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Salun: A potters' village; Sociology of Pottery Making Culture in a Village in the District of Purba Bardhaman

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The history and development of ceramic art and industry is traced by an enquirer since remote antiquity till recent times. The development of ceramic art and industry is closely intertwined with the socio-cultural aspects of life led by those who devoted themselves throughout to the ceramics popularly known as potters, *Kumor* or *Kumbhakar*s. The ethno-archaeological study centering round the ceramics is spread over a vast territorial jurisdiction of this country. But at present I have concentrated only on the district of Purba Bardhaman. The areas surveyed by me in this district include rural, semi-urban, urban areas inhabited by a large number of potters' families, those who are divided among castes and sub-castes with their characteristic socio-cultural orientation. This study is an attempt to make an in depth study of the socio-cultural cum economic aspects of the ceramic artists' inhabiting in some parts of Purba Bardhaman District. The potters of these areas are found to follow their age-old or traditional techniques with some modern ones. My contention may be verified by the actual survey I have made in the village Shalun, in this district.

The district of Purba Bardhaman is geographically divided by river Damodar from the district of Bankura. On the southern part of the district we find a number of blocks. Khandogosh is one of such blocks that have a number of potters' dominated villages. On the northern part of this block we see a small village Salun. Salun is a Hindu dominated village with multi caste settlements grown in the village. Beside the large concentration of potters, we find here different Hindu caste groups such as *Brahmin*, *Kayastha*, *Goala*, *Kamar*, *Bene*, *Bagdi*, *Bouri* etc. Census 2001 confirms us that it encompasses an area of 280.0 hectares of land with a big population of 3060, of which 1552 are male and 1508 are female. This large section of people live in 7 localities divided into 644 households. This report enumerates that the village has a sizeable schedule caste population of 1486 and with 192 schedule tribe people.¹

Salun is connected with Bardhaman town and with Bankura by a pacca road. The village has two Primary schools, one I.C.D.S. centre, one Adult Literacy Centre, one Sub- health Centre etc. The village stands nearer to river Damodar as well as to river Shali. So the village is enriched by alluvial soil of Damodar basin. The land of this area is much fertile for growing crops. The villagers have been enjoying wide spread irrigation facilities. A fair number of villagers directly or indirectly depend on agriculture.² Census 2001 records that, the total numbers of workers in the village is 1346 among which 172 are cultivators and 445 are agricultural labourers. The report also reveals that the number of household workers in the village is 92. Salun is well known in the district as a potters' village. The chief cottage industry in the village is pottery though the village has developed some brick industry as well.³

Socio-economic condition of the potters' caste in the village

The socio-economic condition of the traditional *Radhi* potters of Salun is not at all good, rather may be termed as under developed or poor. It will be scientific to represent their socio-economic condition scientifically. Out of seven localities in the village one is entirely occupied by the traditional potters' caste i.e. *Kumors* or *Kumbhakarars* of West Bengal. This locality is known as '*Palpara*' (potters' locality) and is situated in the northern side of the village. There are 60 potters' families in the village and the total number of family members of this caste is 278. Among these 147 are male and 131 are female.⁴ All these potters are belonged to *Radhi* group of sub caste and all are peasant potters. The *Radhi* potters of Salun have been wheel throwers since long past but with the passage of time the number of wheel users has been reduced to 12 only. Among the total number of 60 potters' families only 21 families are engaged in ceramic activity though all of them do not manufacture vessel throughout the year. In these 21 families 32 male and 21 female folk are engaged in manufacturing vessels. Only 14 potters' families are recorded to make pots only in festive seasons. Nine (9) families have been found to have engaged them in hand modeling only.⁵ The potters use pivoted type of spoke (wooden) wheel. Only 3 potters have been found to replace the wooden pivot with a bearing one, which is popularly known to them as bearing wheel, others use only the traditional wooden ones. I found only 4 potters who own a separate workshop where they knead clays and throw wheel.⁶

So far the economic condition of this caste is concerned; it is not at all good. To review this condition we should look into the following data collected during survey. Among the 60 potters' families 54 families possess some arable land and they cultivate land by them. There are two families who earn their livelihood by service. Fifty three (53) families have been recorded to have less than 5 bighas of land and only one family has been found to possess more than 10 bighas of land. A large section of potters who left ceramic activity have employed them as agricultural labour in others' field. This has also been recorded that there are 39 potters' families who are totally depended on agriculture and have left pottery totally. Though the alluvial soil of the area has made the agricultural land fertile enough and the vessels produce by the *Kumars* have greater market, 40 potters' families have managed to build pacca (concrete) house for them and only six among them have a two-storied one. It is also learnt that 58 families own a separate toilet, 57 families have pure drinking water facility in their house and 49 have separate kitchen room.⁷ All these prove their consciousness on sanitation and hygiene. So far the family income is concerned we may divide these potters' families into three categories. The first one belongs to that group who has a monthly income of Rs. 15000 and above. I found only six (6) potters families to be included in this group. In the second economic group I find those potters' families who can earn as much as Rs. 10000 to 15000 per month. The second group consists of 21 families of which only six (6) are wheel throwers. And the rest 33 potters' families should be included into the third economic group whose monthly income ranges between Rs. 5000 to 10000 only. This data invariably proves that the potters living in the village and pursuing the traditional craft are not at all in good condition.⁸

Social aspects of pottery manufacturing culture at Salun

Salun is well known for its earthen ceramics as it is attested by census 2001 not only to the people living in and around P.S. Khondogosh but to a greater horizon of area. The vessels produced in this village, specially different types of *Handi* and *Tijol* (Wide open mouth bowl used to cook rice and curry) have had a reputation for its shape and fabric. That ceramic production is the principal cottage industry of the village is well understood with the sound of beating pots in the locality as well as in the village.

Ceramic activity at Salun goes throughout the year, beginning from May-June and continues till March next year. The *Kumbhakars* begin their work early in the morning. It is important to note that so far pottery manufacturing technology is concerned, preparation of clay is the first and foremost step to start with. Because if clay is not prepared well with its required plasticity and adhesiveness, the vessels would have every chance to get deformed or have breaks after firing takes place. As usual, the potters of Salun begin their

work with treading of clays by foot which is done by the male members. **(Fig-4)** It begins as early as 5-30 to 6 o'clock in the morning. Preparation of clays is a time consuming job and takes about 1 to 1.30 hour to tread clays properly by foot and then kneading by hands. Once the clays are made ready for making vessels the women folk of these families are seen to join with their male members to work together. The women folk of each potters' family are found to knead clay by hand at this time at about 7 o'clock to 9 o'clock. They make handmade vessels only and can make as much as 30-35 pots daily. The role of women in making a vessel is inseparable. Starting from kneading of clay they perform a series of works such as moulding vessels, giving proper shape of the vessel, putting rim on them, applying slips, engraving and stamping on them and at last helping their male partners in firing vessels.⁹

The peasant potters of Salun divide their work in two parts. The first one from 6 O'clock to 9-30 or 10 am and the second one gets started after having the lunch at about 2 pm or 2-30 pm and goes till 5 pm or till sunlight prevails. At the first stage it has been noticed that the male potters after kneading the clays get them engaged in throwing vessels on wheel. As stated earlier, Salun has only twelve wheel throwers. All of them use pivoted type of spoke wheel like other traditional *Radhi* potters of the district. Among the wheel throwers only three were found to employ an iron bearing as pivot instead of the traditional wooden ones. This is a new addition in Salun ceramic tradition which was introduced during 2008-2009. During 2014, 2015 and in 2018 when this village was surveyed in a number of occasions, I observed potters like Jaladhar Pal and Haladhar Pal and Rabi Pal to throw vessels only on this type of wheel. Whenever asked about the reason of this change they hold that a bearing wheel is better for them since it reduces their strain and physical labour in comparison to wooden ones. It was learnt that they took the idea from some migrated Bangladeshi potters and from a *Konnoujia* potter of Bardhaman. It has been noticed that a male potter can throw 15 to 20 big vessels in a day and in case of small vessels the number rises to 35 to 40. It is significant to note that only the rim, neck and shoulder portion of a vessel could be made on wheel and a vessel is made complete through a long process of beating with the help of anvil and beater.¹⁰

The women members begin their work with shaping vessels on mould. They manufacture pots through the process of moulding. Unlike the potters of North and South Dinajpur the female potters in the district of Bardhaman don't have any tradition rather are not acquainted with turn table method. It is generally observed that unlike the female potter of a non-Bengali or Bangladeshi potter family, the female folk of a *Radhi* potter family is not allowed to prepare clay on foot rather they make pots with clays kneaded by hand only. **(Fig.-5)** The female potters of Salun have been noticed to beat vessels manufactured on the previous day or at the first phase of their work i.e. in the morning. **(Fig.- 9)** At about 9-30 am to 10 am they give a pause to their work and take tiffin. At this time they are learnt to get them busy in household work.

In the second part of their work the male potters get them abstain from throwing vessels on wheel and beat the vessels made early in the morning. In case the weather is full of moisture or in rainy season they beat the vessels made in the previous day. Beating is done with the help of stone and terracotta anvils and with wooden dabbers. The *Radhi* potters have had a tradition of using a stone anvil for at the time of beating. **(Fig.-10)** Unlike the rural potters working in different villages in the district, the potters of Salun prefer terracotta anvil which is lighter and easy to grip than that of the stone ones. The potters of the village were recorded to use three kinds of stone anvils made of black quartzite stone, though a set of stone anvils made of white quartzite has also been recorded from Sadhan Pal's house, proving the fact that its use was also in vogue. Terracotta and cement anvils of a fair number have been met with a couple of potters' families in the village. Similarly, I have recorded a number of wooden dabbers from at least 10 to 15 potters' houses. This is significant to note that in three families I noticed as many as ten (10) to sixteen (16) dabbers and five to six anvils of different shapes, sizes and weights which obviously indicate the variety and volume of ceramic productions by these families as well as by their ancestors. This is archaeologically important too, since it can help to trace the evolution of earthen ceramic manufacturing technology in Damodar valley and in Bardhaman region as well as in the district concerned.¹¹

It is also learnt that hardly a male potter is seen to make vessels on mould. It is exclusively the job of a woman potter. In the second half of their work, after cooking and having lunch they resume their work for beating the vessels which were moulded earlier in the morning or in the second half of the previous day. It is also important to record the number of shapes and sizes of moulds found in the houses of the potters. Shapes and sizes of moulds invariably indicate the number of shapes and sizes of vessels the potter or the family concerned can manufacture, at the same time, it must reflect the demand as well as the choices of the consumers of the contemporary period. Not only that, the variety in shape and sizes of moulds as well as the vessels made on wheel must indicate the purposes they can serve.

Unlike the *Verendri* potters of North Bengal and of the Bangladeshi potters, the potters of Salun don't use any kind of wooden mould; rather it has been observed that they make small mound or *stupa* like clay structure on their workshop to be used as mould to make wide and open mouth bowls such as *Khola*, *Khapuri* etc. In a number of families in the locality it has also been recorded that they have dug concave pot like pit on their workshop which is being used as mould too. This practice has also been observed from a number of villages like Natunhat, Khajurdihi, Pandugram etc, in the district.¹²

The *Radhi* potters of Salun, as have noticed, made their workshop either in front of their bed rooms and kitchens or by the bed room. Only four (4) potters have been recorded to have separate workshop, the rest use the open yard in front of their house. Some potters like Jaladhar Pal maintain that they prefer to throw wheel under a shade, but while beating they prefer an open yard.

The female members of a potter family are generally noticed to make *Khola* and *Khapuri* on mould made on the ground in their workshop. Their male counter parts are rarely found to mould vessels in these whenever the female ones get them busy in shaping small pots. Another feature with this group of potters is that they use baked clay pillow to support their back and legs while beating pots like the potters of Bankura District. Among the various tools they use, mention may also be made of '*Kolsora*' a hollow baked clay structure of nearly two (2) feet height which are used as stand to hold the wide and open mouth bowls like *Khola* and *Khapuri*, while finishing them.

Technological aspect:

Tools

In pottery manufacturing as well as in other crafts the makers require some tools, implements and materials to make their product. (Fig.-1) So far the tools and implements for manufacturing earthen ceramics are concerned; potters' wheel (*Chak*) is the most important.

Wheel (*Chak*)

Considering its forms, the different types of wheels used by the potters may be classified into two major groups- (a) Slow wheel and (b) Fast wheel. The potters of Salun as well as the potters of both the district Purba Bardhaman and Paschim Bardhaman and of *Radha* Bengal in general, do not use slow wheel but they use fast wheel only. The fast wheel may again be subdivided into two- Traditional wooden wheel and Motor run or electrical wheel. The *Kumbhakaras* of Salun use traditional wooden ones which are pivoted type of spoke wheel, the diameter of which varies between 28" to 38" approximately. (Fig. -2)

Anvil (*Bole*)

Anvils are made of stone, terracotta and cement. The rural potters of Salun as well as the rural potters of *Radha* Bengal are found to use two or three sizes of stone anvil. It has also been recorded that cement and terra cotta anvils are chiefly used by the women potters while beating a vessel in moulding or in the process of hand modeling.

Beater (*Pinne* or *Pitne*)

In the process of pottery manufacturing technology beating of vessels takes place after throwing or moulding. Beater plays the most important role in this regard. The rural potters of Salun as well as the potters of Purba Bardhaman use two types of beaters, made of wood and of terracotta. They use rectangular type of beater with a concave surface. Three types of beaters – heavy, medium and light are employed for three stages of beating to complete a vessel, which the potters preferably call as *Jora Pinne*, *Atari Pinne* and *Tara Pinne* accordingly.

Slicer (*Chiruti* or *Cheyari*)

A slicer is used by a potter in the process of kneading clay. Iron or aluminium wire or a thin bamboo slicer is used to bring out roots, grasses and other unwanted materials from the lump of clay.

Turning Stick (*Chaklari*)

Traditional wooden wheels are thrown with the help of a bamboo or wooden stick which the potters of *Radha* Bengal call as *Chaklari*. (Fig.-3)

Water Container (*Athal*)

This is a *Handi* with water and is always kept by the potter by his wheel. Water is required frequently to wash hands and tools at the time of throwing vessels.

Shaper (*Ucho*)

Ucho is a small wooden piece or a bamboo rind cut into concave form. It is used to plain the outer surface of a vessel as well as to form the rim and neck of a pot. (Fig.-8)

Mop or wet cloth (*Nyata*)

Nyata is a small piece of wet cloth applied to moisten the outer wall of a vessel.

Cutter (*Kanti* or *Suto*)

It is an iron needle or a fine bamboo slice or a thread which is generally used to detach or remove the vessel from wheel. It has been recorded that an iron needle is used only for the vessels which are made half or incomplete on wheel and bear a hole on its back for further luting. On the other hand, a thread is used only for the vessels which are made complete on wheel and require no luting.

Scraper (*Chhanchni*)

It is a small tool made of sliced bamboo or an oyster shell etc. Old iron knives or spoon of daily use are also used to for the purpose. It is used to scrape off the excess clay or to smooth the vessel when it is in a leather hard condition.

Engraver (*Kati*)

Broken iron pieces, knives or conch shell etc are used by the female potters for engraving various designs on the rim, neck or in belly portion of a vessel. The engraver is known to the potter as *Kati*.

Mould (*Athal*) *Athal* is also a vessel with a very thin fabric which is used as mould to make handmade vessel.

Clay- The potters of Salun procures clay from a nearby *Bill* and from the river *Shali*. They hold that two kinds of clays are required i.e. clayey soil and loamy soil to be mixed in required proportion for the manufacturing of vessels. These two types of clays are popularly known to them as '*Daat Mati*' (clayey soil) and '*Choya Mati*' (Loamy Soil). Both are obtained free of cost. The potters like Jaladhar Pal, Haladhar Pal, and Lakshmi Narayan Pal hold that they require 2-4 tractors of clays (approximately) each year. They use

river-sand and kiln-ash as temper. Colour clay or pigment, another important raw material known as *Banak* and used as slip is obtained from a village field near Sonamukhi, Bankura. Two types of slips are used, red and white, known to the potters as '*Lal Banak*' and '*Kalo Banak*'. At present the potters go in a group to collect this colour clay and bring it jointly which costs nearly Rs. 3000/ per truck.

Slip-

Like the *Radhi* potters of Bardhaman, Bankura and Birbhum the potters of Salun make slips of two colours stated above, through the process of decantation with the help of rain water.¹³The experienced potters maintain that a good quality of red slip could only be obtained from rain water. Slips are applied on both side of rim, neck, and on belly portion of the exterior side of a vessel. (Fig.-11)

Kiln (*Poan*)

Kiln is of two types vertical and horizontal, both of which are used by the potters of West Bengal as well as of India.¹⁴ The potters of Salun bake their vessels only in a vertical kiln (*Gol Poan*), unlike the potters of other districts in West Bengal. (Fig.-12) Kiln is known to them as '*Pon*,' '*Poan*' or '*Shal*'. There are 14 kilns in the village which are used by the 21 potters' families working in the village. All the kilns are of vertical type with two different shapes, rectangular and circular, though the former one being a few in numbers. It is learnt that previously they used horizontal kiln (*Kulo Pon*), but at present they use only vertical one with having a number of perforations on its girth. The size of this type of kiln varies between 8 feet to 10 feet in diameter in case of circular one and in case of rectangular; it ranges between 8 feet to 12 feet in length and 6 feet to 9 feet in breadth. The girth or the muffle stands almost 36 inches above the ground. The potters of this village make the kiln chamber wide enough. The size of the perforated girth indicates that at least 350 to 400 vessels of different sizes can be accommodated at a time for firing. The vessels are arranged inverted in a circular manner. (Fig.-13)

Fuel (*Jal*)

The potters use saw dusts, hays, dry leaves etc. as fuel. While arranging the vessels, it is seen that they put pieces of woods in between the rows to make the pots baked well. They hold that it takes about 4 hours to bake the vessels well. Cost of firing as told by them is Rs. 900 to 1100 per firing. It is also learnt that at the initial stage of first two hours, fuels are supplied slowly and after that the intensity of supplying fuels is increased and are fed fast. The potters of Salun maintain that they bake 350 to 400 pots at a time in a kiln which worth about Rs. 3000 to 4000, of which Rs. 2000 to 2500 come as profit to them. It is also learnt that most of the potters fire their pots once or twice in a month, with the exceptions of Jaladhar Pal and Haladhar Pal (Two brothers) who can arrange the same once in a week. (Fig.-14)

Throwing of vessels on wheel (*Bhiyano*)

In the process of manufacturing vessels throwing is the principal job or making of the vessel by wheel. Whether it is wheel made or hand made every vessel has to go through the process of manufacturing by a wheel. Throwing is the process rather different stages of manipulation of fingers by the potters to make a pot or vessel. (Fig.- 6,7) This stage actually exhibits their craftsmanship or excellence to make various pots with different shapes and designs.

Marketing --It is well known to the people of Bardhaman, Birbhum and Bankura that Salun is famous for its traditional earthen ceramic or pottery. The potters sell their products through agents and by them from their houses as well. The aged potters hold that their products had a larger market in the districts of Purba and Paschim Bardhaman, as well as in Bankura too. It is learnt that they generally sell their product in different village *Hat*, such as in Khandogosh, Rasulpur and in Patrasayer etc and in various shops in Bardhaman town. They also hold that a number of male and female agents from neighboring villages as well as from different places

of the said districts used to visit the village now and then, and take vessels to sell them into different Muslim and tribal dominated villages. But unlike the potters of North Dinajpur they sell their products for cash only not by kind.

So it is significant to note that not only to the people living under P.S Khondogosh only but for the districts of Purba and Paschim Bardhaman and Bankura as a whole, have a greater demand for the vessels produced at Salun. The vessels which are popularly known as 'Bhater Handi', 'Tijol Handi', 'Mistir Handi', 'Dayer Handi' manufactured at Salun are too much popular in rural areas in both districts of Bardhaman and Bankura. (Fig.-15,16) What is significant is that so far the shapes, texture, fabric and even the section of these vessels are concerned, a number of bowls resemble the same ones unearthed from the different pre-historic archaeological sites of Bankura.¹⁵

Education – So far as education is concerned, the potters of the village are still lagging far behind in comparison to other craft based occupation class. Among the 278 persons only one person are reported to have a government job and another one person is reportedly enjoying a private company job. Only nine boys and five girls in the locality have been recorded to have passed Madhyamik examination (Class X/Secondary), seven boys and four girls are pursuing their Higher Secondary courses (Senior Secondary). Among the working group, only two potters belonging to the age group of 30-50 years have been found to have a Graduate Degree. The aged potters in the village hold that at present the scenario has changed a lot. Now almost all the boys and girls of this caste are going to school and are continuing their studies. But what is grim is that with the spread of education the urge and practice for manufacturing earthen vessels among these boys have been diminishing rapidly. It is so sad that only a boy of class IX and a boy of class X11 have been found to work as an apprentice potter with their elders.¹⁶

Marriage age -- The *Radhi Kumbhakar*s in both the districts of Bardhaman as a whole and Salun as a particular, have had the tradition to get their sons and daughters in marriage at the age of 27 – 28 and 18 – 19 respectively. But with the spread of education as well as decreasing the scope of employment this tradition has changed a bit nowadays. Now an educated son of a potter family does not prefer to make vessel and seek a government service, so they have to wait to get a job and this gets them older. Their elders find reasons behind it.

Pottery at Salun- The *Kumbhakar*s of Salun manufacture different kinds of ceramics on wheel as well as on hand modeling. As stated, these pots with different fabric and texture with variations in shape, rim and carination have been able to gain reputation throughout the district as well as to the neighboring districts of Birbhum and Bankura

The potters of Salun make Red Ware as well as Black Wares, though all the families are not entitled to make Black Wares. The vessels that are produced by the potters of the village are locally known as follows

	WHEEL MADE		HAND MADE
1	Bhater Handi (For making rice)	1	Khola (For making puff rice)
2	Moder Handi (For making wine)	2	Khapuri (For making puff rice)
3	Pither Handi (For making pithe)	3	Karahi (For making curry)
4	Mistir Handi (For keeping sweets)	4	Pither Khola (For making pithe)
5	Tijol (Used for cooking curry)	5	Pither Saj (Do)
6	Jala (Used as storage jar)	6	Daba (For feeding animals)
7	Ghat (Ritualistic pot)	7	Sara (Ritualistic wares)
8	Bhanda (Used for keeping water)	8	Tawa (For making bread)
9	Panjal (Ritualistic pot)	9	Fuler tob (Flower vase)
10	Dhunuchi (Ritualistic pot)	10	Malsa (Ritualistic pot)
11	Katara (For keeping water/curry)	11	Telani (For keeping oil and curry)
12	Glass (Used for keeping water)	12	Aaske tola (For making aaske, pithe)

Buyers' group

From the detail ethnographic study as well as the socio-economic survey conducted among the traditional potters of Salun in particular and in the district of Purba Bardhaman in general, it has been found that the demand of earthen vessels is diminishing day by day during the last three decades. The aged potters like Jaladhar Pal, Haladhar Pal, and Sadhan Pal etc. maintain that earthen ceramic manufacturing industry is gradually wiping out from our society not only in urban areas but in rural societies as well. From the ongoing study it can be suggested that only the poor rural Muslims and the tribal people living in different villages in the district constitute chiefly the buyers' group. At the same time it is very grim to note that only a few potters use earthen vessels made by them but this too puts a question how long it will continue.

Future of earthen ceramics at Salun

The *Radhi* potters of the village as well as in the district of Purba Bardhaman are deeply concerned over the future of this age-old traditional craft. With the introduction and spread of metallic wares the common people have left pottery and adhere to those of metallic ones specially enamel, stainless steel and aluminum due to their strength and durability. Besides, very recently, the plastic and polythene wares have entered into this competition and are gaining popularity day by day, which has really become a matter of great concern to them. With the increasing high cost of obtaining clays and colour clay or slips, the cost of transporting clay, high rise in the prices of fuels, the potters are worried of the future of their ancestral craft. More over the sons and other members of these

potters' families do not have any interest to learn the techniques of manufacturing pots. The number of apprentice potters in the settlement indirectly over shadows the future of the craft. On the other hand a substantial number of male members of these potters' families in the village have already left their ancestral craft and engaged them in different other occupations like agriculture, different labour based work in shops and even employed them as agricultural labour in others' field.¹⁷ This occupational mobility directly or indirectly indicate the scope and future of this age-old craft. The aged potters hold that in festive seasons only the people seek ritualistic wares and in other seasons the poor villagers specially the Muslims and the tribal ones are helping this craft to continue in our society.

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Fig.1. Tools



Fig.2. Fast wheel made of wood



Fig.3. Turning of wheel by a stick



Fig.4. Treading of clay by foot



Fig.5. Kneading of clay by hand



Fig.6. Throwing vessel on wheel



Fig.7. Throwing vessel on wheel



Fig.8. Use of shaper (Ucho)



Fig.9. Use of dabber on hand-made pot



Fig.10. Beating of vessel after throwing



Fig.11. Application of slip on vessel



Fig.12. Vertical kiln



Fig.13. Arrangement of vessels on kiln



Fig.14. Firing in kiln



Fig.15. Wheel made vessels (Red Ware)



Fig.16. Wheel made vessels (Black Ware)

