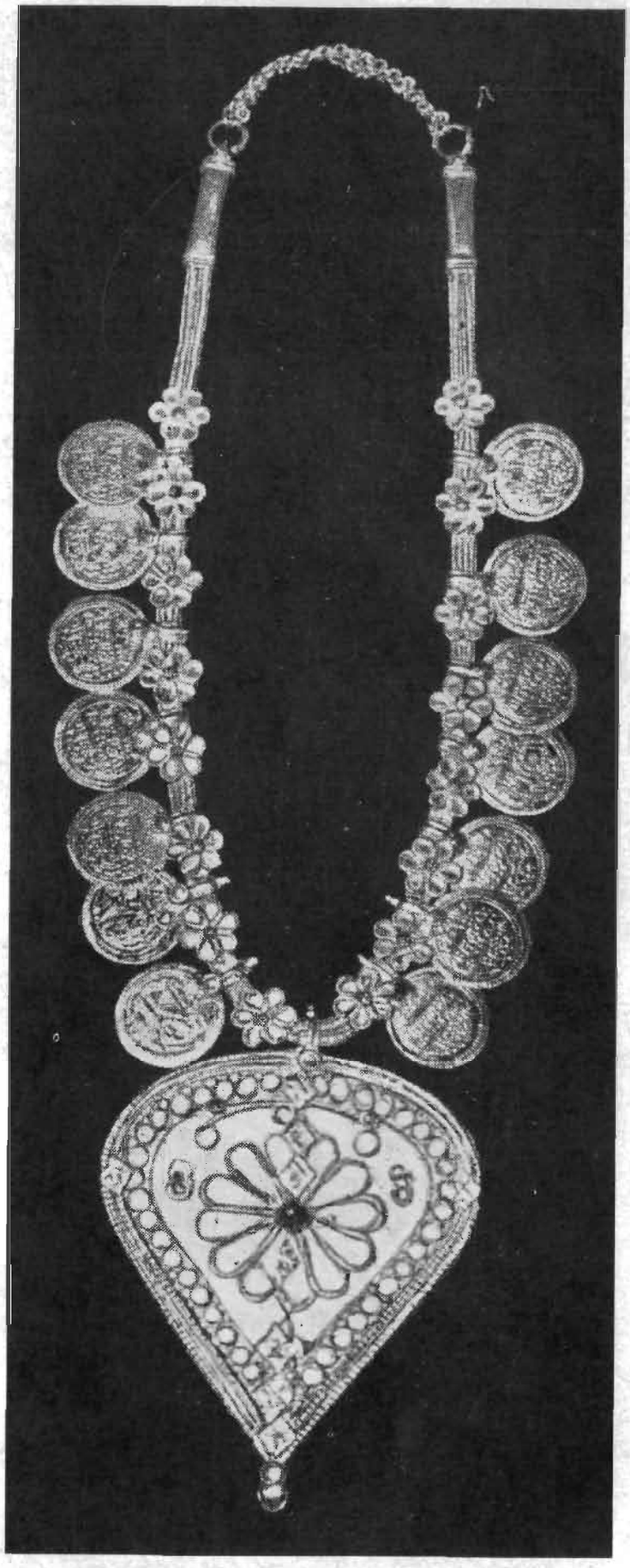


1. Tholia; 2 and 3. Taroti

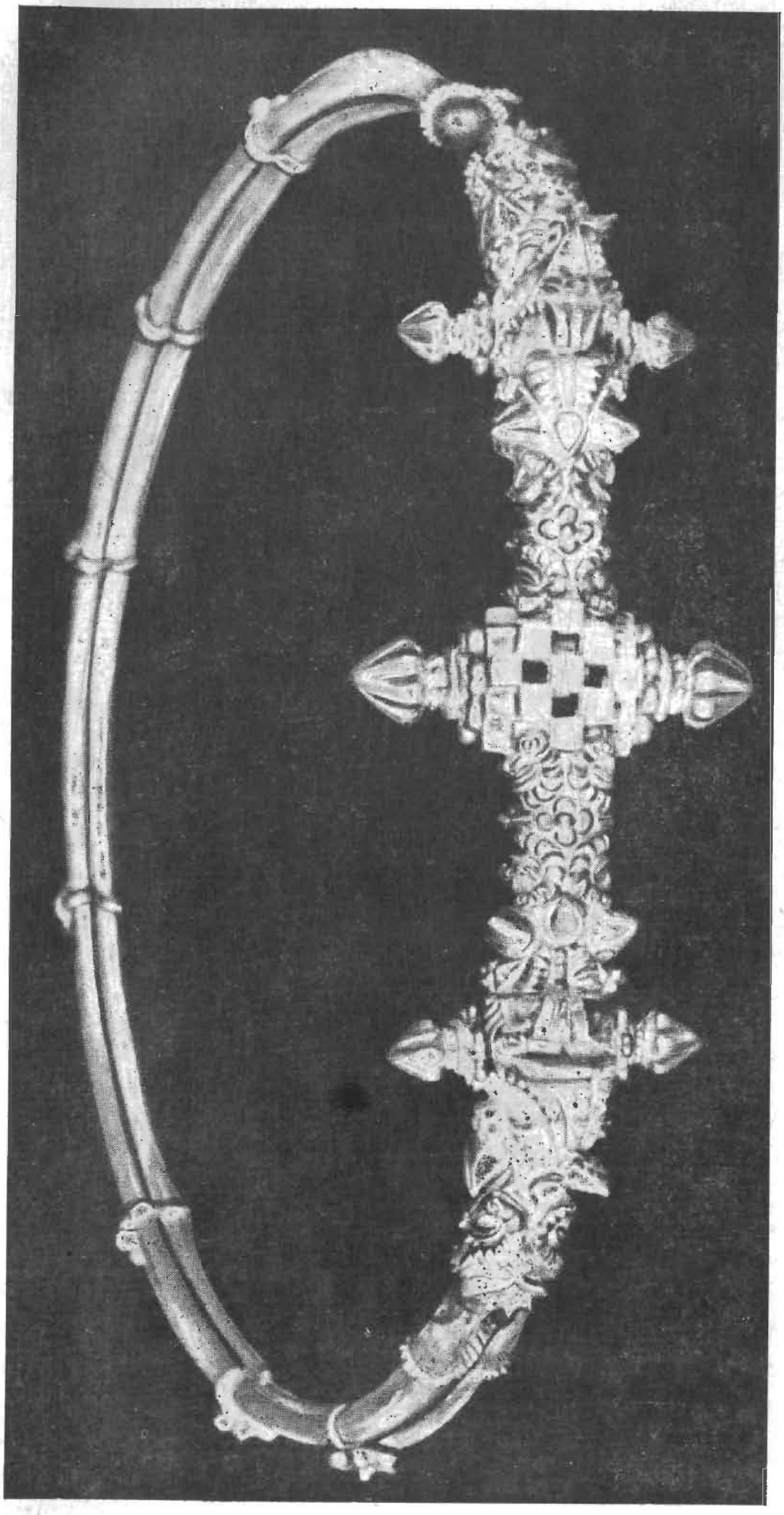




Top and Bottom : Front and back of 'kokarva'—an ear ornament



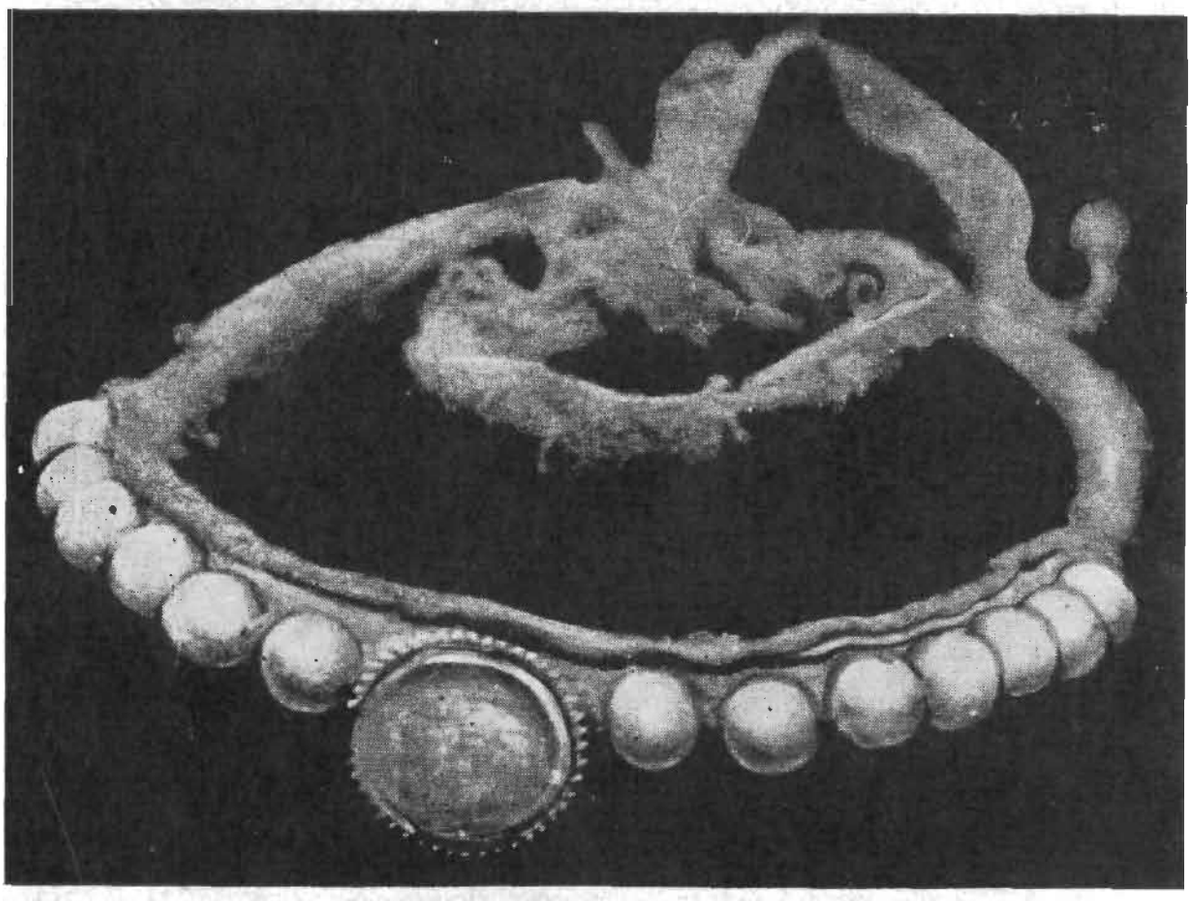
Necklace with leaf-like pendant and coins worn by tribals



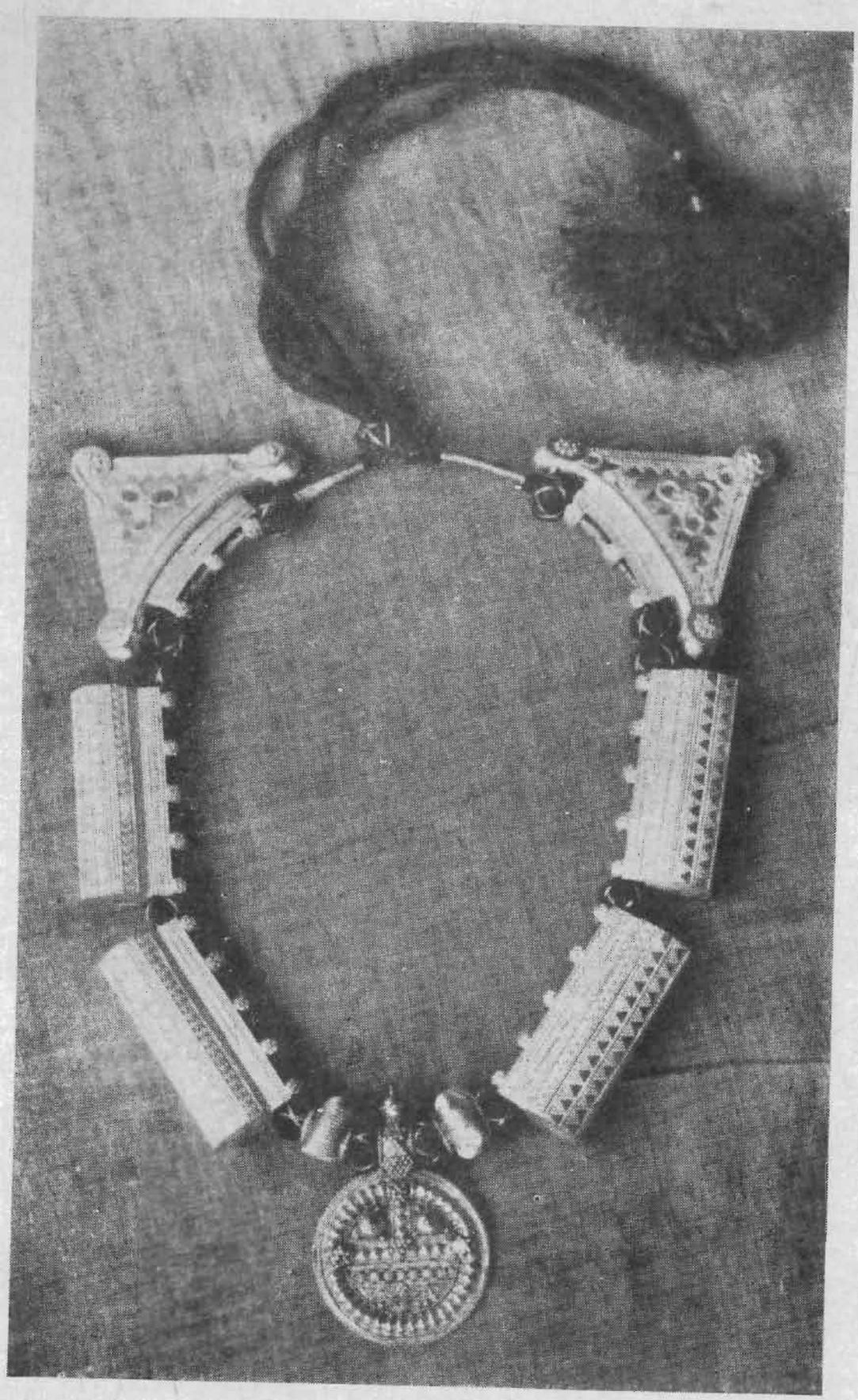
'Hansadi', a beautifully designed neck ornament



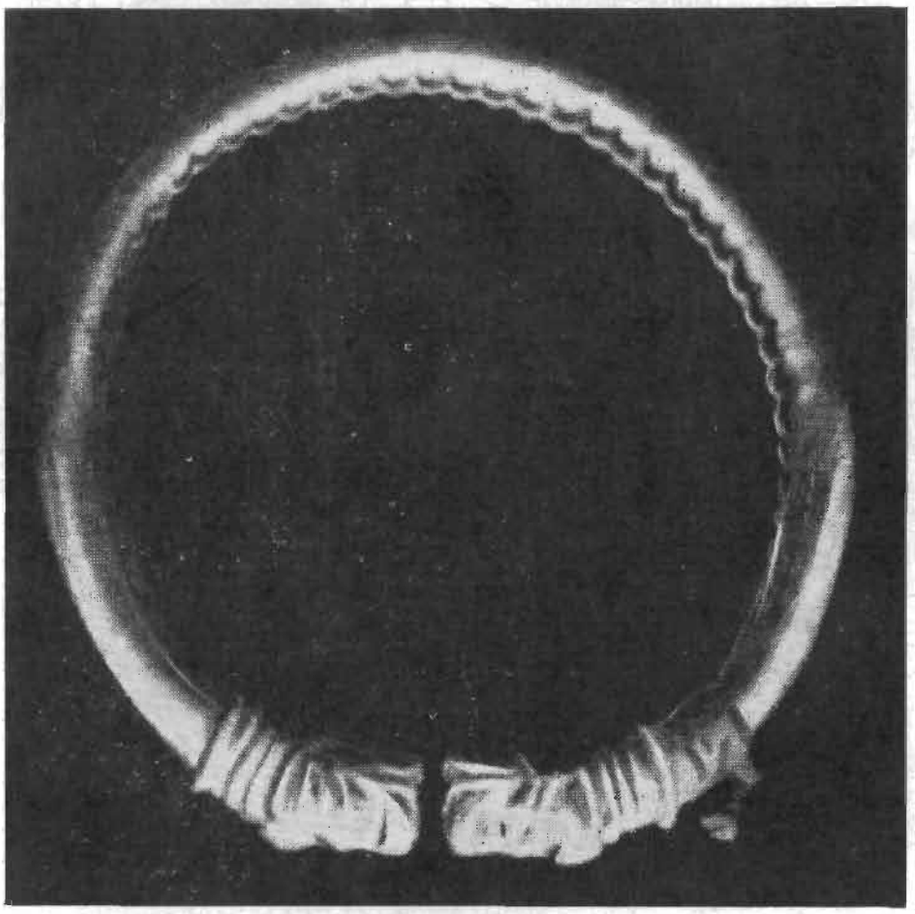
Hansadi



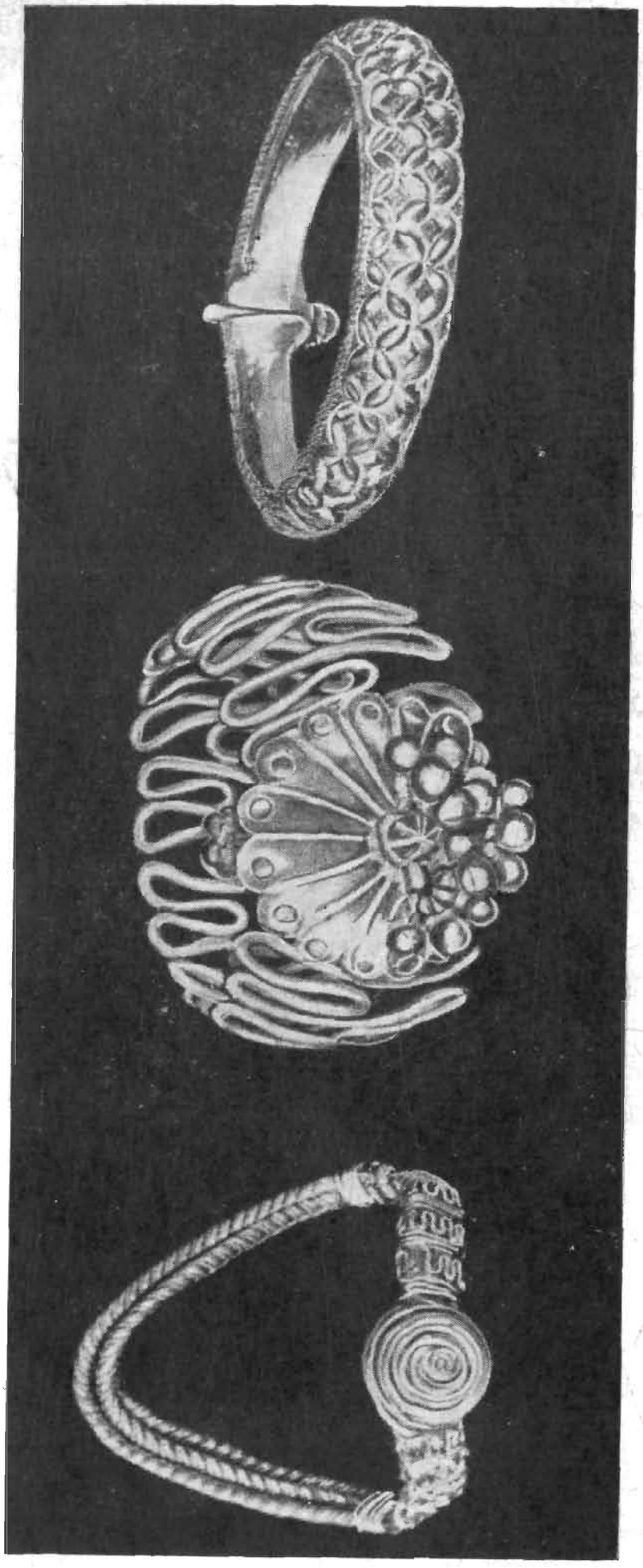
Ekdami



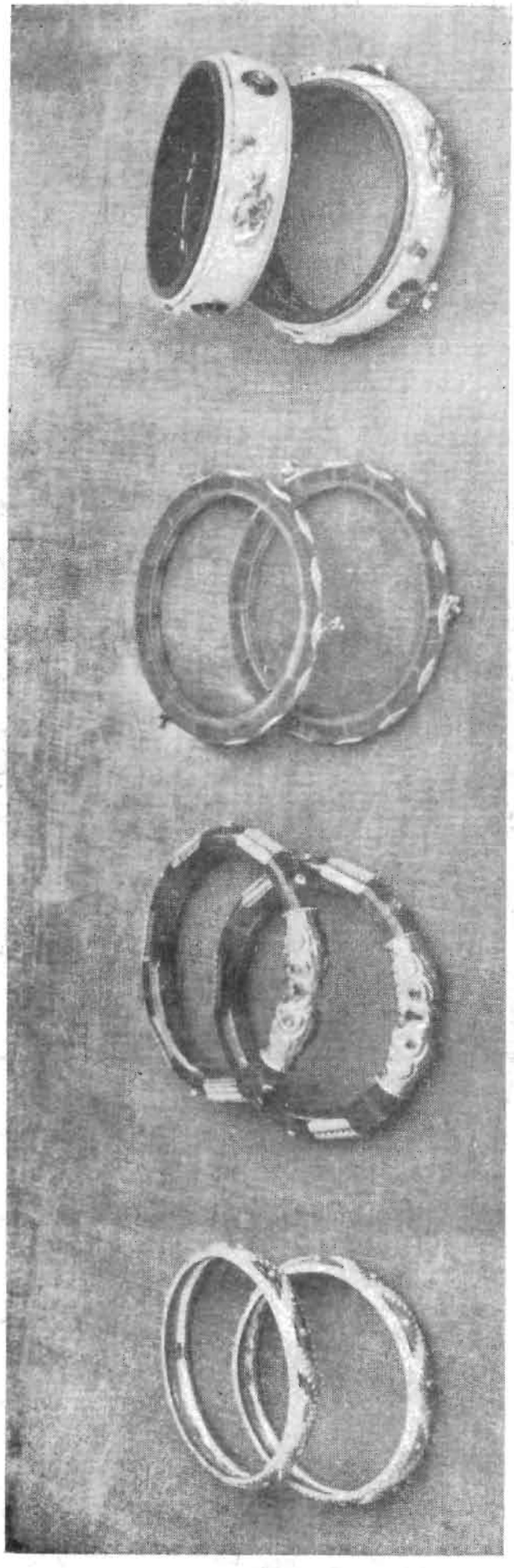
Madaliyu



'Kadu' (Armlet) with tiger head

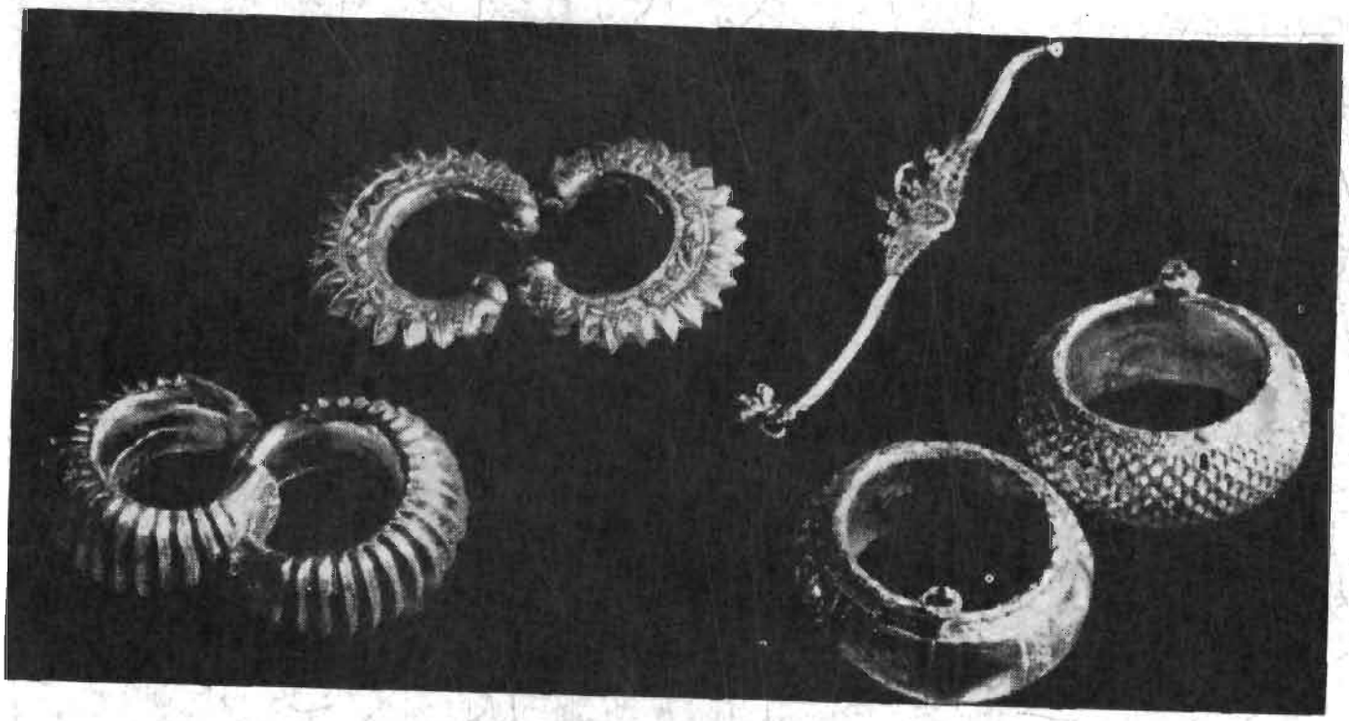


1. Armlet; 2. Vank and 3. Bangle



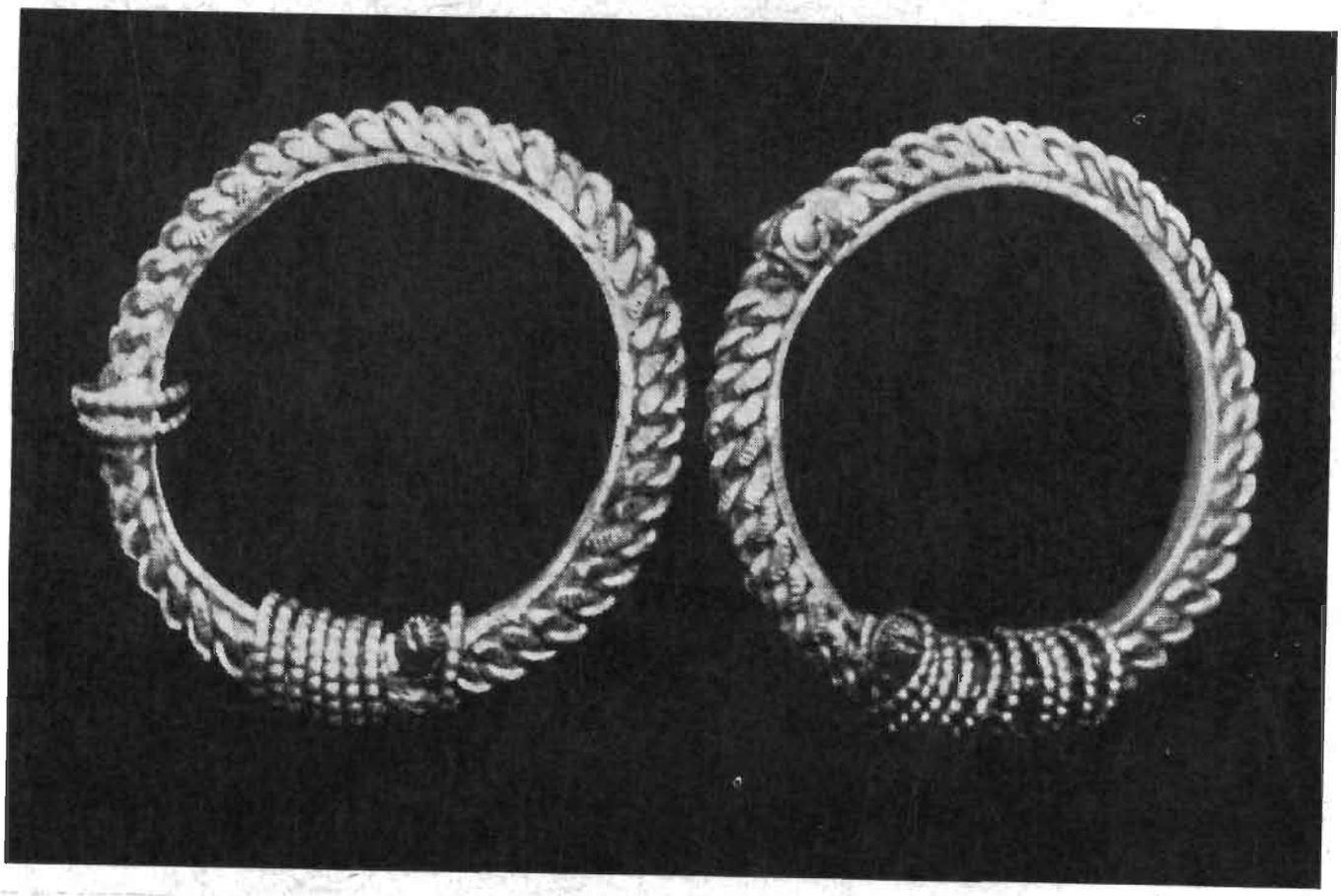
Plastic bangles, beautifully designed and set with motifs in gold and silver

2 3

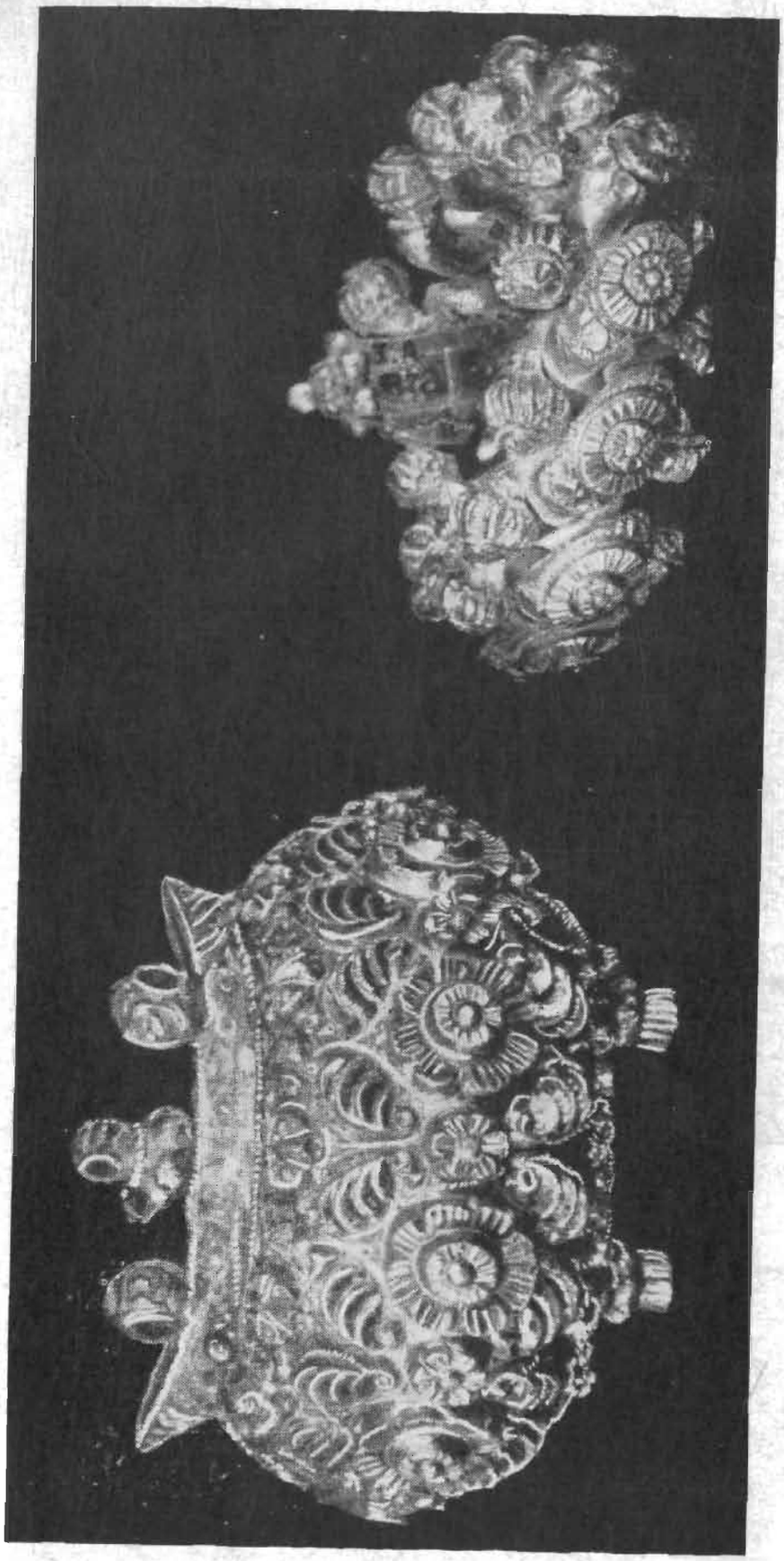


1 4

1 and 4. Bedi; 2. Kadan and 3. Girdle (Kandoro)



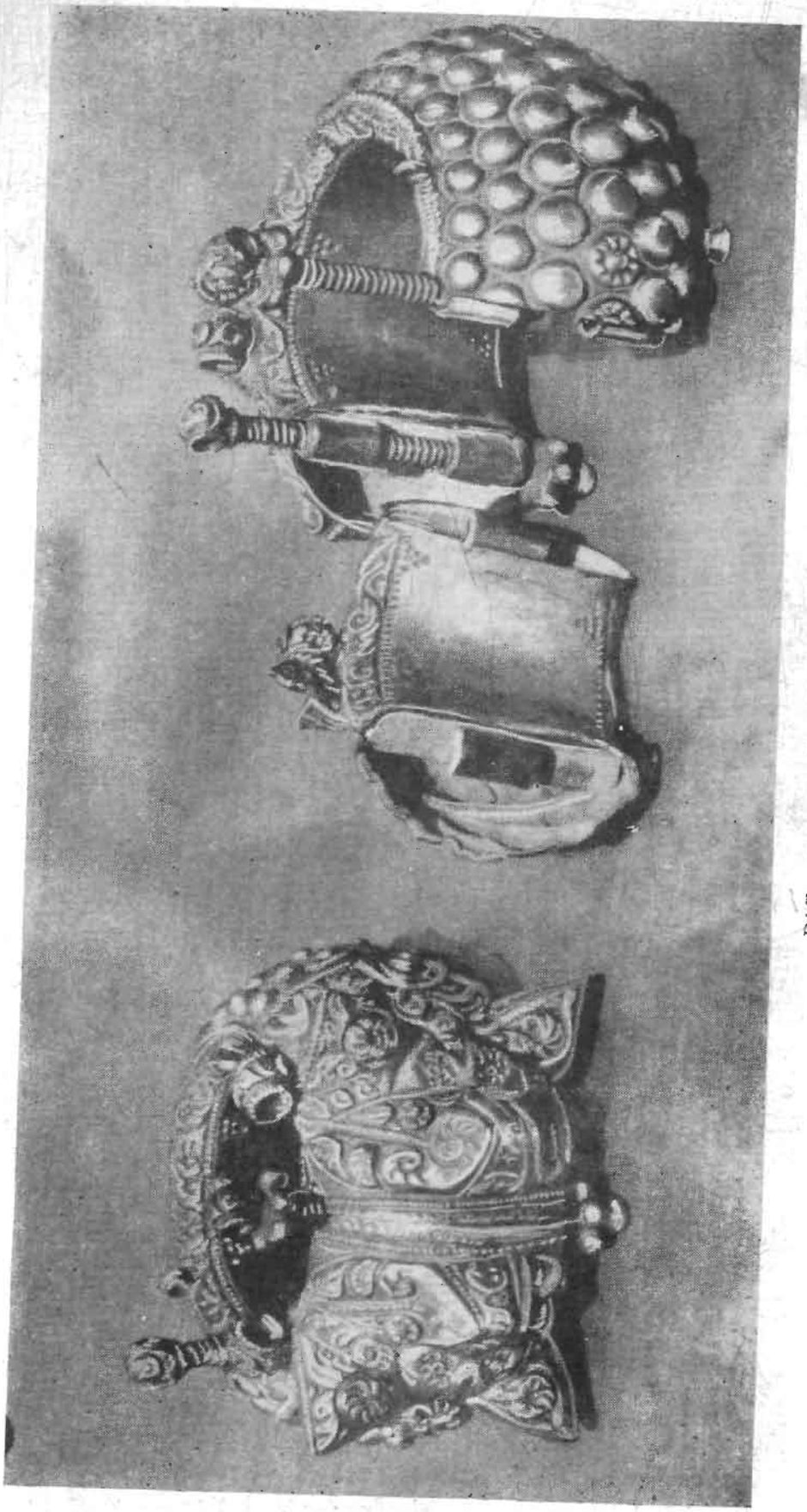
Kambi (Anklet)



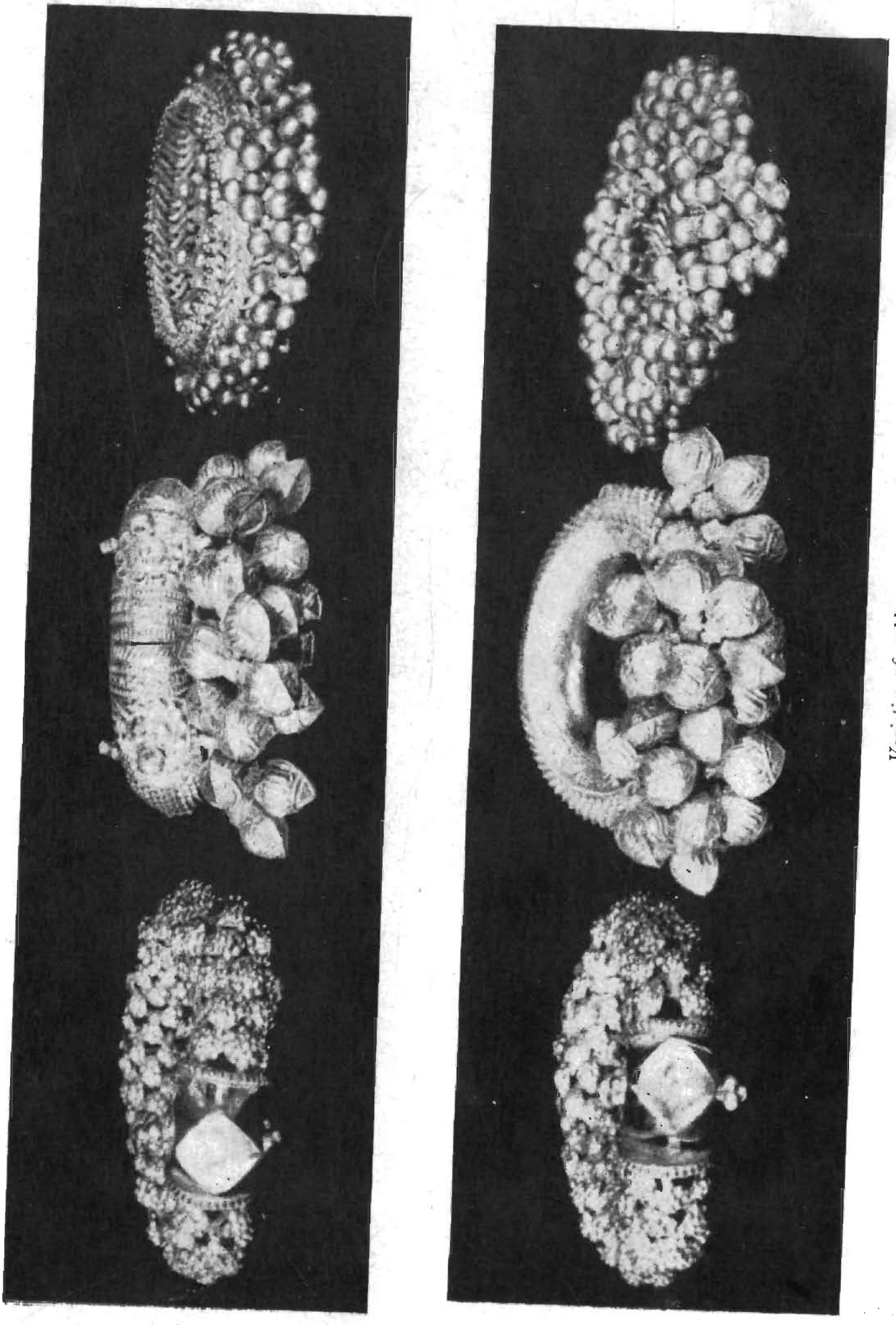
Beautifully designed anklets



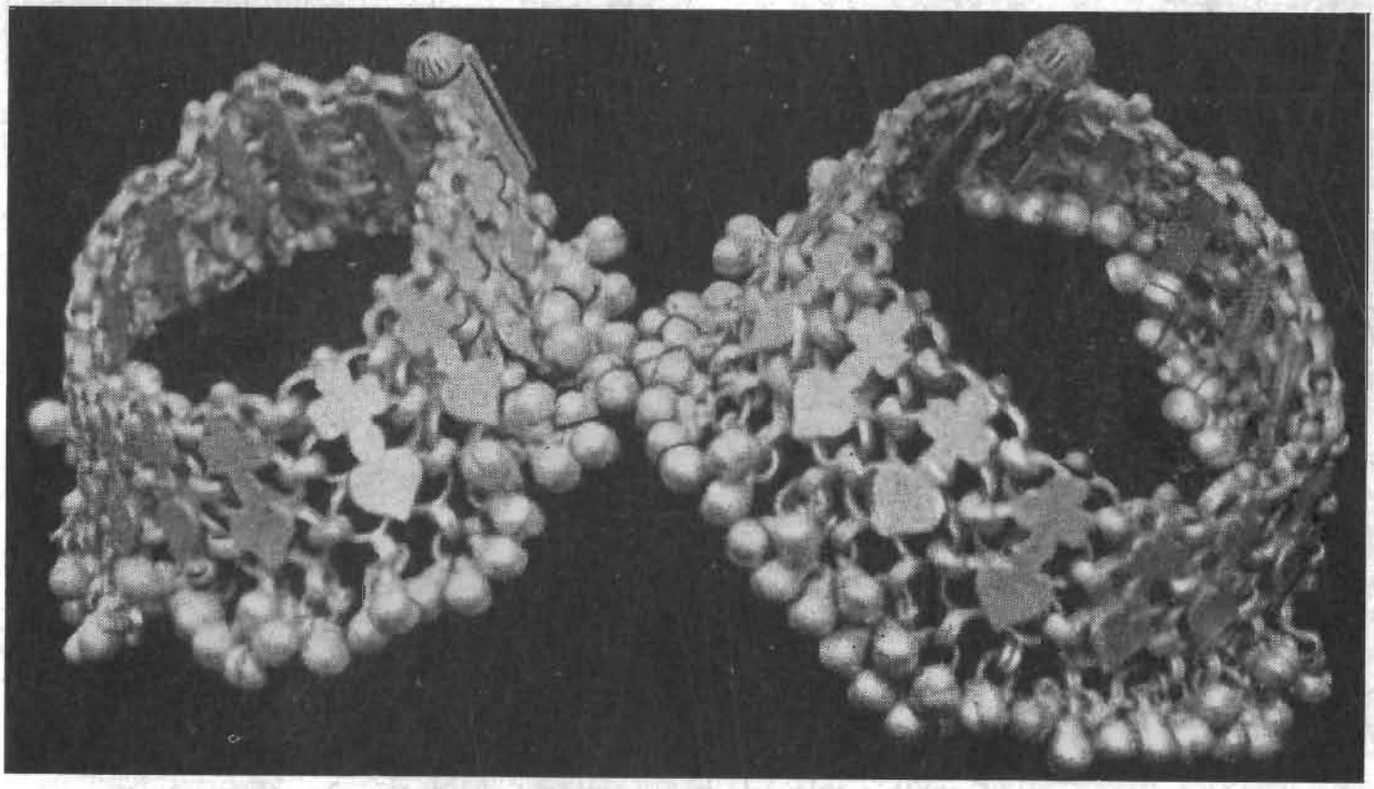
Artistic shapes of anklets



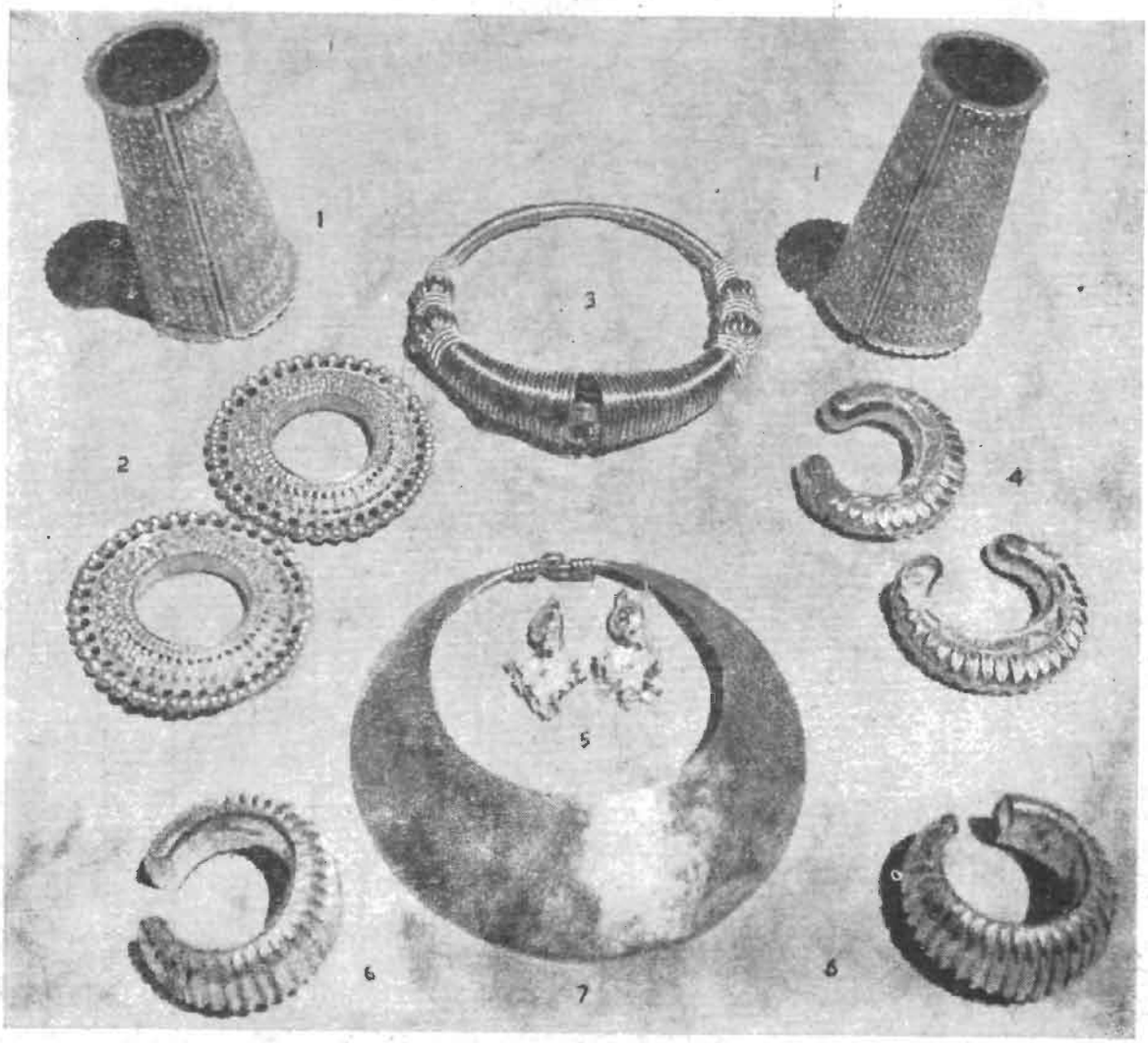
Different types of anklet (Toda)

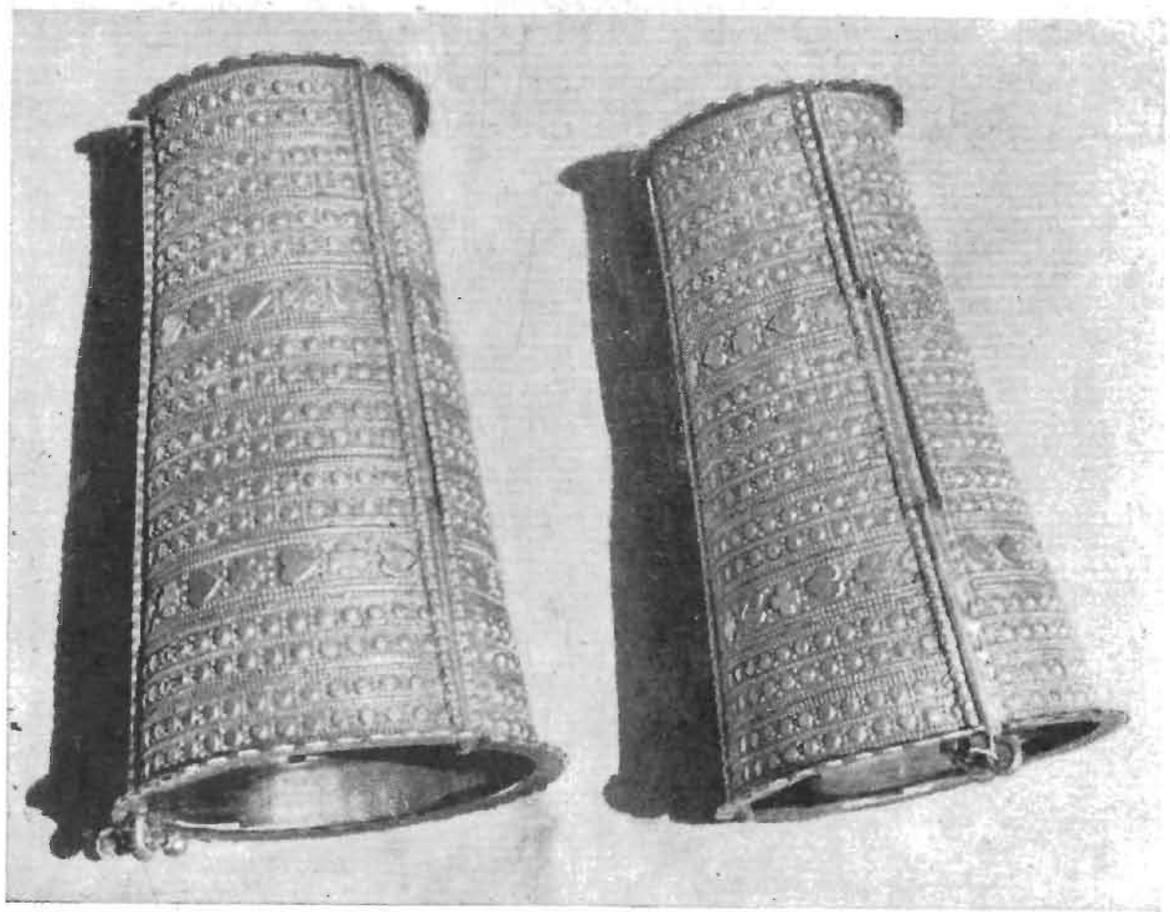


Varieties of anklets

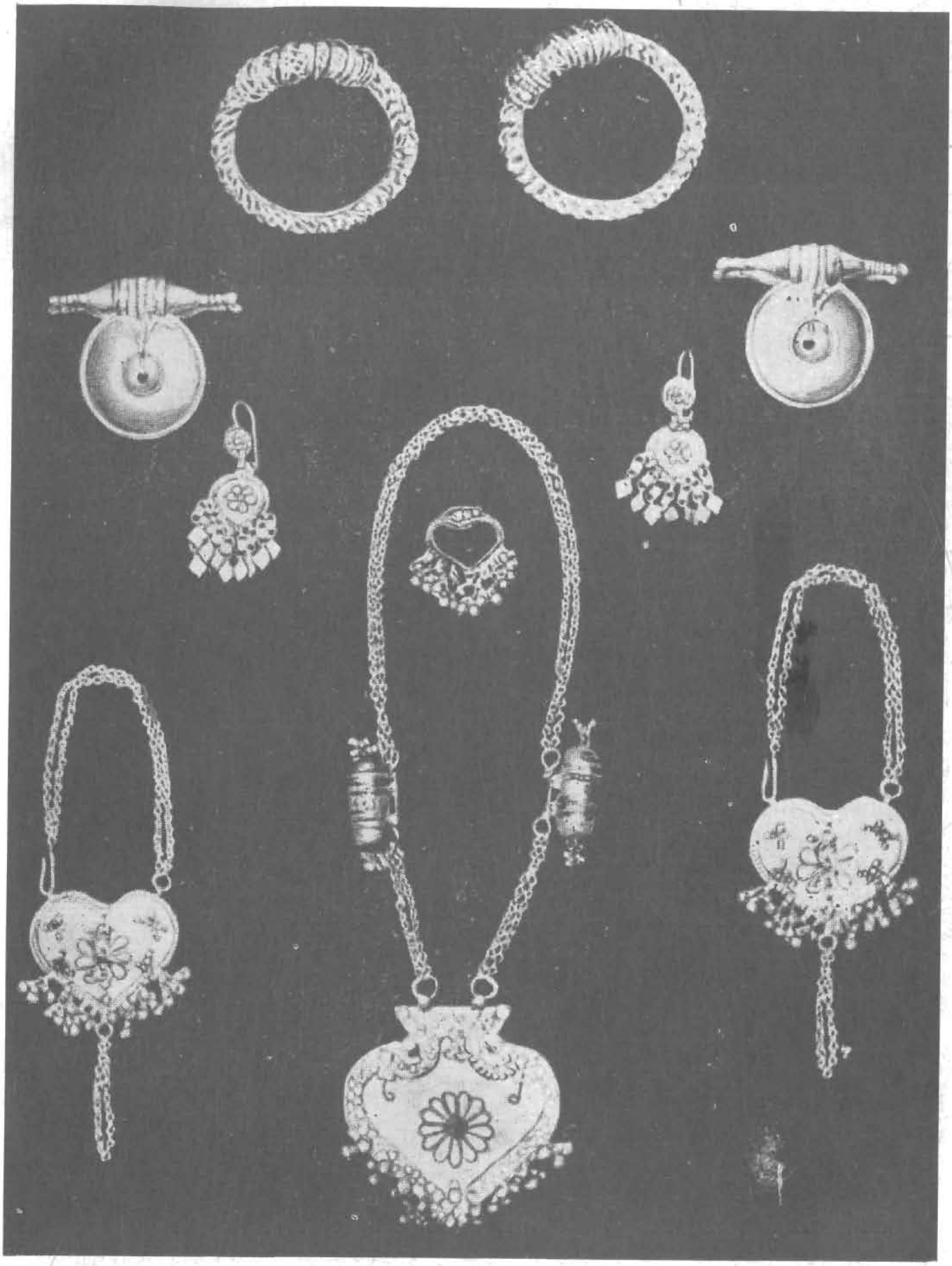


Langar (Anklets)

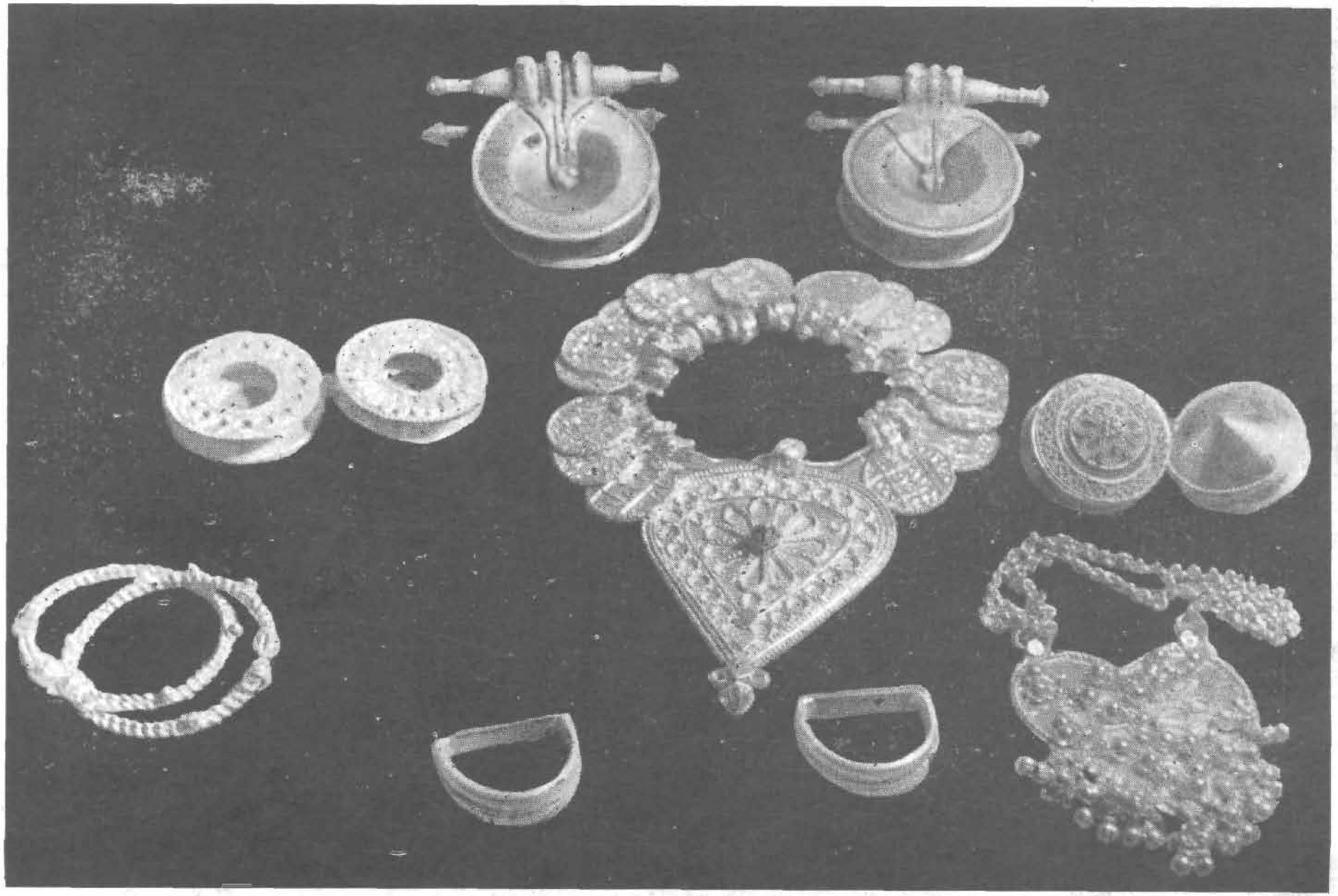




ORNAMENTS: *1. Chudi; 2. Kataria; 3. Vadhlo; 4 and 6. Bhorinda; 5. Earrings and 7. Hansadi*



Bangles, ear ornaments and necklaces



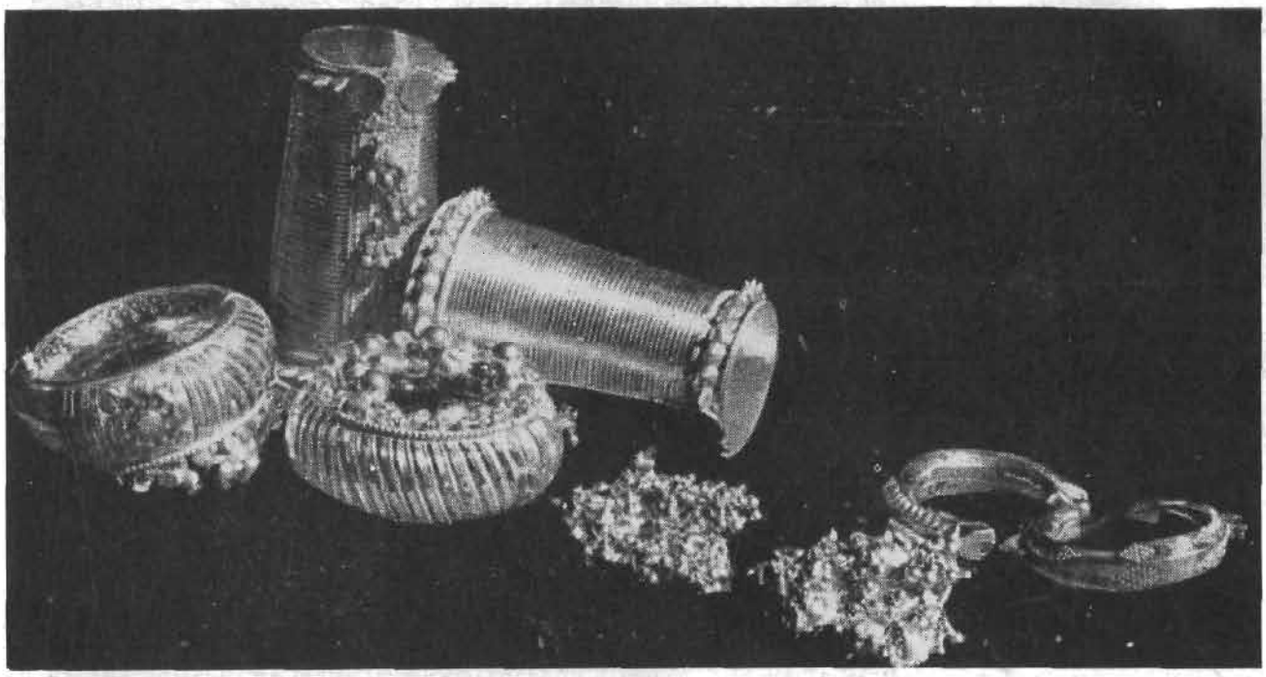
Ear ornaments, necklaces and bangles:
1, 2 and 4. Toti (Ear ornaments); 3 and 7. Necklaces; 5. Anklet (Kalli) and 6. Vintla



Ear, neck and arm ornaments

1. Bracelet (Sarai); 2. Balaiya; 3 and 5. Anklets (Kadu); 6, 7, 8 and 10. Earrings; 4 and 11. Necklaces; 9. Kada; 12. Ponchi; 13. Vintla and 14. Armlet (Kadu)

1 2



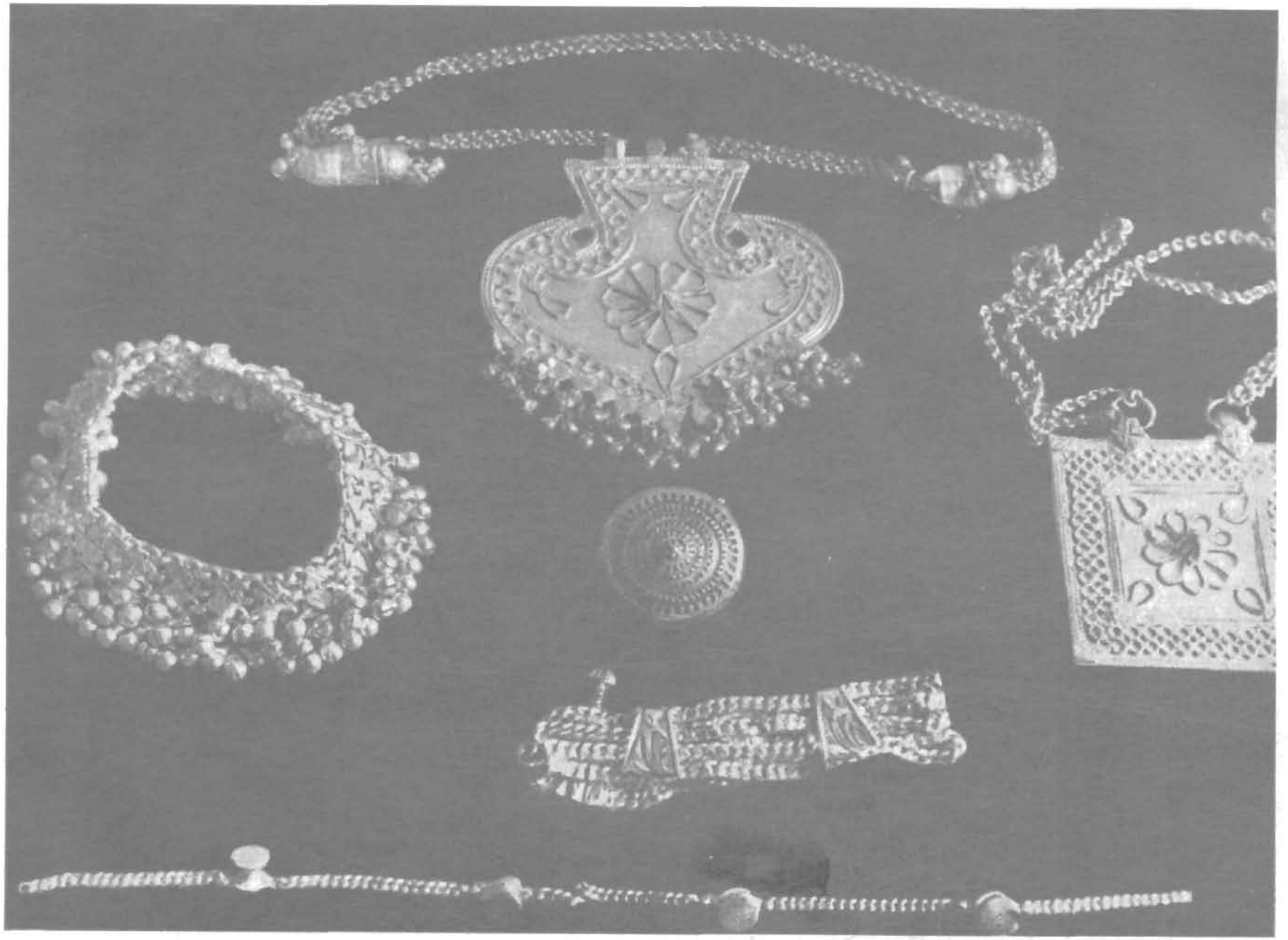
3

4 7 8 5 6

1, and 2. Balaiyas; 3 and 4. Armlets (Kambi); 5 and 6. Anklets (Kada); 7 and 8. Jhanjhar

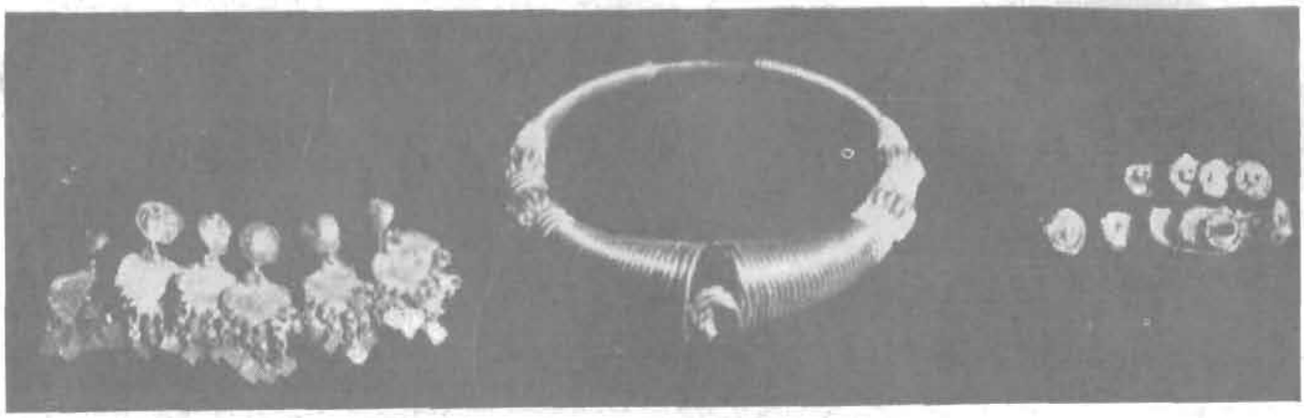


Different types of 'Kalla' worn on feet by Marwadi and Bharwad women

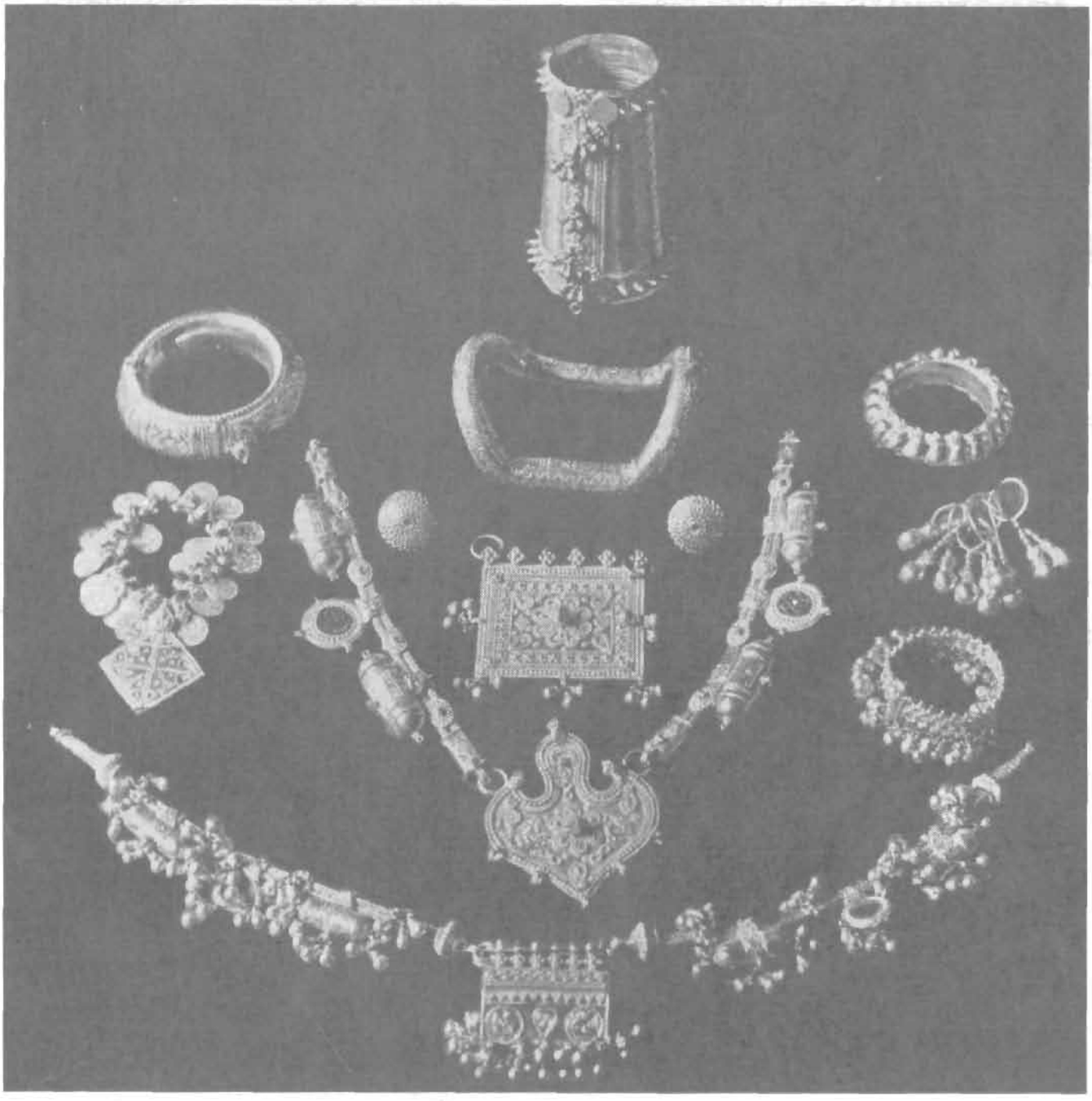


1 and 4. Necklaces; 2. Jhanjhar; 3. Earring; 5. Bracelet and 6. Button set with chain

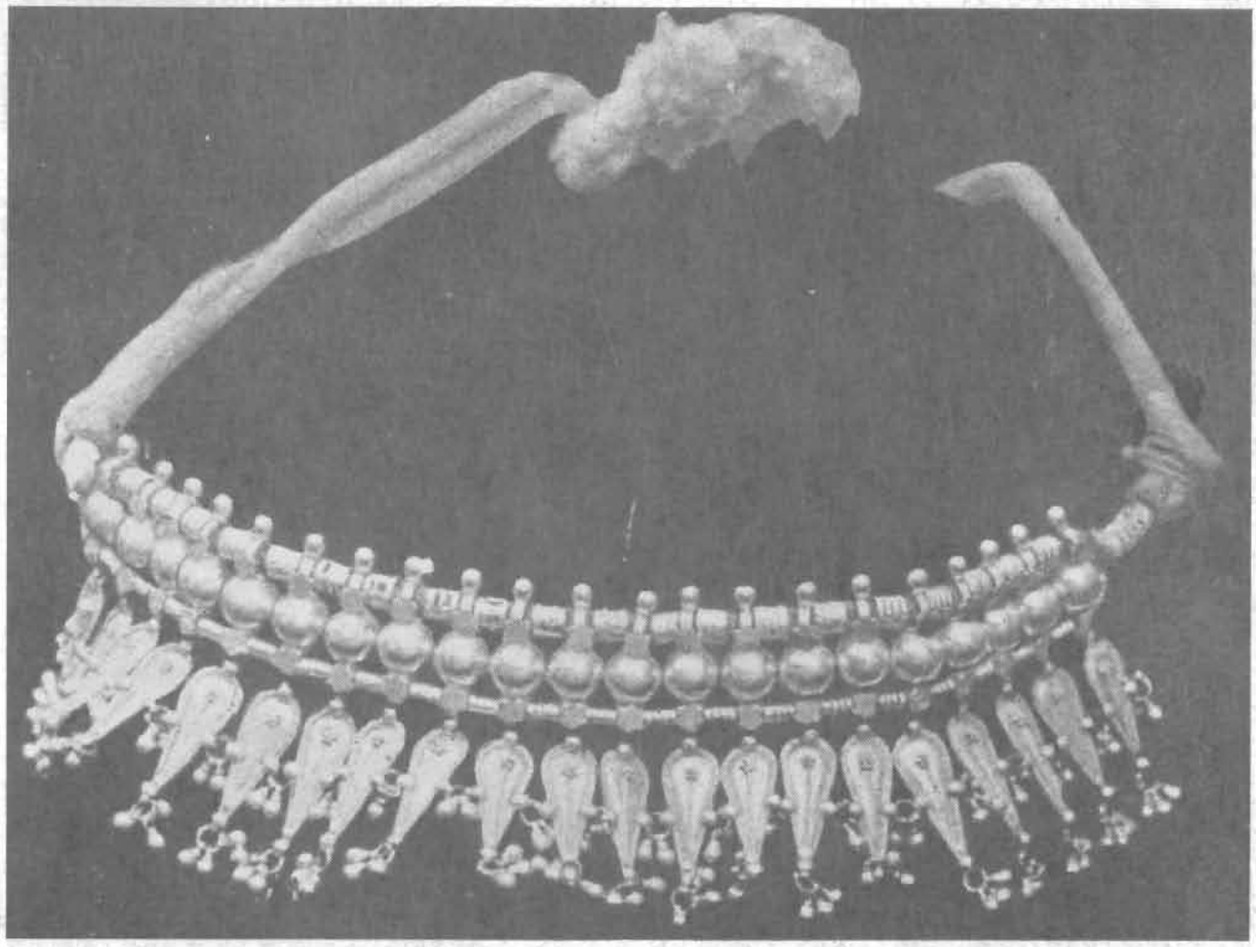
1



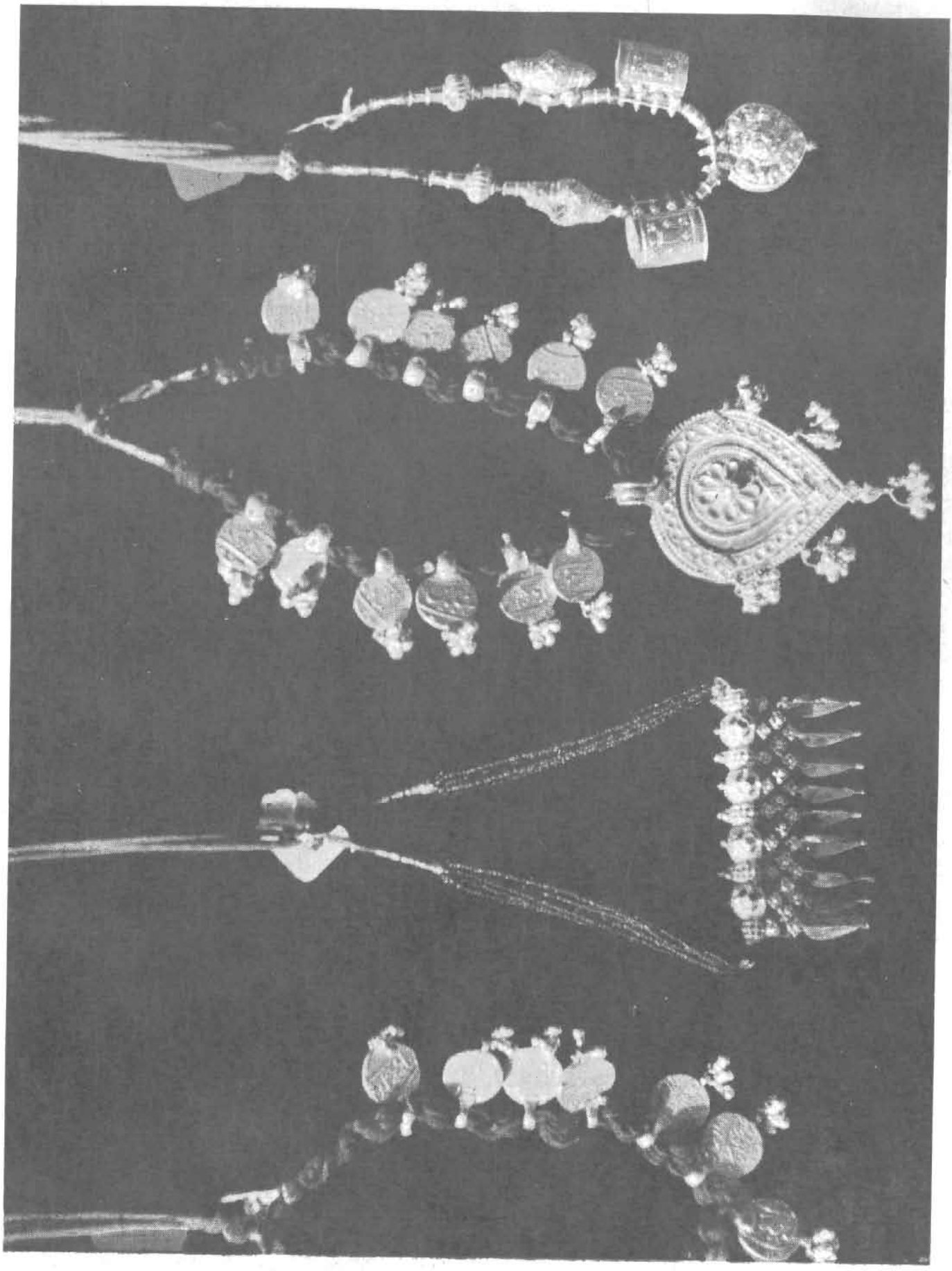
1. Vadhlo and 2. Earrings



Hand and neck ornaments

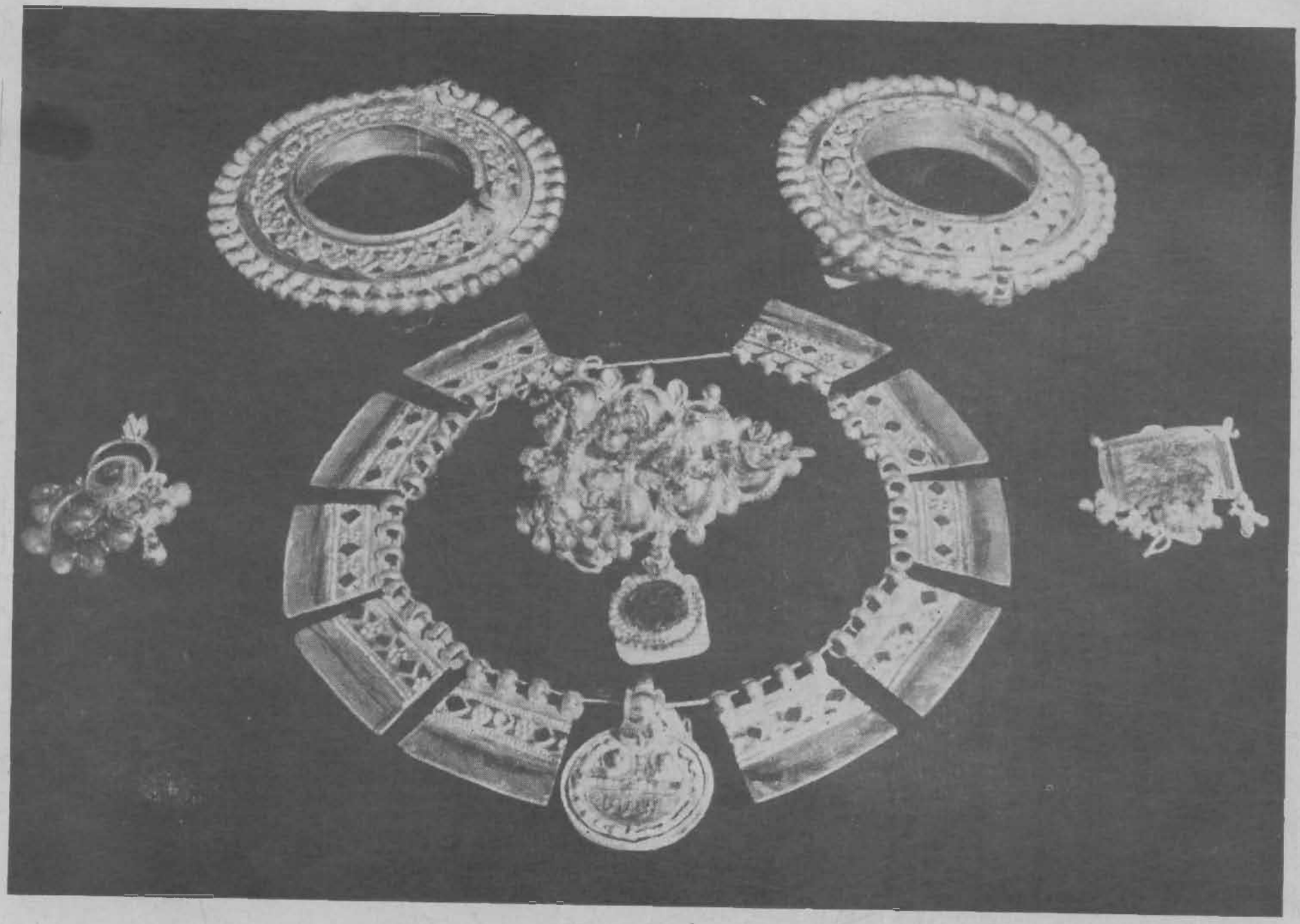


Traditional necklace



Various types of traditional necklaces

1 2



4 5

3

1 and 2. Bangles (Kada); 3. Neck ornament (Hansadi); 4 and 5. Earrings

1 2 4 3 5



6

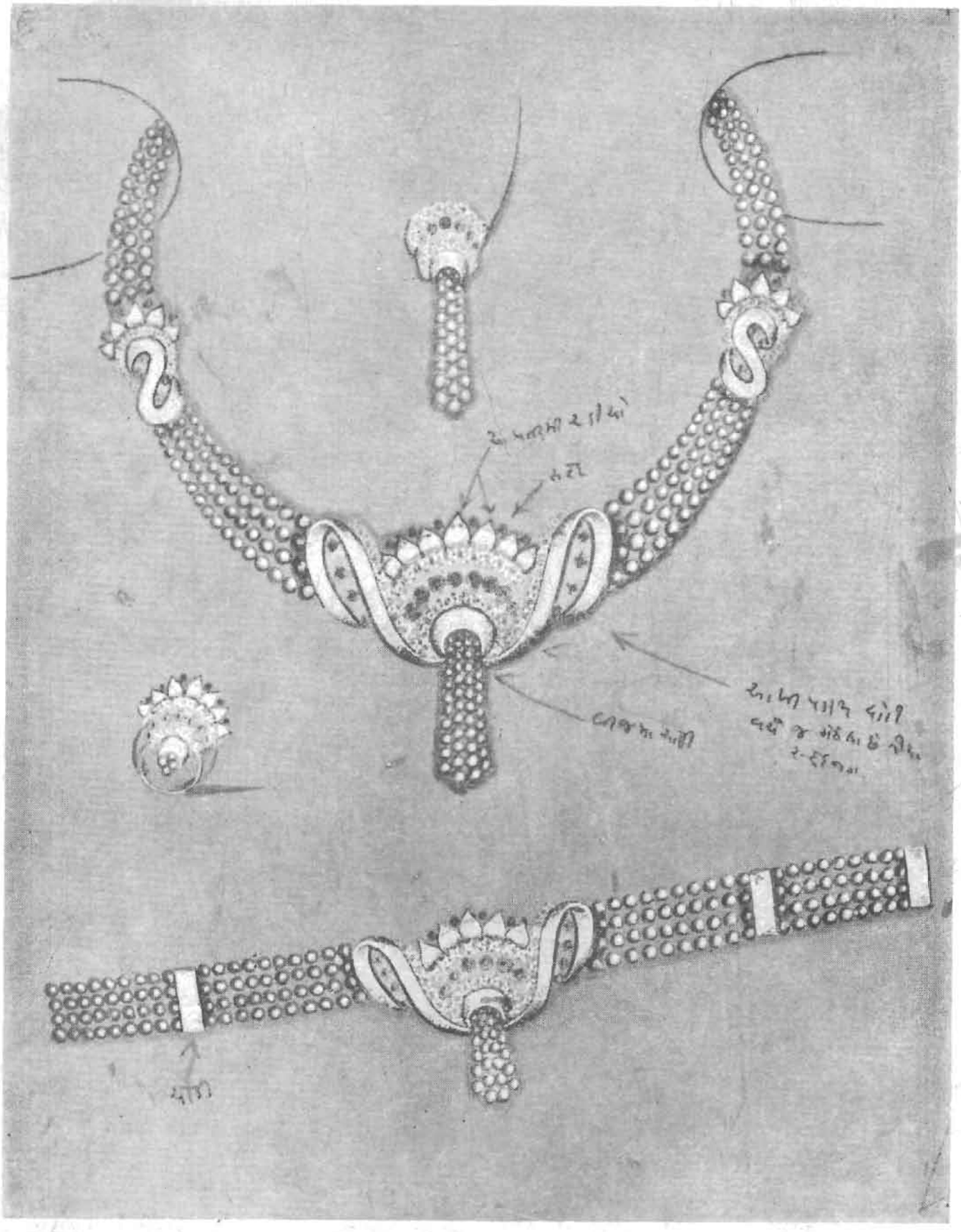
1 and 5. Kanthi; 2, 3 and 4. Earrings and 6. Pendant in fish shape

2

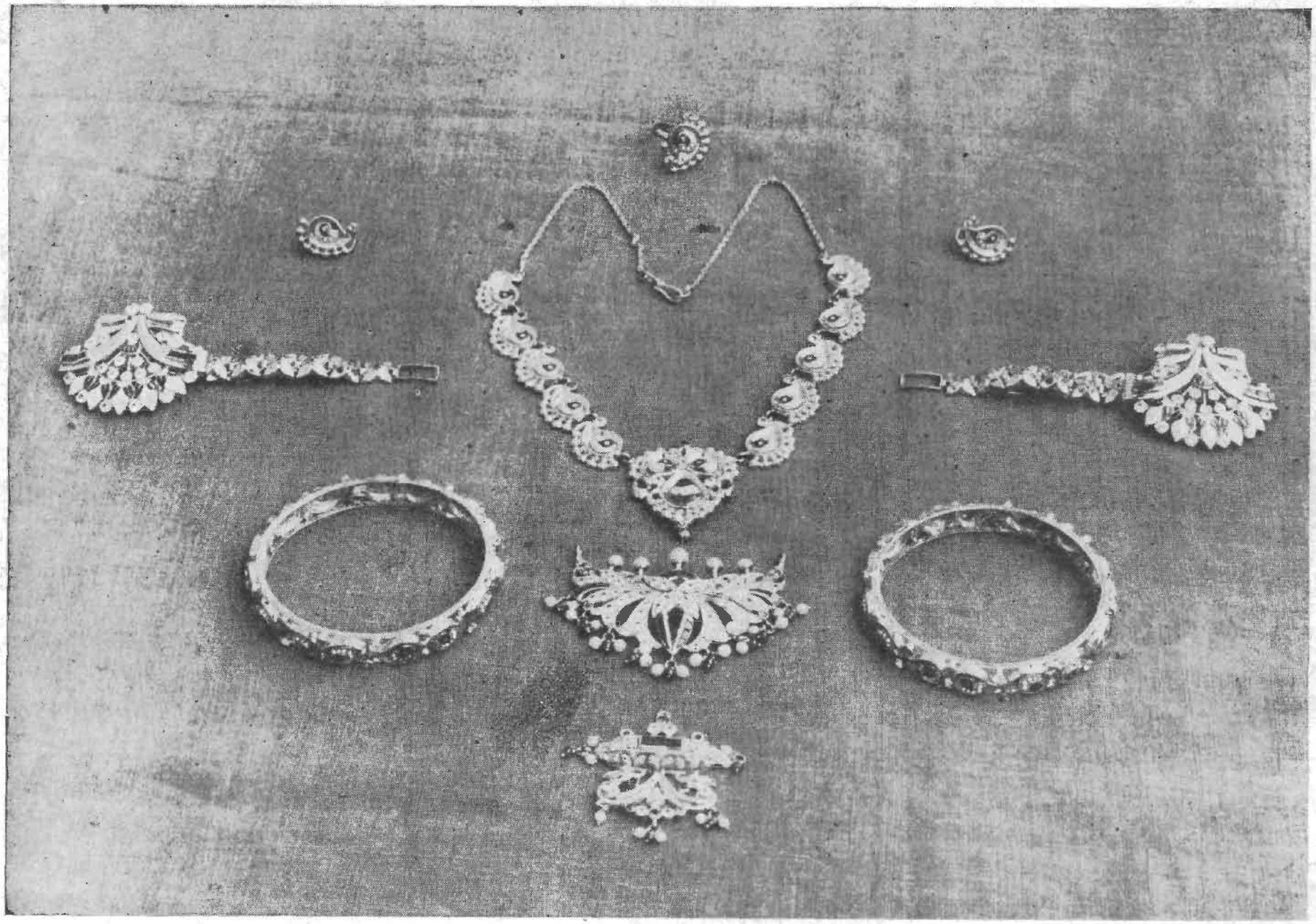
1

3

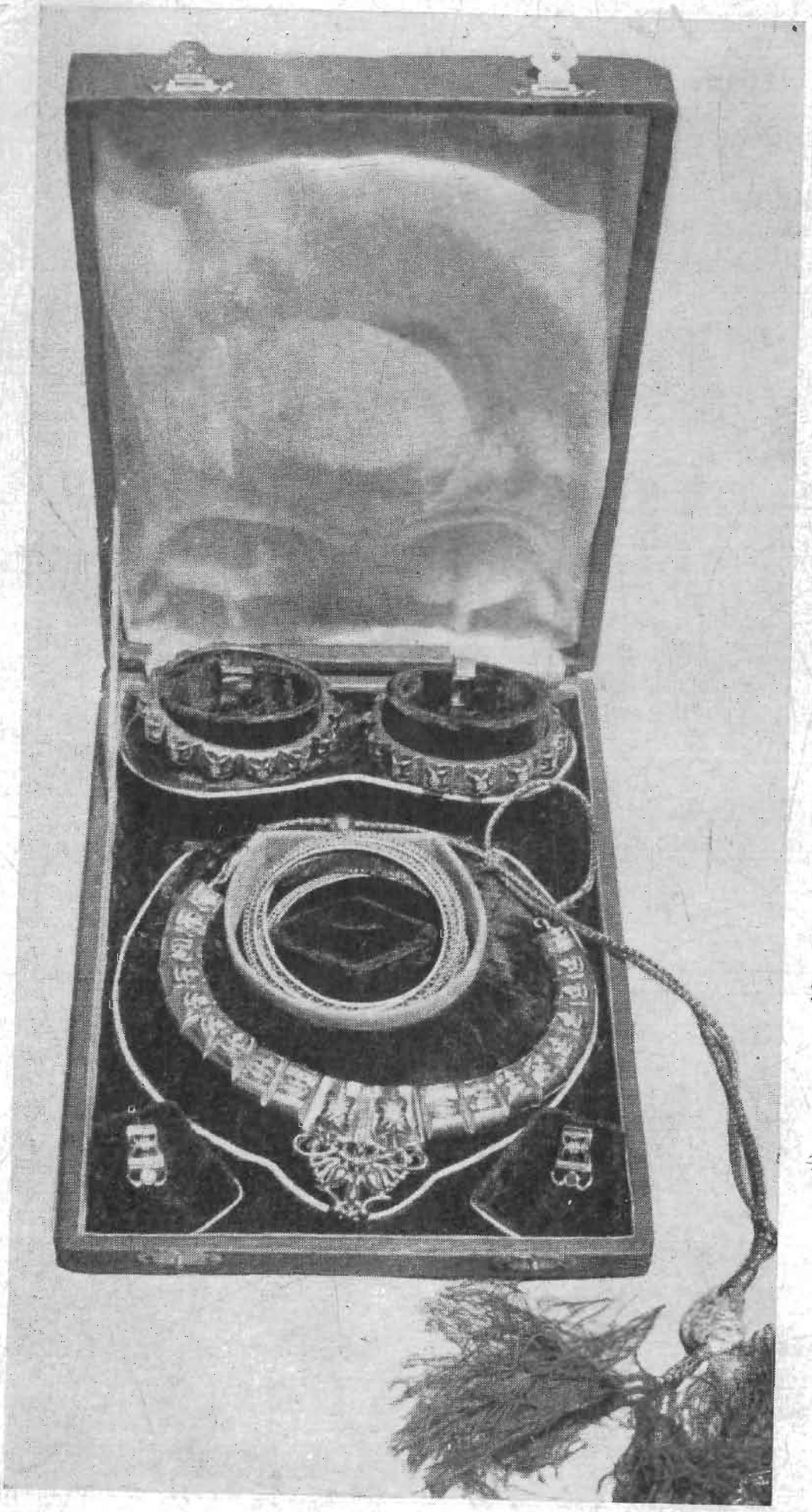
4



Modern set of 'Jadtar' (Inlay work)
1. Necklace; 2 and 3. Ear-tops and 4. Bracelet



1 and 3. Earrings; 2. Nose-pin; 4. Necklace; 5 and 6. Ponchi; 7 and 8. Kangan (Bangles); 9 and 10. Pendants

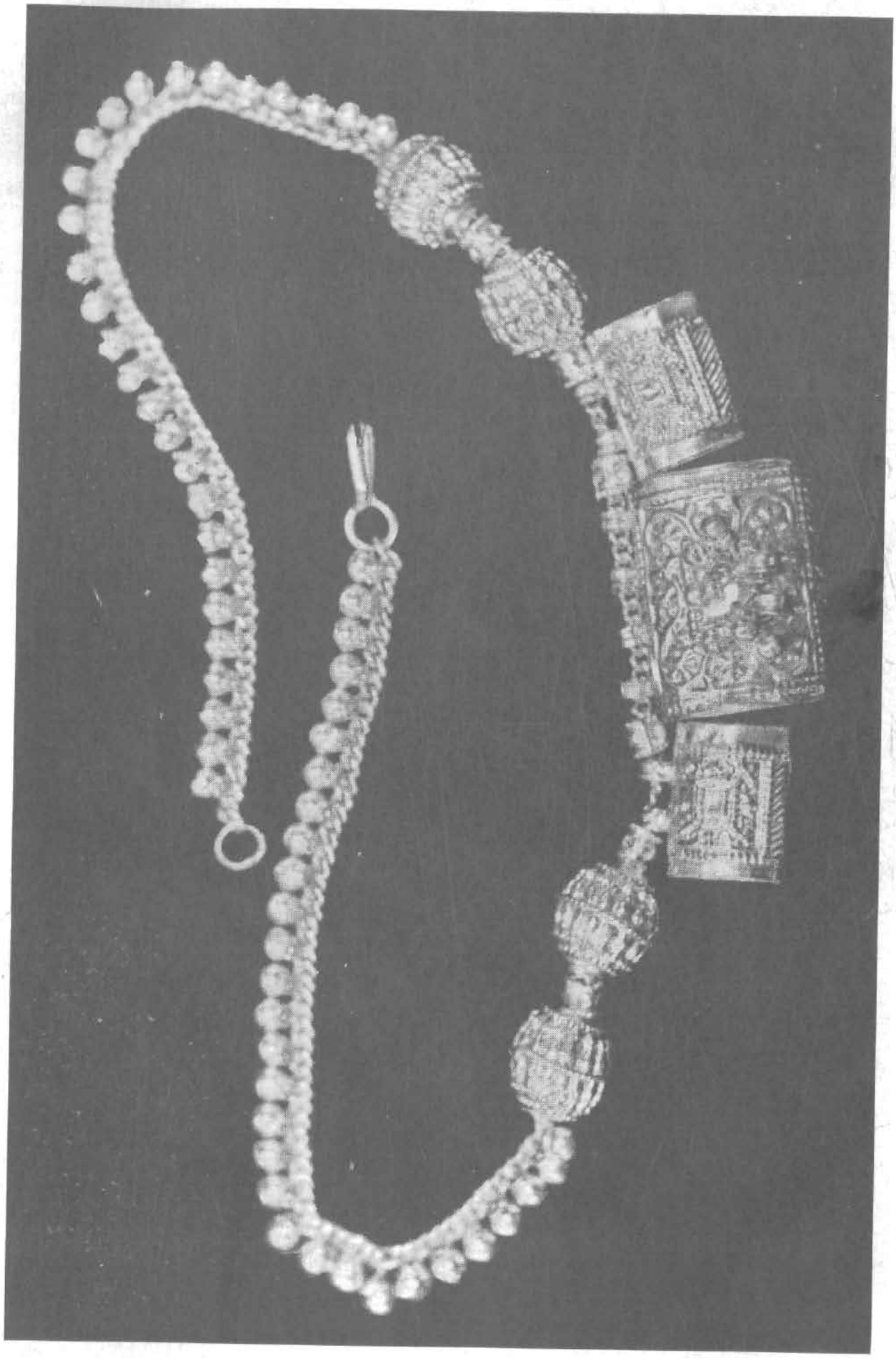


1. Patla (Bangles); 2. Kangan (Bangles); 3. Necklace and 4. Earrings

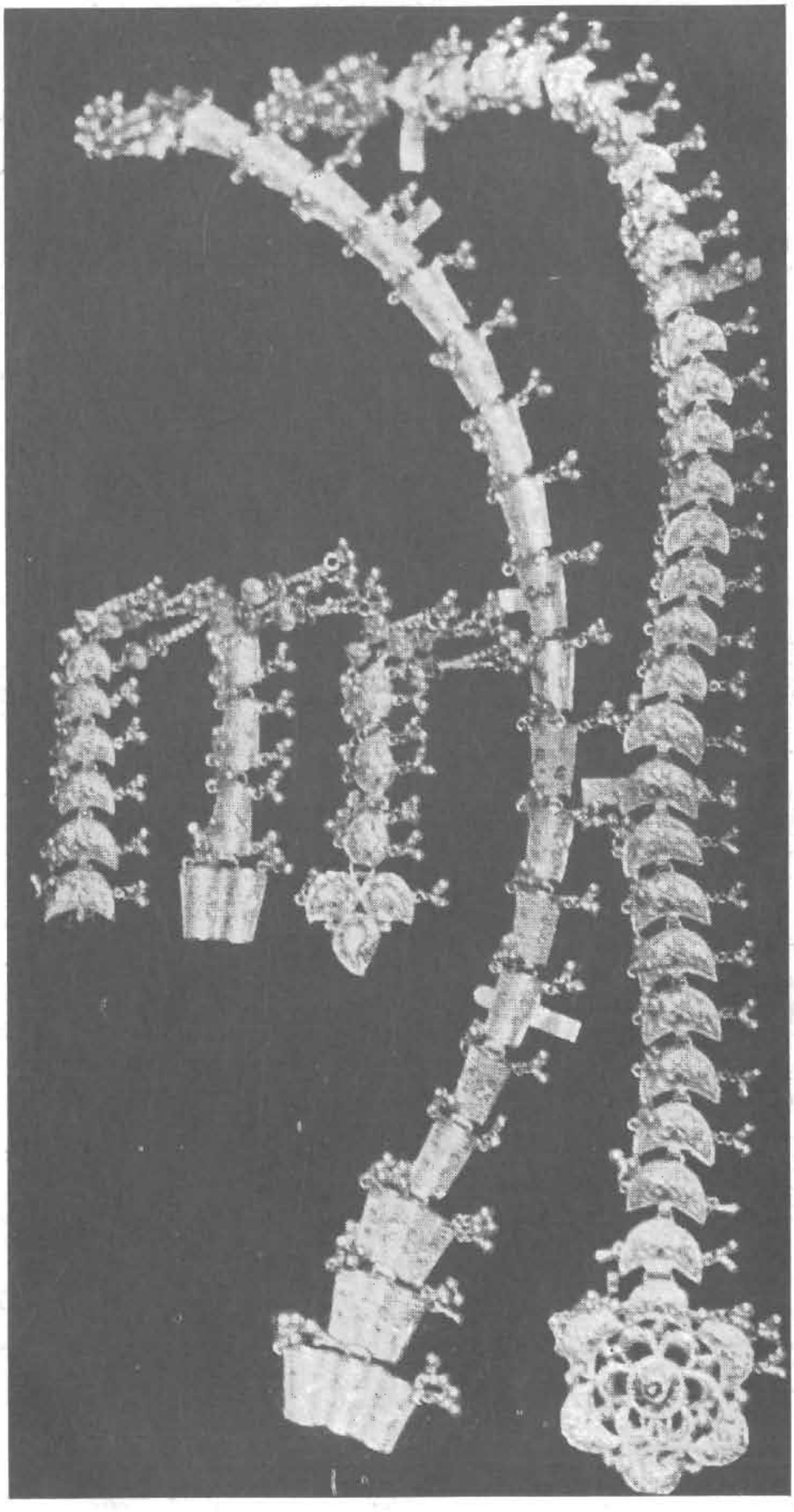


Traditional ornaments on display for sale by a silversmith

Modern Adaptation of Traditional Designs (PLATES LVI–LXXIII)

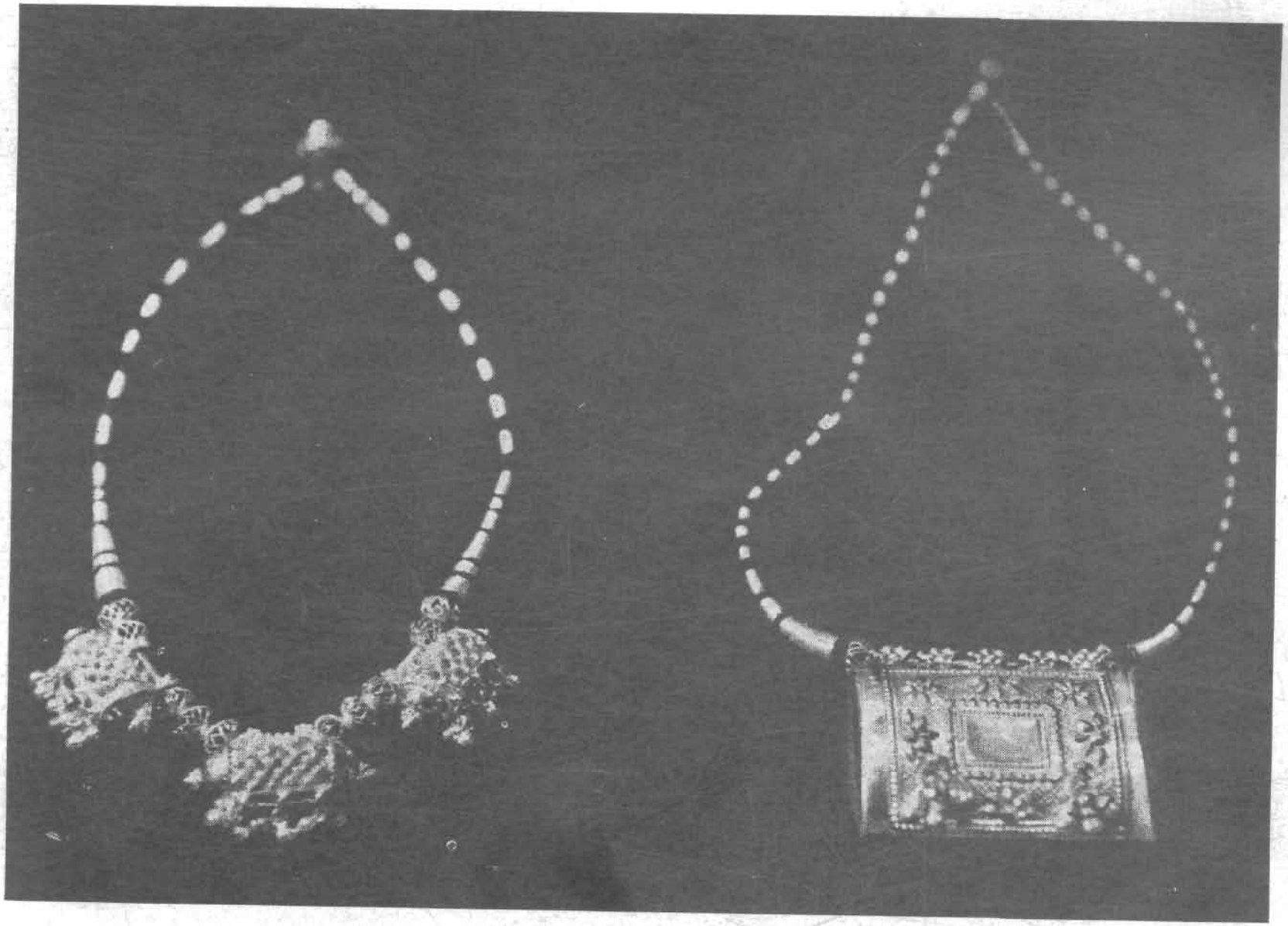


'Tanmaniyu' adapted to modern fashion



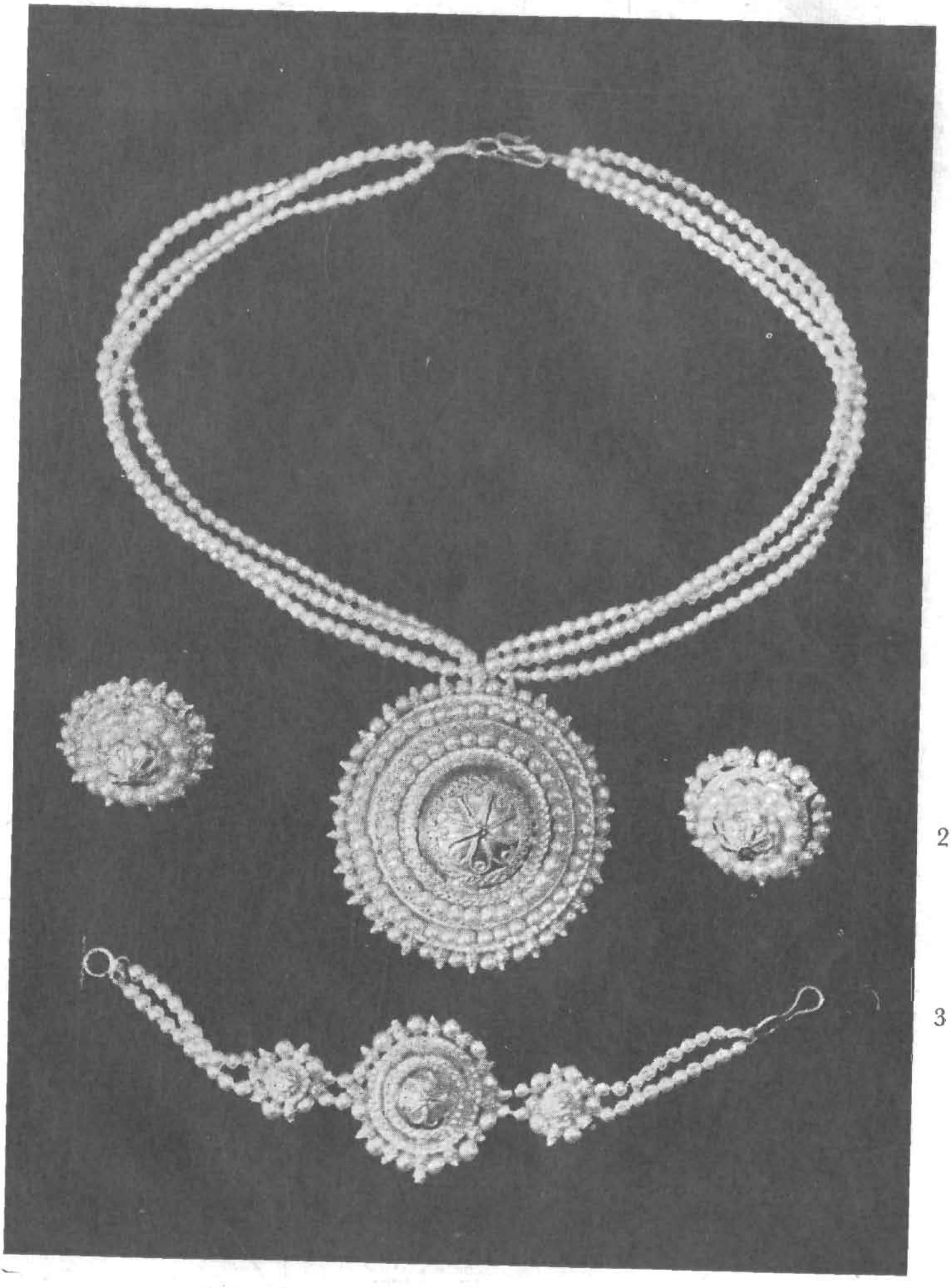
Kandora (girdle) and ear ornaments

1 2



1. Kangani and 2. Madaliyu

1

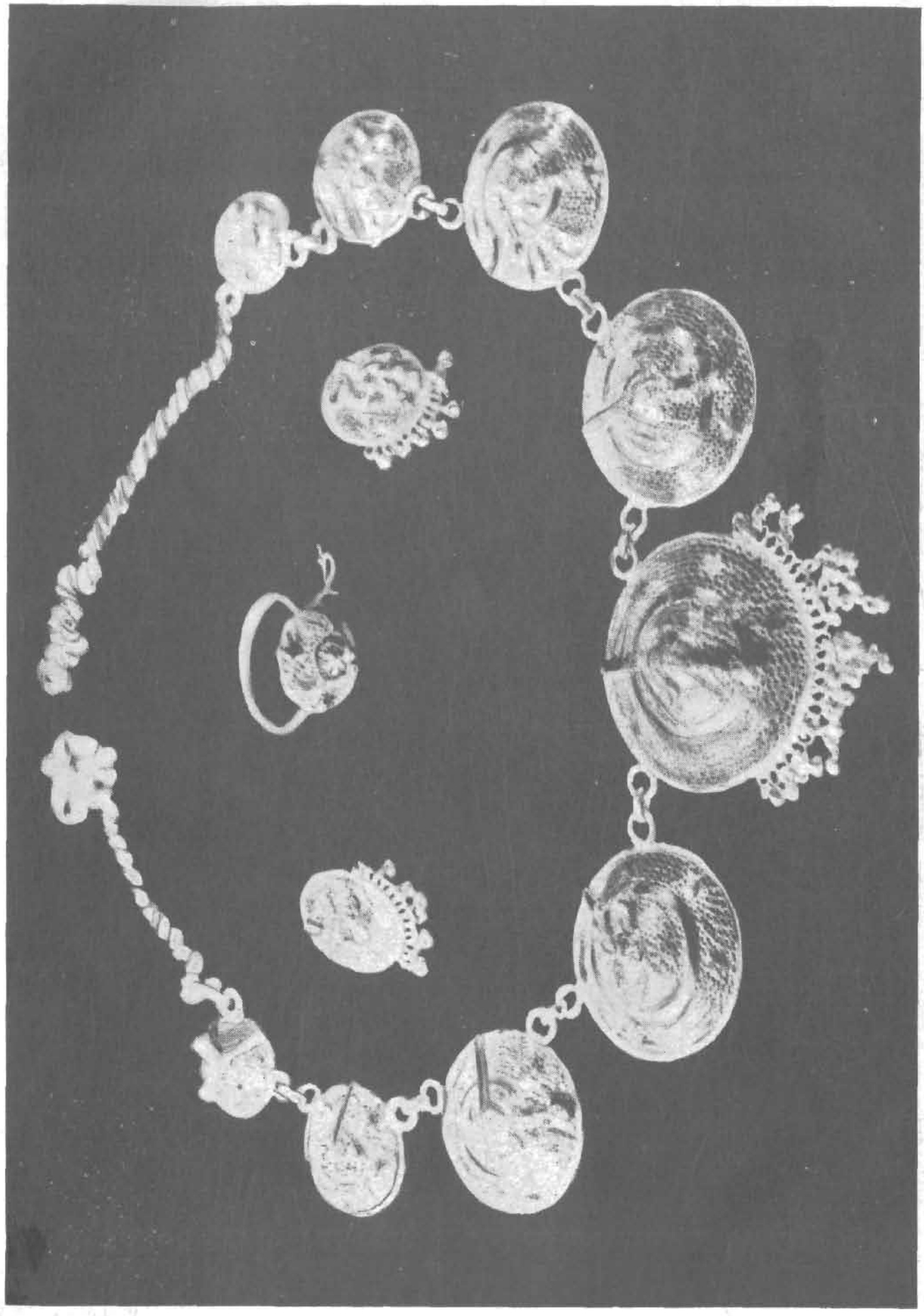


2

2

3

Jayshree fancy set : 1. Har; 2. Earrings and 3. Bracelet



2 3 2 1

1. Necklace; 2. Earrings and 3. Finger-ring

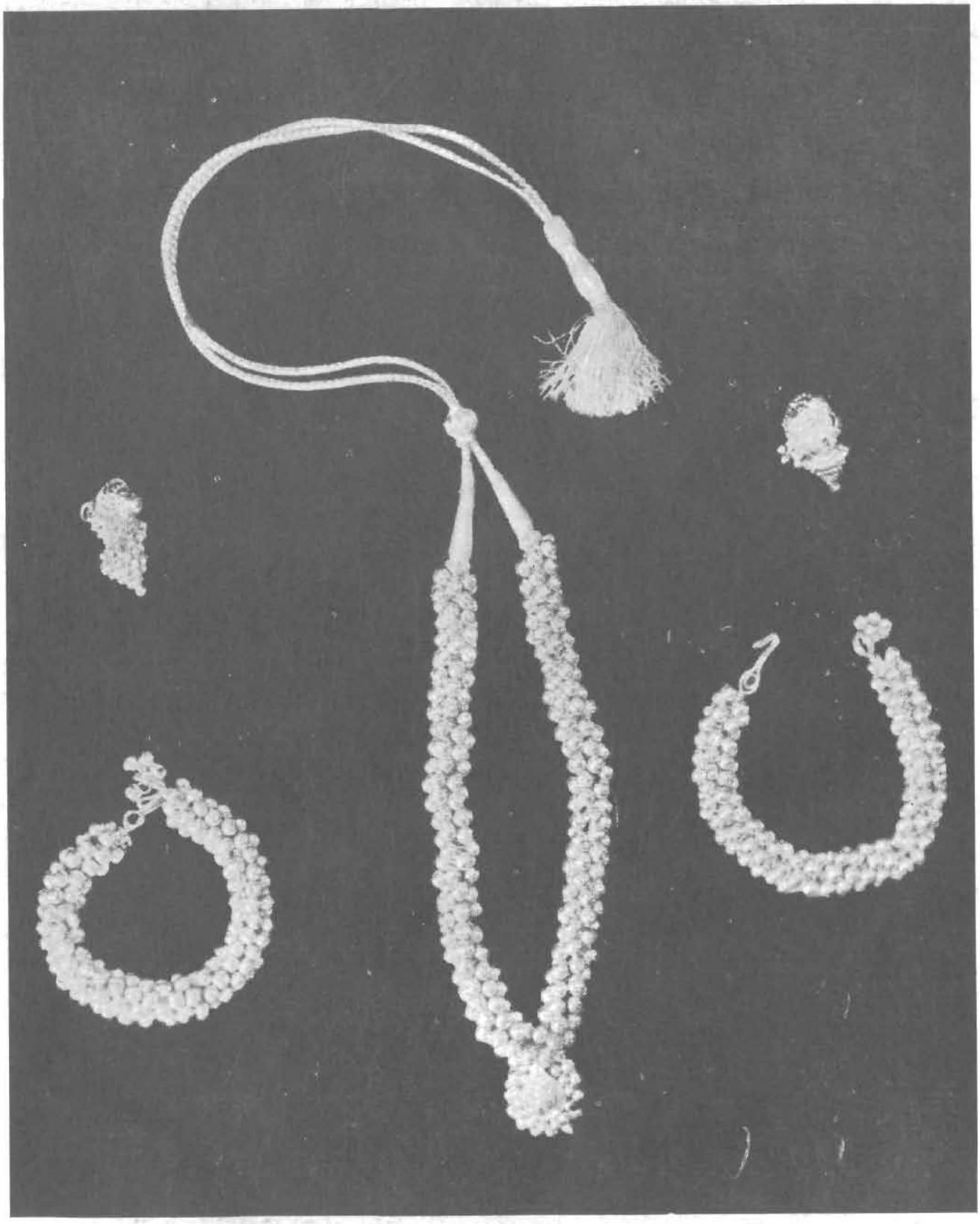
1

2

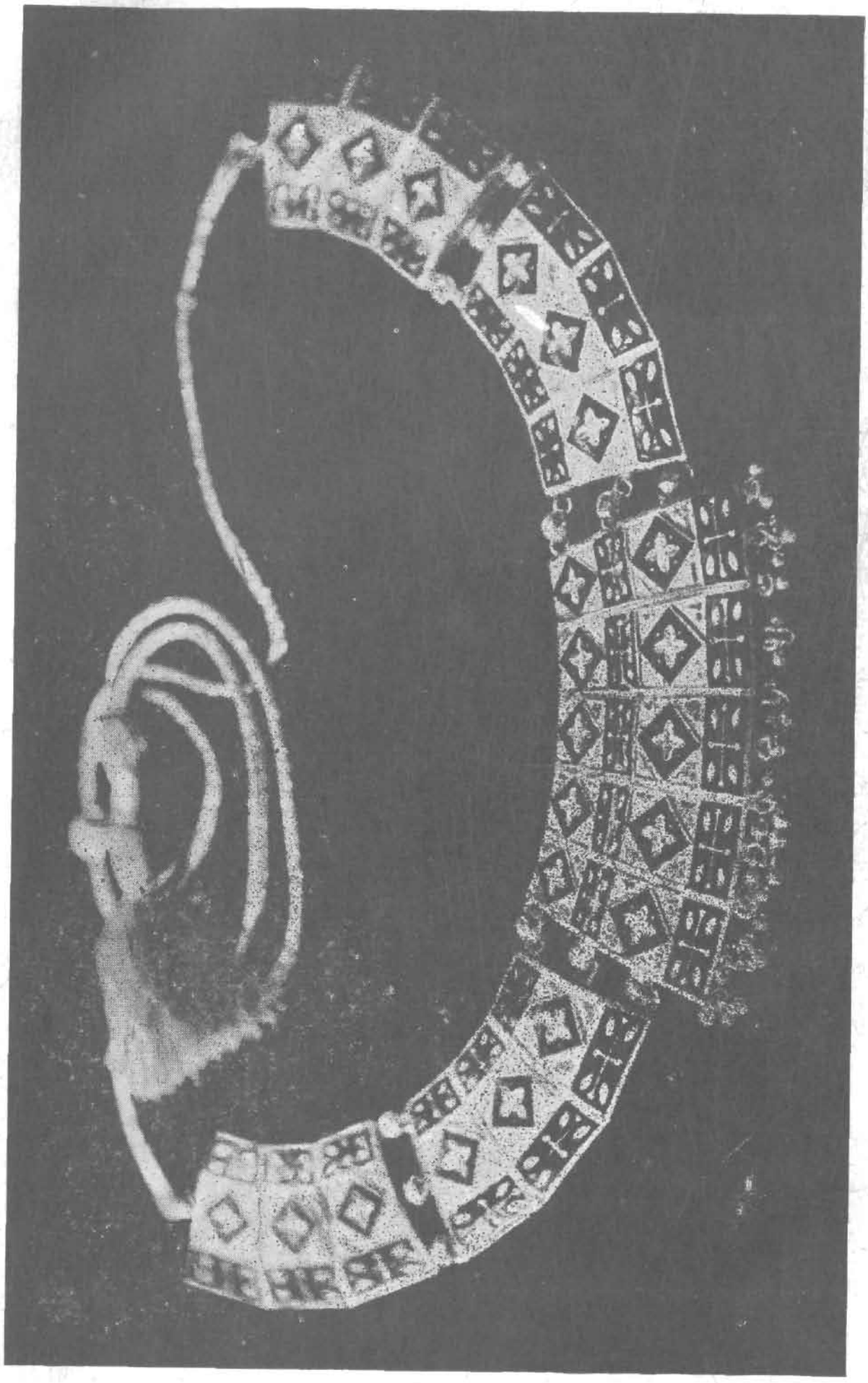
2

3

3

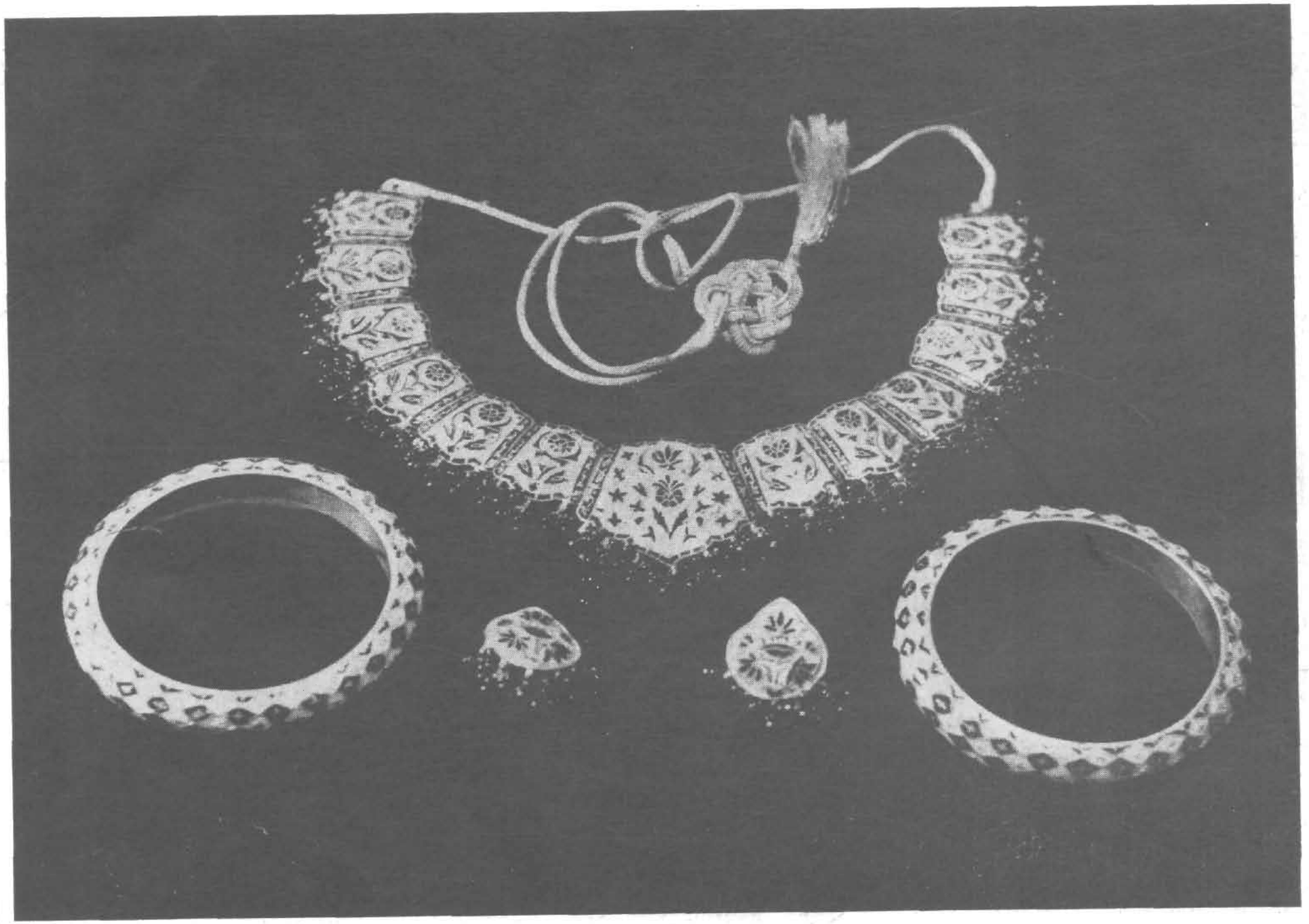


Jayshree Ghugharu set : 1. Neck ornament; 2. Earrings and 3. Bracelets



Hansadi worked in enamel

1

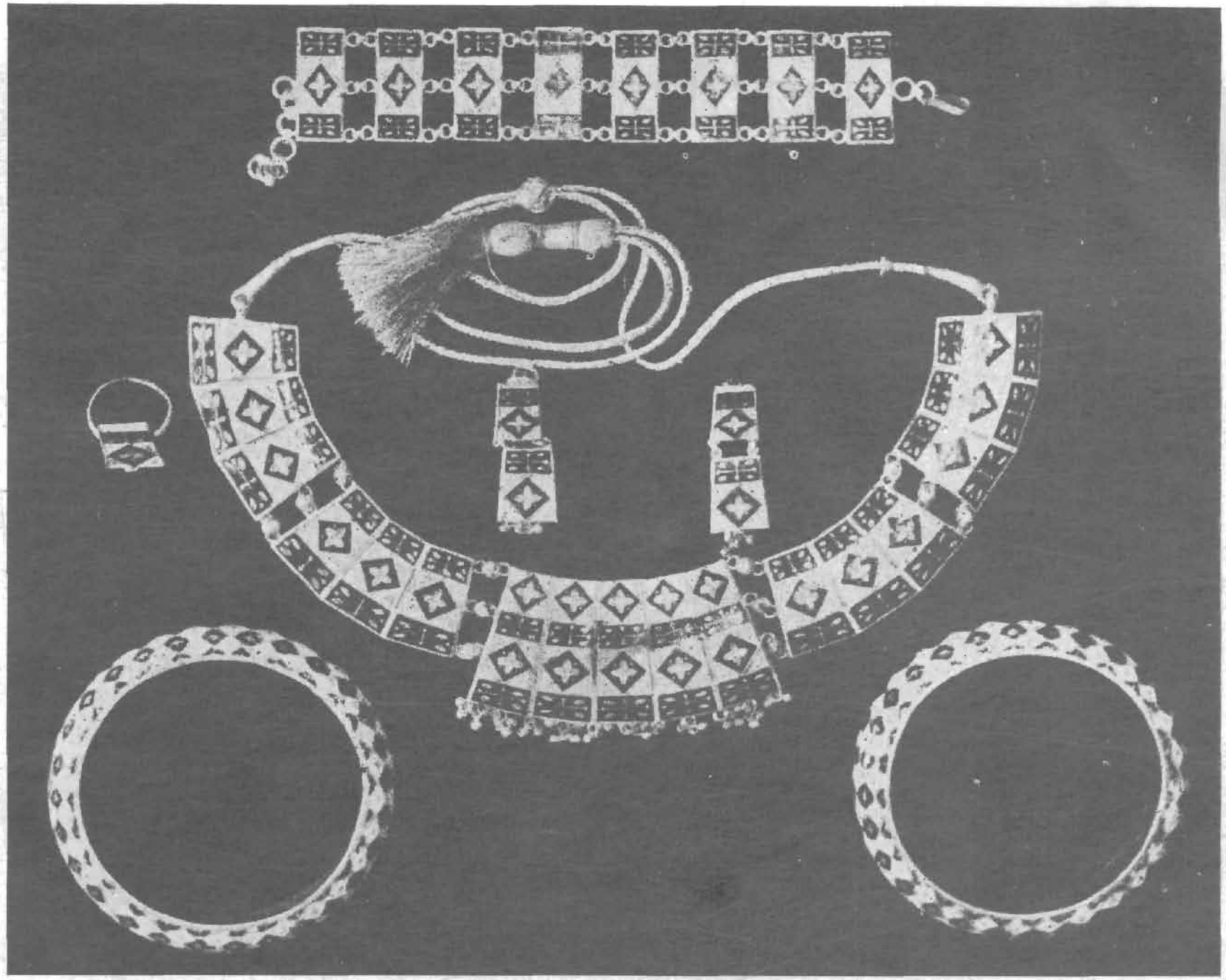


2

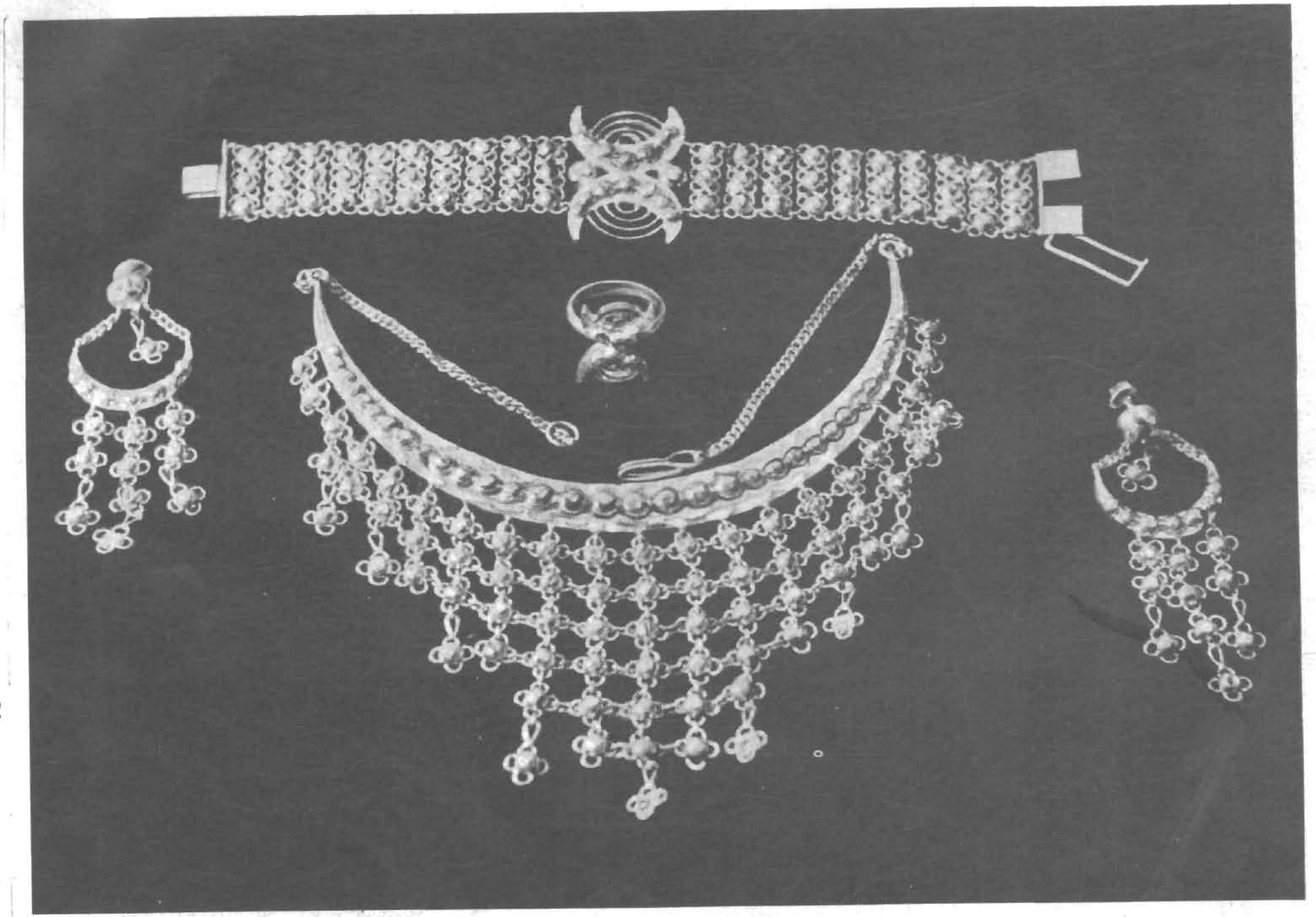
2

3 3

Enamelled set : 1. Hansadi; 2. Bangles (Kada) and 3. Earrings



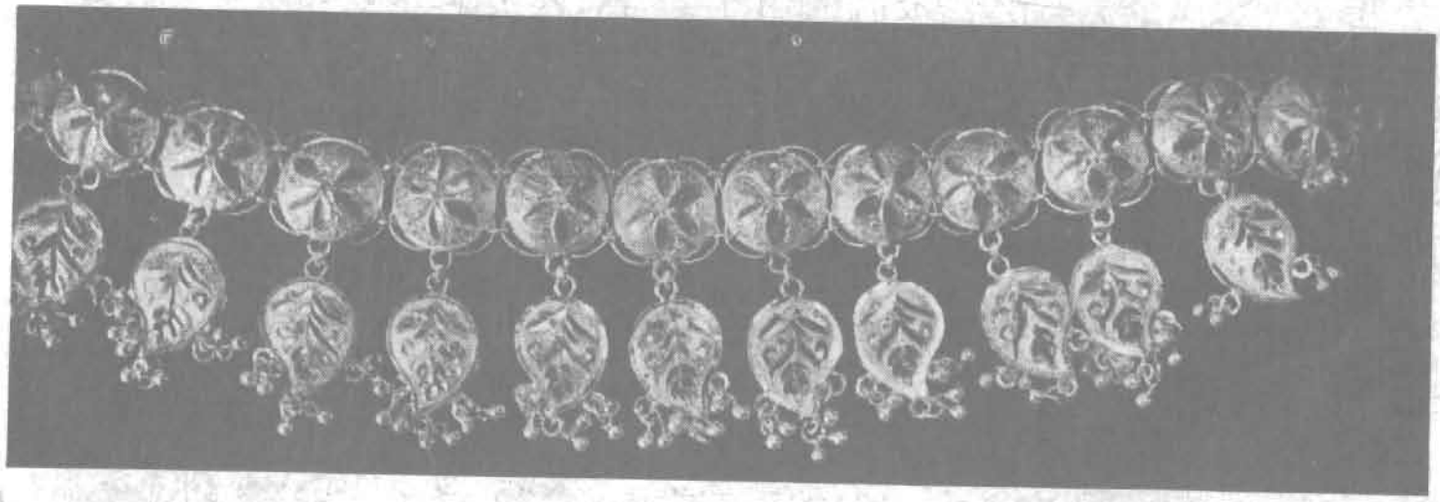
Enamelled set: 1. Bracelet; 2. Hansadi; 3. Earrings; 4. Finger-ring and 5. Kada (Bangles)



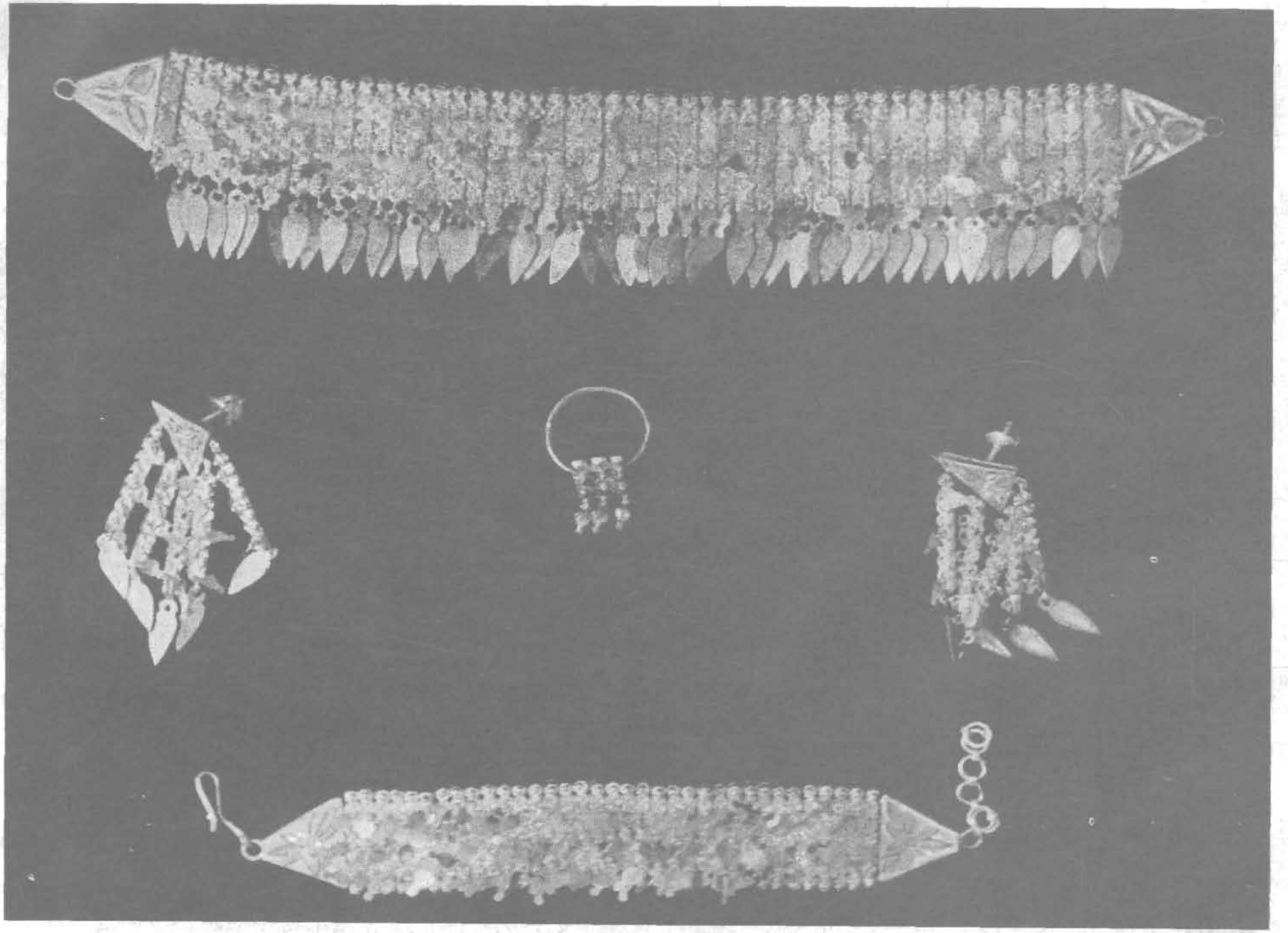
Katak set : 1. Bracelet; 2. Har; 3. Earrings and 4. Finger-ring



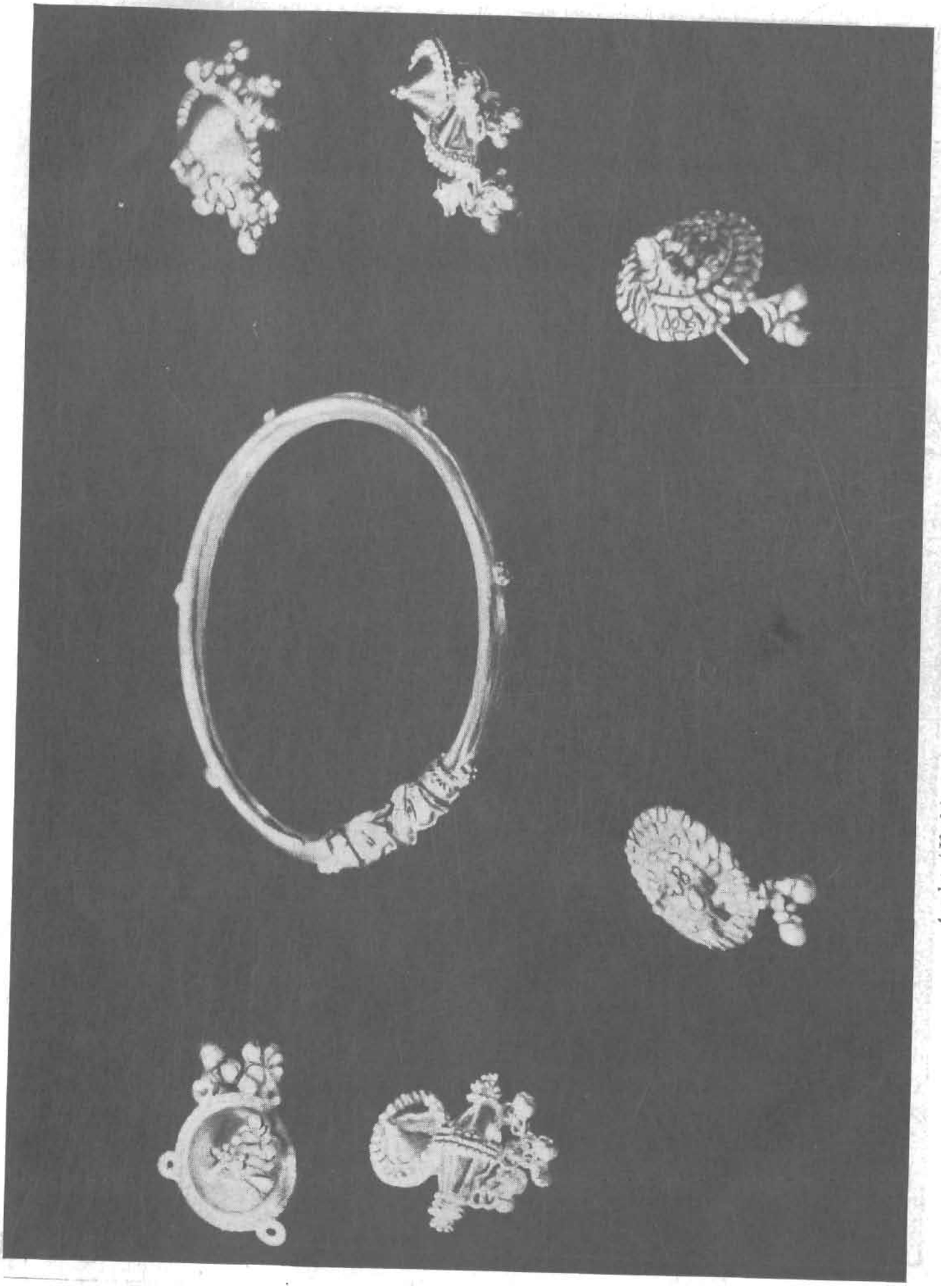
Katak necklace



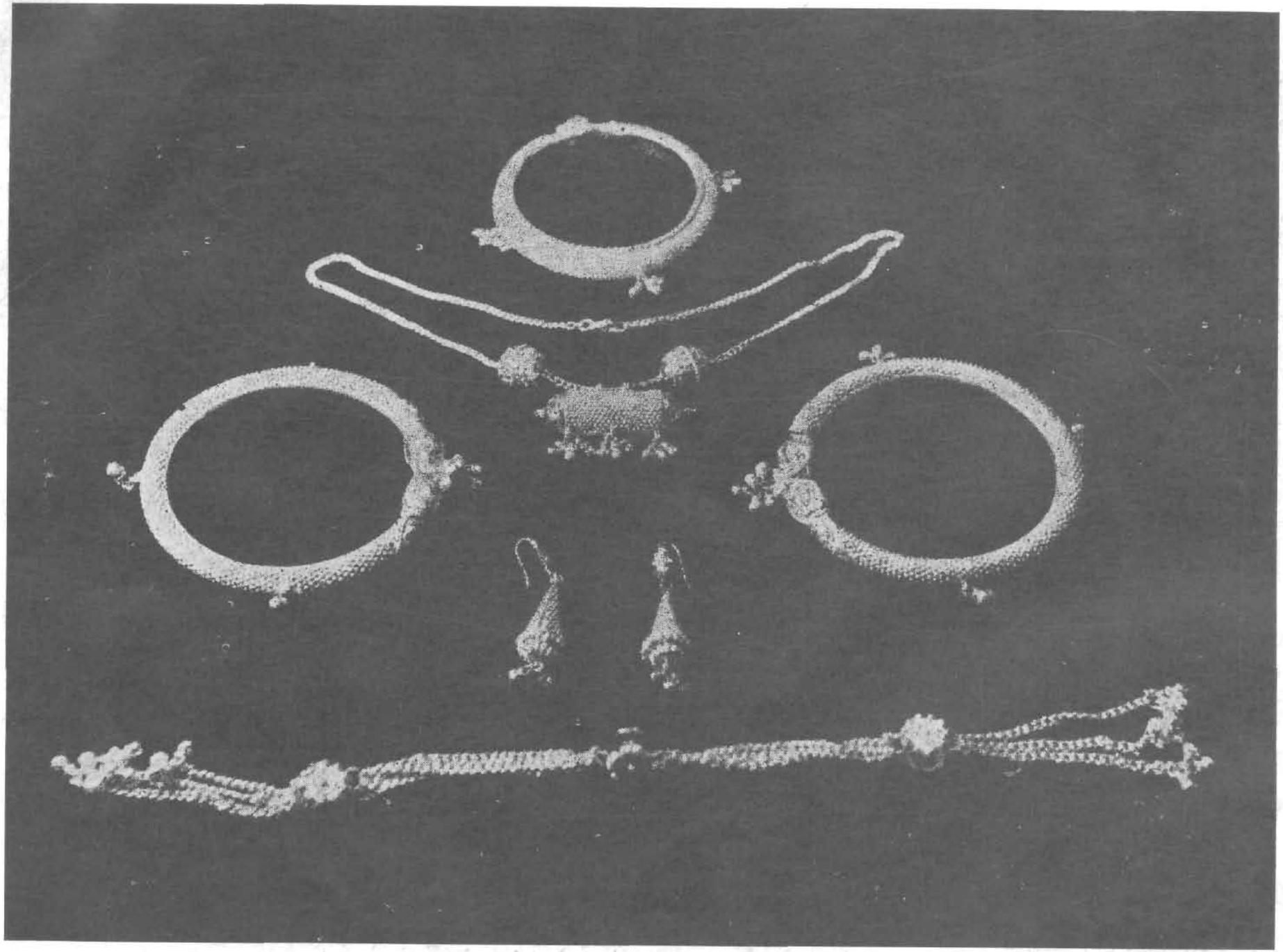
'Pan-no-necklace'



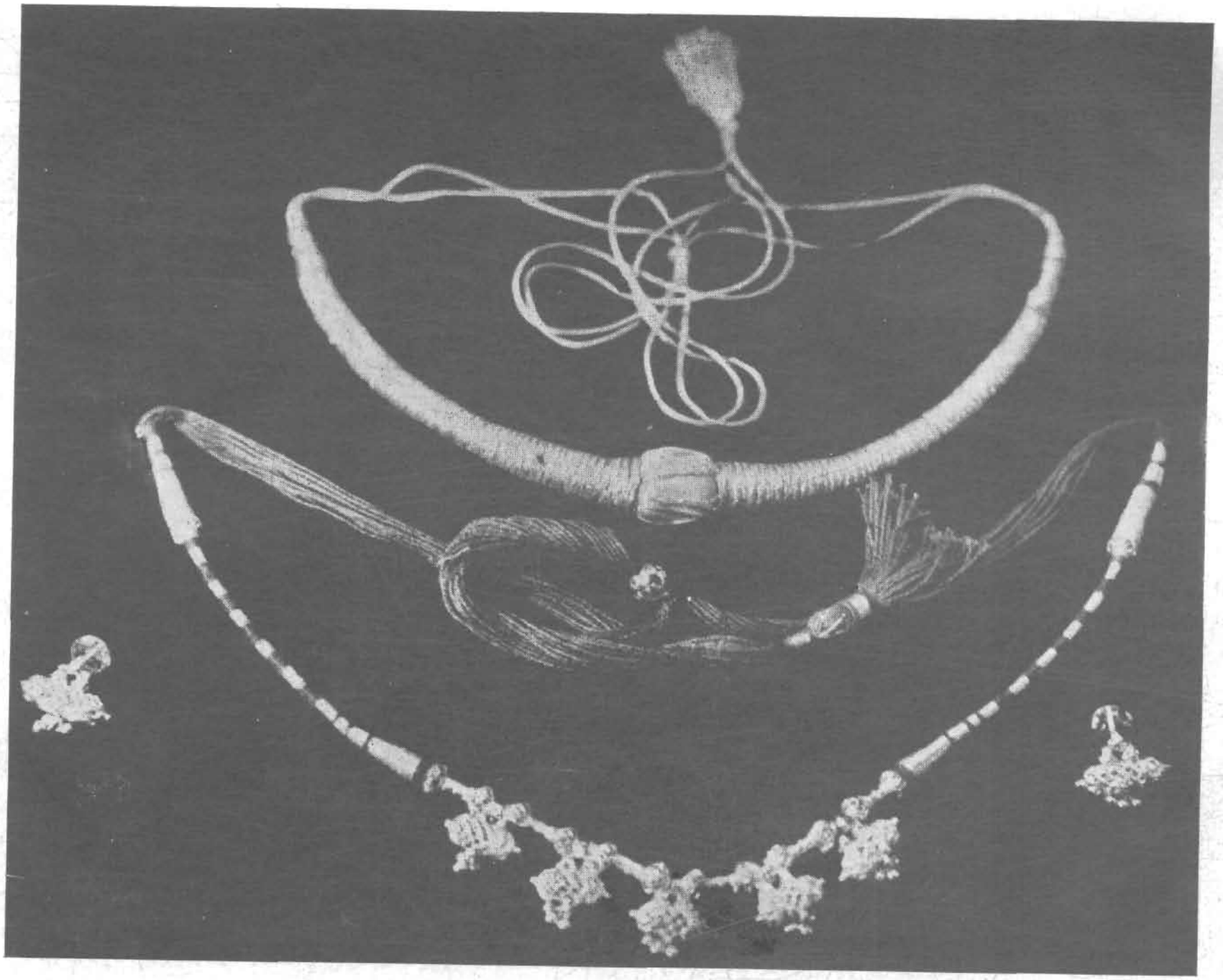
Jayshree fancy set in traditional style:
1. Collar; 2. Earrings; 3. Finger-ring and 4. Bracelet



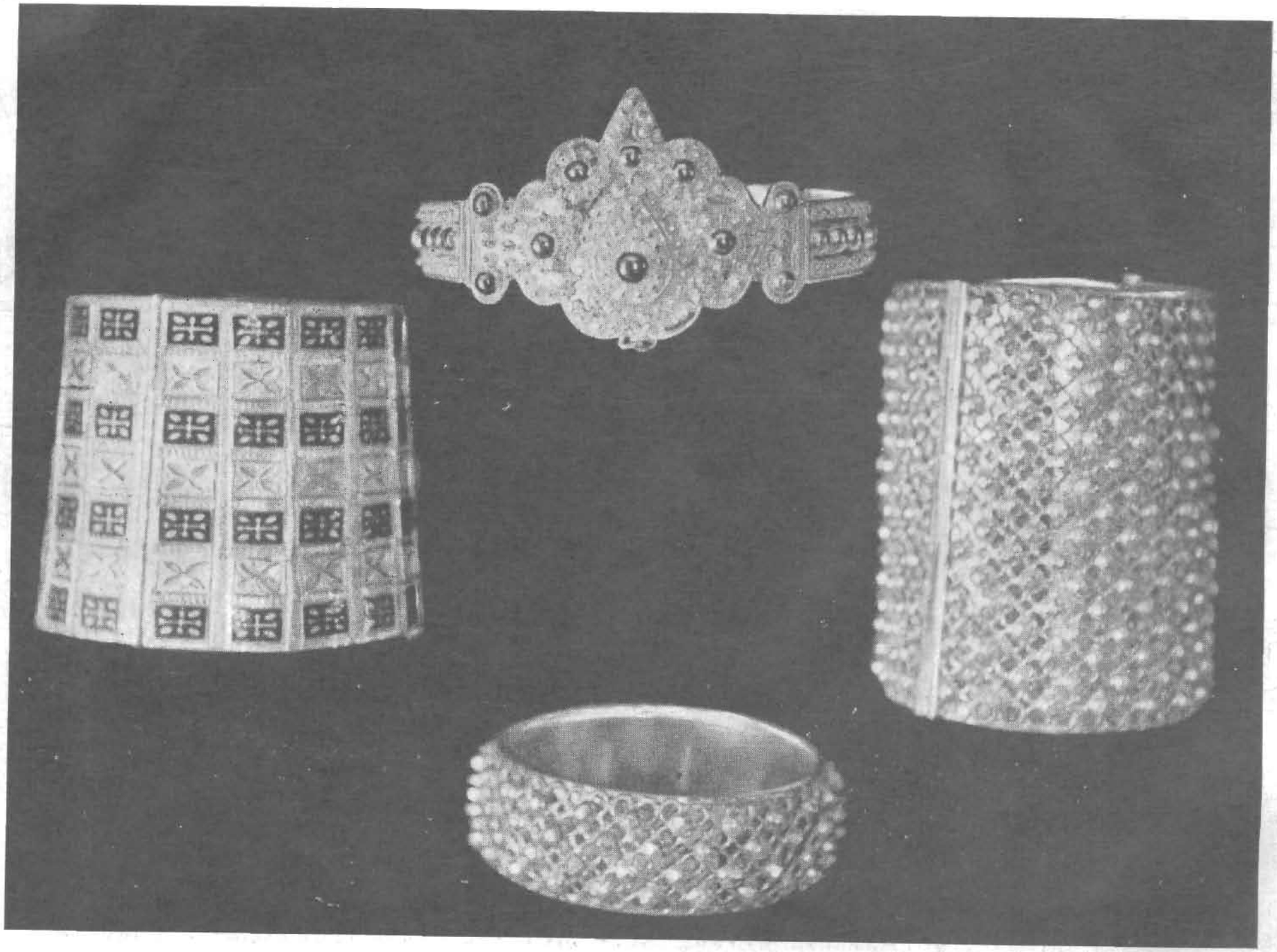
Armlet (Kadu) and earrings in different shapes and designs



1. Armlet; 2. Kangani; 3. Kada (Bangles); 4. Earrings and 5. Button set with chain



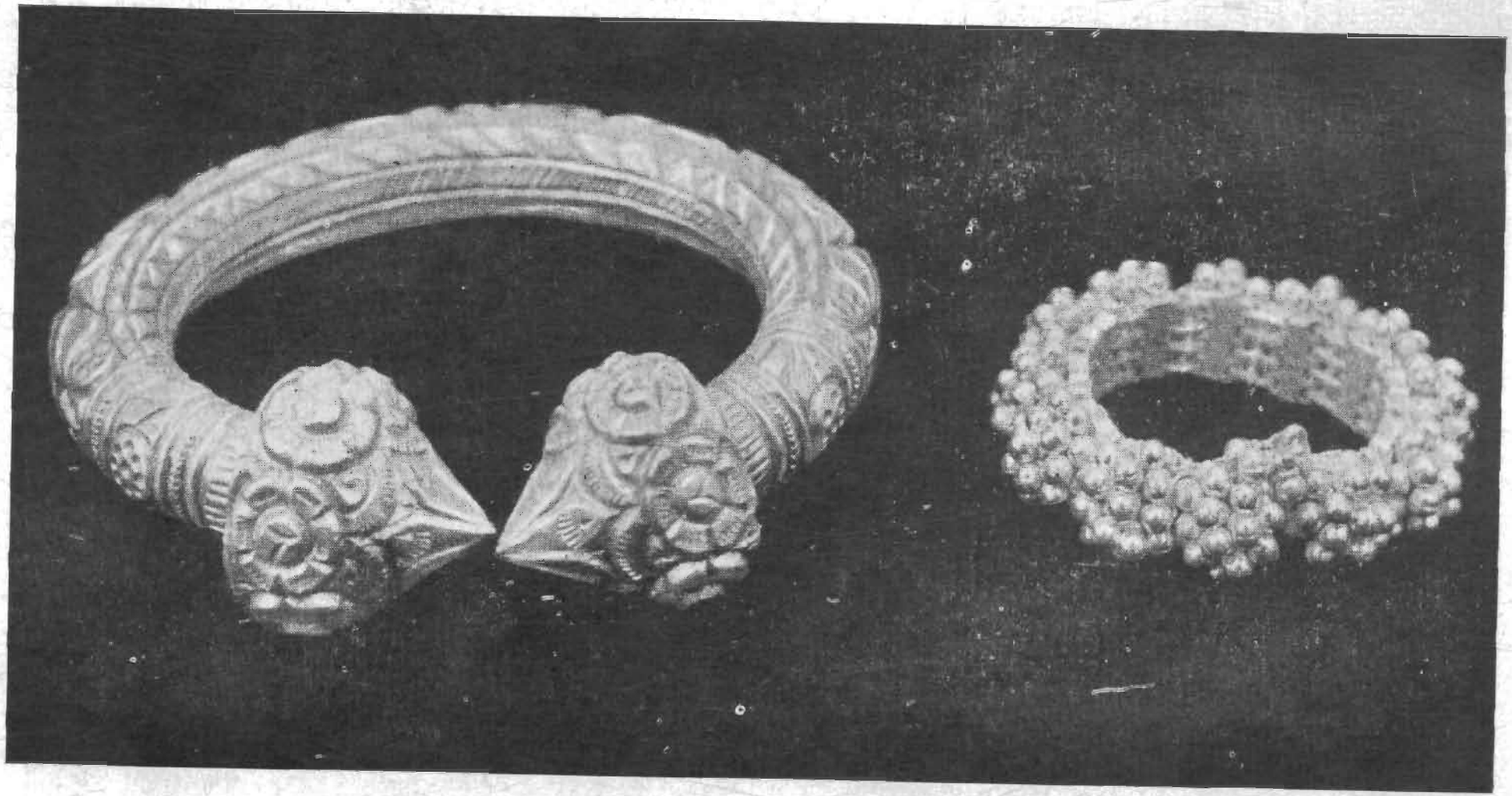
1. Madaliya; 2. Kangani and 3. Earrings



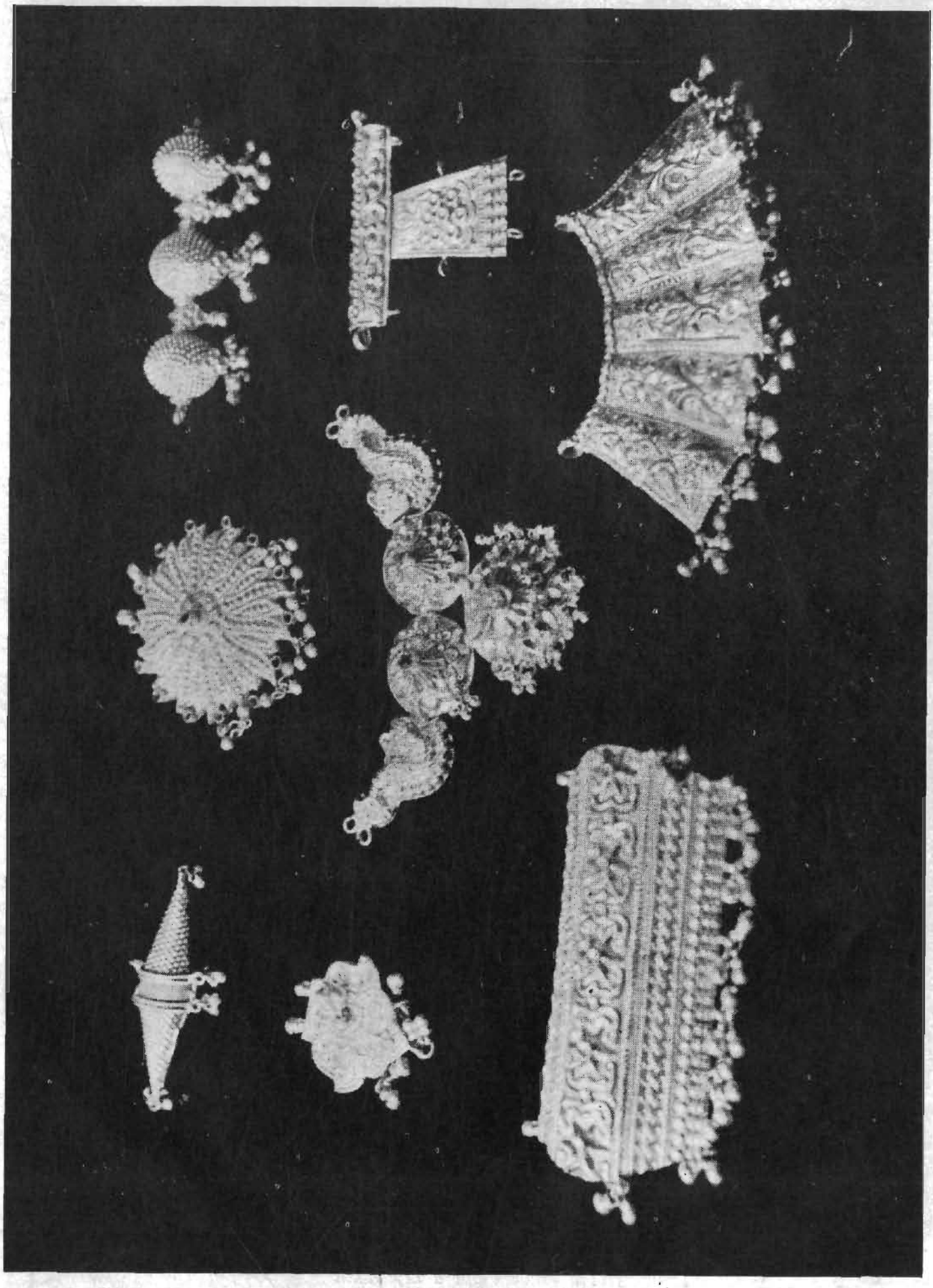
1 and 4. Baju bandha (Armlets); 2 and 3. Balaiya

1

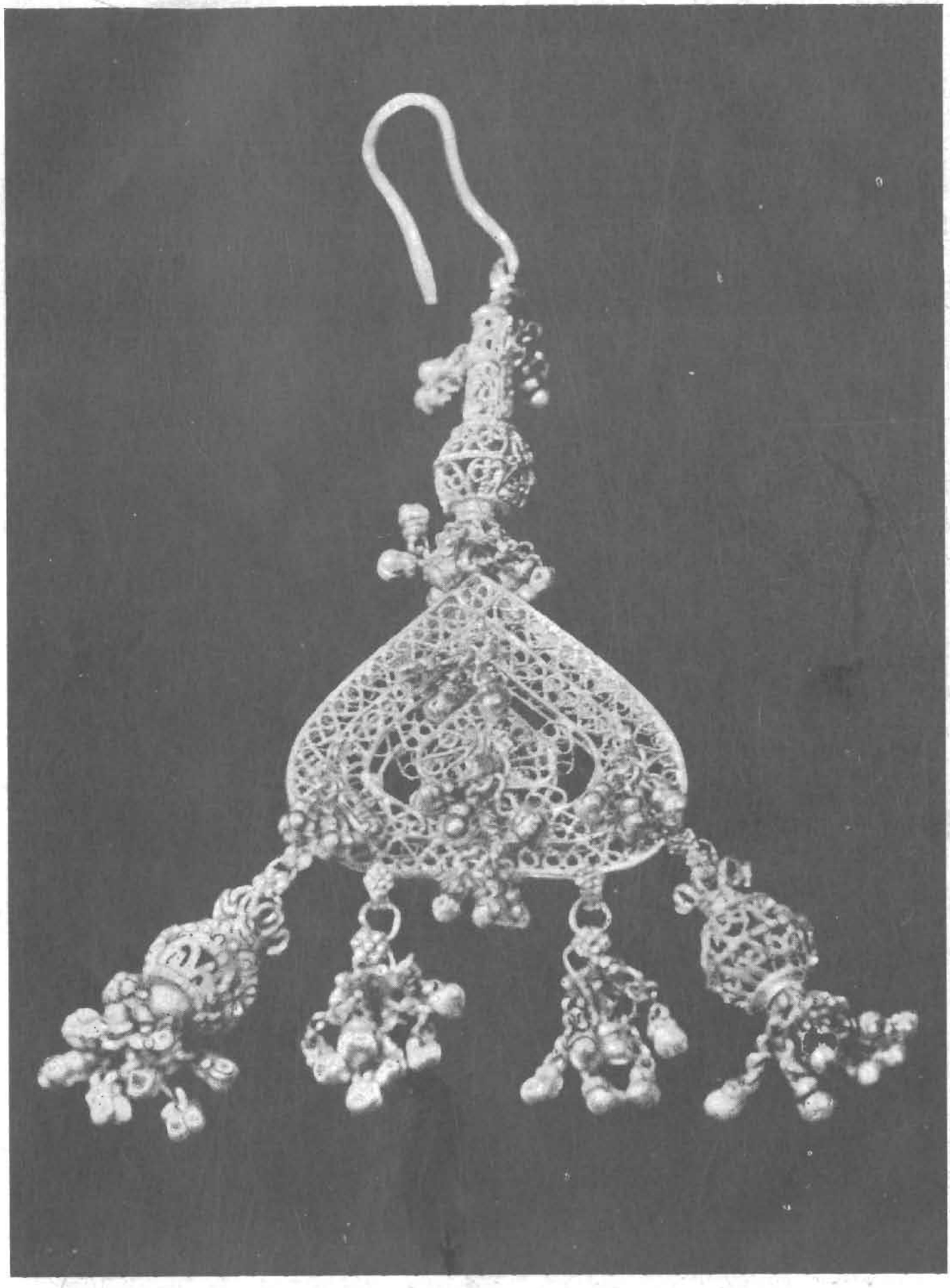
2



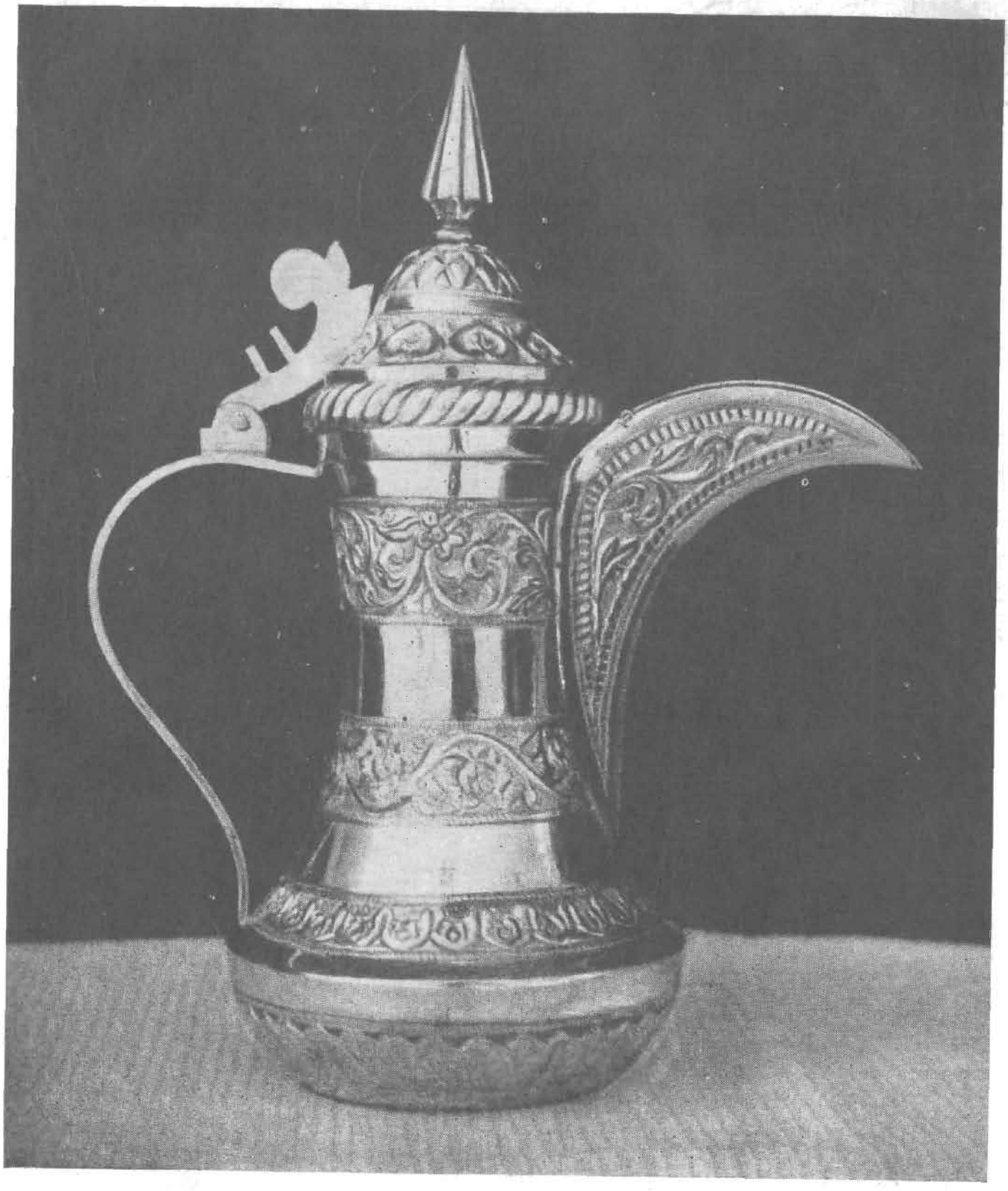
1. Kalla and 2. Jhanjhar



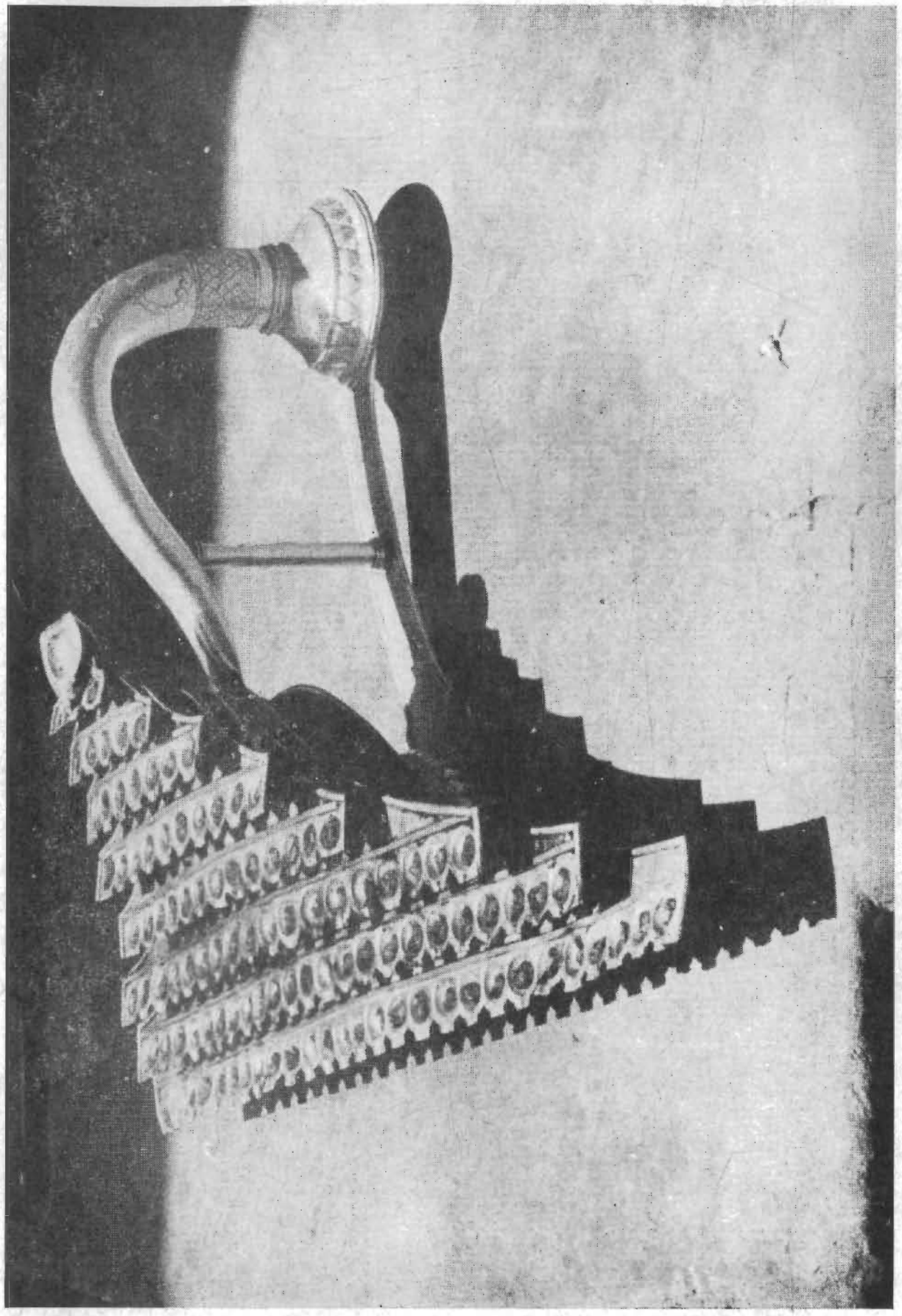
Pendants in traditional shape have come into fashion also with the upper classes



Not a pendant but a key bunch



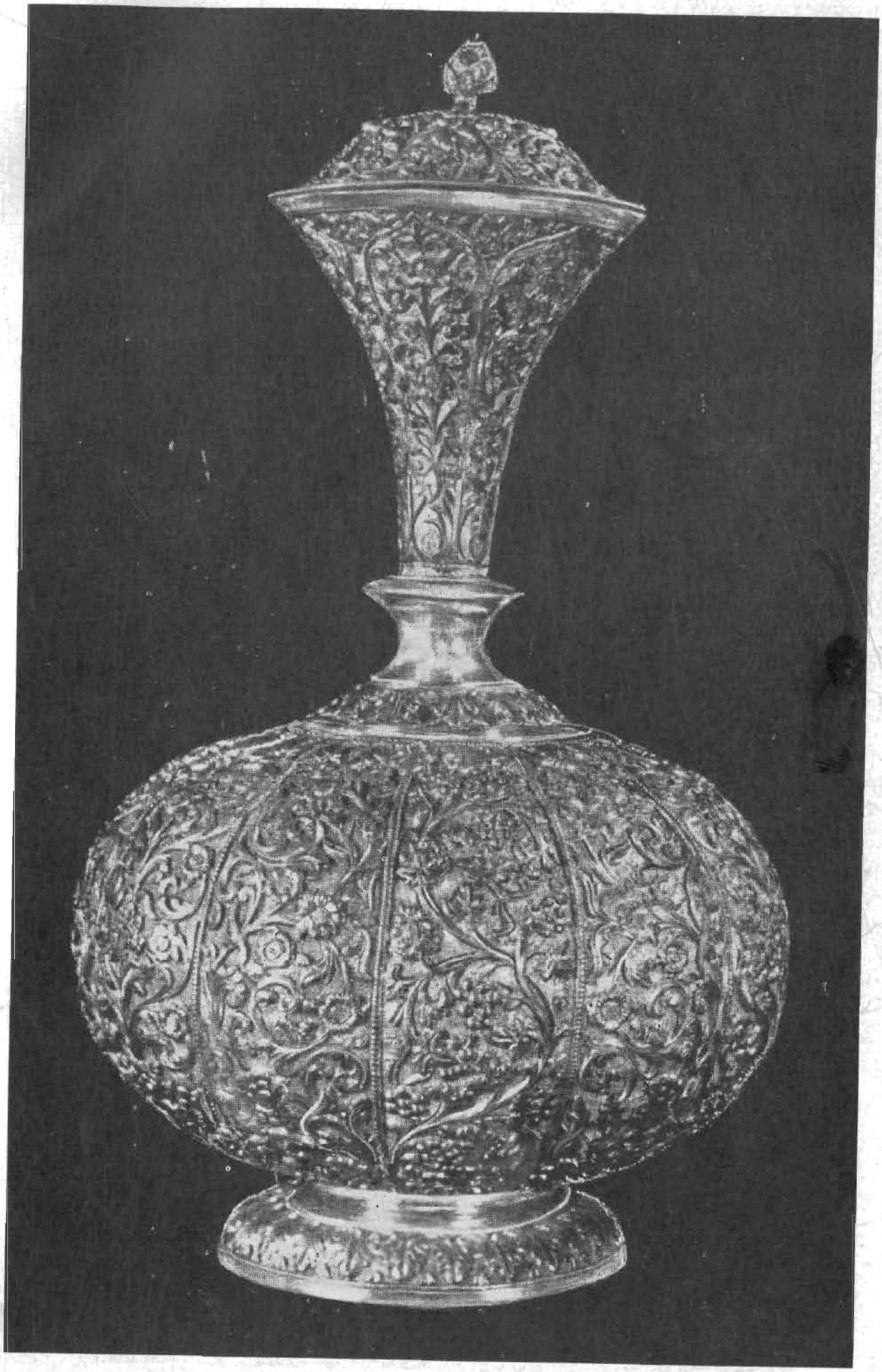
A silver jug



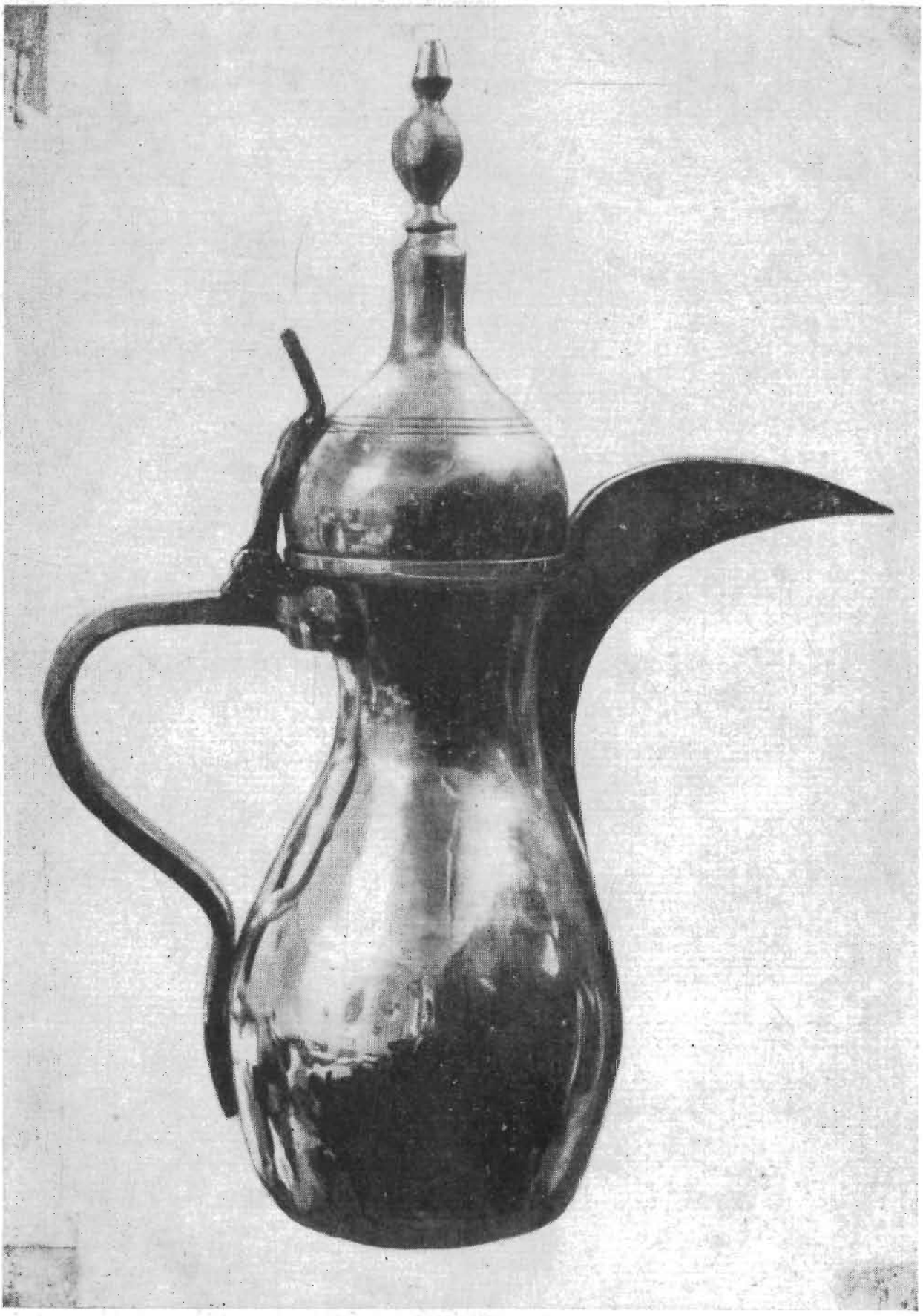
Arti (A silver lamp with a handle)



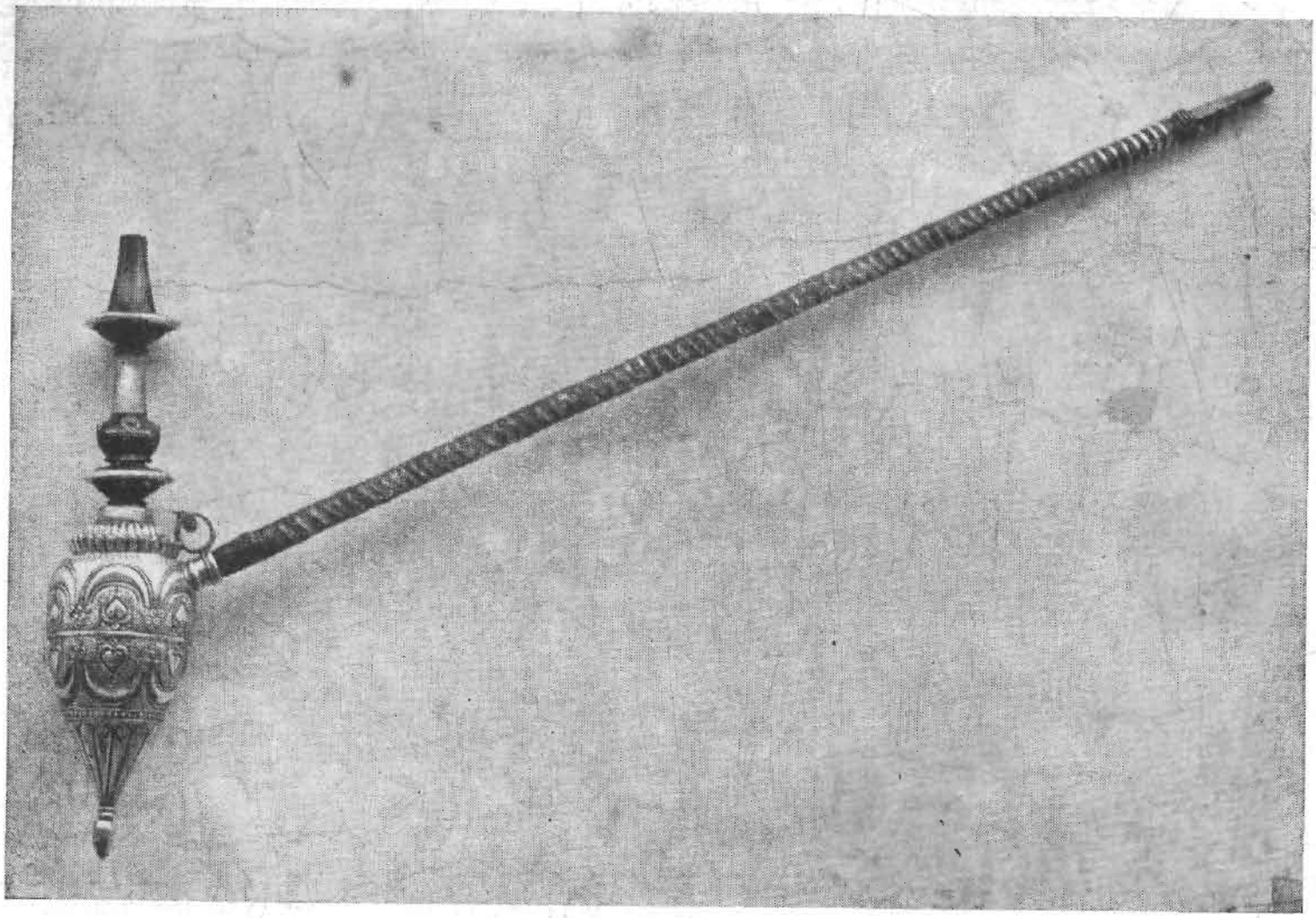
Specimens of Kutch work — A silver coffee set



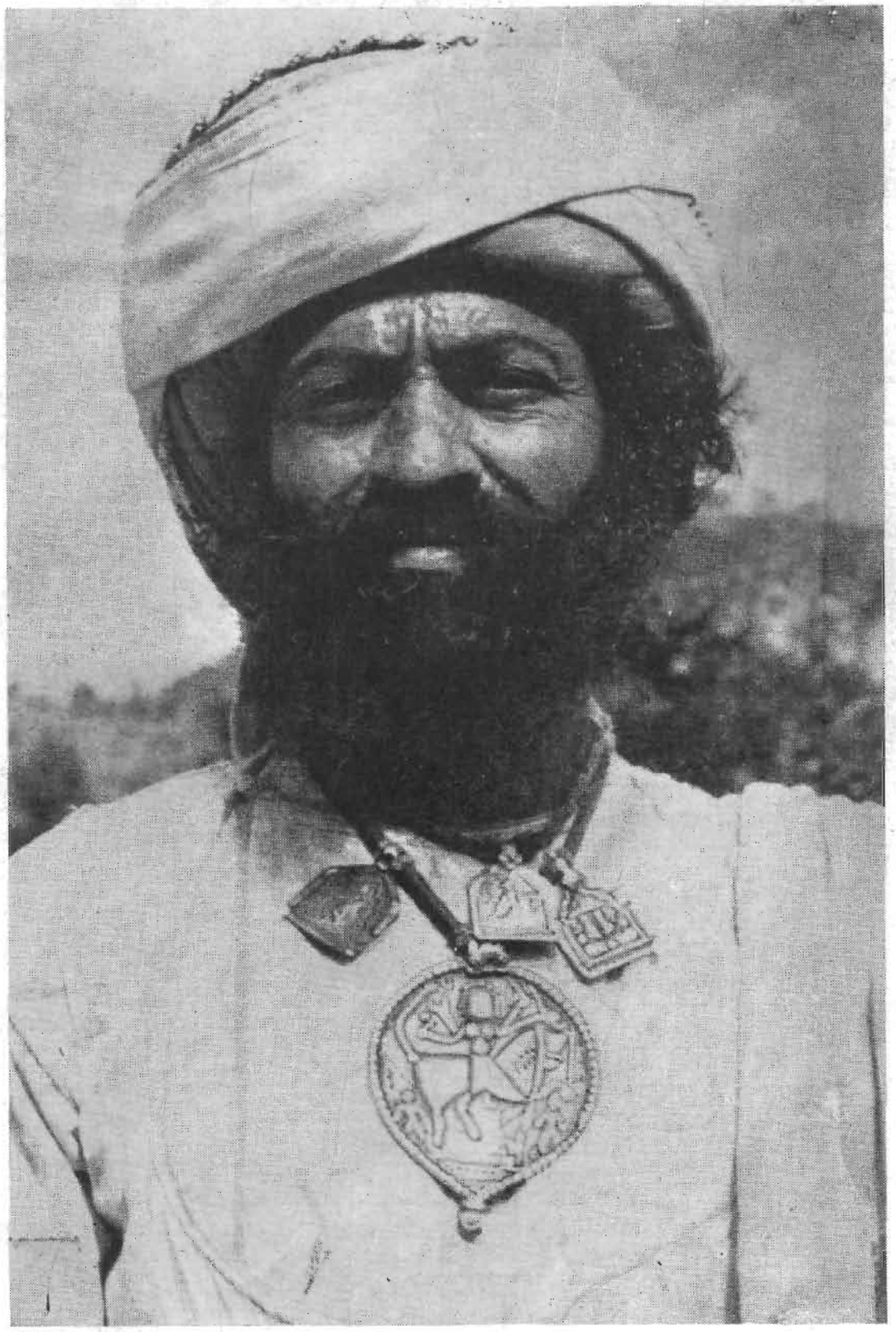
A silver wine jar wrought into a beautiful design of Kutch work



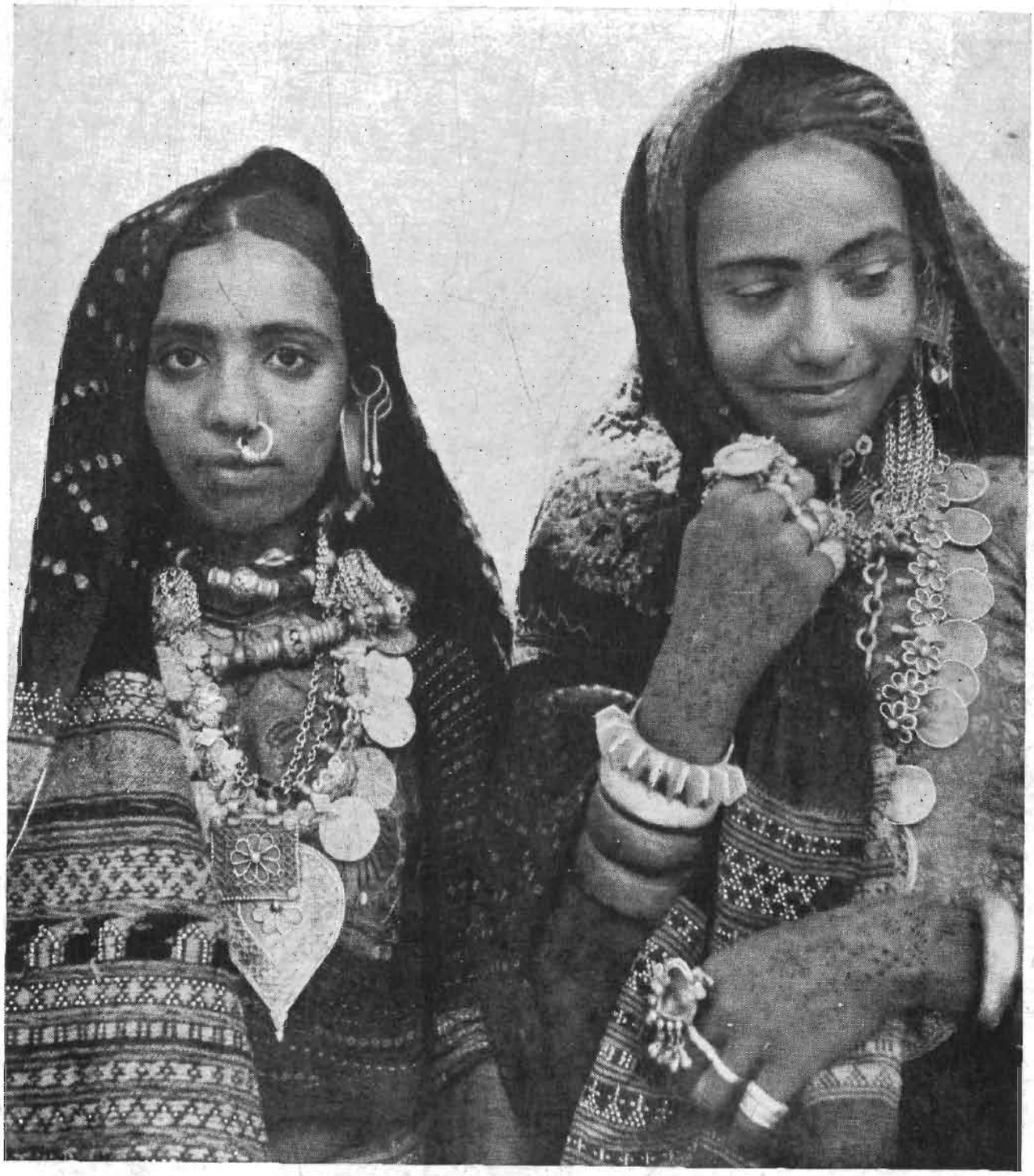
A silver jug



A 'hookah' covered with silver sheet



Traditional ***neckwear*** *of a tribal*



Their ornaments, their pride and pleasure



Traditional ornaments have their own charm



They please those who wear them and those who look at them



Woman bedecked with traditional ornaments

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

TABLE I

Distribution of surveyed households

Name of villages/ towns surveyed	No. of families surveyed	Total No. of adult workers			No. of families working under co-operation	No. of households engaging other hired workers	Total No. of hired workers employed in production
		Persons	Males	Females			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rajkot	37	61	61	..	25	..	..
Paddhari	13	39	38	1	..	..	..
Palitana	3	12	12	..	..	..	..
Mandvi	45	60	57	3	21	..	..
Anjar	31	52	52	..	..	..	..
Bhuj	45	70	69	1	..	..	..
Nadiad	78	130	130	..	12	17	33
Total	**252**	**424**	**419**	**5**	**58**	**17**	**33**

TABLE II

Distribution of family members according to age, sex and earning status

Age group	Persons			Males			Females		
	Workers	Non-workers	Total	Workers	Non-workers	Total	Workers	Non-workers	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
0- 4	..	258	258	..	137	137	..	121	121
5- 9	..	303	303	..	174	174	..	129	129
10–14	1	264	265	1	139	140	..	125	125
15–19	23	149	172	22	73	95	1	76	77
20–24	65	128	193	64	40	104	1	88	89
25–29	65	87	152	64	8	72	1	79	80
30–34	67	74	141	66	6	72	1	68	69
35–44	97	99	196	96	9	105	1	90	91
45–59	84	87	171	84	8	92	..	79	79
60 & over	29	55	84	29	11	40	..	44	44
Total	**431**	**1,504**	**1,935**	**426**	**605**	**1,031**	**5**	**899**	**904**

TABLE III

Literacy according to age and sex

Age group	Persons								Males								Females							
	IL	L	P	S	SSC	D	G	Total	IL	L	P	S	SSC	D	G	Total	IL	L	P	S	SSC	D	G	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
0- 4	250	..	8	..	..	..	..	258	135	..	2	..	..	..	..	137	115	..	6	..	..	..	..	121
5- 9	118	18	166	..	1	..	..	303	65	11	98	..	..	..	..	174	53	7	68	..	1	..	..	129
10-14	19	29	195	20	2	..	..	265	8	13	105	12	2	..	..	140	11	16	90	8	..	..	..	125
15-19	7	24	100	30	11	..	..	172	3	13	49	21	9	..	..	95	4	11	51	9	2	..	..	77
20-24	15	19	122	17	18	2	..	193	2	14	56	15	15	2	..	104	13	5	66	2	3	..	..	89
25-29	7	17	113	9	5	..	1	152	..	5	52	9	5	..	1	72	7	12	61	..	..	..	..	80
30-34	18	12	106	4	1	..	..	141	3	6	58	4	1	..	..	72	15	6	48	..	..	..	..	69
35-44	29	41	120	5	..	1	..	196	1	23	75	5	..	1	..	105	28	18	45	..	..	..	..	91
45-59	38	32	96	5	..	..	..	171	5	16	66	5	..	..	..	92	33	16	30	..	..	..	..	79
60 & over	37	11	36	..	..	..	..	84	5	7	28	..	..	..	..	40	32	4	8	..	..	..	..	44
Total	**538**	**203**	**1,062**	**90**	**38**	**3**	**1**	**1,935**	**227**	**108**	**589**	**71**	**32**	**3**	**1**	**1,031**	**311**	**95**	**473**	**19**	**6**	..	..	**904**

NOTE:
IL=Illiterate, L=Literate, P=Primary, S=Secondary, SSC=Secondary School Certificate Examination, D=Diploma, G=Graduate.

TABLE IV

Workshops

Name of villages/ towns surveyed	No. of house-holds	No. of persons in the house-holds	No. of households having		No. of rooms used for workshop				
			Own workshops	Rented workshops	One room	Two rooms	Three rooms	Four rooms	More than four rooms
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rajkot . . .	37	324	8	29	32	2	..	..	..
Paddhari . . .	13	129	7	6	13	..	..	..	..
Palitana . . .	3	50	3	..	..	2	..	..	..
Mandvi . . .	45	283	32	13	5	3	3	3	4
Anjar . . .	31	247	15	16	..	6	..	2	..
Bhuj . . .	45	352	14	31	7	..	1	..	..
Nadiad . . .	78	550	32	46	6	10	2	1	3
Total . . .	**252**	**1,935**	**111**	**141**	**63**	**23**	**6**	**6**	**7**

TABLE V

Distribution of artisans' families according to income group

Name of villages/ towns surveyed	Total No. of households engaged in the craft	No. of households in the annual income group of (Rs.)									
		1-100	101-200	201-500	501-800	801-1,000	1,001-1,500	1,501-2,000	2,001-2,500	2,500 & above	Income unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Rajkot	37	..	..	..	..	1	10	1	5	14	6
Paddhari	13	..	..	..	..	1	5	4	1	2	..
Palitana	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Mandvi	45	..	..	3	2	6	21	7	5	..	1
Anjar	31	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	5	..	20
Bhuj	45	..	..	..	1	4	13	8	4	7	8
Nadiad	78	..	..	7	14	16	19	14	5	3	..
Total	**252**	..	..	**10**	**17**	**28**	**68**	**40**	**25**	**29**	**35**

APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHY 1

NAME: Gagubhai Khushalbhai Vagadia; AGE: 67;

OCCUPATION: Supervision of engraving, fretting and diamond setting on silver, gold and other metals;

ADDRESS: Soni Bazaar, Rajkot.

INTRODUCTION

I was born in V.S. 1953, i.e., 1896 A.D. at Morvi. I have completed 67 years. I have passed 3rd vernacular standard. I have my own shop, where I look after the work of engraving, fretting, diamond setting and other related processes of the craft done by hired and family workers.

TRAINING IN CRAFT

My father was engaged in the same occupation and as such I can say that this is our ancestral occupation. In the past, nobody revealed his technique of making ornaments and other related processes to other persons. Once, I was observing the technique of engraving in Tribhovan Parshottam's shop innocently but when somebody drew his attention towards me, he become angry and ran with a fork to beat me. When my father came to know about this, he at once started training me in engraving. I was very eager to become a reputed engraver like Kanaiya and Ganpat of Bombay. Both of them were arrested for printing counterfeit currency notes. When a pleader said that the hands of such persons should be cut off, the artisans retorted that even then they can draw and carve the designs on ornaments by their toes. This instance gave me inspiration for becoming an expert craftsman. At the age of 9, I started to learn the work of drawing and engraving on ornaments and at the age of 14, I completed my training. In the J. J. School of Arts at Bombay, I studied drawing and engraving before 48 years, after signing an agreement to study there for three years. Shri Popatlal Lalji, an advocate of Bombay helped me in joining this course when I was 20 years old. After 3 months, after I learnt drawing and some engraving work I was relieved from the institution, viz., J. J. School of Arts, Bombay on the medical certificate as I suffered from dysentry. Then I served for three months without salary in Vinayakrao's (Dakshani) shop at Paydhuni, Bombay to learn further technique of engraving.

MIGRATION AND CASTE HISTORY

Originally our forefathers hailed from Patan in North Gujarat but migrated to Kataria in Vagad (Kutch). It is said that during the reign of Ghori Badshah, Thakor Kayaji of Vagad conquered Morvi and as faithful Soni citizens they accompanied him to that place. I migrated to Rajkot in 1926 A.D. Ten generations have passed since then. In Morvi, Gondal and Mandvi, there are now 800 persons descended from the original family of 8 to 10 members. As we came from Patan and Vagad, people call us Patadia or Vagadia. As surnames in our Visha Shrimali Soni caste are derived from place names, different groups are called Gondalia, Mandvia, Halwadia, Jambusaria, etc. Shrimali perhaps indicates those migrated from Shrimal or Bhinmal. In the four functional categories ordained by Manu, we belong to Vaishya or merchant class but have taken up the occupation of Soni or goldsmith which is Shudra category.

FAMILY HISTORY

Of my two married sons Govindbhai started training at the age of 7 and appeared in elementary drawing examination at the age of 11,

He has passed only 2 primary standards. The second son Gokaldas started training at the age 9 or 10 years while studying at school. This year, i.e., in 1964 A.D. he appeared at S.S.C. examination but failed. Both are reputed craftsmen in engraving and diamond setting. My brother Vanmali was born on Pausa Vad 11, V.S. 1968 at Rajkot and another brother Parshottam was born on Bhadrapad 30 V.S. 1971 at Junagadh. Both are engaged in the same work in which my family is engaged. At the time I was 23 years of age, when my family was on its way to Shrinathji on Chaitra Vad 2, my brother Vanmali accidentally fell down from the train between Wadhwan and Viramgam stations. My father erroneously suspected me of foul play. I feel that life sentence would be the result, if my father gave his evidence to that effect. Fortunately we stopped the train and Vanmali was found uninjured. This increased my faith in God Shrinathji. Since that day I became religious minded and practise all rules and restrictions of Vaishnava religion. While at Morvi, I was once on the point of death but my nearest relatives prayed to God to save my life and I was saved. On my acceptance of the Vaishnava faith, my father became angry and asked me to leave the house, whereupon I came to Rajkot with my brothers in V.S. 1982, where I had the prospects of earning my livelihood. I thus settled in Rajkot. At that time Vanmali had completed 10 years. My marriage took place on Margashirsh Vad 8, when I was 28. My father expired on Pausa Vad 11 in V.S. 1995. I received tools and utensils, etc., worth Rs. 2,371 as my share in my father's property.

Health, Hobbies and Habits

I had also established one training school at Rajkot and trained 600 students. One of my relatives has also started a training school in Bhanvad on my advice. The artisans being conservative did not show the technique of this craft to others, which gave me the idea of opening a training school by which I satisfied my desire to spread the knowledge of the craft. In Rajkot, there were a few shops engaged in engraving and diamond setting, etc., of the craft when I came here. We work honestly and live a happy life. I visit daily *haveli* temple regularly. I read religious books during daytime and sing *bhajan* and *kirtan* in the morning and evening.

BIOGRAPHY 2

NAME: Jivraj Gokalbhai Kadivar; AGE: 34;

OCCUPATION: Preparation and Enamelling work of Silver Leaves;

ADDRESS: Bedipara, Rajkot.

INTRODUCTION

My birthplace is Hadmatiya, 6 miles away from Rajkot. I have completed 34 years. I have studied up to 5th vernacular standards and 1st English standard. I am Valia Kumbhar by caste. Perhaps there are 8 sub-castes of Kumbhar.

TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT OF CRAFT

My father migrated to Rajkot from Gavridad when I was 15 years old. He is a mason or brick-layer by occupation. His financial position was very weak and he had incurred a debt of Rs. 3,000. I was, therefore, compelled to give up my study. As an apprentice. I was given tea twice or thrice only when I worked at making silver ornaments in Popatlal Kansara's shop. Thereafter I joined the establishment of our nearest relative Shri Bavalal engaged in rolling and pressing work on a monthly salary of Rs. 5 only. Seven years ago I started my own establishment of manufacturing silver leaves with enamel colour for other merchants. They supply me with raw material and pay me labour charges. My monthly production of these articles is nearly 2,000 *tolas*, i.e., Rs. 5,000. All the techniques and processes are carried on by hand in my unit. I am working in my house in one of the kitchen-rooms. I used to pay Rs. 17 per month as rent but 5 months ago I have purchased it at Rs. 8,000. My father has given me financial help in this purchase. In all there are 3 small rooms and 2 kitchens. I engage 2 workers of my caste when required, otherwise my wife and two sons, who are attending school, help me in my work. We work for 10 to 12 hours and approximately earn Rs. 125 per month.

FAMILY HISTORY

My family includes my wife and four sons. I have one married brother, one married sister and parents. My third brother died of T.B. at the age of 22, when his wife was about to come to our house for the first time, as his was a child marriage. He had taken education up to 3 vernacular standards. He was also working in silver. My marriage took place when I was 9 years old but I started my married life at the age of 22. My baby of 2 years died of whooping cough. My father still works in masonry work and he earns a daily wage of Rs. 7. This rate was Rs. 3 per day in the past. My younger brother of 16 has started working in silver since last 6 months and earns Rs. 20 per month. He has passed 4 vernacular standards.

HEALTH AND HABITS

I was the victim of general debility twice in my life but was cured after medical treatment. I wish that my sons become doctors. I smoke and take tea. I do not get time for recreation.

GLOSSARY

A

Adi or *Dai* . Mould
Angadia . . Private agency for transport of goods from one place to another through persons engaged in this work
Angreji athado . Shaped like English numeral eight
Ankdo . . A hook
Ari . . A saw

B

Bajoth . . Low wooden seat
Bedi . . Anklets
Bhajan kirtan . Devotional songs in praise of God
Bhandar . . Treasure
Bidi . . Indigenous cigarette
Buff pati . . Polishing-stripe

C

Chandan . . Sandalwood
Chhada or *Sankla* Anklets
Chhini . . A chisel
Chhipna . . Gravers
Chholani . . A scraper

D

Damar . . Asphalt
Divadhami . . Blower
Divi . . Lamp-stand
Dul . . Earrings

E

Ekalvai . 'T' shaped rod
Ensi tachi chandi . Having 80% pure silver
Eran . . An anvil

G

Gol . . A group or circle
Gotilo . . Round headed nail

H

Haveli . . Temple of Pushtimargiya Vaishnava sect established by Vallabhacharya
Hathodi . . A small hammer
Hathodo . . A hammer
Hemri . . Emery

J

Jatardo . . Sizing plate (holed-stripe)

K

Kada . . Armlets
Kadi . . A ring
Kaidapati . . A stripe
Kalash . . A pot; a metal pot mounted on the dome of a temple
Kallan/Kadla . Anklets
Kankavati . A bowl for keeping red turmeric powder or *kumkum* mixed with water
Kanas . . File
Kandoro . . Girdle; a chain usually of silver worn on the waist
Kanta tola . . Scales-weights
Kamp or *Butti* . Earrings
Kapni . . Shears
Khus . . *Saccharum spontaneum*
Kutchi kam . . Kutch work
Kumkum . . Vermilion; red turmeric powder
Kundalas or *Keyuras* . . Earrings

L

Lagiyo . . Crooked iron and wooden rod
Lavingiya . . An ornament of the ear
Lelo . . A scraper

M

Mahajan . . A guild
Mathanu . . A square hammer
Mel . . Dirt
Meena kam . . Enamel work
Mohar . . A gold coin used in the past
Mugat . . Coronet
Mus . . An earthen crucible

O

Opni . . Polishing implement
Orkal . . A touchstone

P

Pagpan . . Anklets
Pahlo . . Half-holed square

P-*contd.*

Paholo rejo . . Broad slab
Pakad or *savadho* Pliers
Pan dani or *Pan dabo* Box for keeping betel-leaves
Pan . . Betel-leaf
Patiya . . Sheets
Pech patli . . Screw-vice
Pokhani or *Toti* An earring shaped like a reel
Pokhnas . . Articles used in the marriage ceremony while welcoming the bride and bridegroom

R

Rajan . . Rosin
Ramandivo . . A hanging lamp carried by the bridegroom's mother in the wedding procession
Rava or
Rava bharat . Design with small dots
Rejo . . Mould

S

Sano . . Fork
Sagdi . . Hearth
Sankali . . Long chain
Sansi . . Pincers
Seer . . A measure of weight 0.466 kg.
Shardi . . A drill
Sigro . . A vice
Supari . . Betel-nut

T

Toda . . Anklets
Tola . . A measure of weight; a fortieth part of a *seer*
Trak . . Iron spoke; pointed iron rod

V

Vaidhrit . . The 27th astronomical *yoga*
Veni badam . Almond shaped design of ornament
Vyatipat . . Name of one of the 27 *yogas*

Z

Zanzar . . Anklets

INDEX

A

'A city of temple', 3, 29
Aden, 35
A famine in Rajasthan, 4
Africa, 4
Agency, 29
Aina Mahal, 4
Ajanta, 1
Ajepal, 3, 5
Ajmer, 3,
Akhil Hind Shrimali Soni Mahamandal Training Institute, Rajkot, 36
Amritsar, 12, 29
Andhkar and Dhundhkar, 7
Angor Pir, 3
Anjar, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 22
Antiquity of the craft, 4
Association and cooperation, 34

B

Bana, 2
Banaras, 29
Bhanvad Pattani Soni Gnati Hunnarshala, 37
Bhatias, 4
Bhavsarwad, 9
Bhuj, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10
Bikaner, 29
Bombay, 2, 12, 29
'Buff Polish', 17

C

Capital investment, 31
Chhada or *Sankala*, 19, 32
Conclusion, 38, 39
Cost of production, 31

D

Delhi, 4, 29
Designs, 20
Dharmasinh Premji, 5
Dhrol, 3, 5
Diamond setting, 16
Divakaramitra, 2
Dondi river, 3

E

Enamel work, 16

F

Feteh Mahmad's House, 4

G

Gajabhai Khushalbhai, 36
Gandhidham, 2
Gold Control Order, 1963, 28, 35, 37
Gondal, 2, 22
Great Bhuj Fort, 4

H

Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India, 1
Haripur, 29
Harsha, 2
Hired workers, 10
History of Mediaeval Hindu India, 1
Hiuen Tsang, 1, 2
Holand, 5

I

Indore, 29

J

Jamnagar, 2, 3, 8, 22
Jesalmer, 4
Jesal-Toral, 3
Jodhpur, 4, 29
Jodiya, 3

K

Kanpur, 29
Karachi, 4
Keshavlal Mansukhlal, 5
Khari, 3
Khengarji, 3
Kinlock Forbes, 3
Kolhapur, 2
'Kutch work,' 2, 22

L

'Lezim', 29
Literacy, 9
Location of the centres, 2, 3, 4
Lord Mahavir, 20
Lucknow, 29
Luhar, 7

M

Madras, 2
Mahabharat, 1, 38
Maharao Shree Lakhapatji, 5
Mandvi, 2, 5, 8, 10, 22
Manipur, 36

M-*contd.*

Mansinhji Gohel, 5
Manu, 1
Megasthenes, 1
Mohenjodaro, 1
Mombasa, 4
Morvi, 5
Muhammed Panna Masjid, 4

N

Nadiad, 2, 4, 8, 10, 22
Nathdwara, 29
New Kandla, 3, 4

O

Opening ceremony locks, 20
Ornaments, 1, 2, 19, 23, 32
—History, 1, 2
—Introductory, 1

P

Paddhari, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 22
Paholo rejo, 19
Palitana, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 22
Pan dabo, 29, 32
Patna, 29
Pokhani, 17, 18, 32
Prototype Centre, 3
Precious stones, 1
—Beryl, 1
—Crystal, 1
—Garlands, 1
—Tiaras, 1
Price and production, 28
Punjab, 4
Purshottamdas Jadavaji, 36

R

Rajkot, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 22
Rajkot Engraving School No. 1, 36, 37
Rajkot Sona Chandi Udyog Mandali Ltd., 34, 35
—Capital structure, 35
—Membership, 34
—Main objects, 34
Ra Lakha's Chhatri, 4
Ramayan, 1, 38
Ramsang Malam, 5
Rasmala, 3
Raw materials, 12
Rigved, 1, 38
Rukmavati river, 4

S

Sah or Sinha, 6
Salem, 2
Sale procedure, 29
Satpipli, 9
Satyagraha, 3, 4
Saurashtra Small-Scale Industrial Cooperative Bank Ltd., 35
Semi-precious stones, 1
—Agate, 1
—Amethyst, 1
—Amazon, 1
—Carnelian, 1
—Chalcedony, 1
—Jasper, 1
—Lapis lazuli, 1
Shetrunjaya, 3
Shivaji, 2
Siddhakshetra, 3
Sidhraj Jaysing, 7
Sirohi, 4
Shree Nadiad Chandi Pittal Nakshikaroni Audyogic Sahakari Mandali Ltd., 35
Shri Vishvakarma Hunnarshala, 36
'Shroff Bazaar', 9
Shops and Establishments Act, 11
Soni, 6
Soniwad, 9
'Soni Hunner Prakash,' 36
Soni Udyogi Sahakari Mandali Ltd., Mandvi, 35
Source of capital, 31
Speciality of centres, 22
Structure of the craft, 34

T

Tankara, 5
Technique, 15, 16, 17
—Alloying, 15
—Assaying, 15
—Designing, shaping and soldering, 15, 16
—Polishing, 15, 17
—Rolling and pressing, 15, 16
The fertile track of Charotar, 4
The Small Industries Service Institute, 3
Tools, 14, 15
Training, 36
Types of ornaments, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

W

Wage structure, 32
Wankaner, 2
Working force, 8
Workshop and dwelling, 9

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS AS ON 17-2-1964

AGARTALA—

Laxmi Bhandar Books & Scientific Sales (R)

AGRA—

National Book House, Jeoni Mandi
Wadhawa & Co., 45, Civil Lines
Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra (R)
English Book Depot, Sadar Bazar, Agra Cantt. (R)

AHMADNAGAR—

V. T. Jorakar, Prop., Rama General Stores, Navi Path (R)

AHMEDABAD—

Balgovind Kuber Dass & Co., Gandhi Road
Chandra Kant Chiman Lal Vora, Gandhi Road
New Order Book Co., Ellis Bridge
Mahajan Bros., Opp., Khadia Police Gate (R)
Sastu Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kuva, Relief Road

AJMER—

Book-Land, 663, Madar Gate
Rajputana Book House, Station Road
Law Book House, 271, Hathi Bhata
Vijay Bros., Kutchery Road (R)
Krishna Bros., Kutchery Road (R)

ALIGARH—

Friend's Book House, Muslim University Market

ALLAHABAD—

Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, U. P.
Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road
Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4
Ram Narain Lal Beni Modho, 2-A, Katra Road
Universal Book Co., 20, M. G. Road
The University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road
Wadhwa & Co., 23, M. G. Marg (R)
Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg (R)
Ram Narain Lal Beni Prashad, 2-A, Katra Road (R)

AMBALA—

English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt.
Seth Law House, 8719, Railway Road, Ambala Cantt. (R)

AMRITSAR—

The Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Putligarh
S. Gupta, Agent, Govt. Publications, Near P. O. Majith Mandi
Amar Nath & Sons, Near P. O. Majith Mandi

ANAND—

Vijaya Stores, Station Road (R)
Charotar Book Stall, Tulsi Sadan, Stn. Road (R)

ASANSOL—

D.N. Roy & R.K. Roy Booksellers, Atwal Building (R)

BANGALORE—

The Bangalore Legal Practitioner Co-operative Society Ltd., Bar Association Building
S. S. Book Emporium, 118, Mount Joy Road
The Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P. O. Box 507
The Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road
Vichara Sahitya Private Ltd., Balepet
Makkala Pustaka Press, Balamandira, Gandhinagar
Maruthi Book Depot, Avenue Road (R)
International Book House Private Ltd., 4-F, Mahatma Gandhi Road
Navakarnataka Pubns. Private Ltd., Majestic Circle (R)

BAREILLY—

Agarwal Brothers, Bara Bazar

BARODA—

Shri Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah, Raopura (R)
Good Companions Booksellers, Publishers & Sub-Agent (R)
New Medical Book House, 540, Madan Zampa Road (R)

BEAWAR—

The Secretary, S. D. College, Co-operative Stores Ltd. (R)

BELGHARIA—

Granthlok, Antiquarian Booksellers & Publishers (24-Parganas), 5/1 Amlica Mukherjee Road

BHAGALPUR—

Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road

BHOPAL—

Superintendent, State Government Press
Lyall Book Depot, Mohd. Din Bldg., Sultania Road
Delite Books, Opp., Bhopal Talkies (R)

BHUBANESWAR—

Ekamra Vidyabhaban, Eastern Tower, Room No. 3 (R)

BIJAPUR—

Shri D. V. Deshpande, Recognised Law Booksellers, Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti Chowk (R)

BIKANER—

Bhandani Bros. (R)

BILASPUR—

Sharma Book Stall, Sadar Bazar (R)

BOMBAY—

Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, Queens Road
Charles Lambert & Co., 101, Mahatma Gandhi Road
Co-operator's Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg., Dadar
Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji St.
Current Technical Literature Co., Private Ltd., India House, 1st Floor
International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road
Lakkani Book Depot, Girgaum
Elpees Agencies, 24, Bhangwadi, Kalbadevi
P. P. H. Book Stall, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road
New Book Co. 188-190, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road
Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road
Sunder Das Gian Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street

List of Agents-*contd.*

BOMBAY-*contd.*

D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., (P) Ltd., 210, Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road
Thacker & Co., Rampart Row
N. M. Tripathi Private Ltd., Princess Street
The Kothari Book Depot, King Edward Road
P. H. Rama Krishna & Sons, 147, Rajaram Bhuvan, Shivaji Park Road No. 5 (R)
C. Jamnadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess St.
Indo Nath & Co., A-6, Daulat Nagar, Borivli
Minerva Book Shop, Shop No. 1/80, N. Subhas Road
Academic Book Co., Association Building, Girgaum Road (R)
Dominion Publishers, 23, Bell Building, Sir P. M. Road (R)
Bombay National History Society, 91 Walkeshwar Road (R)
Dowamadeo & Co., 16, Naziria Building, Ballard Estate (R)
Asian Trading Co., 310, the Miraball, P.B. 1505 (R)

CALCUTTA—

Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane
Dass Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3, College Street
Hindu Library, 69 A, Bolaram De Street
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Private Ltd., College Street
M. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 3, Old Court House Street
Oxford Book and Stationery Co., 17, Park Street
R. Chambray & Co., Ltd., Kent House, P. 33, Mission Road Extension
S. C. Sarkar & Sons Private Ltd., I.C. College Square
Thacker Spink & Co., (1933) Private Ltd., 3, Esplanade East
Firma K. L. Mukhopadhaya, 6/1A, Banchha Ram Akrar Lane
K. K. Roy, P. Box No. 10210, Calcutta-19 (R)
Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 77, Muktaram Babu Street (R)
Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street (R)
Modern Book Depot, Chowringhee Centre (R)
Soor & Co., 125, Canning Street
S. Bhattacharjee, 49, Dharamtala Street (R)
Mukherjee Library, 10, Sarba Khan Road
Current Literature Co., 208, Mahatma Gandhi Road
The Book Depository, 4/1, Madan Street (1st Floor) (R)
Scientific Book Agency, Netaji Subhash Road (R)
Reliance Trading Co., 17/1, Banku Bihari Ghose Lane, District Howrah (R)
Indian Book Dist. Co., 6512, Mahatma Gandhi Road (R)

CALICUT—

Touring Book Stall (R)

CHANDIGARH—

Superintendent, Government Printing & Stationery, Punjab
Jain Law Agency, Flat No. 8, Sector No. 22
Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22
Universal Book Store, Booth 25, Sector 22-D
English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22-D (R)
Mehta Bros., 15-Z, Sector 22-B (R)
Tandan Book Depot, Shopping Centre, Sector 16 (R)
Kailash Law Publishers, Sector 22-B (R)

CHHINDWARA—

The Verma Book Depot (R)

COCHIN—

Saraswat Corporation Ltd., Palliarakav Road

CUTTACK—

Press Officer, Orissa Sectt.
Cuttack Law Times
Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Mangalabag, P.B. 35
D. P. Sur & Sons, Mangalabag (R)
Utkal Stores, Balu Bazar (R)

DEHRADUN—

Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpur Road
National News Agency, Paltan Bazar
Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala
Utam Pustak Bhandar, Paltan Bazar (R)

DELHI—

J. M. Jaina & Brothers, Mori Gate
Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmere Gate
Federal Law Book Depot, Kashmere Gate
Bahri Bros., 188, Lajpat Rai Market
Bawa Harkishan Dass Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies) P.B. 2027, Ahata Kedara, Chamalian Road
Book-Well, 4, Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565
Imperial Publishing Co., 3, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj
Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar
Publication Centre, Subzimandi
Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak,
Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Daryaganj
All India Educational Supply Co., Shri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar (R)
Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market (R)
University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar (R)
Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran (R)
Summer Brothers, P. O. Birla Lines (R)
Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhash Marg
B. Nath & Bros., 3808, Charkhawalan (Chowri Bazar) (R)
Rajkamal Prakashan Private Ltd., 8, Faiz Bazar
Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers & Booksellers, Nai Sarak (R)
Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhle Market
Tech. & Commercial Book Coy., 75, Gokhle Market (R)
Saini Law Publishing Co., 1416, Chabiganj, Kashmere Gate (R)
G. M. Ahuja, Booksellers & Stationers, 309, Nehru Bazar (R)
Sat Narain & Sons, 3141 Mohd. Ali Bazar, Mori Gate

List of Agents-*contd.*

DELHI-*contd.*

Kitab Mahal (Wholesale Div.) Private Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar
Hindu Sahitya Sansar, Nai Sarak (R)
Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P. B. 1165, Nai Sarak (R)
K. L. Seth, Suppliers of Law, Commercial, Tech. Books, Shanti Nagar, Ganeshpura (R)
Adarsh Publishing Service, 5A/10 Ansari Road (R)

DHANBAD—

Ismag Co-operative Stores Ltd., P. O. Indian School of Mines
New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 (R)

DHARWAR—

The Agricultural College Consumers Co-op. Society (R)
Rameshraya Book Depot, Subhas Road (R)
Karnatakaya Sahitya Mandira of Publishers and Booksellers

ERNAKULAM—

Pai & Co., Cloth Bazar Road (R)
South India Traders C/o Constitutional Journal

FEROZEPUR—

English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road

GAUHATI—

Mokshada Pustakalaya

GAYA—

Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg

GHAZIABAD—

Jayana Book Agency (R)

GORAKHPUR—

Vishwa Vidyalaya Prakashan, Nakhes Road

GUDUR—

The General Manager, The N.D.C. Publishing & Ptg. Society Ltd. (R)

GUNTUR—

Book Lovers Private Ltd., Kadriguda, Chowrasta

GWALIOR—

Superintendent, Printing & Stationery, M.B.
Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashkar
M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar (R)

HUBLI—

Pervaje's Book House, Koppikar Road

HYDERABAD—

Director, Government Press
The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul
Book Lovers Private Ltd. (R)
Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar (R)

IMPHAL—

Tikendra & Sons, Booksellers (R)

INDORE—

Wadhwa & Co., 56, M. G. Road
Swarup Brother's, Khajuri Bazar (R)
Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilya Pura (R)
Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace (R)
Navyug Sahitya Sadan, Publishers & Booksellers, 10, Khajuri Bazar (R)

JABALPUR—

Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj
National Book House, 135 Jai Prakash Narain Marg (R)

JAIPUR—

Government Printing and Stationery Department, Rajasthan
Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp., Prem Prakash Cinema
Garg Book Co., Tripolia Bazar
Vani Mandir, Sawai Mansingh Highway
Kalyan Mal & Sons, Tripolia Bazar (R)
Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta
Krishna Book Depot, Chaura Rasta (R)
Dominion Law Depot, Shah Building, P.B. No. 23 (R)

JAMNAGAR—

Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar

JAMSHEDPUR—

Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. 78
Gupta Stores, Dhatkidih
Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents, Bistapur Market (R)

JAWALAPUR—

Sahyog Book Depot (R)

JHUNJHUNU—

Shashi Kumar Sarat Chand (R)
Kapram Prakashan Prasaran, 1/90 Namdha Niwas, Azad Marg (R)

JODHPUR—

Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents
Kitab-Ghar, Sojati Gate
Choppra Brothers, Tripolia Bazar

JULLUNDUR—

Hazooria Bros., Mai Hiran Gate (R)
Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala
University Publishers, Railway Road (R)

KANPUR—

Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall
Sahitya Niketan, Shradhanand Park
The Universal Book Stall, The Mall
Raj Corporation, Raj House, P. B. 200, Chowk (R)

KARUR—

Shri V. Nagaraja Rao, 26, Srinivasapuram (R)

KODARMA—

The Bhagwati Press, P.O. Jhumri Tilaiya, Dt.Hazaribag

KOLHAPUR—

Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road (R)

KOTA—

Kota Book Depot (R)

KUMTA—

S. V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (N. Kanara)

LUCKNOW—

Soochna Sahitya Depot (State Book Depot)
Balkrishna Book Co., Ltd., Hazratganj
British Book Depot, 84, Hazratganj

List of Agents-*contd.*

LUCKNOW-*contd.*
- Ram Advani, Hazratganj, P. B. 154
- Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazratganj
- Eastern Book Co., Lalbagh Road
- Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B Sadar Bazar (R)
- Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road (R)
- Law Book Mart, Amin-Ud-Daula Park (R)

LUDHIANA—
- Lyall Book Depot, Chaura Bazar
- Mohindra Brothers, Katcheri Road (R)
- Nanda Stationery Bhandar, Pustak Bazar (R)
- The Pharmacy News, Pindi Street (R)

MADRAS—
- Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road
- Account Test Institute, P. O. 760 Emgore
- G. Subbiah Chetty & Co., Triplicane
- K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384
- Presidency Book Supplies, 8, Pycroft Road, Triplicane
- P. Vardhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street
- Palani Parchuram, 3, Pycrofts Road, Triplicane
- NCBH Private Ltd., 199, Mount Road (R)
- V. Sadanand, The Personal Bookshop, 10, Congress Buildings, 111, Mount Road (R)

MADURAI—
- Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street
- Vivekananda Press, 48, West Masi Street

MANDYA SUGAR TOWN—
- K. N. Narimhe Gowda & Sons (R)

MANGALORE—
- U. R. Shenoye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128

MANJESHWAR—
- Mukenda Krishna Nayak (R)

MATHURA—
- Rath & Co., Tilohi Building, Bengali Ghat (R)

MEERUT—
- Prakash Educational Stores, Subhas Bazar
- Hind Chitra Press, West Kutchery Road
- Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank
- Bharat Educational Stores, Chhippi Tank (R)
- Universal Book Depot, Booksellers & News Agents (R)

MONGHYR—
- Anusandhan, Minerva Press Buildings (R)

MUSSOORIE—
- Cambridge Book Depot, The Mall (R)
- Hind Traders (R)

MUZAFFARNAGAR—
- Mittal & Co., 85-C, New Mandi (R)
- B. S. Jain & Co., 71, Abupura (R)

MUZAFFARPUR—
- Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate
- Legal Corner, Tikmanio House, Amgola Road (R)
- Tirhut Book Depot (R)

MYSORE—
- H. Venkataramiah & Sons, New Statue Circle
- Peoples Book House, Opp., Jagan Mohan Palace
- Geeta Book House, Booksellers & Publishers Krishnamurthipuram (R)
- News Paper House, Lansdowne Building (R)
- Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace Ramvilas(R)

NADIAD—
- R. S. Desay Station Road (R)

NAGPUR—
- Superintendent, Government Press & Book Depot
- Western Book Depot, Residency Road
- The Asstt. Secretary, Mineral Industry Association, Mineral House (R)

NAINITAL—
- Coural Book Depot, Bara Bazar (R)

NANDED—
- Book Centre, College Law General Books, Station Road (R)
- Hindustan General Stores, Paper & Stationery Merchants, P. B. No. 51 (R)
- Sanjoy Book Agency, Vazirabad (R)

NEW DELHI—
- Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus
- Bhawani & Sons, 8-F, Connaught Place
- Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaught Circus
- Empire Book Depot, 278 Aliganj
- English Book Stores, 7-L, Connaught Circus, P.O.B. 328
- Faqir Chand & Sons, 15-A, Khan Market
- Jain Book Agency, C-9, Prem House, Connaught Place
- Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Scindia House
- Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place
- Sikh Publishing House, 7-C, Connaught Place
- Suneja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus
- United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus
- Jayana Book Depot, Chhaparwala Kuan, Karol Bagh
- Navayug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar
- Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Harding Road
- The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodi Road
- New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals, Sty. & Novelles, P. B. 96, Connaught Place
- Mehra Brothers, 50-G, Kalkaji
- Luxmi Book Stores, 42, Janpath (R)
- Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath (R)
- People Publishing House (P) Ltd., Rani Jhansi Road
- R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadon Pura, Karol Bagh (R)
- Sharma Bros., 17, New Market, Moti Nagar
- Aapki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar (R)
- Sarvodaya Service, 66A-1, Rohtak Road, P. B. 2521 (R)
- H. Chandson, P. B. No. 3034 (R)
- The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road (R)
- Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (R)
- Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Regarpura (R)
- Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market Lody Colony (R)

PANJIM—
- Singhals Book House P.O.B. 70 Near the Church (R)
- Sagoon Gaydev Dhoud, Booksellers, 5-7 Rua, 3 Ide Jameria (R)

PATHANKOT—
- The Krishna Book Depot, Main Bazar (R)

List of Agents-*contd.*

PATIALA—
Superintendent, Bhupendra State Press
Jain & Co., 17, Shah Nashin Bazar

PATNA—
Superintendent, Government Printing (Bihar)
J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli, Raghunath Bhawan
Luxmi Trading Co., Padri-Ki-Haveli
Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Bankipore
Bengal Law House, Chowhatta (R)

PITHORAGARH—
Maniram Punetha & Sons (R)

PONDICHERRY—
M/s. Honesty Book House, 9 Rue Duplix (R)

POONA—
Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gymkhana
Imperial Book Depot, 266, M. G. Road
International Book Service, Deccan Gymkhana
Raka Book Agency, Opp., Natu's Chawl, Near Appa Balwant Chowk
Utility Book Depot, 1339, Shivaji Nagar (R)

PUDUKOTTAI—
Shri P. N. Swaminathan Sivam & Co., East Main Road (R)

RAJKOT—
Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Booksellers and Sub-Agents

RANCHI—
Crown Book Depot, Upper Bazar
Pustak Mahal, Upper Bazar (R)

REWA—
Superintendent, Government State Emporium V. P.

ROURKELA—
The Rourkela Review (R)

SAHARANPUR—
Chandra Bharata Pustak Bhandar, Court Road (R)

SECUNDERABAD—
Hindustan Diary Publishers, Market Street

SILCHAR—
Shri Nishitto Sen, Nazirpatti (R)

SIMLA—
Superintendent, Himachal Pradesh Government
Minerva Book Shop, The Mall
The New Book Depot 79, The Mall

SINNAR—
Shri N. N. Jakhadi, Agent, Times of India, Sinnar (Nasik) (R)

SHILLONG—
The Officer-in-Charge, Assam Government, B. D. Chapla Bookstall, P. B. No. 1 (R)

SONEPAT—
United Book Agency

SRINAGAR—
The Kashmir Bookshop, Residency Road

SURAT—
Shri Gajanan Pustakalaya, Tower Road

TIRUCHIRPALLI—
Kalpana Publishers, Wosiur
S. Krishnaswami & Co., 35, Subhash Chander Bose Road
Palamiappa Bros. (R)

TRIVANDRUM—
International Book Depot, Main Road
Reddear Press & Book Depot, P. B. No. 4 (R)

TUTICORIN—
Shri K. Thiagarajan, 10-C, French Chapal Road (R)

UDAIPUR—
Jagdish & Co., Inside Surajapole (R)
Book Centre, Maharana, Bhopal Consumers, Co-op. Society Ltd. (R)

UJJAIN—
Manek Chand Book Depot, Sati Gate (R)

VARANASI—
Students Friends & Co., Lanka (R)
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Gopal Mandir Road, P. B. 8
Glob Book Centre (R)
Kohinoor Stores, University Road, Lanka
B.H.U. Book Depot (R)

VELLORE—
A. Venkatasubhan, Law Booksellers

VIJAYAWADA—
The Book & Review Centre, Eluru Road, Governpet (R)

VISAKHAPATNAM—
Gupta Brothers, Vizia Building
Book Centre, 11/97, Main Road
The Secy. Andhra University, General Co-op. Stores Ltd. (R)

VIZIANAGRAM—
Sarda & Co. (R)

WARDHA—
Swarajeya Bhandar, Bhorji Market

Government of India Kitab Mahal, Janpath, Opp., India Coffee House, New Delhi
Government of India Book Depot, 8 Hastings Street, Calcutta
} For local sales

High Commissioner for India in London, India House, London, W. C. 2

List of Agents-*concld.*

Railway Book-stall holders

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

Gahlot Bros., K. E. M. Road, Bikaner

Higginbothams & Co., Ltd., Mount Road, Madras

M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Private Ltd., Mathura Road, New Delhi

Foreign

S/S. Education Enterprise Private Ltd., Kathumandu (Nepal)

S/S. Aktie Bologat, C. E. Fritzes Kungl, Hovobokhandel, Fredsgation-2 Box 1656, Stockholm-16, (Sweden)

Reise-und Verkehrsverlag Stuttgart, Post 730, Gutenberg-stra 21, Stuttgart No. 11245, Stuttgart den (Germany West)

Shri Iswar Subramanyam 452, Reversite Driv Apt. 6, New York, 27 N W Y

The Proprietor, Book Centre, Lakshmi Mansions, 49, The Mall, Lahore (Pakistan)

(On S & R Basis)

The Head Clerk, Govt. Book Depot, Ahmedabad

The Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Kapileshwar Road, Belgaum

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Dhar

The Asstt. Director, Footwear Extension Centre, Polo Ground No. 1, Jodhpur

The Officer I/C., Extension Centre, Club Road, Muzaffarpur

The Director, Indian Bureau of Mines, Govt. of India, Ministry of Mines & Fuel, Nagpur

The Asstt. Director, Industrial Extension Centre, Nadiad (Gujarat)

The Head Clerk, Photozincographic Press, 5, Finance Road, Poona

Government Printing & Stationery, Rajkot

The Officer I/C., Extension Centre, Industrial Estate, Kokar, Ranchi

The Director, S. I. S. I. Industrial Extension Centre, Udhna, Surat

The Registrar of Companies, Narayani Building, 27, Erabourne Road, Calcutta-1

The Registrar of Companies, Kerala, 50, Feet Road, Ernakulam

The Registrar of Companies, H. No. 3-5-83, Hyderguda, Hyderabad

Registrar of Companies, Assam, Manipur and Tripura, Shillong

Registrar of Companies, Sunlight Insurance Building, Ajmeri Gate Extension, New Delhi

The Registrar of Companies, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, Link Road, Jullundur City

Registrar of Companies, Bihar, Jammal Road, Patna-1

Registrar of Companies, Raj, & Ajmer; Shri Kamta Prasad House, 1st Floor, 'C' Scheme, Ashok Marg, Jaipur

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

The Registrar of Companies, Mahatma Gandhi Road, West Cott. Bldg. P. B. 334, Kanpur

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

The Registrar of Companies, 162, Brigade Road, Bangalore

The Registrar of Companies, Gwalior

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Bhuli Road, Dhanbad

Registrar of Companies, Orissa, Cuttack Candhi, Cuttack

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

Publication Division, Sales Depot, North Block, New Delhi

The Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries, New Delhi

The Officer I/C., University Employment Bureau, Lucknow

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Malda

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Extension Centre, Habra, Tabaluria, 24 Parganas

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Model Carpentry Workshop, Piyali Nagar, P. O. Burnipur

Officer I/C., S. I. S. I. Chrontanning Extension Centre, Tangra 33, North Topsia Road, Calcutta-46

Officer I/C., S.I.S.I. Extension Centre, (Footwear), Calcutta

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Hyderabad

Asstt. Director, Extension Centre, Krishna Distt. (A.P.)

Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Jhabua

Dy. Director Incharge, S.I.S.I., C/o Chief Civil Admn. Goa, Panjim

The Registrar of Trade Unions, Kanpur

The Employment Officer, Employment Exchange, Gopal Bhavan, Mornia

The Officer I/C., State Information Centre, Hyderabad

The Registrar of Companies, Pondicherry

The Asstt. Director of Publicity and Information, Vidhana Soudha (P. B. 271) Bangalore