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Clay Dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur: Look Through A Craft Tradition with its Modus Operandi

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Abstract

A century-old clay doll tradition existing through different time passages bearing the traces of different temporalities with its idiosyncratic appearance guided by distinctive modelling and brush treatments especially evident in three of its successors: Manmathanath Das, Panchugopal Das and Shambhunath Das are focally discussible in this article. The inevitableness of these dolls' aesthetics is latent in their clay treatment, despite artist changes after a generation, which would not allow them to be cast in other materials except clay to lose their aesthetic vitality. The lack of sufficient literary evidence has strengthened the possibility of an independent visual aesthetic assessment of these dolls. A thorough observation of the making process of present-generation maker Shambhunath Das, along with extended interviews with him and his family in different sessions, has shaped the outline of this article. Besides, various comparative visual studies supported by historical evidence helped decode the possible methods and intentions of Manmathanath Das, who passed away in 1986, leaving no historical written or verbal record of his making and thoughts. An extended interview of Panchugopal Das, taken by Majilpur's local researcher Sanjay Ghosh, played an instrumental role in understanding the early making process of these dolls. This article has shown how various particularities of a craft tradition's making method construct its identity and why any methodological adulteration would violate its visual and vital distinction.

Introduction

Tactility is, especially in the case of appreciating visual art, de facto an avenue to have a corporeal understanding of an image's structure. Folk art is all about structure and where its beauty lies. The social contextual reading might agog about social and historical aspects which fashion the intellectual outline of a craft. However, formal aesthetical appreciation has no direct business with these things. Beauty lies in the structure and composition of form. Moreover, form is determined by the painstaking manoeuvre of artisans. Every craft has its history of making, which is appreciated independently outside its social context. This article pulls out all the stops to understand the structural aesthetics of the clay dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur. This area once had many potter families. However, over time, all these families were lost in oblivion. Only the Das family, the only existing family, said to be for centuries, has been working on making clay dolls. Born in 1906, Manmathanath Das is considered the salient craftsman of this family.



Fig 1: *Shambhunath Das at work*

A posthumous certificate of merit, in 1986, conferred by the Ministry of Textiles: Office of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts), Government of India, for his craftsmanship and contribution of clay/terracotta craft, brought Manmathanath Das

in a sudden light of fame in Bengal's folk cultural discourse. No other clay doll makers individually in Bengal but Manmathanath has registered such a charismatic impact- when other popular folk arts are named after their practicing community and where works of literature are silent about Manmathanath or *Majilpuri clay dolls* before 1986 - that his dolls instrumentally attributed to a new stylistic identity, albeit simulating Kalighat painting style, for his family craft- *Majilpuri putul* or clay dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur. A recorded interview with Panchugopal Das (P. Das 2007), where he talks about his forefathers, is the sole valid source of this family's history. Assorted presumptions spin a might-have-been story of the Das family in the Majilpur village. Sanctified with historical shreds of evidence and the author's analysis, these presumptions have constructed the body of this article.

The interview of Panchugopal Das with local researcher Sanjay Ghosh (P. Das 2007) revealed a belike story of his family history, passed down through the bloodline entering the auditory meatus of Panchugopal Das, informs about a tale of migration when Kalicharan Payada, a sentinel of Dutta Zamindars, along with them, left their ancestral abodes in Jessore came and settled in Jaynagar. After settling here, Kalicharan adopted the surname, Das. He had two sons: Janaki was the elder and younger Ram. Ram worked on *Saj-bandhai*, decorating ornaments for clay idols of Gods and Goddesses in Kumartui, a potters' colony in Kolkata. Inspired by watching potters making clay dolls, he encouraged Janaki to take a punt at making clay dolls. Thus, Janaki was the first in the Das family to take up this clay doll profession. Following in his footsteps, his son Harinath and Harinath's son Gopal succeeded in this profession. From Gopal, this craft gained popularity. Gopal had four sons: Haranath, Suren, Shashi, and Amrita. Manmathanath Das, the central figure of this tradition,

was the son of Haranath. Haranath had another son named Batakrisna. Sabitri Das informed that Manmathanath was childless (S. Das 2022). Shashi and Amrita both had one daughter. Panchugopal Das was born to Suren. Panchugopal begot one daughter, Arati, and three sons: Gautam, Chandranath, and Shambhunath (P. Das 2007). Panchugopal stated this much. At present, except for Shambhunath, no sibling is attached to this profession. Shambhu and his wife, Rina, have only a tiny daughter, Shuchismita. Perhaps he, Shambhunath says (S. Das 2016), is the last generation of this century-old craft tradition.

The Making Process of the Clay Dolls

Clay Preparation

Paddy fields in the vicinity of Jaynagar-Majilpur supply clayey soil for modelling. After collecting clay, the big chunks are crumbled; sprinkle water on them and wrap them in a jute sack for two to three hours to prevent direct contact with air. Thereupon, unwrapping and squeezing them with pressing feet, assuring the processed clay is closely free of particles, increases the plasticity of the clay and makes them obedient to the maker's fingers. Sabitri Das, the widow of Panchugopal Das, says that females of the family helped prepare clay in Manmathanath's time. Malina Das, the wife of Manmathanath, was to cast clay from moulds. Shambhunath Das shares his treatment to make clay salt-free. The first is to store clay and water in an extensive reservoir. Then, stir them into sludge. The following is to keep the sludge motionless until the thick sludge settles down and saline water comes up. The clay would become almost salt-free after repeating the process thrice to quadruple.

Clay Modelling and Mould Making

An inconsistent endeavour is seen in making new dolls in this tradition—most dolls are in great demand made by Manmathanath. Manmathanath left nearly a hundred terracotta moulds, which, as heirlooms, are used by his successors. Votive dolls are not cast for religious reasons; they are made separately. Cast dolls are mainly for sale. It is not merely in Jaynagar-Majilpur, but the Shikharbali doll makers also use the moulds they bequeathed from their forefathers. Pushparani Pal, a septuagenarian doll maker, told the author how, at the age of fifteen, she came to this potter's family as a bride and learned the techniques of clay doll casting and applying paint. Her neighbour, eighty-two-year-old Bharati Paul, showed the method of casting that she learned from her father-in-law and husband.

These two families are only living doll-making traditions in Shikharbali, *Pal Para*. In West Bengal, *Pal* is generally the surname of the potter's community. Failing to attract big markets and dependence on local festivals bring about a reluctance to doll making to the Pal Para, Shikharbali potter community. Undamaged existing moulds might have been the cause of the two families continuing their century-old tradition. Jaynagar-Majilpur's case, however, is different. Dolls of this tradition gained a national reputation on account of the excellent craftsmanship of Manmathanath Das. Manmathanath was a master modeller.

Traditionally, the senior artisan from the Das family is to be appointed to make the Durga idol for both Zamindars- Dutta and Mitra. Currently, only the Mitra Zamindar family is continuing the Durga puja tradition. This prowess of big idol-making could have

been reflected in Manmathanath's dolls, making the dolls stylistically sharp and unique. For modelling, Manmathanath used his fingers and fine wooden tools. These tools were mainly made of bamboo or orange jasmine wood.

The modelling process was additive modelling. Shambhunath informs that he still follows that process. In Manmathanath's time, moulds were made of clay. Some of them were sunbaked, and some were of terracotta. Two-part mould was impossible in clay, so one-part mould used to be done. These days, Shambhunth would rather use plaster of Paris moulds than clay moulds for a two-part mould helps produce multiple casts quickly; using plaster of Paris, one can easily make a two-part mould.

Furnace Making and Firing

After the casts are done, they are left to dry under shade. The joints are correctly finished at a leather dry stage; dolls are soiled with a thin slip layer and kept under the sun for drying. Dolls are fired in a locally made furnace. Given Panchugopal Das's information, Manmathanath dug a shallow hole and laid parched brunches there; he set a bed of dung cakes on the brunches. On top, he would lay clay dolls in two tiers covered with thinly chopped wood branches. Thus, layering three four levels, the whole structure was covered with straws, followed by smearing the entire structure akin to a small dome with semi-solid mud one to two inches thick. He kept a channel at the bottom of the furnace to release smoke. Locally, this channel was called *Gali*. Appearing fire through the *Gali* indicated the equal fire spread inside the furnace. After that, the *Gali* was to be sealed and let the dolls be fired for three hours. However, Shambhunath has adopted a different technique, though it is often practised in the

potters' community in West Bengal. He makes the kiln following the structure of a mud oven—a cylindrical kiln with a brick structure joint with mud, built over a circular hole. Sundried clay dolls are piled inside in layers, wrapped with straws and branches on a four-parallel bed of iron rods hanging over the dug hole. The gap beneath is to place wood as fuel. After the firing, dolls are taken out, cleaned, and prepared for colouring.



Fig 2: Shambhunath Das at workshop

Paint Application

The chalk-dust solution is brushed on the dolls' surface as a primary coat; after that, paint is applied per the body complexion of different deities, such as blue for Krishna and yellow for Durga. Chalk, locally known as *Kath-Khori*, used to be bought from the market and soaked in water for a night in a terracotta pot. The family women rubbed the soaked chalk on a stone saddle in the morning. Then, I strained the solution and mixed it with tamarind seed glue. Manmathanath collected tamarind seeds from the villagers through a barter exchange of clay dolls. Tamarind seeds were baked in a pan to eliminate worms and preserved inside a mud pitcher. To make the glue, seeds were to be soaked in water overnight. The following day, their skin loosened, and some from the white portions were collected to be ground in a saddle quern

and others to be crushed; both were compiled separately. Both were separately boiled. The boiling crushed seeds discharge a sticky thing, whereas the fine paste produces a thick solution. The thick solution was mixed with *Kath-Khori* to make a primary coat. Moreover, the discharge of crushed seeds was mixed with colours. Manmathanath used to produce colours manually. Black was made from lamp's black. Green was produced from kidney bean leaves. Blue was made from camphor—yellow from turmeric, and red from vermilion. After the colouring, to fix it and glaze, Manmathanath used homemade varnish. To make it, he mixed resin, *Garjan*, and kerosine in a *handi* and boiled it until it condensed. Kerosine was also used as thinner. After slight heating, the dolls were smeared with boiled sago solution before applying this solution as a final coat. Currently, Shambhunath uses acrylic to paint and readymade wood varnish to glaze.

Analysis of the Manmathanath's Works

Ganesh Janani

The *Ganesh Janani* dolls that are currently available are cast from Manmathanath's work. Unlike its earlier version of the Kalighat *Ganesh Janani* dolls, Manmathanath's *Ganesh Janani* bears a visual similitude to Buddhist-Hindu iconographical sedentary postures of Indian Classical Art. The author has collected specimens of two-generation *Ganesh Janani* dolls. Found data and shreds of evidence concerning the brush application of Manmathanath and Panchugopal assume which artisan ornaments and which doll. Panchugopal Das says in an interview (P. Das 2004) given to Sanjay Ghosh that Manmathanath was to draw eyes with a single stroke where he requires multiple endeavours to attain the finish. Given this information, the author examines and postulates that the doll in the collection of the Ashutosh

Museum, Calcutta University, could have been created and painted by Manmathanath. Before a detailed analysis of skin treatment, *Ganesh Janani's* structural description is essential. Goddess Durga, in a sedentary position carrying child Ganesha on her lap- her right leg rests on earth with a folded knee; her left foot flats on the ground with an upwardly folded knee- her right palm clings to the stretched shins of Ganesha, and the left wrist bestows crescent support to the tender head of little Ganesha; her left thigh simulates a backrest to reclined Ganesha.



Fig 3 & 4: *Ganesh Janani* made by Manmathanath Das and painted by Shambhunath Das

A right-lolling head, holding a crown with bilaterally cascading hair at the back, shares a benevolent gaze with onlookers. Sanguine are her feet' borders, suggesting an *alaktak*-smearing tradition of Bengali maquillage. Less godly, she seems in attire but an idiosyncratic mother of Bengal's village. Only the iconic treatment of eyes retains the divine vibrance to the viewers' sight.

The doll in the Ashutosh Museum collection, which is supposed to be the work of Manmathanath, is identifiable with its

spontaneously done single black strokes, the quintessential Kalighat painting line delineating its eyes and eyebrows, suggesting the border and folds of the sari she wears. On the contrary, Sambhunath's treatment is much more colourful and ornamental, with patiently done lines.

Jagannath Balaram Subhadra



Fig 5: Jagannath Balaram & Subhadra, by Manmathanath Das, painted by Shambhunath Das

A pristine, enticing appearance attesting to a structural simplicity attracted an Indian Government recognition in 1986 with a certificate of merit conferred on the doll-making efficiency of Manmathanath das, especially accredited with the doll-trio-Jagannath Balaram Subhadra. The trio-deities of Orissa's Jagannath Puri temple inflowed into the air of Bengal following Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu's Bhakti movement from 1515 to 1533 (Sanyal 2022, 81-85). The upward stretched arms, short in length, closed fists- the trio-deities face frontward; a bun-like crown on the top, wearing long over-lapping *jama* with a cummerbund, a sash wind around the shoulder; stand upright side by side along a straight line with Subhadra, the youngest sister, in the centre flanked by Jagannath, the younger brother on the left and the

elder brother Balaram on the right. The displayed figures decorated by Shambhunath present ebony-skinned god Jagannath's *jama* tinged with yellow, embellished with multicoloured falling strips, floral motif on breast; white-skinned Balaram in his distinctive blue attire and fair Subhadra devi in pink ornamented with identical to Jagannath.

Yashoda



Fig 6: Yashoda, by Manmathanath Das, painted by Shambhunath Das

Sit upright on a low round pedestal resting a fist forefinger unfolded of a folded sinistral arm on the thigh of a fold-in leg; a rising forearm to the crowned head leaning right- fingers gently clipping the edge of the veil of a blue *sari*, worn in a quotidian fashion; supporting an elbow on the top of the right knee erect- Yashoda, the foster mother of Lord Krishna could be confused with any mother of rural Bengal with her yellow-fair complexion and elongated open iconic eyes, comes into sight sharing a distinctive gesture with the other mother figurines of Jaynagar-Majilpur. Structured by Manmathanath, the figurine gets tinged and embellished with suggestive lines in the hand of Shambhunath.

Nimai Pundit Showing the Moon to His Consort Bishnupriya: An Exceptional Work of Manmathanath Das



Fig 7: Nimai Pundit & Bishnupriya, made by Manmathanath Das

On 26 April 2022, during an informal talk on their tradition with Shambhunath Das in his Majilpur residence, while working on dolls, he suddenly paused, rose, went up the stairs, and came down with a terracotta unpainted statue in hand, a work of Manmathanath. Shambhu said that was about Nimai Pundit, the nickname of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu before initiated in *Sannyas*, showing the moon to his wife Bishnupriya, pointing his finger at the sky. The statue fixed the eyes of the author and made him reshuffle all his arguments as this particular work, as Shambhunath said, was fashioned by Manmathanath, showing an off-centre prowess, was few and far between any folk-art tradition. In search of the textual reference to this moon-showing event, the author has checked with two seminal books on the life of Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Sri Chaitanya Bhagavat and Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita, but nowhere is this event mentioned. About the wedding night of Nimai Pundit with Bishnupriya, Brindaban Das in the Chaitanya Bhagabat writes-

Bhojon Koriya Sukhe Ratri Sumangale**Following dinner, the night divine*****Lakshmi-Krishna Ekatro Rohila Kutuhole*****They both spent with love sublime⁶ (B. Das 442 Gourabda, 329)**

Therefore, this image is fabricated. Did Manmathanath imagine that? It might have been. However, there are no ample examples, except a terracotta *Ekka* horse-drawn cart he composed from imagination. However, it firmly cannot be said too. Did he then copy them from photographs or pictures? Rabindranath Das, a student of Manmathanath, informed the author (R. Das 2022) that Manmathanath was gifted in converting photographs into doll form, especially while commissioned. A reflection of Kolkata's Kumartuli style of modelling is evident in this particular work. The anatomical precision of British academism combined with the rhythm of Indian classical art appeared in a hybrid form with the identical touch of Kumartuli potters made its advent in the nineteenth century.

A composition with two figures erected on a stair base manifested Nimai Pundit, standing in contrapposto, wearing a dhoti with *Kachha* in back, a hanging sash on his shoulder with garlands suspending on his neck, looking toward the moon in the sky, resting his left arm on the sinistral shoulder of Bishnupriya, who stands replicating the posture of Nimai, clubbing her left cup on the right back of the hand, wearing a sari with the veil on the head, a piece of triangular jewellery hanging between her sensitive breasts' swell, merging her gaze with her consort's. An impeccable sense of human proportion, executing drapery, albeit

⁶ *Translated from Bengali to English by the author.*

copied, is a rare quality to an untrained hand, especially where this type of modelling is absent. Manmatha is a master doll maker. Furthermore, he borrowed his inspiration from Kalighat paintings. This particular ilk, which his dolls bear, is noticeable in the facial treatment of Nimai Pundit and Bishnupriya. Eyes, noses, and lips are a little flat, not sharp, to treat that as the painterly foundation of *Pata* so that Manmatha could sweep his quintessential single-stroke brush at ease. An incompatible disproportionate right hand, in rising position, certainly is a later addition as difficult is to believe it as Manmathanath's error, who already proved his excellence in balancing proportion. Unlike his doll-making treatment, Manmathanath modelled the backside of this work with great detail. Hyperbole would not be if this work is placed in the category of small-scale sculptures.

Next Generation Works



Fig 8: *Bhishtiwala*, by Panchugopal Das

Standing astride on an idiosyncratic Majilpuri round toy base, holding a Bhishti on the sinistral shoulder, mouth cupping with his right palm, wearing a half-sleeve kurta tucked in the dhoti worn above the knees, a Bhishtiwala, fashioned by Panchugopal Das, stares with cold eyes at the front with a slightly left-tilted head

with a red ribbon tied around. After trying his luck in various professions in Calcutta, Panchugopal joined Manmathanath's workshop in his forties. Though seeing his uncle Manmatha at work since childhood, his primary reluctance in this profession refrained Panchugopal from absorbing the idiosyncratic quality of Manmathanath's making. Panchugopal admitted that with a single brush stroke, his uncle could design the eyes and other suggestive lines on the dolls; in that case, he needed multiple lines to execute those. However, with sheer perseverance, Panchugopal developed his style, especially in rendering local god images, which, according to him, could not be done by anyone in his locality. Panchugopal thought Manmathanath's figures were voluptuous, and he followed the anatomical proportion in fashioning his idols.



Fig 9: *Banabibi, by Shambhunath Das*

Panchugopal's son Shambhunath, the present generation, brought a revolutionary change to this tradition. Whatever fame this tradition earned now, undoubtedly at the cost of Shambhunath's bone-breaking hard work. An idol maker of excellence, Shambhunath left his skill traits on making his clay dolls. The

master modeller Shambhunath fashioned fifteen original dolls, a unique addition to this tradition after Manmathanath Das. Shambhunath's Banabibi is his famous creation. Following the Islamic iconography of Banabibi, Shambhunath has fashioned his doll. Dressed as a fair damsel of an affluent Muslim family, Shambhunath's Banabibi wears a ghagra, court shoes wrapping feet, a chaplet around the head and two rolling down hair plaits on either shoulder, two oversized circular earrings on earlobes, cross-legged seated on a rooster, facing front head upright, carrying *Dukhe* on her left lap, rising right hand with a boon-bestowing gesture.

Conclusion

Contemplative scrutiny of Manmathanath's works unfolds the essence of his understanding of form through material execution. The painterly treatment is evident in Bengal's pata, which determines its conspicuous presence in the modelling treatment of Manmathanath. The unpainted casts of Manmathanath are flat, especially where Manmathanath decides to use his brush strokes. An imitative sketch is done from his dolls; it simulates the three-dimensional dolls well. His disciple Rabindranath Das (R. Das 2022) informs that Manmathanath was known as *Ghoton Patua* in his locality. Manmathanath's nephew Panchugopal also confirms that Manmathanath was a champion of drawing Pata painting lines (P. Das 2007). His spontaneous single strokes made his dolls distinguishable, which made him an uncontested master in Jaynagar-Majilpur. Ashutosh Museum exhibits a few specimens of Majilpuri dolls. A meticulous description of Panchugopal Das regarding Manmathanath's brush strokes affirms that Manmathanath Das fashioned these dolls. No effort is seen to make his dolls ostentatious from Manmathanath's side, although a

flat use of colour and distinguishing identical black lines reminisce the prolific tradition of Bengal's pata.

Most of the dolls Manmathanath fashioned are palm-length. Two photographs show him painting his dolls, keeping them against his left palm. An octogenarian artisan poised his head over a doll held in his left palm, deciding his doll's aesthetics with a diagonal brush atypically held in his right fist. This specific position tells the back story of the structure of lines determined by Manmathanath's artistic decision. Panchugopal affirms that he did not assimilate the gestures and postures of his uncle Manmathanath, for his treatment is quite different from his uncle's. An imaginative monumentality and optically sensed lightness, the two essential qualities of Bengal's pata painting, are traced in Manmathanath's dolls. Based on found specimens from different clay doll traditions in Bengal, it can unquestionably be said that this hybridity is a rare quality, which Manmathanath has accomplished skillfully in fashioning his dolls. On the contrary, Panchugopal's son Shambhunath's dolls are of different temperaments. Small was Shambhunath when Manmathanath was alive; suffering his old age, he transferred the responsibility of his workshop to Panchugopal, his nephew.

A little memory Shambhu has of Manmathanath—Shambhunath's understanding of the aesthetics of Manmathanath's dolls through an entirely different practice. Shambhunath is a champion idol maker. Preoccupied with different gods' idols throughout the year, Shambhunath invests his time in continuing his ancestral tradition in intervals, with the association of some hired helpers or his siblings. Impermanent in nature are the clay idols, worshipped for a fixed period and submerged in waterbodies after worship. Big-budget rituals like Durga Puja, Kali Puja and Jagadhhatri Puja, along with Jaynagar's local festivals, sponsor giant clay idols,

which local idol makers fashion. On a bamboo structure with straw and jute thread, a maker decides the shape of the god. A semi-liquid clay coat is applied to it. Then, gradually, in multiple stages, the clay body of a god is structured. After getting dried, the first coat of white chalk is applied to it, followed by various layers of paint to reach the final appearance. Before looking at Shambhunath's dolls or his application of paint to Manmathanath's works, knowing this whole tactile process of idol-making is instrumental in understanding the visual structure of Shambhunath's works. A dialectic appearance of pata painting and a clay doll is evident in Manmathanath's.

The treatment of Shambhunath's dolls recognises the gravity and vitality of clay. The *modus operandi* of big clay idol-making gets reduced to doll form in Shambhunath's hand. Forbye, the thick lines, the brightness of colour, stiffness in fashioning images and the ornateness of the dolls, contrary to Manmathanath's lyrical feather-light depiction, bestows Shambhunath's works an additional optical weightage. However, a material transformation of clay dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur would do an unjust to its beauty, for they lose their essentials. Clay, guided by the fingers of the Das family artists, devises a quintessential trait in the dolls that is irreversible on any condition. Intermittent tactile consequences through the passage of three generations, for only three-generation specimens are available of this about two fifty years tradition, as the Das family believes it, give birth to a critical issue.

There is a situational and periodical distance in the artistic succession from Manmathanath to Shambhunath, hindering an uninterrupted passing down of Manmathanath's idiosyncratic tactile techniques. Nevertheless, the condition of the comparative study of the three-generation works for the author opens up the

hidden area of clay-doll-making's tactile understanding in one artisan in his working period, which never gets registered undistorted in the next generation in the Das family. This conclusion might not be unfair if it is said that the traditional knowledge system of folk art does not rely on any exclusive epistemological ground, but its manual manoeuvre registered in the bodily understanding of an artisan gets transferred to other artisans only by minute observation and continuous mimicking. Any historical or biological cumber between two generations, or a teacher-student tradition impedes this unobjected flow of tactile inheritance. Change in form is common to any ancient folk tradition. Unlike a canonical tradition, folk art could be changed at any junction of history, influenced even by a frivolous incident.

A change of patron, market demand, or political or religious influence could change a folk tradition. Jaynagar-Majilpur's Das family has gone through all these influences, evidently from the time of Manmathanath Das. A New Appreciation for Folk Art in post-colonial India encouraged many intellectuals and connoisseurs to write about various native folk traditions. Central government recognition of Manmathanath's dolls in 1986 attracted the eyes of connoisseurs towards this little-known family tradition. Many writings on the Das family clay dolls following that award helped build a popular identity for the clay dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur. In the economic liberalised India, new consumers now look at the clay dolls of Jaynagar-Majilpur through their brand value. However, to a qualified eye, the structural aesthetics of these dolls still peep through their newly imposed auratic singularity and usher the eyes to the undulated painterly field of the dolls determined by the artisans' fingers and brushes.

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