



CENSUS OF INDIA 1961
VOLUME V, PART IV-B, No. 1
ETHNOGRAPHIC SERIES
GUJARAT

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SIDDI
A NEGROID TRIBE
OF GUJARAT

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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FOREWORD

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the social and economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's notification, though in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census Organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic account of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India, as well as the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include: (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (iii) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty, Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit, assisted by Shri A. M. Kurup and Shri N. G. Nag, Research Officers, is co-ordinating all these studies at the Central level. At the State level, the Superintendent of Census Operations and his staff are collaborating in conducting the field investigations and preparing the report. Shri R. K. Trivedi supervised the study at the State level and Shri R. M. Vankani carried out the preliminary field investigation on this community and prepared the draft. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR,
Registrar General, India.

P R E F A C E

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the Census Organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census Organisation to take up such studies. During Census operation, the Census Organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive Census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the Census Organisation as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items:—

- (i) industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,
- (ii) age and marital status,
- (iii) education,
- (iv) religion,
- (v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,
- (vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,
- (vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census Organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic processes without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in Census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for Census.

At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the Census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again, when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise:—

- (a) what is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The Census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand, it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.
- (b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in a stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.
- (c) The social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether in spite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of a particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above, are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960, at the instance of Shri Mitra, Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Superintendents. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the Office of the Registrar General of India, to co-ordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys. In December, 1961, a Study Camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the offices of the Census Superintendents, participated. In the Study Camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the Study Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the Superintendents of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the Office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the Offices of the Census Superintendents participated. In the Study Camp held at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, also participated. In these Study Camps, an integrated frame for preparation of ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at Annexure I. In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature which have bearing on the different aspect of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows:-

1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
3. Socio-economic survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and inter-group and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each State. Besides, ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present report on Siddis is one of the monographs proposed to be brought out by the Census Organisation. A preliminary investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri R. M. Vankani, Tabulation Officer of the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat, Ahmedabad. The supplementary investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri V. A. Dhagia, Tabulation Officer of the Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat, Ahmedabad and Shri M. L. Sah of the Office of the Registrar General of India. The draft report prepared by Shri Vankani was revised by Shri Nag. It was finally edited by the Editorial Board consisting of Shri R. K. Trivedi, Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat, Shri K. F. Patel, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Gujarat, Shri N. G. Nag and myself.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose farsighted initiative is responsible for social investigations in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies, as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. In spite of his other preoccupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

THE SIDDIS

NAME, ORIGIN, IDENTITY AND HISTORY

THE SIDDIS are one of the most interesting Scheduled Tribes in India, being the only ethnic group among the population of mainland of India which possess well-defined and uncontroverted Negroid features. The only other people having uncontroverted Negroid physical traits in India are found in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Siddis are spread over the Western Coast in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore, their main concentrations being the North Kanara district of Mysore and Rajkot Division of Gujarat. A small number of them are found in other areas also, such as Hyderabad, where a few individuals are employed as watchmen and chowkidars, etc. Before Independence, most of them were working in the militia of the Nizam and other princes of the region. But it is only in Gujarat that the Siddis are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. Even in Gujarat they are treated as a Scheduled Tribe only in Rajkot Division. A good number of Siddis live in Ahmedabad Division as well; in fact there is a settlement of Siddis in Ahmedabad city itself; but they are not treated as a Scheduled Tribe in this area.

According to the Oxford Dictionary (Vol. IX, p. 22, 1933) the word Sidi has originated from the Arabic 'Sayyid' meaning 'lord' or 'prince'. According to Wilson (P.482, 1885) the word Siddi (originally and more correctly, Saidi) is a honorific title given to the descendants of African natives in the west of India, some of whom were distinguished officers of the Mohammedan princes of the Deccan. According to Russell (Vol. I, p.409, 1916), Siddi is the name given to Africans—whether Abyssinian or Negro. He regarded it as a corruption of Saiyad,—the designation originally given to the descendants of the prophet, but later used as term of respectful address, like Shahib in North Africa. Russell referred to another term also, *Hubshi*, which meant one coming from Elhabish, the Arabic name for North-East

Africa. According to 'Bhagavadgomandal', an encyclopaedia compiled under the patronage of Maharaja Bhagvatsinhji of Gondal, Siddi means a *Hubshi* or Negro. Enthoven (Vol.III, p.332, 1922) also consider Siddi as synonymous with *Hubshi*, which literally means a master. It, however, appears that while the word *Hubshi* is used more in a general way for all Negroes, the word 'Siddi' has a narrower application for a particular group of people of Negroid origin living on the Western Coast of India.

While the members of Siddi community refer to themselves as merely Siddis, their neighbours like to add the epithet 'Badsah' to indicate their simple, carefree disposition. Some local Muslims address them by another name Bilal, which appears to have stemmed from Hazarat Bilal. The Siddis believe that they have descended from Hazarat Bilal, a Negro disciple of the prophet. It is said that Hazarat Bilal was stammering in speech and, therefore, some persons raised an objection against his reciting the *bang* (the call to prayer). As a result, another person was appointed in his place. But at this, a miracle took place, and the Sun's course in the firmament was interrupted. In their consternation, the people prayed to God and received his command that Hazarat Bilal should recite the *bang*. After this was done, the Sun rose again to affirm the glory of God.

Though there are different versions about the time of their entry into India, it is generally agreed that the Siddis were brought to the Western Coast of India from Abyssinia and other countries of East Africa, as slaves and domestic servants by merchants and traders. According to Census of India (Vol. VIII, Pt. I, p. 378, 1931), the tribe appears to have been brought to India by the Portuguese towards the end of the 17th century, presumably as slaves. However, the Bombay Gazetteer (as quoted by Russell) records that Siddis were brought after the middle of the 15th century when the Bahmani dynasty became independent of Delhi and

intercourse with Northern India had ceased. It appears that at that time it became fashionable among the nobles to have Abyssinians and other East Africans under their employment. Perhaps they felt it politically safer also to be surrounded by people, with no local social base.

Though not on the scale that prevailed in the later period, Negro slaves are known to have been imported into India as early as the 14th century. Rukh-ud-din-Barbak (1459-1474), the ruler of Bengal, is said to have possessed eight thousand African slaves (Sarkar, Vol. II, p. 135, 1948) who were subsequently expelled from Bengal by king Ala-ud-din Hussain (1493-1519). It is considered that they drifted to Gujarat and Deccan after their expulsion from Bengal (Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 271, 1928). Russell (Vol. I, p. 409, 1916) quotes Orine, according to whom the successful Abyssinians could gather round them a large contingent of their countrymen and other Africans either on payment or on other inducements. From their marriages, first with the natives of India and afterwards among their own families, arose a separate community, the Siddis, who were distinct from other Mohammedans in physical features and character.

The above account indicates that the Siddis were heterogenous in origin, though the dominant strain was Negroid. The present-day Siddis are also conscious of the fact that diverse racial strains have blended in their blood.

According to a legend current among the Siddis of Jambur (a hamlet of the village Madhupur) and Talala mahal, (both located in Junagadh district) they were brought to India by a well-known merchant philanthropist, Jagdushah who used to live at Sagra, a village near Kodinar. He was having extensive trade relations with countries in the African and Arabian Coasts, and during the course of his sea voyages brought a large number of people from those countries as domestic servants. The present-day Siddis are their descendants.

Though the Siddis entered India, perhaps, as slaves and domestic servants, some of them rose to high positions in the military and other establishments of different dynasties. Some became chiefs of armies, some even founded separate kingdoms. Among the latter, mention may be made of the former States of Zanjira, which ever

since the time of Shivaji, were governed by Siddi rulers. It is believed that in the middle of the 18th century Hilech, a Siddi Knight of the Zanjira house wrested Jafarabad, a sea-port, situated inside a fine creek in Saurashtra, about a mile distant from the sea, from the Muhammadan Jhanahdar, who in cooperation with the local Kolis had taken to piracy and harassing the trade and shipping at Surat. He later on sold Jafarabad to the ruling chief of Zanjira but continued to reside there as Governor on behalf of the chief. At that time the Jafarabad holding consisted merely of the town and the immediate neighbourhood but successive Governors enlarged it by inducing the inhabitants of the region, like the Grasias, to come under their protection. During the British regime the Jafarabad estate consisted of twelve villages inclusive of Jafarabad. Thus, there has been a continuation of Siddi aristocracy from the historical period to the modern time. Going back to the historical period, it would be interesting to recall that the servant on account of whom Razia Sultana, the queen of Delhi, lost her crown, was a Siddi. Malik Amber of Ahmednagar, the intrepid general, was also a Siddi. His successful arms won from the Mughals the epithet, 'the hateful'. As late as 1820 A.D., Siddi Ismail, a native of Cambay, dominated the political scene in North Gujarat, as Minister to the Babis of Radhanpur.

It is a matter of great social significance that notwithstanding the fact that so many outstanding personalities have arisen from among the Siddis, the image of the community that prevails among their neighbours is that of a group of people, who are in a condition of near anomie. Perhaps it is the history of their original status as slaves which lashes them even now; and perhaps a submerged racialism among their neighbours, marked by a tendency to impute inherent inferiority to their Negroid features, have also contributed to sustain the image. There is another factor which also should be taken into consideration in this connection. As noted earlier there are some aristocratic families of Siddi origin, like the Jafarabad house. But they do not appear to have any social relations with the ordinary Siddis of Gujarat. They consider the latter as lower in status and tend to take wives from other Muslim aristocratic families. As a

result of intermixture of blood they differ to some extent in complexion, appearance, etc., from the other Siddis. It seems that in absence of continued social relations with the general mass of Siddis, these aristocratic families do not have much important role in the social organization and cultural orientation of the community.

The failure of the Siddis to get incorporated in the main stream of the national life, is reflected in their being notified as a Scheduled Tribe in Rajkot Division of Gujarat, under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification Order, 1956).

Though the Siddis are mostly Muslims, religion does not appear to be the main plank for their group identity. According to 1961 Census, which provides data in respect of the Siddis of Rajkot Division only, there are 23 Hindus out of a total of 3,645. The rest are Muslims. Earlier Census reports indicate that in other areas there are some Siddis who practise Christianity (Census of India, 1931, *Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 378).

The present report is primarily based on the study of the Muslim Siddis of Rajkot Division of Gujarat.

Though there are no well recognised sub-tribes, Enthoven (Vol. III, pp. 332-33, 1922) mentions that the Muslim Siddis have two divisions—Vilaities, the new comers, and Muwallads or countrymen. Theoretically, the Muslim Siddis form one endogamous group; but the Muwallads looking upon the new comers as their betters and fearing that their daughters will not feel happy in a village home, never ask them in marriage. In the village Jambur and adjoining areas, the earlier settlers among the Siddis are referred to as *Desi* or *Saltayeso*, (corresponding to Muwallads of Enthoven) by the late comers, who are themselves called Vilayati by the *Desis*. It is reported that the *Desis* or *Saltayeso* Siddis reside in the villages of Hadmatiya, Javantri, Vadla, Vithalpur, Valadar, Moruka, Surva, Rasulpara, Talala, Sasan and Jambur while the Vilayati Siddis mostly reside in the villages of Sirvan and Galiawad. One Vilayati household, however, resides at Jambur also. It appears that at present there is hardly any social distinction between the two groups;

they freely intermarry and form one social entity for all practical purposes.

The Muslim Siddis of Jambur call their counterparts living in other areas of Saurashtra, viz., Rajkot, Jamnagar, Bhavnagar, Gondal, Junagadh, Dhoraji, etc., as *Tais*. Those residing in the ten villages around Jambur are called *Simali* or people of the north, while those brought by the Portuguese from Africa to Diu are referred to as Swahili. It is likely that the *Simalis* came from the northern region of Africa, while the Swahilis came from one Swahili language area of East Africa. In fact even now, the language spoken by the Swahili Section of the Siddis in India, is reported to have similarity with Swahili language of East Africa. In contrast, the *Tais* and *Simalis* have adopted the local languages with different degrees of admixture. The language of the *Tais* appears to be an admixture of Gujarati and Hindi, the language of the *Simali* on the other hand closely approximates pure Gujarati. But it is reported that some *Simalis* living in Sirvan Nes, near Jambur, speak Swahili among themselves. It is not known whether it is a survival of old habit or whether it was adopted from the Swahilis at certain period. If it is a survival, it would go against the view that the *Simalis* and Swahilis originally came from two different regions of Africa. If it is an adoption, it would provide an interesting insight about the mutual relations of the two sections of the community. Exact historical information is not, however, available to warrant further comment on this matter.

DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION TREND

In addition to Gujarat, where only they are notified as a Scheduled Tribe, the Siddis are found in the States of Maharashtra and Mysore as well. A few Siddis are, however, scattered further south in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh. The main areas of their concentration are, however, Saurashtra region in Gujarat and North Kanara district in Mysore. According to 1931 Census, they numbered 2,245 in Kanara district, with their main concentration in Ankola, Haliyal and Yellapur talukas and Mundgod Petha.

In Gujarat, the Siddis are, treated as a Scheduled Tribe only in the Rajkot Division (Saurashtra region) of the State and as such

they were enumerated in the above region only during the 1961 Census. But, in some of the other districts of Gujarat also particularly in the cities and larger towns of Baroda Division,

they live in small numbers. The following table gives the districtwise population with rural/urban as well as sexwise break-up of the Siddis in the Rajkot Division as per 1961 Census.

| District | Total population | | | Rural | | | Urban | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Jamnagar | 570 | 250 | 320 | 159 | 78 | 81 | 411 | 172 | 239 |
| Rajkot | 380 | 186 | 194 | 60 | 23 | 37 | 320 | 163 | 157 |
| Surendranagar | 27 | 10 | 17 | 11 | 5 | 6 | 16 | 5 | 11 |
| Bhavnagar | 75 | 42 | 33 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 71 | 38 | 33 |
| Amreli | 187 | 94 | 93 | 178 | 88 | 90 | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| Junagadh | 2,406 | 1,236 | 1,170 | 1,889 | 968 | 921 | 517 | 268 | 249 |
| Total | 3,645 | 1,818 | 1,827 | 2,301 | 1,166 | 1,135 | 1,344 | 652 | 692 |

It will be seen from the above table that the Siddis are numerically one of the minor Scheduled Tribes of Gujarat, their total population being 3,645, which is only 0.14 per cent of the total population of the Scheduled Tribes of the State. Out of their total population of 3,645, a small number, 23, (21 males and 2 females) have returned themselves as Hindus; the rest are Muslims. It will also be seen that the Siddis are mostly concentrated in Junagadh district, where out of the total population of 3,645, enumerated in Rajkot Division, as many as 2,406 or 66 per cent are found.

As regards the rural/urban distribution of the Siddis, it is to be noted that 2,301 persons (63.13 per cent) live in villages while 1,344 persons (36.87 per cent) live in towns and cities. In the rural areas, they have their highest concentration in Talala mahal in Junagadh district where 1,628 persons or 70 per cent of the total rural population of the Siddis reside. The following table gives the population of the Siddis residing in some of the villages of Talala mahal.

| Name of the village | Population |
|---------------------|------------|
| 1 | 2 |
| 1 Jambur | 729 |
| 2 Talala | 374 |
| 3 Javantri | 162 |
| 4 Moruka | 123 |
| 5 Sirvan Nes | 113 |
| 6 Sasan | 67 |
| 7 Hadmatiya Gir | 56 |
| 8 Vadla | 56 |
| 9 Vithalpur | 43 |
| 10 Rasulpara | 27 |

Most of the above villages are located in and around Gir forest, famous for its lions.

The other rural areas where they are found in good numbers, are Una (125) and Veraval (95) talukas of Junagadh district, Jafrabad (87) and Kodinar (72) talukas of Amreli district, and Kalyanpur (83) and Khambhalia (57) talukas of Jamnagar district.

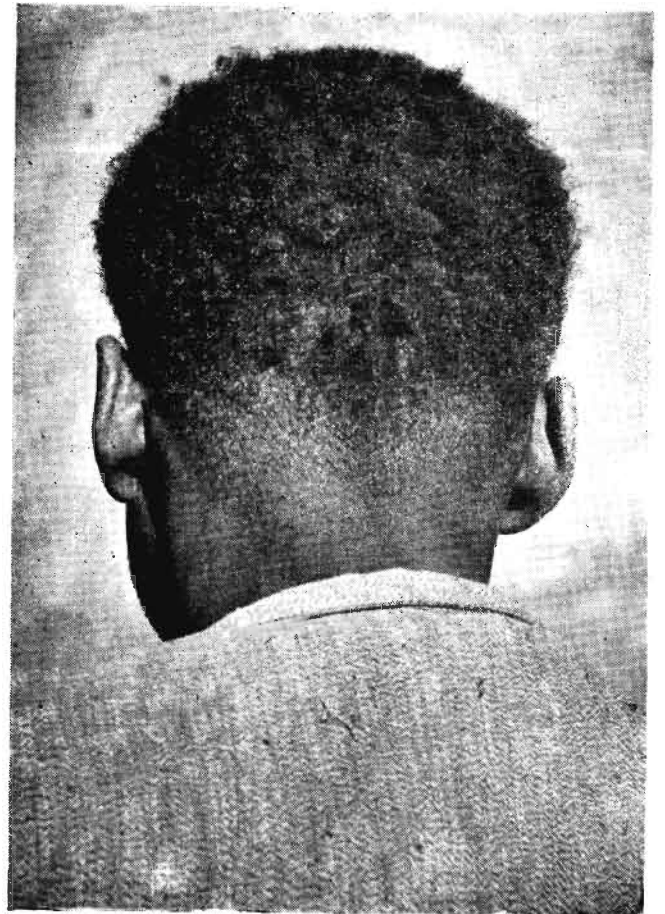
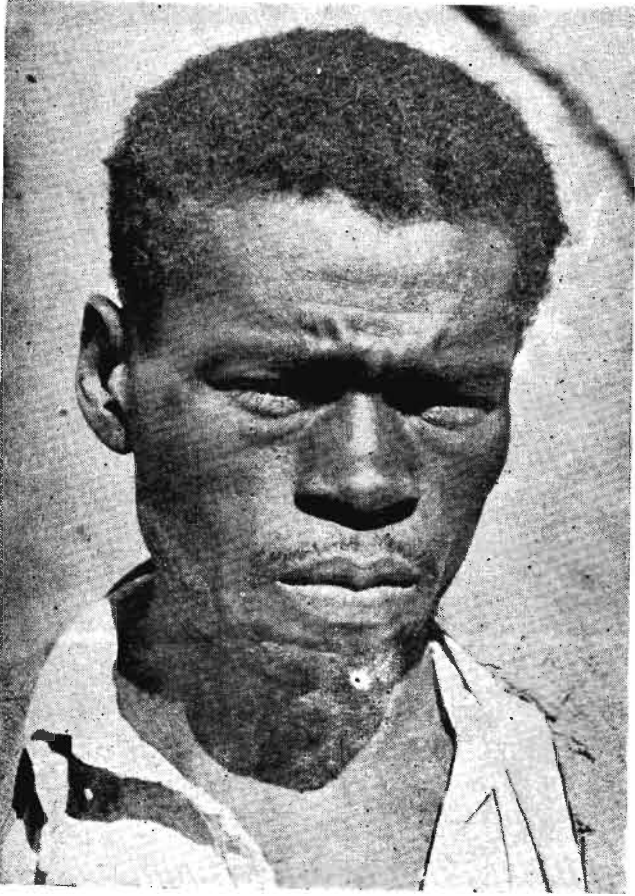
In the urban areas they have their main concentrations in Jamnagar, Junagadh and Rajkot towns.

It is not possible to throw any light on the population trend of the Siddis as their population in Rajkot Division was not separately reported in the earlier census reports. However, according to Enthoven (P.332, 1922) they numbered 12,848 in 1901 in all parts of the former Bombay State which, apart from the present Gujarat State, included the North Kanara district of Mysore as well.

SEX RATIO AND AGE DISTRIBUTION

Out of the total population of 3,645, 1,818 are males and 1,827 are females, which shows that the males and the females are almost evenly distributed, the sex ratio being 1,005 females for every 1,000 males. A higher sex ratio, 1,061, is found in the urban areas. It is counterbalanced by a lower sex ratio, 973, in the rural areas.

Distribution of the Siddi population by sex and age groups is also quite interesting. The same is furnished in the following table.

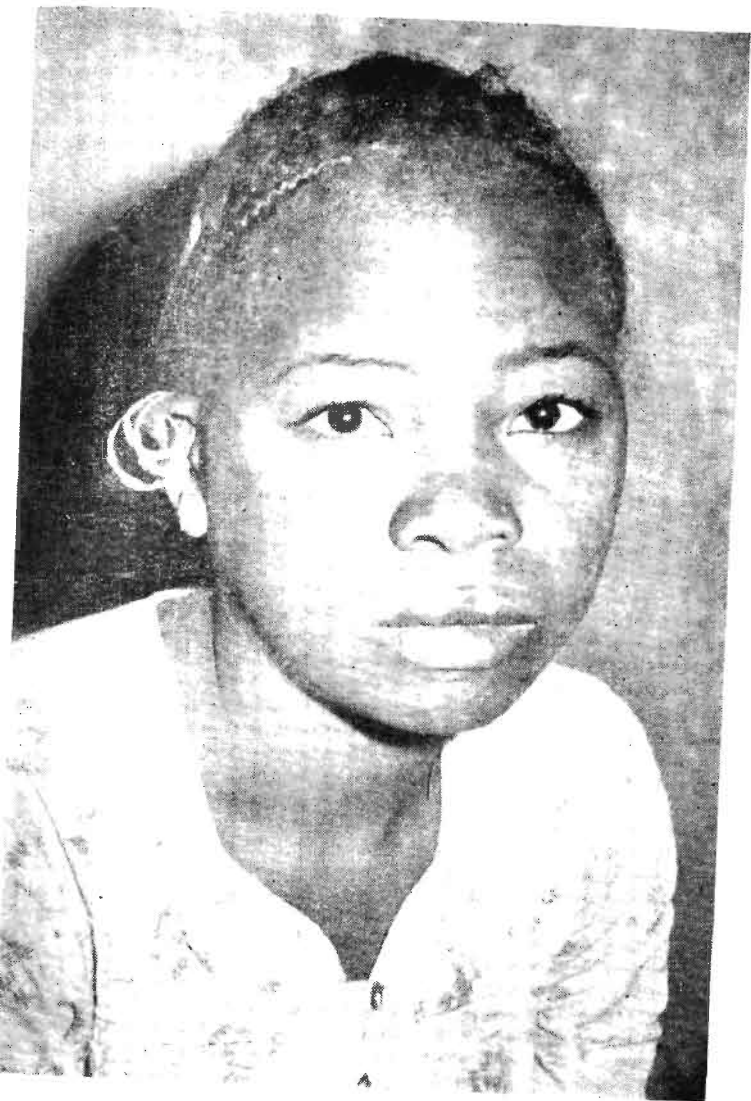


Front, profile and rear of a Siddi male

Front of a Siddi girl



Profile of a Siddi boy



Front and rear of a Siddi woman



| Sl. No. | Age group | Population | | |
|---------|----------------|------------|-------|---------|
| | | Persons | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | 0-14 | 1,489 | 778 | 711 |
| 2 | 15-44 | 1,659 | 815 | 844 |
| 3 | 45 and above | 496 | 224 | 272 |
| 4 | Age not stated | 1 | 1 | .. |

The table shows that whereas in the age group 0-14, the males outnumber the females considerably, in the age group 15-44 the females outnumber the males, by a small number although. Even in the age group 45 and above, the females outnumber the males. It is not known whether the above data reflect a natural oscillation in the distribution of the male and female population in the different age groups or whether they reflect a trend of a more persistent nature.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

As mentioned earlier, the Siddis belong to the Negroid stock. There appears to be hardly any doubt that they came to India from East African countries. Even now, except in case of a few individuals, the Negroid physical features are quite prominent among them, and they can be easily identified by their racial traits. In connection with the present study, height vertex and somatoscopic observations were recorded in respect of 20 adult males at Jambur and Talala in Junagadh district. They are generally above medium in stature, the tallest individual included in the sample being 174.4 cm., and the shortest being 151.5 cm., in height. The mean comes to 166 cm. This can be favourably compared with the mean height vertex of 165.7 cm., recorded by Roy Choudhary (Vol. VI, No.1, p. 54, 1957) among the Siddis of North Kanara district in Mysore.

The skin colour¹ of the Siddis varies from brown to black, with most of the individuals in the black and dark brown range. Among the 20 individuals observed, 8 (40 per cent) were black, 5 (25 per cent) were dark brown, 4 (20 per cent) were chocolate, 2 (10 per cent) were brown and 1 (5 per cent) was medium brown in colour. This again is in conformity with the observations of the skin colour among the Siddis of North Kanara,

recorded by Roy Choudhary (Vol. VI, No.1, p.66, 1957). Ninety-one per cent of the Siddis in this sample had black and dark brown colour, as against 95 per cent in the present sample. The hair of the Siddis also confirm their Negroid strain. 50 per cent of the individuals included in the sample had woolly hair and 40 per cent had frizzly hair. It is interesting that one person (5 per cent) had pepper-corn type of hair. There was only one person in the sample (5 per cent) whose hair form did not conform to the Negroid strain. But even in his case it was deep wavy. There was not a single case with straight or low or medium wavy hair. The above distribution of hair form among the Siddis of some parts of Gujarat when compared with that observed by Roy Choudhary, among the Siddis of Kanara, reveals a close similarity. Roy Choudhary's figures are as follows: Woolly hair: 56 per cent; Frizzly hair: 39 per cent; Pepper-corn: 3 per cent; Curly: 1 per cent; Wavy: 1 per cent.

All the individuals in the present sample were found to have medium to deep depression in the root of the nose, 13 persons (65 per cent) were having flared alae. They had mostly oval face with fairly pronounced prognathism (Projection of jaws) which can be termed as slight to medium. One individual was, however, observed to have marked prognathism. Their chin and cheek bones were somewhat weak and not very well-developed; in the case of 35 per cent of the sample the chin was found to have a tendency to recede. Two individuals (10 per cent), however, had well developed cheek bones. Their lips showed a tendency towards thickness. In fact, 50 per cent were having thick lips. In the case of one individual, however, somewhat thin lips were observed. Their eye-slits were straight and no person showed any tendency of the obliquity of the eye or presence of epicanthic fold.

CLANS

The Siddis have a number of exogamous clans, called *Atak*. The following *Ataks* were reported by the Siddis of Talala mahal and Jambur in Junagadh district: (i) Badrani, (ii) Chauvat, (iii) Bhaliya, (iv) Majgul, (v) Makvana, (vi) Melan, (vii) Modi, (viii) Musangra,

1. No colour chart was used.

(ix) Nareja, (x) Mori, (xi) Parmar, (xii) Saili, (xiii) Sheikh, (xiv) Sirman and (xv) Sotyira.

The Siddis are not able to throw much light on the origin and history of the above clans. It is interesting to note that some of them are the same as Muslim surnames, such as Sheikh and Melan, and some are identical with Rajput clan names or surnames, such as Parmar and Makvana. Some of the Siddis use their clan names as surnames. For instance Sheikh or Makvana are often added after their names.

In addition to regulation of marriage, clan division does not appear to have any overt function. Members of the different clans are found to live mixed up with one another and in same professions. There is no hierarchy of status among the different clans.

FAMILY

The Siddis trace their descent along the male line. They are patronymic and patrilocal. Marriage is, however, neolocal though patri-vicinal and patri-potestal. It is very rarely that the married sons continue to live with their parents. Extended families, specially collateral type of extended families where married brothers along with their spouses live together and pool their incomes, are rare. In some cases, however, a married son along with his wife and children may live with his aging parents.

The nuclear type of family among the Siddis does not give much scope for a large household. Usually 5 to 6 persons live in a household. The sample covered by the present study gives an average of 5.44.

Composition of 15 households was studied at Talala. The same is indicated here.

| Sl. | No. Composition of the household | No. |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| 1 | Husband, wife and their unmarried children | 10 Simple or nuclear |
| 2 | Mother, widowed or otherwise, living with her unmarried children | 3 --,- |
| 3 | Widowed father living with his son and son's wife (with no issue) | 1 Nuclear with adhesion |
| 4 | Husband and wife living with their two married sons and their wives (with no issue) | 1 Extended |

Total 15

It will be possible to gain more insight about the family institution of the Siddis, if a closer look is given to these households. Out of the ten households where the husbands and wives live with unmarried children, in one household, a girl is living with her father, step-mother and step-sister. Her own mother has been divorced by her father and is living separately. In three households mothers are living with their respective unmarried children. Out of these three households, in one, a widow is living with her youngest unmarried son; she has three more sons who are married and each of whom is living separately with his wife and children in the same village. In another household also, the widowed mother is living with her youngest son and her two married sons are living separately with their respective wives and children. In the remaining household, the woman is living with her son and daughter-both unmarried. She has no other married and unmarried children. But her husband is alive and is living separately with a second wife through whom he has other issues as well. Though living separately he bears the cost of maintenance of his first wife and her children. Typologically, all the three households belong to the category of nuclear family but even then, structurally the first two differ very much from the last one. Out of the two non-nuclear households, one can be termed as a nuclear household with adhesion. In this household the father who is a widower is living with his married son and son's wife. There is only one genuine extended family in the sample. In this case two married brothers are living along with their aged parents.

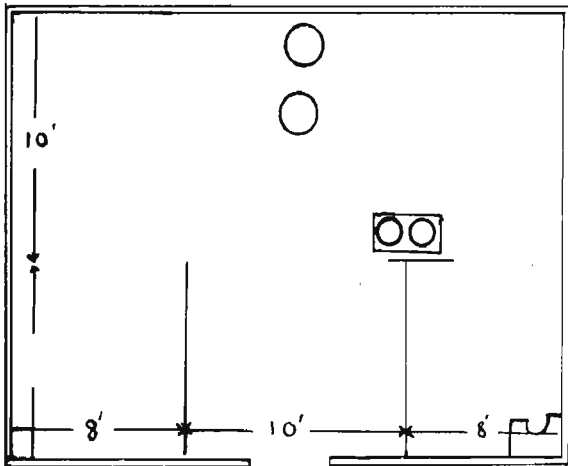
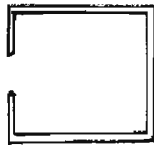
It appears from the above case studies, that nuclear family is the most prevalent form of household organisation among the Siddis. In fact, it is stated to be the expected norm for quite sometime. Usually, a son is expected to set up separate household of his own, soon after the marriage.

SETTLEMENT AND DWELLING

As mentioned elsewhere, the Siddis have their main concentration in Junagadh district of Rajkot Division. They have their settlements mostly in the villages of Galiawad, Surva, Jambur (729), Sirvan Nes (113), Rasulpara (27), Moruka (123), Sasan (67), Vadla (56),



House with mud walls

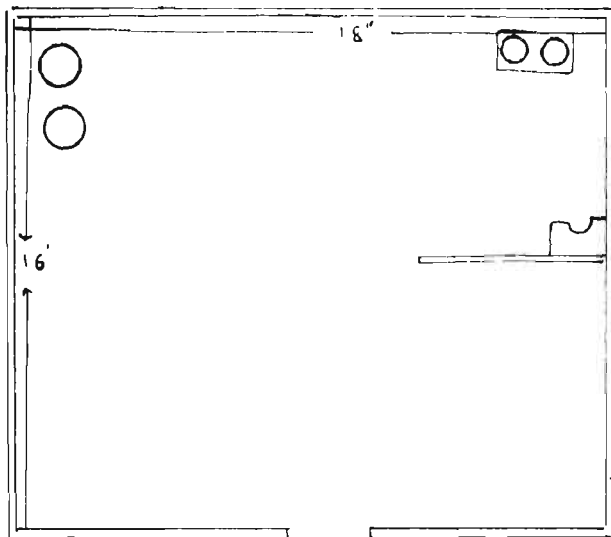


DISTRICT : JUNAGADH
 TALUKA : TALALA
 VILLAGE : JAMBUR

-  LOCATION OF KITCHENFIRE
-  WATER PLACE
-  GRAIN STORAGE



House with bamboo walls and thatched roof



DISTRICT : JUNAGADH

TALUKA : TALALA

VILLAGE : JAMBUR

-  LOCATION OF KITCHENFIRE
-  WATER PLACE
-  GRAIN STORAGE

Hadmatiya Gir (56), Talala (374), Javantri (162), Vithalpur (43) and Valadar (16). Most of these villages are located in and around Gir forest in Talala mahal of Junagadh district. The village Valadar is located in Kodinar taluka of Amreli district. The settlement pattern and dwellings of Siddis were, however, studied at Jambur, a hamlet of the village Madhupur, located in Talala mahal of Junagadh district. According to the old Government records, Jambur was earmarked in 1902 by the former Nawab of Junagadh State as a separate habitation of the Muslim. It, however appears that the Siddis are living here since long before. According to the local people, the Siddis are inhabiting Jambur for the last five generations. Prior to that, they were residing at old Jambur—at a distance of 3 km. from Jambur, by the side of the road, leading to Jasadhar. It is believed that at old Jambur also, the ancestors of the Siddis had lived for at least five generations.

The settlement pattern of the village Madhupur, of which Jambur constitutes a part, is more or less circular. The main market lies diagonally inside the circle, the main road passes to the south of the market constituting an arc, as it were, of the circle. The houses of the Brahmans, Lohanas and Kunbis lie interspersed on the two sides of the road. The households of the Muslim communities like the Makrani, Sandhis and Siddis are situated in the eastern sector of the village.

It is in this residential complex that the hamlet Jambur is situated. It is sandwiched between two rivers, Karkari in the East and Saraswati in the West. The cultivable lands surrounding the hamlet, touch the outskirts of Gir forest near Sasan.

DWELLINGS

The Siddis have permanent dwellings but the structures of the same cannot be said to be *pucca*. Locally available stone and mud are the main building materials. The houses do not have separate compounds or surrounding walls. A number of houses adjoin one another and have common side walls. These are built on 2 ft. or 2½ ft. high plinths. Such high plinths are necessary as protection against the flood waters of the rivers Saraswati and Karkari, which when in spate, submerge the roads, streets and lanes.

The floors are mostly *kutch*a and plastered with mud. Only one house has lime concrete flooring. The walls are generally built up with mud plastered stones. There is only one residential house, besides *dargah* of Nagarchi Pir which is plastered with lime. The roofs are generally very low and the interiors of the houses are dark. Roofs with Mangalore tiles are more common. Roofs thatched with *ratad* or *bajri* straws and *jambuda* (*Eugenia jambolana*) twigs and leaves are also found.

Small poles provided in the fashion of grills on the walls serve the purpose of ventilation. A few houses are, however, having small openings with arrangement for closing and opening for the purpose of ventilation. The doors are like flaps and prepared out of kerosene tin sheets very small in size (about 4' x 3'). The door frames are very low. One has to bend forward in order to enter the house. The doors are generally prepared from wood of *jambuda* tree. Sometimes a temporary structure is provided at the entrance of the house to serve the purpose of a porch. This structure is also prepared from the branches of *jambuda* tree.

An average house is a single room tenement. The same room is used for cooking, eating, sleeping and storing household materials. There is no separate bathroom. Generally they take bath in open space near their house or in the near-by rivers. Similarly, there are no latrines. For defecation they go to the bed of Karkari river or to the near-by meadows. No separate cattle sheds are provided. The cattle are tethered inside the house, as in the forest area there is a constant danger from lions, cheetahs and leopards. As the twilight approaches, all the grazing cattle are herded together and bounded inside the house.

The houses of Siddis living in larger towns are sometime slightly better and in some cases built of bricks and mortar. Mural designs of animals, such as a dog and a horse and birds like sparrows and parrots and other floral designs are drawn on the wall bordering the door frame; the front caves are also sometimes lined with wooden strings with carved designs. In some cases, even the bases of the pillars are coloured with floral designs. It is said that wood carving was exquisitely done by a Siddi carpenter who

has since died. He is reported to have received a number of prizes from the Nawab of Junagadh for his carving of wooden figures of animals and other motifs.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENTS

Among the household articles, *charpai* (wooden cot) is a common article in a Siddi house. One can also see a number of earthen vessels used for storing grains. Mud receptacles called *kothla* are lined in the one corner of the house for preserving surplus or left over food. A number of wooden stools are also indispensable for them. Out of them, the one which is used as a rack for keeping the rolled up beddings is called *damachia*, another one used as a stand for water-pots is called *ghadumachi*. One article, which would almost invariably be found in a Siddi house, is grinding stone meant for the processing of grains. In most of the houses a kerosene lamp and a mirror can be seen hanging on the wall. In some houses, transistor radio sets can also be seen. Some Siddi households own table clocks. It is, however, understood that the Siddis have a knack of telling the time on the basis of the position of the Sun, the Moon and the stars. The unit of distance used by them is called *khetarva* or length of a field. It is equivalent to approximately four furlongs. They are conversant with the maund and seer system of weight but the unit of weight used by them is *khandi* which is equal to 200 *kutchha* seers.

THE DRESS

The dress of the males is very much similar to that of the neighbouring Muslim communities. The dress of the females is also very much like the dress put on by the Muslim females of Saurashtra.

The males generally wear a shirt, an ordinary pyjama and a turban. Sometimes, the younger folk put on trousers instead of pyjama and use a cap instead of the turban; on the other hand, the elderly males tie a piece of cloth or handkerchief on the head and put on *bandi* (sleeveless vest), shirt and *lungi* (piece of cloth covering the body from hips to knees) or *chorni* (tight trousers). Generally, they use coloured clothes, especially blue, as they do not wash them very often. The Siddis do not have any special dress for ceremonial

occasions; only they try to put on clean clothes at those times. The *mujavar* (priest) who performs the ceremony at *dargah*, however, puts on a *jhabha* (long shirt), a jacket, a turban and a *lungi*. Other functionaries such as the community Patel or members of *Jamat* do not wear any special dress.

Frequently a Siddi male would be found to go about with an axe over his shoulders. This axe is handy when long trees are to be felled. Also he keeps a knife in his pocket for cutting purposes. Occasionally a young man would be found with a wristwatch on.

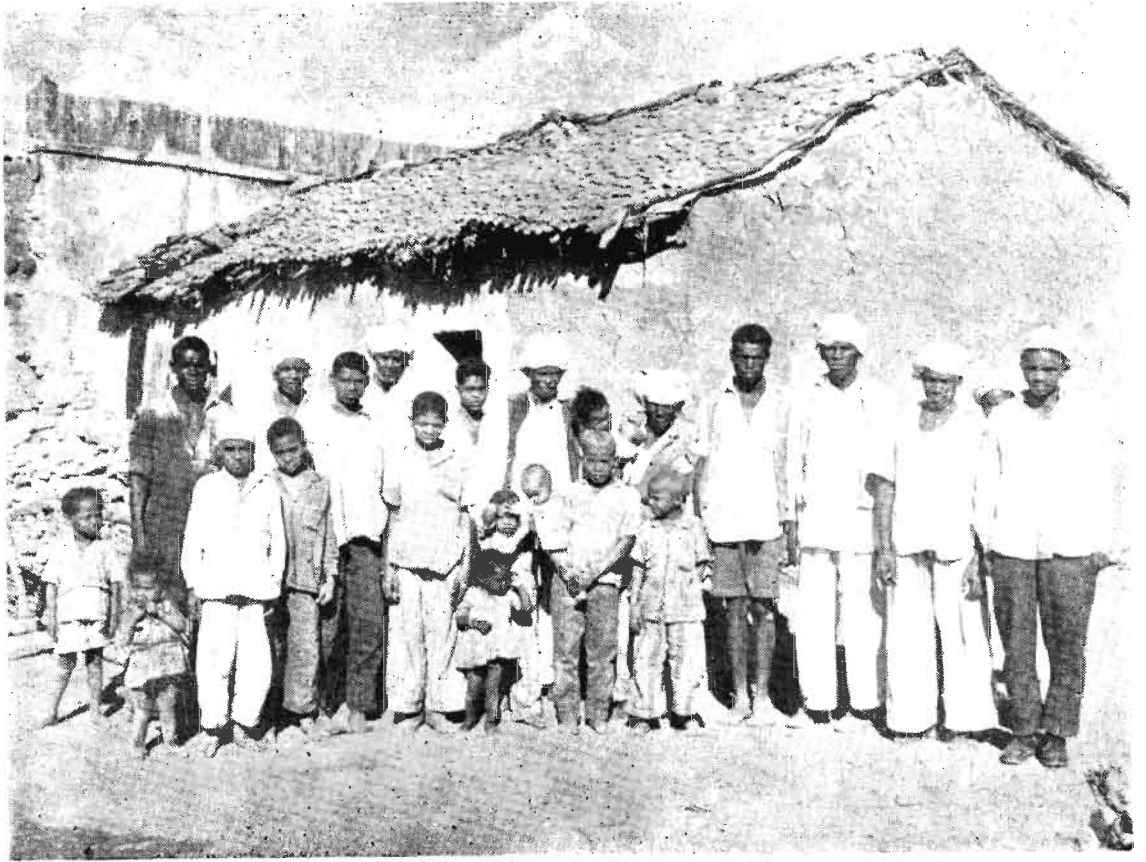
Women generally put on a *choli* (blouse) or *kaparu* (backless blouse) and *odhani* (a 2½ yards piece of cloth to cover the head). They also put on *lehnga* (a type of skirt), which is sometimes eight to ten yards in circumference. Some women have taken to wearing *kurta* (a type of long shirt) and *ijar* (pyjama-like) in the fashion of the womenfolk of other Muslims of the region. Children, both male and female, below the age of 6 or 7, remain unclothed. Men and women generally go bare-footed. However, on occasions, some put on country-made shoes called *okhai joda*. The women generally observe *parda* in the fashion of womenfolk of the region by covering their face with the *odhani*. This is both in conformity with the observance of *parda* by the womenfolk of the region—Hindus and Muslims alike. They do not put on a *burqua* (veil) in the fashion of the Muslim women in other parts of the country. However, *parda* as in the fashion described above, is generally observed by the young married women only; the old women, even though they put on *odhani* do not use the same as a veil. In the towns and urbanised areas, sometimes the young women also do not cover their face with the *odhani* worn by them.

ORNAMENTS

The Siddis generally put on ornaments made of silver, semi-precious stones and glass. They obtain ornaments mostly from the market of Talala. The males generally wear silver rings on their index fingers; a few put on silver necklaces as well. Sometimes they put on talismans around their necks and anklets on their arms; some of them put on *morpahli* (earrings) on the ears.



Interior of a Siddi house



A group of Siddis



A Siddi woman in her day-to-day dress

The women wear *choodis* (bangles) on the wrists which may be made of ivory, silver or glass. They also put on *bulakh* (nose-pin) in between the nostrils; this is made of silver. Also they put on *toda* (silver anklets) on the ankles and silver necklaces around the neck. The women also put *kanphul* (earring) on the ears. These ornaments are generally put on by the young women—married or unmarried. The old women generally do not put on any ornament. They get these ornaments prepared mostly from Talala which is about 9 km. from the village.

Unlike some of the other village folk of the region, the Siddis do not put on tattoo marks or chip their teeth as decoration which, according to them, are against the tenets of the Islam. The Siddi males do not have any peculiar hair style. They get their hair dressed in the fashion of the local communities. The barber from Madhupur visits Jambur hamlet on his daily rounds and his services are utilised by the Siddis in the need of hair-dressing. Sometimes elderly males get their heads clean shaven. In fact, during the field survey, a number of Siddis, both young and old, were found clean shaven on the head. They, however, keep moustaches. Sometimes the hair of female children are cut in a special manner so as to avoid getting their hair entangled in the absence of daily care and wash. This is done by clean shaving at the crown and nape and allowing a short tuft on the parietal and the rear of the head. Women dress their head in *mindla* style (a local hair style) in which tufts of hair from sides and crown are braided into plaits and tied together at the nape along with different plaits from all over the head. For dressing the hair, a comb made of sissam wood (*Dalbergia sissoo*) is used, as combs made from other materials like plastic, celluloid or bone are useless for the curly hair of the Siddis. Generally, the grown up women besmear their hair with groundnut oil; the males and the children do not use any oil at all.

FOOD AND LIQUOR

The Siddis are non-vegetarian. They take mutton, fish and egg as well as edible varieties of animal and bird. The Siddis who are living in the outskirts of the Gir forest go on hunting expeditions when they kill animals like rabbit,

peacock, partridge, etc., which they relish very much. The river Saraswati is an abundant source of fish for the Siddis of Jambur. According to their own version they abstain from pork and beef. Enthoven (Vol. III, pp. 332-336, 1922) also confirms that they abstain from beef.

Generally they take two principal meals in the noon and in the night. They prepare unleavened bread of *bajri* (millet) or *jowar* (*Sorghum vulgare*) and take the same with curry made of locally available vegetables like brinjal or with *dal* (pulse). On festive occasions they prefer to take rice or wheat; they particularly relish special dish called *malida*, a preparation of wheat flour, *ghee* and sugar. The vessels used in the preparation of food are generally made of aluminium, among which mention may be made of *tapela* (pan), and *kathrot* (trencher). Dough for preparation of bread is kneaded on the latter. Brass bowls are used for serving *dal* and *kadhi*, while water is drunk from brass *lotas* (tumblers). Their method of preparation of food does not differ much from the method followed by the other communities of the region. Prior to taking food, a Siddi generally washes his hands and sits on the floor along with other members of the family. The manner of their serving food is also the same as is found among other communities of the region. Breads are put on *patla* (a wooden seat); other dishes are served in an aluminium plate and *dal* or *kadhi* is served in a bowl. Ordinarily, all the members eat from the same plate or bowl. Surplus food or left overs are kept in a *kothla* (cupboard) made of mud. Sometimes, the surplus food is allowed to remain in the same vessels covered with earthen or aluminium pan. Both adult males and females as well as children of both the sexes are fond of taking tea, particularly in the morning. In addition, the working males generally take tea in the afternoon and sometimes even at night. Siddis are fond of taking country-made liquor also. It is not unusual to come across a Siddi in drunkard condition. It is said that their addiction to liquor quite often results in quarrels and brawls. A good deal of their earnings are also spent on drinks. Besides, they take other intoxicants, like *bhang* (hemp leaves) or *ganja* (hemp flowers). They also smoke *biddis* or *chungis* (earthen smoking pipes).

ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION, HYGIENIC HABITS, DISEASES AND TREATMENT

Pits for storing of garbage meant for conversion into manure for agricultural purposes, are generally dug by the different households outside the residential areas. But even then the surroundings of Siddis' houses are not in a satisfactory condition. The habitation area of Jambur is littered with unwanted and thrown away articles, like shreds of old clothes, skins and hides of slaughtered animals and hair thrown away by the barber. Night-soil is not utilised as manure and no compost pits are found. Dead animals are generally carried away by *Bham Ijardar* (licensed skin dealer of Madhupur).

They keep pet animals and poultry birds inside the living room; as a result, the floor almost always remains dirty with the excreta of these animals; besides there is a stinking odour in the air. The Siddis, however, are not devoid of hygienic sense. They remove the dung and urine of the cattle in the room, every morning and sweep the floor with palm leaf broom. Then they sprinkle the floor with water. Weekly once, they give the floor and the verandah coating of mud and cow-dung. Also they give mud-coating to the walls as and when there is a crack of the plaster and the stones are exposed.

In so far as their personal hygiene is concerned, they have mostly one or two pairs of clothes, which are not washed daily and, therefore, remain sordid and dirty. They are also said to avoid daily bath and go in for a bath in the near-by river, only after a considerable interval of time.

DISEASES

The incidence of *ankh uthvi* (an eye disease) and skin diseases locally known as *khas*, *dhadhar* (common itch) and *undri* (ring worm) is said to be high, particularly among the children. The eye diseases are said to develop overnight and on the next day the eyes of the patient get swollen. The skin diseases are most common on the waist. In case of *undri*, the scalp becomes reddish in colour, with ring shaped patches on the head which have a coating of fungus.

The Siddis believe that most of these diseases are caused due to indigestion or contaminated flesh of some animal as well as insects in the

near-by jungle. Only in a few cases they consider the ailments to have been caused by evil spirits.

While rarely they consider the diseases to have been caused by supernatural factors, the cure sought by them is often a magico-religious one. *Dhuna* (ashes of fireplace) of the Nagarchi Pir (one of their important saints) is used for the treatment. Similarly, when people are suffering from headache, they collect the water from the steps of the Nagarchi Pir's *dargah* (tomb of Nagarchi Pir) after uttering the names Nagarchi Baba, Ghor Baba, Mai Siab (names of Siddi saints). Amulets are more frequently used for getting rid of diseases, like common headache. During the present survey a number of persons were found with such amulets.

There are, however, some ailments, for the cure of which they take recourse to indigenous and modern methods of physical treatment. For instance, for the treatment of skin diseases or broken bones, they go to the indigenous medicine-man who administers medicinal herbs, roots, leaves, etc., obtained from the near-by jungle. Failing the indigenous medicine-man, they go to the *Vaid* living in their area, who would administer Ayurvedic medicine. Only in case of serious prolonged illness, the Siddis visit the allopathic doctor living in a near-by town.

LANGUAGE

The ancestral language of the Siddis is considered to be Swahili or some other African language or dialect spoken in the eastern coast of the continent. They have, however, lost almost everything of their original culture, and have borrowed liberally from the culture of the people amongst whom they reside. Similarly, they appear to have more or less lost all knowledge of their original mother tongue and almost exclusively speak the local dialects. According to the 1961 Census, out of 3,645 Siddis in Rajkot Division, as many as 3,475 (95.3 per cent) have returned Gujarati as their mother tongue, while 74 persons (2.02 per cent) have returned Hindi, 60 persons (1.64 per cent) Urdu, 26 persons (0.71 per cent) Kachchhi and 9 persons (0.22 per cent) Sindhi as their mother tongue. Also, one person has stated African as his mother tongue. Even out of the above 170 persons who have returned

languages other than Gujarati as mother tongue, 52 persons (30.6 per cent) have returned Gujarati as a subsidiary language spoken by them. Thus, there are only 118 persons (3.2 per cent) who have not returned Gujarati either as their mother tongue or a subsidiary language. There are 78 persons who speak a subsidiary language in addition to the mother tongue. Apart from the 52 who speak Gujarati, this category of persons includes 3 (males) speakers of English, 21 of Hindi, and 1 each of Marathi and Kachchhi.

The religious teachers carry on their discourse in Urdu and Arabic and in the *madrasas* (school for Islamic education) where the children of the Siddis generally read, Urdu and Arabic are taught. The Siddis of the ruling families, like those of the former Jafabad State, speak Urdu at home, but Gujarati with others. According to Grierson's classification, the mother tongue of the Siddis of Jambur and adjoining areas is Kathiawari, a dialect of Gujarati. According to the Siddis residing at Jambur they have been speaking Gujarati for generations. The Gujarati spoken by them, however, differs somewhat from that spoken by other Gujaratis of the region. The Siddis speak with some hoarseness and also pronounce 'L' for 'N'. Some Urdu words also creep in. This is true not only for the Siddis of Jambur, but by and large for those living in other parts of Saurashtra. It is also understood that some Siddis inhabiting Sirvan

Nes near Jambur still speak Swahili dialect among themselves. Adoption of Gujarati as mother tongue by the Siddis of Jambur is, however, more complete, so much so that on ceremonial occasions they sing songs in the local Gujarati dialect. Their contribution towards the embellishment of the ideas and similies of Gujarati, both in form and spirit, is of no mean order.

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

The Siddis have made rather poor progress in the field of education. According to 1961 Census, their percentage of literacy is only 9.77 per cent which is much below 30.45 per cent literacy for the State as a whole and 11.70 per cent literacy among the Scheduled Tribes of the State as a whole. The literacy among the females is still low, with only 3.17 per cent literates, as against 16.39 per cent literates among the males. As regards the rural-urban break-up of literacy among the Siddis, it is found that only 4.56 per cent are literates in the rural areas, while in the urban areas the corresponding figure is 18.67 per cent. Further in the rural areas only 0.8 per cent females are literates; the corresponding figure for the males is 8.02 per cent. In the urban areas, 30.98 per cent males and 7.08 per cent females are literates. The following table gives the educational standards attained by the Siddis.

| Area | Illiterate | | | Literates without educational level | | | Primary or Junior Basic | | | Matriculation or Higher Secondary | | | Total | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | M | F | T | M | F | T | M | F | T | M | F | T | M | F | T |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
| Rural | 1,070 | 1,126 | 2,196 | 38 | 1 | 39 | 58 | 8 | 66 | .. | .. | .. | 1,166 | 1,135 | 2,301 |
| Urban | 450 | 643 | 1,093 | 66 | 14 | 80 | 134 | 33 | 167 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 652 | 692 | 1,344 |
| Total | 1,520 | 1,769 | 3,289 | 104 | 15 | 119 | 192 | 41 | 233 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1,818 | 1,827 | 3,645 |

It is found from the above table that among the literate population, as many as 119 persons are literates without any educational level, and 233 persons—192 males and 41 females—have read up to primary or junior basic level. Only 4 persons—2 males and 2 females—have passed matriculation or higher secondary examination. It appears from the above figures that there is a good deal of wastage and stagnation in the schools as, a number of students drop out after primary or junior basic level and do not go in

for further studies. However, it is understood that one person belonging to Siddi community, has now obtained M.B.B.S. degree and is a practising doctor in Bhavnagar city.

OCCUPATION AND ECONOMIC LIFE

As mentioned elsewhere, the Siddis were mostly brought to India as slaves and were made to serve as domestic servants and soldiers. Later on, some of the Siddis rose to prominent positions and a few founded their separate kingdoms

such as those of Sachin and Zanjira. It is said that the rulers of former Zanjira State were the descendants of the Siddi slaves and soldiers accompanying the Arab invaders and tradesmen after the 8th century onwards. Some of the former rulers of the States still retain a few Siddis as attendants, night watchmen and chowkidars, etc. Formerly, some Siddis were also addicted to criminal practices and committed thefts and robberies and for this reason they had been sometimes regarded by their neighbours with fear and distrust. At Jambur, it was reported that previously Siddis used to plunder and harass the local people and stealthily reap their harvest at night. However, since the last three or four decades, by and large, they have given up their criminal propensities and only occasionally are found to have indulged in minor thefts and pilferages. In the rural areas they have taken up agriculture for quite some time. However, most of them do not have sufficiently large holdings and very few among them are prosperous agriculturists. Most of them cultivate or earn enough for their maintenance and livelihood from agriculture and other subsidiary work. The cultivators are not able to have enough produce for marketing. In addition to agriculture, some are engaged in poultry and livestock raising, which generally does not include buffaloes. Such of them who keep livestock and poultry sell milk and *ghee* as well as eggs and chickens. Their womenfolk also help them in keeping poultry. The Siddis who reside around the forest areas in Jamagadh district resort to forest labour. They also collect forest products, such as firewood, honey, gum, herbs of different varieties and fruits like *jambu*, *karmads*, etc., and sell vegetables and fruits.

In urban areas, the Siddis have taken up jobs such as those of fitters, mechanics, factory workers, watchmen and truck drivers. It is

reported that they have also been working as fitters and mechanics in the ships or dock-yards in Bombay and other coastal cities or towns (Russel, Vol. I, p. 409, 1916). As labourers they are also engaged in construction work or as coolies in port areas while others pull hand-carts in market places and some of them drive trucks. A few Muslim Siddis also eke out their livelihood as beggars and mendicants. They particularly beg alms from Muslim communities on Juma-e-rat (Thursday) and Jumma (Friday) and throughout the months of Ramzan and Muharram when they move about from house to house and play on musical instruments, such as *zanjira* or *jhunjhuna*. When the pilgrims at the *dargah* of Nagarchi Pir sacrifice goats and sheep on the fulfilment of a vow, scores of Siddi Fakirs gather for obtaining *tubarak* or *prasad* (offering to deity which is later on distributed among the worshippers).

WORKING FORCE

According to 1961 Census, out of total population of 3,645 persons, 1,615 (44.31 per cent) are workers. As regards the sex-wise break-up of the workers, 1,045 males out of 1,818 and 570 females out of 1,827 are workers. In other words, 55.55 per cent of their male population and 31.32 per cent of their female population constitute the working force.

Out of 2,030 non-workers, 28 are full-time students or children attending schools and 10 are seeking employment either for the first time or were employed before and are now out of employment; the remaining 1,992 are other non-workers.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

The following statement gives the distribution of the working force of the Siddis of Rajkot Division in different industrial categories.

| Category | Population | | | Percentage to total workers | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Total | Males | Females | Total | Males | Females |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Cultivators | 392 | 212 | 180 | 24.27 | 20.29 | 31.58 |
| Agricultural Labourers | 282 | 152 | 130 | 17.46 | 14.55 | 22.81 |
| Mining and Quarrying, Hunting, etc. | 91 | 50 | 41 | 5.63 | 4.78 | 7.19 |
| Household Industry | 32 | 24 | 8 | 1.98 | 2.30 | 1.40 |
| Manufacturing | 67 | 59 | 8 | 4.15 | 5.64 | 1.40 |
| Construction | 40 | 27 | 13 | 2.48 | 2.58 | 2.28 |
| Trade and Commerce | 19 | 18 | 1 | 1.18 | 1.72 | 0.18 |
| Transport, Storage and Communication | 120 | 119 | 1 | 7.43 | 11.39 | 0.18 |
| Other Services | 572 | 384 | 188 | 35.42 | 36.75 | 32.98 |
| Total | 1,615 | 1,045 | 570 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |

From the above it is found that the industrial category which accounts for the largest single concentration of the Siddi working force (35.42 per cent) is other services. This includes those working as peons and workers in dock-yards, ships, etc., in urban areas. The next two important industrial categories are cultivation and agricultural labour. Jointly they constitute 41.73 per cent of the working force. If the rural areas are considered separately; they are found to constitute 58 per cent of the rural working force.

If cultivation, agricultural labour, mining, quarrying, hunting and fishing and household industry are considered to constitute the traditional sector of the national economy, it is found that almost half (49.34 per cent) of the Siddi working force is engaged in the traditional sector and the remaining half is engaged in the non-traditional sector. In the traditional sector, a special mention is to be made of the persons engaged in mining, quarrying, fishing, forestry, etc. These are mostly persons living in the outskirts of forest in Junagadh district, who work as forest labourer or collect minor forest produce and sell the same.

The persons engaged in transport, storage and communication in the non-traditional sector, also deserve special mention. They are truck and taxi drivers as well as rickshaw and hand-cart pullers.

The occupational pattern of the Siddis was studied in somewhat more details at Jambur. The main economic resources of the region are the agricultural land, the Gir forest and the local flora and fauna, including fish and livestock. Out of the total population of 468 at Jambur, 279 (59.62 per cent) are workers. Of these, 144 (51.61 per cent) are males and 135 (48.39 per cent) are females. The industrial classification of workers as recorded during the survey at Jambur is as follows :

| Industrial category | No. of workers |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1 | 2 |
| Cultivators | 47 |
| Agricultural Labourers | 139 |
| Mining, Quarrying and Forestry, etc. | 65 |
| Trade and Commerce | 4 |
| Other Services | 24 |
| Total | 279 |

It will be seen from the above figures that as many as 186 persons (67 per cent) are engaged as agriculturists. These include 47 cultivators (17 per cent) and 139 agricultural labourers (50 per cent). Thus, more than half the population of Jambur have agriculture as their main source of livelihood. This is in conformity with the occupational pattern of the Siddis in the State as a whole. However, the proportion of agricultural labourers is much higher than the State average at Jambur. Out of the 186 Siddis engaged in agriculture only 25.2 per cent are cultivators and 74.8 per cent agricultural labourers. Against this, there are 58 per cent cultivators and 42 per cent agricultural labourers in the rural areas of the State as a whole.

An attempt was made to study the distribution of land-holdings by size group of households among the Siddis of Jambur. The same is indicated in the statement below.

| Sl. No. | Size of land-holdings (in acres) | No. of households | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | | Owning land | Taking on lease |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 1 | 0 to 0.9 | .. | .. |
| 2 | 1 to 1.9 | 4 | .. |
| 3 | 2 to 2.9 | 2 | .. |
| 4 | 3 to 3.9 | 3 | 1 |
| 5 | 4 to 4.9 | 2 | .. |
| 6 | 5 to 9.9 | 11 | .. |
| 7 | 10 to 14.9 | 12 | .. |
| 8 | 15 to 24.9 | 3 | .. |
| 9 | 25 to 49.9 | 1 | .. |
| 10 | 50 and above | .. | .. |
| Total | | 38 | 1 |

Out of the 86 households at Jambur, as many as 38 (44.1 per cent) own land and one cultivates land taken on lease. If the holdings below 5 acres are considered to be very small, 5-9.9 acres as small, 10-14.9 acres as medium, 15-24.9 acres as big and 25 acres & above very big, it is found that 11 households (28.9 per cent) are very small and small each; 12 households (31.5 per cent) are medium sized, 3 households (7.8 per cent) are big and one household (2.6 per cent) is very big in size. The average size of a holding is 8 acres and 36 gunthas. *Per capita* there is 1 acre and 13 gunthas land.

There has not been much significant change in the extent of ownership of land by the

different households during the last one generation. Of the 39 households cultivating land, only one has lost land measuring 17 acres, after the death of the father of the present head of the household. By way of sale, *jirayat* land measuring 37 acres and 29 gunthas has been disposed of by three households and *bagayat* land measuring 4 acres has been disposed of by one household. 99 acres of land has been acquired by different households.

Seven households had lost land during the former princely regime, owing to default in the payment of land revenue. One household had switched over from agriculture to service as the latter occupation was more paying than agriculture; on the other hand one person had left service for one reason or the other in favour of farming and other ancillary activities.

The figures of land utilization for Jambur hamlet are not separately available. However, the land utilization figures for the village as a whole are as follows :

| | (in acres) |
|--|-----------------|
| 1 Fallow land | 190-16 |
| 2 Uncultivated land | 42-39 |
| 3 Covered by trees and groves | 37-06 |
| 4 Permanent pastures | 876-34 |
| 5 Other fallow land | 200-00 |
| 6 Net cultivable land | 2,764-11 |
| Total geographical area | 4,111-26 |

There is no community land as such but the land assigned by the former Junagadh State in 1899 to the *dargah* of Nagarchi Pir measures about 10 acres. The income from this land is used for meeting expenses of *divabatti* (lamp lighting) and burning of incense in the *dargah* on various ceremonial occasions.

The soil of the agricultural land at Jambur is fertile and formed of alluvial deposit. It is black and brown (*gormati*) derived from rocks disintegrating into murrum and further into black soil very rapidly. The upper layer of the soil is 3 to 4 feet in thickness and the sub-soil water level is 18 to 20 feet. The soils in the low lying area are deeper with higher clay content. These soils are, therefore, more retentive and support *kharif* as well as *rabi* crops but do not stand well under continuous irrigation unless drainage is provided. The Gir region has radial drainage due to the hilly area in the centre.

Jambur has good facilities for irrigation on account of its favourable location between two rivers. The total land irrigated by the Siddis, however, comes to only 52.8 acres (13.3 per cent); of which 40 acres and 10 gunthas land is irrigated by canals and 12 acres and 13 gunthas by wells. The rest is the unirrigated dry land, called *baret*. The irrigation is carried out by means of leather bags, called *kos*.

RABI CROPS

The main crops grown by the Siddis are *bajri*, *jowar*, groundnut, cotton, paddy, wheat and sugar-cane. Of these, wheat, *jowar*, paddy and sugar-cane are irrigated.

Bajri

Bajri is exclusively sown as a single crop in *kharif* or monsoon season. It is the staple food of the cultivator and most of the labouring classes of the region. The average yield is about 2.5 B. mds. per acre.

Jowar

Jowar is raised both as a *kharif* as well as a *rabi* or winter crop. It is generally consumed by more poor classes as a substitute for *bajri*. The *jowar* leaves and stalks are also used as cattle fodder by drying and preserving them for the whole winter. It is said that *jowar* fodder is relished very much by the cattle.

Groundnut

Groundnut is the principal crop grown by the Siddis. This is the most important cash crop of the area and yields good returns. However, it is said that it affects the quality of land by using much of its nitrogenous compounds; if they are not replenished by means of manure and chemical fertiliser, the land gradually becomes poorer and poorer and finally unfit for cultivation.

Cotton

Cotton is raised only in *kharif* season. The yield is, however, very much limited and that is why the Siddis do not favour cotton as compared to groundnut on account of poor returns derived therefrom.

Paddy

Paddy requires abundant rain water. Before sowing, the land is manured properly. After rains, it is tilled again and rain water is allowed to accumulate in the field making the land soft. There are two varieties of paddy, namely, (1) fine, locally called *kamod* and (2) the coarse variety known as *dangar*.

Wheat

Wheat is generally sown as a *rabi* crop and its average yield is about 8 *kutcha* mds. and 23 srs. per acre.

In addition to the above crops some Siddis also raise *til* (sesame) and *urid* (pulse) in a small acreage for domestic consumption.

The main agricultural implements used by Siddis which are mostly prepared by local carpenters and blacksmiths, do not differ much from those used by communities of the region. The more important are as follows :

| Sl. No. | Name of the implement | Local name |
|---------|---|---------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 1 | Plough | Hal |
| 2 | Sugar-cane crusher | Chichodo |
| 3 | Cart | Gadun |
| 4 | Shovel | Pavdo |
| 5 | Hoe | Kodali |
| 6 | Toothed harrow | Dantali |
| 7 | Levelling board | Samar |
| 8 | Seed-drill | Orni, Kaliyun |
| 9 | Weeder | Karab |
| 10 | Other types of weeding implements | Beli, Rapto |

An enquiry was also made as to whether the Siddis are adopting improved implements for carrying on agriculture. It was found that there is a tendency to discard obsolete type of implements in favour of improved varieties. For instance, they are giving up wooden plough in favour of the more efficient iron plough. It is said that one Rehman Ramjan Siddi experimented with success and introduced for the first time an iron plough in the hamlet. The number of iron plough has increased from about 10 in 1951 to 30 at the time of the survey. There are only 8-9 households which even now use wooden plough. Pumping sets were introduced in the hamlet as early as 1956 when 14 sets were brought. Since then 8-10 more sets have

been added. There are 85 draught cattle in the hamlet for being used by the Siddi cultivators.

The Siddis at Jambur mutually help each other in the agricultural operations like sowing, harvesting, etc. During the field investigations it came out that as many as 14 households, engaged in agriculture, assist their neighbours on reciprocal basis. Three more who are economically hard-pressed also borrow agricultural implements from others.

LABOUR AND WAGES

As mentioned earlier, the bulk of the agriculturists belong to the agricultural labour class. In the agricultural seasons, they go to the near-by villages like Sirvan, Moruka, Dhava, Jasadhar and Madhupur to seek employment as agricultural labourer or as night watchman in the fields. For such works, the entire families migrate temporarily. They are paid at the rate of Rs. 3 per day for a male and Rs. 2.50 per day for a female. Children are paid at the rate of Rs. 2 per day. An agricultural labourer doing work like watering the field, cleaning silt from waterways and embankments, etc., is paid at the rate of Rs. 2.75 in the case of a male and Rs. 2.50 in the case of a female. Children doing this work are paid at the rate of Rs. 2 per day.

An adult herdsman is paid Rs. 2 per day, irrespective of the sex; in case of a boy or girl the rate is Rs. 1.50 per day.

Agriculture is the principal occupation for the Siddis of Jambur; next to agriculture, however, the occupations of hunting, forestry and fishing, etc., are the important sources of livelihood for them; as many as 65 workers (24 per cent) are engaged in this category of occupations. Importance of hunting and forestry specially has been derived from fact that the Siddi habitats of this region are situated within a short distance of Gir forest. A brief account of the floral resources of Gir forest is included here as it would give an insight about the economic potentiality of the region where the Siddis have their highest concentration.

The forest is of mixed deciduous type and consists of structural timbers, wood useful for fuel and for yielding gum. The important tree varieties are *baval* (*Acacia arabica*); *bordi* (*Jijiphus jujuba*); *sag* or teak (*Tectona grandis*); *kher*

(*Acacia catechu*); *kadayo* (*Sterculia urens*); *dudhlo* (*Wrightia tinctoria*); *kharakhado* (*Holarrhena anti-dysenterica*); *arduso* (*Ailanthus excelsa*); *sajad* (*Terminalia tomentosa*); *karanj* (*Pongamia glabra*); *ambo* (*Mangifera indica*); and *kel* (*Musa paradisiaca*). In the village site land, trees and shrubs, like *ambli* (*Tamarindus indica*); *piplo* (*Ficus religiosa*); *vadlo* (*Ficus bengalensis*); *ambo* (*Mangifera indica*); *umro* (*Ficus glomerata*); *dhedhumro* (*Ficus hispida*); *limdo* (*Azadirachta indica*); *sanghesro* (*Delonix elata*); *saragvo* (*Moringa pterygosperma*) and *papaya* are found. The forest produce gathered by Siddis are the fruits of *jambu* (*Eugenia jombolana*); *timru* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*); *ramnan* (a variety of rose apple) and *garmala sing* (*Cassia fistula*), besides firewood and structural timbers, like teak. Honey, though collected in a very small quantity, adds to their family income.

As many as 25 Siddi households out of the total of 86 at Jambur are engaged in gathering forest produce. From the collection of firewood they get about Re. 1 to Rs. 1.50 per head load. On an average, a sample of 22 households collected 360 bundles of firewood during the month in monsoon season and obtained Rs. 1,094 by selling them at Madhupur itself. In a year, a person usually collects 3-4 kg. of honey valued at Rs. 6 to 7 in total. During one season, however, two households at Jambur collected honey worth Rs. 35.

It may be mentioned here that though the Siddis are living near the forest, they are not given any special right for collecting the forest produce in the forest. A Siddi of Jambur, like any other person, is to obtain a licence for getting wood from the forest. Similarly, licence is necessary for collecting honey from the forest.

Some Siddis are employed by the Forest Department for cutting logs, trees, etc. For chipping wood they get 12 to 25 paise per *kutchha* maund of wood. A study among the Siddi households of Jambur shows that 49 households derived some income by engaging themselves as forest labourers in one way or the other. Out of these 49 households, almost full-time work was rendered by seven households for 9-12 months, two households for 5-8 months and 40 households for 1-4 months. Recently, a forest labourers' cooperative society has been

started. The main activity of the society is to provide labour in the forest area. The society, however, is working in a tardy manner, as only 6 households get work through it. On an average one household gets employment for about 120 days through this society.

Gir forest is also very rich in fauna and has a number of wild animals of various species, such as *sinh* (lion), *dipda* or panther (*Felis pardus*), *Chittah* (leopard), *lonkdi* or fox, hyaena (*Hyaena striata*), *nar* or wolf (*Canis pallis*), *shiyal* or jackal (*Canis aurens*), *siahgosh* or lynx (*Felis caracal*). Besides, hare, wild cat, monkey, pig, porcupine, hedge hog, sambar, spotted deer, antelope and gazelle are also found. It will be interesting to mention here that according to a census of lions, conducted in 1963 by the Forest Department there were 285 lions as against 200 in the year 1950. Among the birds found in the forest peacock, lark, parrot, vulture, crane, bustard, partridge, duck, quail, pigeon, duck bill and local varieties like *lelan* and *sughri* may be mentioned. The Siddis go on hunting expedition in the forest and kill some of the edible varieties of animals and birds. It was gathered from Jambur that seven households were engaged in the activity of hunting and trapping of wild animals, such as deer, sambar, blue bull and other such animals. The river Saraswati flowing near-by is the main source of supply of fish to the Siddis. The river Karkari, except for a few months after the monsoon, dries up. The Siddis catch fish in the river Saraswati with a long piece of cloth called *pachhedi*. During operation the two ends of the *pachhedi* are held by the hands and then it is drawn against the direction of the current for some distance. When it is hauled out of water the fish swimming along the current get caught up. The main varieties of fish found in the river are locally known as *shediya* and *jina kanta*.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

A few Siddis are earning their livelihood by engaging themselves in trade. Two or three Siddis have set up small shops, from where articles like spices, condiments, kerosene, etc., are sold. The volume of business is, however, very limited; the annual transaction in the entire hamlet hardly goes beyond rupees fifteen



A Siddi logman

thousand. All the transactions take place on cash payment only.

Twenty-four persons in the hamlet are engaged in various miscellaneous occupations. These include two or three truck drivers, one or two carpenters and blacksmiths, and a few persons working as chowkidars, peons, pointsmen and cleaners, etc., in the railways. There are also a few persons who are working as porters for carrying luggage from Jambur railway station to Madhupur and

other villages. The earning of these persons vary from occupation to occupation. For instance the daily wage of a blacksmith is Rs. 9 whereas that of a carpenter is only Rs. 7.

An attempt was made to study the occupational shifts at Jambur during two generations. It was found that heads of only 13 households had changed their father's occupations due to the reason given below.

| Total No. of households | No. of households who have changed father's occupation | | | Reasons for changing father's occupation | No. of persons who have changed their own earlier occupation | | No. of households showing preference for their sons | |
|-------------------------|--|--------|--------|--|--|-------------------------|---|--|
| | Voluntarily | Forced | Others | | Voluntarily | Forced by circumstances | Father's occupation | Other occupation |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 86 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 1. Preference for agriculture 2. Good pay in service 3. Loss of land | .. | 1 | 34 | 28 Agriculture 2 Agriculture and labour 9 Agriculture and service 7 Service 1 Business and service |

The very nature of the agricultural and forest economy of the region seems to have served as a constrain against the adoption of other means of livelihood for the Siddis of Jambur. In all the cases of change from father's occupation, the reason given by the persons concerned was either that the wages were inadequate or that agriculture was found to be unproductive. Two households took up agriculture by giving up their paternal occupation, as they could obtain land and found it to be more productive and gainful. Two households switched over to service for two different types of reasons. In the first case the household concerned had lost its agriculture and was, therefore, forced to take up service. Here the push factor was operating. In the second case, the household concerned found service to be more remunerative. Here the pull factor was more important.

Instances of a person changing his own occupation are rare. Only one railway employce purchased land after retirement and started cultivation.

The unremunerative nature of the existing means of livelihood, is disclosed by the fact that, when asked whether they would like their sons to follow their own present occupations or to take up some other work, as many as 47 persons desired their sons to take up other occupations. Out of them, one person favoured business and service, 28 wanted their sons to take up agriculture, 2 expressed in favour of agriculture coupled with labour, 9 in favour of agriculture coupled with service and 7 wanted higher services in Government and other offices and establishments.

There are a number of unemployed young men who are anxious to find gainful employment. They are particularly keen to obtain jobs, such as those of pointsmen in the railways or truck and car drivers. A few already know car driving and possess licence. Yusub Allarakha, youngman of 22, residing at Talala is one of them. He is illiterate and considers it his ill luck that he was not sent to school. He learnt car driving five years ago and was employed as a car driver

of a doctor at Sahpur. Two years ago he lost this job and could not secure another one in the same line. He is now working as a labourer. He had got himself registered with the employment exchange since April, 1965, but could not get a suitable job till the time of the survey.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

The above information will give some idea about the income of Siddis from various sources. According to the data furnished by them, on an average, a household earns about Rs. 50 to 60 per month which makes it very difficult for them to make their both ends meet. The expenditure of an average Siddi household is, however, reported to be much higher—Rs. 145 to 150—per month, of which about Rs. 110–115 per month are spent on food items which constitutes 76 per cent of their total expenditure. On items such as housing and education, however, they spend hardly anything. Expenditure on clothing amounts to Rs. 12 per month approximately. A Siddi household on an average contributes Rs. 10–15 every year to meet their religious obligations—about Rs. 5 for the funds of the *dargah* and the *urs* of Nagarchi Pir and Rs. 7 for the preparation of *khir*. They also spend about Rs. 1.50 for the services of a barber, etc. Other services they carry out personally and do not engage any outsider.

The gap between the income and the expenditure data is so big that one can naturally question the authenticity of the same. It seems that many of the interviewees understated their income; also they might have made overstatements about some items. Their expenditure from the conditions of their living can, however, be reasonably stated that many of them were not in a position to balance their budget. The present study revealed that 54 per cent of the Siddi households were in debt. These were incurred both for productive and unproductive purposes. The main productive expenses related to improvement of land and purchase of bullock-cart. The unproductive expenses included expenses connected with marriage, death, treatment of diseases and meeting the deficits of domestic expenses, etc. As many as 36 households obtained loan from professional money-lenders and traders; 29 households obtained loans from Government

agencies and cooperative societies; the rest obtained loans from their relatives, friends, etc.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Siddis regard barrenness as the result of the wrath of the God. When a woman does not beget a child for quite some time after marriage, the chief deity, Nagarchi Pir, is appeased and a vow is taken. It is their implicit faith that the *Pir's* blessings will fulfil their wishes. However, calamities during and after delivery, like still-birth, abortion, miscarriage, infant death, etc., are considered to be the will of God and not necessarily his wrath and they have developed a more philosophical attitude towards such misfortunes.

During the 6th or 7th month of pregnancy the Siddis perform a ceremony called, *khola bharvo*. This ceremony is, however, performed only during the first conception and not during the subsequent ones. On this occasion, the relatives of the expectant mother usually bring 5 *kutcha* seers (a seer = 40 *tolas*) of grains, such as rice or wheat as well as a coconut and one or two pairs of garments and put the same on her lap. The expectant mother usually attends to her daily routine, until the time of delivery; but during the 9th month she avoids heavy and laborious work. She also refrains from taking sour and spicy food. There are no hard and fast rules whether the first delivery should take place at her husband's house or at her parents' house. However, generally for the first delivery, she goes to her parents' house. No special or separate place is ear-marked for delivery, which usually takes place in a corner of the living room itself. The bedstead, where the delivery takes place, is however, screened by hanging curtains made of jute bags. A local *dai* (midwife), who usually belongs to the Siddi community itself, is generally called to assist during the delivery; one or two elderly women of the community may also help. It is only in difficult cases that the doctor living at Talala or even at Veraval, a town 28 km. away, is consulted. They keep a sickle handy, which is used by the *dai* for cutting the umbilical chord. The placenta and umbilical cord are buried side by side, where the cattle are tethered. The child and

the mother are both massaged with tepid warm groundnut oil by the midwife after the delivery. The *dai* is given Rs. 5 and 25 paise for the services rendered by her. The Siddis, though generally prefer a male child, do not feel sorry at the birth of a girl, and acquiesce to the wishes of the God as a gift from Him. The newly born child is given a bath and a *ajan* or *bang* (call to a prayer) is recited slowly in its ears. No special diet is prescribed for the mother. She is, however, given a preparation of *bajri* (millet) and oil. This is supposed to restore her health quickly. The mother is confined for a period of 40 days and pollution is observed during this time. The mother cannot prepare meals and fetch water from the well during this period. Also, no member of the family can visit *Dargah* of Nagarchi Pir. Besides, the mother and the newly born child, as well as the other women folk of the household are expected to wash their heads daily for 40 days at the place where the placenta lies buried.

A new mother is given advice about child care by her elderly female relatives. For protecting the eyes of the child, lampsoot, obtained by burning groundnut oil and collected over a new earthen pot, is applied to the eyes of the baby. Sometimes, a little butter is added to make the lampsoot soft. For avoiding indigestion and stomach ache, the newly born child is given a powder or paste of some indigenous herbs along with the mother's milk.

On the 6th day after the birth of the child, the *chhatthi* ceremony is performed when the child is bathed and clad in new clothes. Boiled grains of millet and wheat along with some *gur* (jaggery), coconut and an oil-lamp are placed near the baby. Threads, coloured with turmeric, are also tied on the wrist and the ankles of the child. The newly born child is specially presented with sweets, *zabla* (new frock) and coins by the close relatives, who are in return given *patasa* (a sweet) and dates. Generally, the child is given a name on the occasion of *chhatthi*. The more popular names for the males in Jambur are Hassan, Jumna, Bashir, Ramzan, Salim, Yousaf, etc., while for the females the common names are Khatija, Sakina, Ronamo, etc. These names are common among the other Muslim communities of the region. Some of the Siddi men

also add their father's name to their own. For instance, 'Yousuf Allarakha', 'Allarakha' being the name of his father.

Tonsorial Ceremony

When the child is five to seven years old the Siddis sometimes perform *akiko* (tonsoorial ceremony) which is accompanied by certain religious rites. On this occasion, the child's head is shaved and *fatiha* (recitation from Koran) is done. Also, two goats are sacrificed, if the child is a male and one goat is sacrificed if the child is a female. The relatives are also given a feast when *lapsi* (a sweet preparation of wheat flour, *ghee* and *gur* or sugar), rice and pulses are served.

Initiation Ceremony

The Siddis do not perform any puberty rite for either sex. They, however, practise circumcision for the males, in keeping with the practice among the other Muslim communities. This ceremony is known as *sunnat sadi*. It is said by Siddis that *nikah* (marriage ceremony) of a boy cannot be performed unless he has been circumcised. The circumcision is generally performed at an early age, from six months onwards. The usual age is 5-6 years. In a few cases, however, it is performed as late as at the age of 20 years. The circumcision is performed by a *hajam* (a barber), who need not necessarily be a Siddi. At Jambur, the barber is called from Talala or Patan town, situated at a distance of 28 km. from Jambur. In case of grown up boys, a *kothi* (rectangular chamber made of clay which is used for storing wheat or grain) is used as a screen. The boy to be operated upon remains inside the *kothi* and the barber operates from outside through the hole. The barber is usually given Rs. 10 for his services, in addition to the railway fare.

On the occasion of *sunnat sadi*, the community members and other villagers are invited. At Jambur, the members of the community such as Meman and Mir among the Muslims, Dhedh (a Scheduled Caste) as well as some of the other Hindus attend the ceremony when invited. They are served with tea and *bidi*. It is said that an expenditure of Rs. 20 to 60 is incurred in this connection.

Some rich families perform this ceremony in a somewhat grand style. They also arrange *fullaka*, i.e., the boy with garlands moves about the village on the horse back to the accompaniment of drums played by four persons, belonging to Mir (Muslim) or Hadi caste. In such cases, the expenditure goes up well over hundred rupees.

Sex Life and Marriage

In the rapid survey of the community, detailed studies could not be made regarding the sex life of Siddis and their attitude towards extra-marital relations, etc. The Siddi informants, however, discountenance the existence of adultery or extra-marital relations in their community. They say that if they come to know that any Siddi woman has given birth to a child bearing non-Siddi features, they will stifle the child to death. However, during the survey some children possessing non-Siddi features were seen, despite the fact that both their parents possessed the typical negroid Siddi features of the Siddis. However, the extra-marital relations outside the community is one matter and the sexual freedom within the community is another. According to Sorley (Census of India, Vol. VIII, Part III, p. 378, 1933) both males and females are generally unchaste. He also states that they change their partners frequently, often both dispensing with and ignoring the marriage tie and often seeking the sanctification of a union years after the couple have lived together as man and woman. According to their neighbours, the Siddis of Jambur do not enforce a strict code of discipline in so far as sexual fidelity is concerned. Also, under the influence of intoxicating liquor to which most of them are addicted, they often indulge in illegitimate relations. In fact, some youngmen belonging to the community admitted that some of them have extra-marital relations with other women of their community, without the knowledge of their relatives. This sort of relationship is not considered by them as something horrifying, though if discovered it leads to embarrassing situations and sometime results in quarrels. It thus appears that there is a bipolarity in the attitude of the Siddis towards freedom in sexual matters. Theoretically, they would like to follow a strict code of discipline forbidding extra-marital relationship of any sort

and would like to project the image of their community as the one having a high moral standard; but they do acquiesce to a certain degree of sexual freedom by the members of their community.

The Siddis marry within their community. However, the Hindu, Muslim and Christian Siddis, form a separate endogamous group each. At Jambur and Talala, they are all Muslims and, therefore, the marriage customs of the Muslim Siddis only were studied. By and large, they follow the marriage customs prevailing among their other Muslim neighbours, though some of their rituals are very much similar to those found among the Hindus of the region.

The Siddis generally marry when they are adult. The usual age of marriage for a boy is 16 to 25 and that for a girl is 14 to 20 years. During field survey at Jambur and Talala, the most common age for the boys was found to be 18 and that for the girls was 16. From the 1961 Census data on marital status of Siddis, it is seen that out of a total number of 1,506 married persons, only 2 males were married in the age group 0-14. Also, as many as 319 persons—231 males and 88 females—forming 19 per cent of the population in the age group 15-45 were returned as unmarried. These data also indicate that child or early marriage is infrequent among the Siddis. It appears that the system of adult marriage is in vogue among the Siddis for quite sometime and it is not necessarily a recent trend. According to an earlier account on the community, the males married between the ages 16-25 and females before they were 20 (Enthoven, Vol.III, p. 333, 1922).

As mentioned earlier, the Siddis are divided into a number of clans; they do not marry within the same clan. Cross-cousin marriage is however, in vogue among them. When asked, the Siddis invariably say that cross-cousin marriage, namely marriage with one's father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter is permitted but not necessarily given any preference. However, during the field survey at Jambur and Talala, it was found that a large number of marriages had taken place with mother's brother's daughter. At Talala, out of the 19 cases of marriage about which information was collected, in as many as 8 cases, the marriage had

taken place with one's maternal uncle's daughter. A few case studies would be furnished here. Jumna Mubarak, aged 27, is married to his maternal uncle's daughter who belongs to Siali *atak* (clan). Similarly, Nazir, Bashir and Ahmed are all married to their respective mother's brother's daughters. It was found that there were cases where two brothers were married to two daughters of their maternal uncles. Thus, Ramzan and his elder brother Salim are married to their maternal uncle's daughters and are living separately. In some cases, marriage may take place with one's maternal uncle's daughter in two generations as well as among the collaterals in the same family. For instance, Yousaf of Talala is married to his maternal uncle's daughter from Gondal village. One of his two brothers is also married to his other maternal uncle's daughter from village Hadmatiya, 12 km. from Talala. Yousaf's father had also married his maternal uncle's daughter. Though marriage with one's father's sister's daughter is also permitted, no such case of cross-cousin marriage was noted at Talala or Jambur. The Siddis would state in a general way, that they do not allow marriage with parallel cousins. But it seems that their attitude against marriage with mother's sister's daughter is not so rigid. Even, marriage with father's brother's daughter is not completely absent in the community; one such case came to notice at Siddipada in Ahmedabad city.

According to the scriptures, a Muslim can marry four times and, therefore, there is no objection to polygyny in case of the Muslim Siddis. However, it is not very often that polygyny actually takes place. In the village Jambur, only one case was found where a person was having two wives. In this case, A. R. married B. S. though he was already having another wife W.K. He has not obtained divorce from his first wife. He is having children through both his wives but at present lives with B.S. only. W.K. is living in a separate house with one of her sons, born as a result of her marriage with A.R., who however, supports her and visits her occasionally.

Marriage usually takes place as a result of

negotiations between the parents of the boy and the girl. Nowadays, the consent of the girl and the boy is obtained before closing the negotiation. A few cases of love marriage and marriage by elopement are also there.

The proposal for marriage invariably comes from the boy's side. Family condition, status, personal reputation, health and age, etc., are the usual factors which are taken into consideration for selection of the bride or the groom. Usually, the girl should be three to four years younger than the boy.

Before the actual marriage takes place, they have a formal betrothal which is announced at the house of the girl. On this occasion, the boy accompanied by some of the elderly members of his family, including his father, uncles, brothers and other close relatives goes to the house of the girl. The boy exchanges a rupee with the girl. The boy's father also gives a *chundadi* (tie-dye *sari*) to the girl. All the persons present on the occasion are served with tea and *gur*. The boy's father generally bears all the expenses incurred. Later on, a suitable marriage date is fixed, after mutual consultation. The marriage may take place after one month and up to 5 years after the betrothal. The boy and the girl, if residing in the same village, are invited by their would be in-laws for dinner on festive and other ceremonial occasions. A few days before the marriage, the boy's father sends to the girl's parents a string, having as many knots as there are number of days which remain for the marriage date. After the necessary confirmation from the other side, invitations are sent to the relatives who come a day or two in advance to attend the ceremony. A day before the marriage ceremony, a marriage *pandal* is erected at the houses of both the parties and the bride and the bridegroom are each besmeared with *pithi* (turmeric paste) in their respective houses. Also, a *midhol* or emetic nut (*Bushy gardenia*) is tied on their wrists. According to some, this practice is more common among the neighbouring Hindus and is borrowed from them. In the rapid survey undertaken by this organisation, it could not be ascertained whether this practice has been borrowed from the neighbouring Hindus

or whether it is prevalent among other Muslim communities of the region for quite some time.

Though some of them deny that they take liquor on the occasion of marriage, it is generally believed in the area, that a number of persons belonging to the community take alcoholic drinks on this occasion and that some of them get intoxicated. Song and dance goes on throughout the night. The women sing marriage songs which are sometimes composed extempore. Tea is served to the relatives present. It is said that formerly dates also used to be served.

On the marriage day, the bridegroom takes a bath, puts on new clothes and keeps a sword in his hand. If the bride resides in the same village, the bridegroom's party goes for performing the marriage in the evening and returns to the bridegroom's house the next day after taking dinner. But if the bride resides in another village, the marriage party stays there for two days. Before the departure of the *jan* (bridegroom's party) to the bride's house all the relatives are given a feast by the bridegroom's father. The feast comprises *ganthiya* (a preparation of gram flour), *dal* (pulse) and rice. A young girl, who is generally a close relative of the groom, such as his sister, continuously rattles behind him a *loti* (pitcher), containing some *moong* (a pulse) and grains sealed in a cloth and tied over its mouth. She is called *lunari* or harbinger of auspicious omen. On arrival at the bride's residence, the marriage party is welcomed by the bride's relatives and is taken in a procession to the house, specially arranged for the residence of the party. The place is known as *janivas*. The reception of the marriage party including its conduction to the *janivas*, is known as *samaiya*. The bridegroom's party is usually served with *khichdi* (a preparation of rice and *moong* pulse). At Jambur, according to the tradition, the bridegroom's father pays to bride's father Rs. 15, half a maund of *ghee*, half a maund of rice or grain and four goats, before the *jan* is actually taken to the *janivas*. After the marriage party is feasted, the bridegroom along with his party leaves the *janivas* for the bride's house in a procession. The bride's sister welcomes the bridegroom at the *mandap* (marriage booth) by waving her hands round his head, referred to *ponkhavun* in local parlance.

Thereafter, the close relatives of the bride and groom sit around the marriage booth on carpets or mattresses. The bride remains inside the house during this period. Before the performance of the marriage rites, the *kazi* (a religious officiant) sends one of the closest relatives of each side to the bride to ascertain whether she gives her consent to the marriage. In the same way, the wishes of the bridegroom are formally ascertained. After the formal consents of both the bride and the bridegroom are obtained, the *kazi* conducts the marriage according to Muslim *sharyiat* (Muslim customary law) and recites the *nikah* by reading verses from the Koran. Just before the *nikah* is recited by the *kazi*, the bridegroom has to pay a minimum of Rs. 5.25 and up to Rs. 25 to the bride as *mehar*. Payment of *mehar* or promise to pay a fixed amount as *mehar* is a must under the Muslim customary law, for the solemnisation of marriage. It is a sort of a contract between the husband and the wife; in case the husband seeks divorce from the wife, she can retain this amount. It is in addition to such amount as the husband may be required to pay for her maintenance. The Siddis refer to this custom as *hakmore*. After the *nikah* is recited in the presence of relatives of both the sides, the bridegroom's father pays Rs. 150 as *des* or bride price to the bride's father. The bride's father as well as the bridegroom's father pay Rs. 3 each to the *kazi* for conducting the marriage ceremony. Sometimes, he is also given presents in kind, such as clothes and rice or wheat. For conducting the marriage ceremony among the Siddis at Jambur and Talala, the *kazi* is mostly sent for from Patan town, about 30 km. away from Jambur. He is, however, not a Siddi himself. The bridegroom after the *nikah* also pays Rs. 12 as *lagas* or compulsory contribution of the *Jamat* (community, *pir* or *kasba*). The Siddis have the custom of *kariyavar* when the bride's father gives the bride, new clothes, ornaments, *patara* (cupboard), a wooden cot and utensils according to his economic status.

Usually, no other presents are given to the bridegroom's relatives. However, the bride's father may also give a turban to the father-in-law, and a *sari* or *chunri* to the mother-in-law of the bride. In case the bride resides in another village, the bridegroom's party stays in the village

for two days and is feasted during this period. On the third day, the party returns to the bridegroom's house along with the bride. When the marriage party returns with the bride, it is received with great rejoicing, accompanied by drums played by Hadis and Turis (professional musician castes). The newly wed couple visit Nagarchi Pir's *dargah* and untie the *midhols* tied on their wrists.

On an average, the bridegroom's side has to incur an expenditure, varying from Rs. 500 to 600. Sometimes the expenditure goes up to even Rs. 1,000. The bride's side is required to incur comparatively less expenditure. It may come to anything between Rs. 100 to 500. The bridegroom's side incurs more expenditure as it has to pay money for bride price and also is required to bear the expenses in connection with the marriage feast.

Widow Marriage

The Siddis permit their widows to remarry. It is, however, neither compulsory nor customary for a widow to marry the younger brother of her deceased husband. However, they have no objection if she so desires. In case of widow remarriage there are no elaborate rituals. It is a simple affair and is practically confined to the reading of the *nikah* by the *kazi*. In case, the second husband is not a member of the deceased first husband's family, he has to pay Rs. 40 to the former father-in-law or his next kin.

The Siddis permit divorce. According to Sorley (Vol. VIII. Part I, p. 378, 1931) both men and women change their partners frequently. From the 1961 Census data on marital status, it is found that 6 males and 17 females are either divorced or separated. When the relations between the husband and the wife become strained, the wife sometimes goes away to her parents' house and stay there. In such a case both the parties call their *Jamat* or communal council. The *Jamat* hears the parties and gives its decision, which is binding on both. The separated man and woman can remarry, only if the *Jamat* formally allows the divorce. In case of divorce, the former husband has the right to retain the custody of the children born out of

his union with the woman. If the child happens to be a suckling one, it remains with the mother; but the father, if he so desires, can claim the custody of the child when it comes to age. In case of dispute regarding the custody of minor children, the matter is referred to the traditional community council whose decision is final and binding on both the parties.

Death

The Siddis, like other Muslims, bury their dead. Alms, charities and donations are given to the *Jamat* or community when a rich person dies. The *fatiha* is recited from the Koran when a person is on a death bed. After paring the nails of the corpse, it is given a bath with warm water and wrapped in a shroud which is supposed to be 22 yards long in the case of males and 30 yards long in the case of females. The body is laid on the bier and taken to the burial ground. On the way, *kalmas* (stanzas) from the Koran are recited by the *kazi* (a religious officiant) who accompanies the funeral to the burial ground. The close relatives express their sorrow by weeping and crying, but do not often resort to the extreme expressions of grief, such as beating of the chest. Women do not accompany the funeral procession to the burial ground. At the burial ground, a pit measuring 6' in length, 3' in width and 5' in depth is dug. Sometimes, irrespective of the size of the body, the grave is dug waist deep for males and chest deep for the females. The body is placed in the grave. *Kalma* is read by the *kazi* at a distance of 40 steps from the grave. The eldest son of the deceased usually sprinkles the first handful of earth over the body and later on other relatives fill up the grave. Later a tomb is erected.

On the third day, the relatives assemble at the house of the deceased, where the *fatiha* is again recited. This is called *ziarat* of the deceased's house. Close relations may also be given a feast on this day. The *fatiha* is recited again on the 10th, 20th, 30th and 40th days after the death. However, the 40th day is more important as it is celebrated on a larger scale, when almost whole of the Koran is recited and all the relatives are invited to a feast, consisting of rice, pulses, vegetables, mutton, etc. Though the 40th

day marks the culmination of the formal period of mourning, some families also observe death anniversary every year with the recitation of the *fatiha*.

RELIGION

Among the Siddis, followers of three religions, namely, Islam, Hinduism and Christianity are found. Most of them, however, are adherents to Islam. In Maharashtra and Mysore, Hindu, Muslim as well as Christian Siddis are found. The Hindu Siddis are also referred to as Maharashtra Siddis. In Gujarat, however, the Siddis are mostly Muslims. During the 1961 Census, out of 3,645 persons as many as 3,622 (99.3 per cent) have returned themselves as Muslims. Against this, only 23 persons (0.7 per cent), including 21 males and 2 females, have returned themselves as Hindus. None is a Christian.

As mentioned elsewhere, the Siddis were brought from African coast to India, by Muslim rulers and traders, etc., after 800-900 A.D. It is, therefore, not unlikely that they were already following Islam. Hindu religion did not have any influence in Africa at that time. It appears that the Hindu Siddis are later converts. As regards the Christian Siddis, the position is rather uncertain. According to Sorley (Census of India, 1931, Vol. III, Part 1, p. 373), some Siddis were imported to India by Portuguese (Christians) towards the end of 17th century. It is not known whether they were converted to Christianity after coming to India or whether they came to India as Christians.

The Siddis, however, do not appear to be over zealous about religious matters. Regarding the Christian Siddis, Sorley observes that they are not zealous in their obedience of the tenets of their faith. Similar attributes have been made to other Siddis. Enthoven mentions about Muslim Siddis, that they are not religious and only a few of them know the Koran, or are careful to say their prayers (Enthoven, Vol. III, p.332,1922). The same can be, perhaps, said of the Muslim Siddis of Talala and Jambur. Though they revere the holy Koran, regard Mohammed as the prophet, and sometimes go to a *masjid* (mosque) for *namaz* (prayer), very few of them perform *namaz* daily and some do not even attend the

congregational prayer on Fridays; *roza* or religious fast in the month of *Ramzan* is performed by only a few pious persons.

They are Sunnis of the Hanafi school. It is interesting that faith in *Oliyas* and *Pirs* (Muslim saints) is very widespread among them. Their chief object of worship is Baba Ghor an 'Abysinian' saint whose tomb stands on a hill near Ratanpur village of the former Rajpipla State. It is said that Baba Ghor, who was a Negro merchant-turned mendicant and a pioneer of Agate industry in Gujarat, settled at Ratanpur. He led a religious life and lived in a secluded place in the forest. While cooking meals over a stone hearth, he accidentally noticed that some of the hearth began to acquire a diamond-like lustre and became translucent on account of heating. He was, thus, stuck with the idea of prospecting the industry of semi-precious stones called *ahik* or agate. His younger brother, Baba Sabun, explored African, Arabian and other foreign markets, while Baba Ghor organised the manufacturing activities including excavation of stones and baking and lapidary processes. After his death, Baba Ghor was installed as a saint by the Siddis of Ratanpur.

According to a legend, Baba Ghor had three brothers, Dariyai Pir, Habs Pir and Nagarchi or Nagarsha Pir and four sisters, namely, Mamai, Mai Mishra, Mai Bharosi and Mai Parshan. Of all the brothers and sisters, Mamai is believed to be the eldest. She is worshipped in a special ceremony called *Mamaimadh*. According to another legend re-counted by the Siddis of Jambur, Baba Ghor had 11 brothers, of whom only 9 are known at Jambur. They are (1) Baba Habs, (2) Nagarsha or Nagarchi Pir, (3) Siddi Makbul, (4) Siddi Rahim, (5) Siddi Pyara, (6) Siddi Mulu, (7) Siddi Zamzam (8) Dosal Pir and (9) Dariya Dula. He had also four sisters. Mai Parshan is one of them. It is said that she was killed in a fight with some unruly elements near Jambur, where tomb is situated.

The Siddis sing *rasadas* (folk-songs) which describe the history of migration of their *Pirs*. Some of them are furnished here.

लाल लाल लाल चुंदडी रे,
 घेली माडीनी चुंदडी रे,
 ओढी न शके कोई चुंदडी रे.

मा मक्केसे आयवा बाबा घोर,
 मा झगडियामां जंगली पीर बिराजे;

त्यां रहे छे माई मिस्रा,
 ओढी न शके मानी चुंदडी रे.

मा मक्केसे आयवा हबशखान,
 मा रतनपुरमां जंगली पीर बिराजे,

त्यां रहे छे माई खिन्नी,
 ओढी न शके मानी चुंदडी.

मा मक्केसे आयवा नगारची,
 मा जूनागढमां दोशलपीर बिराजे,

त्यां रहे छे आई पारसा,
 ओढी न शके मानी चुंदडी.

The *chundadi* of mother goddess is red.
 She is spirited,
 and none can don her *chundadi*: (Refrain)

Baba Ghor, the Jangli Pir, came from Mecca,
 and is enshrined in Jhagadia,
 where also lives Mai Misra.

Habs Khan came from Mecca,
 and is enshrined in Ratanpur,
 where also lives Mai Khinni.

Nagarchi came from Mecca,
 Doshal Pir is enshrined in Junagadh,
 where also lives Mai Parsan.

None can don mother goddess' *chundadi*!

मा सोनाना कलशे झूलो,
माई साब मा चालो धीरे धीरे.

मा रतनपुर शहेरमां वसेला,
मा डुंगर पर झूलो.

मा सूरत शहेरमां वसेला,
रांदेर शहेरमां झूलो.

मा मुंबई शहेरमां वसेला,
दरियानी बेटमां झूलो.

मा भडोच शहेरमां वसेला,
मा लाल बजारमां झूलो.

मा वडोदरा शहेरमां वसेला,
मा पाणी दरवाजे झूलो.

मा जामनगर शहेरमां वसेला,
मा सोढीवाडीमां झूलो.

मा जूनागढ शहेरमां वसेला,
मा डुंगर पर झूलो.

मा गोंडल शहेरमां वसेला,
मा सामे कांठे झूलो.

मा ध्रांगध्रा शहेरमां वसेला,
मा खारीमां झूलो.

मा भावनगरमां वसेला,
मा दरियानी बेटमां झूलो.

मा घोघानी बेटमां वसेला,
मा दरियानी बेटमां झूलो.

मा अमदावाद शहेरमां वसेला,
मा पत्थर कूवामां झूलो माई साब.

मा सोनाना कलशे झूलो,
माई साब मा चालो धीमे धीमे.

Mother goddess ! You sit on the swing with gold
 'kalash' (on your head),

Mother ! walk slowly. (Refrain)

Mother, you are enshrined in Ratanpur town,
 your jhula (seat) is on the hill.

Enshrined in Surat,
 your jhula (seat) is in Rander town.

Enshrined in Bombay city,
 your jhula (seat) is on the island in the sea.

Enshrined in Broach city,
 your jhula (seat) is in Lal Bazar.

Enshrined in Baroda,
 your jhula (seat) is at Pani Gate.

Enshrined in Jamnagar town,
 your jhula (seat) is at Sodhi Vadi.

Enshrined in Junagadh,
 your jhula (seat) is on the hill.

Enshrined in Gondal town,
 your jhula (seat) is on the opposite bank (of the river).

Enshrined in Dhrangadhra,
 your jhula (seat) is at Khari.

Enshrined in Bhavnagar,
 your jhula (seat) is on an island in the sea.

Enshrined in Ghogho,
 your jhula (seat) is on an island in the sea.

Enshrined in Ahmedabad,
 your jhula (seat) is at Patthar Kuva.

The presiding saint of the village Jambur is Nagarchi Pir. As already mentioned he is considered to be a younger brother of Baba Ghor. It is believed that he made Jambur the main centre of his activities. His *dargah* is considered to be in existence here, since the time of Mohammed of Gazni. It is situated towards the east of the settlement on the bank of Karkari river and is held in high esteem by the Siddis. It is made of sandstone and has within its campus a well and a tank. The building of the *dargah* is painted with green colour in distemper while the tomb is ornamented with decorative designs and is covered with silken sheets and flower offerings. A lamp fed with oil, is lighted near the tomb. On the left flank of the *dargah* is a *dhuno* (fire-place) for sacred fire where incense is burnt daily. It is believed that the shrine has got miraculous powers and persons haunted by ghosts and malevolent spirits get the same exorcised, by paying a visit to this place. Even some of the Hindus believe in Nagarsha Pir. Sacrifices of goats are offered to the *pir* and Siddis of Jambur often repair to the *dargah* for offering *namaz*. The *mujavar* (priest) in charge of the *dargah* offers daily prayers. It is incumbent upon a newly wed Siddi couple to receive benediction of the *pir*, by offering a coconut in the *dargah* before they untie *mindhol* or emetic nut tied to their wrists on the wedding day. The *dargah* of Dosalpir is also situated at Jambur and is held in reverence by the Siddis. The other sacred places in the village are the *dargahs* of Mai Parshan, and Dariai Pir Habs.

It is interesting that at Jambur, there is a small idol of Hanuman, whom some of the Siddis show respect by offering *sindur* (vermilion) and oil. Also, during illness, the Siddis worship Meladi Mata and Sitla Mata. It is said that when a member of the household suffers from smallpox, the Siddis pay a visit to the Hindu temple of Sitla Mata at Prabhas Patan, 30 km. away from Jambur. They are allowed to have *darshan* or glimpse of the idol, but are not permitted to touch it. They also offer coconut or a preparation of wheat flour mixed with jaggery and *ghee* as *parasad* (oblation) to the goddesses.

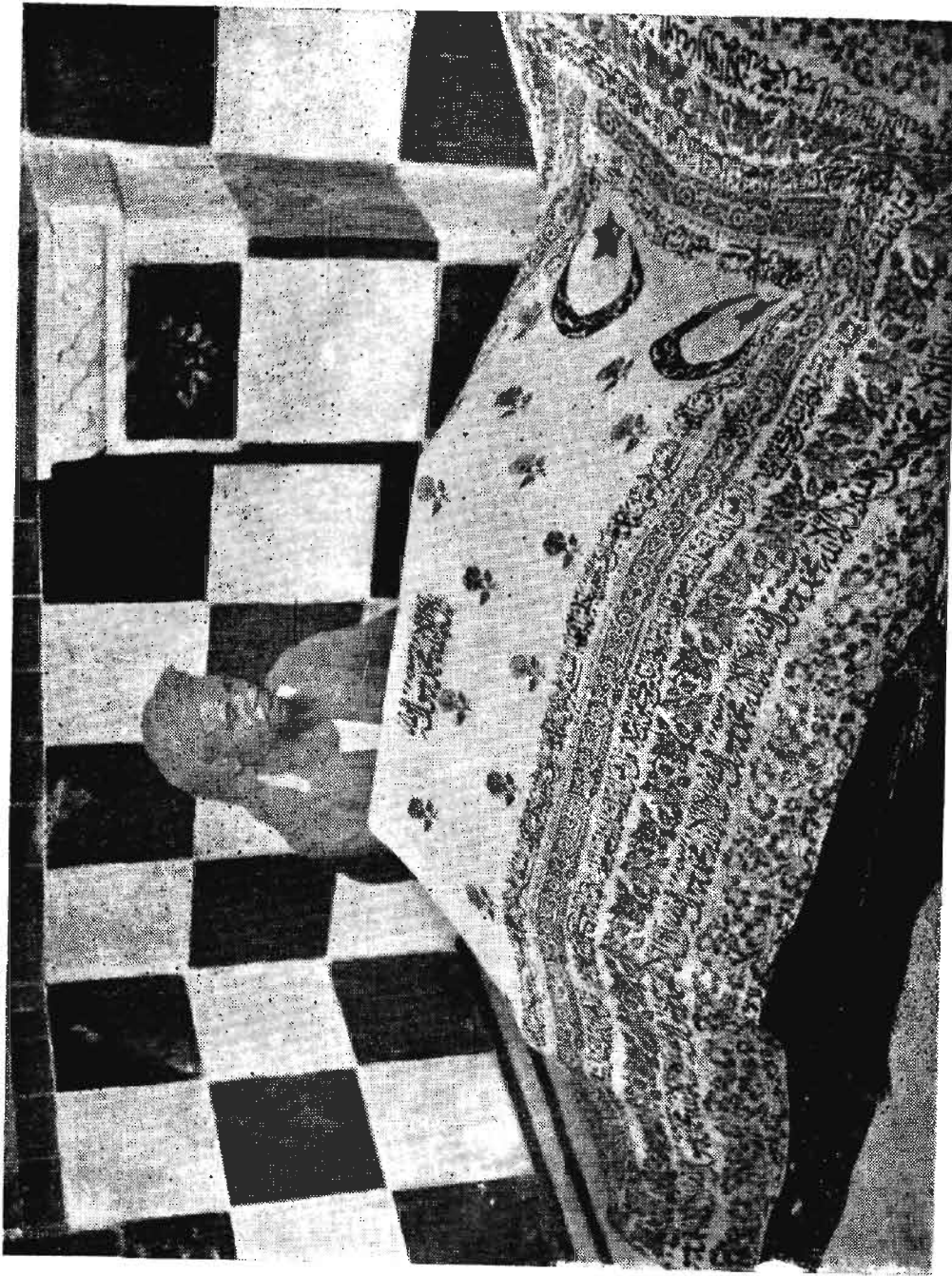
The Siddis have also strong beliefs in ghosts, evil spirits and sorcerers. If any person is affected by an evil spirit, he is taken to the *dargah*

of Negarchi Pir. He may stay there till he is recovered. After recovery, he offers a coconut, *dhup* (incense) and white flag to the *pir*. Some also sacrifice a fowl or a goat. In order to safeguard themselves from the effects of malevolent spirits, some of them put on charms round their neck or tie *tabiz* (amulet) round the upper arm. This, according to their belief, will save them from sickness as well as harm from malevolent supernatural beings.

The above account of the religious beliefs and practices of the Siddis, suggests that notwithstanding the religion that they formally follow, they are eclectic in their approach to the supernatural. Perhaps it is the result of their social history. As mentioned earlier, the Siddis are the descendants of Negroid ancestors of East Africa. Though the bulk of the Siddis are Muslims, Islam followed by them in India, is not identical with that followed in East Africa. Here they are Hanafis; in East Africa, the counterparts of the Siddis are mostly Malikis. It is to be noted that Maliki school is considered by many to more adequately reflect the attitude orientation of a backward society. Obviously the Siddis have adopted Hanafi school of Islam in India under the influence of the Muslim masters under whom they worked as slaves for generations. As a result, the basal structure of their ancestral culture was completely lost and the community suffered a sort of anomie. It was not easy for them to assert a new identity; their status as slaves and their distinctive physical traits made it difficult for them. Secondly they remained so prostrate, so to say, that they were ready to adopt whatever influences came to them, without being too strongly attached to the orthodox models of the same. It seems that it is this state of cultural drift, which provides clue to the religious eclecticism and lack of orthodoxy among the Siddis. In recent years, however, a move has been initiated among the Muslims, led by one Mujavar Kazi, to weed out the practices which are not in conformity with Islamic orthodoxy.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

The Siddis celebrate almost all the important Muslim festivals though on a somewhat smaller scale. Id-ul-Zuha and Id-ul-Fitr are the two most important Muslim festivals which the Siddis



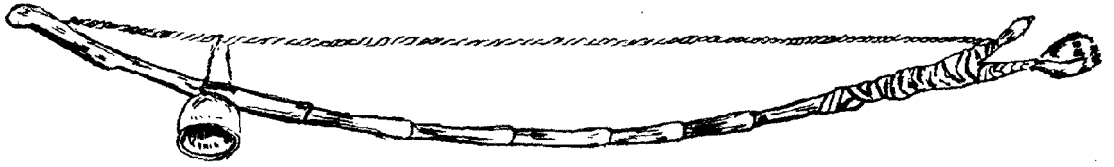
The tomb of Nagarsa Pir, Jambur



Dhamal dance



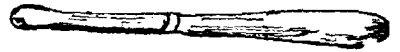
Siddi man and woman playing musical instruments



SHELANI

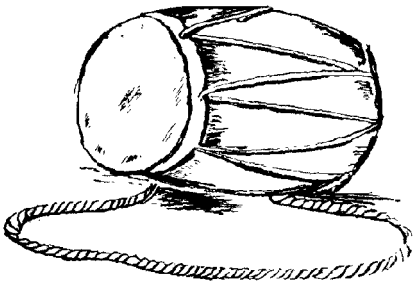


MAI MISHRA

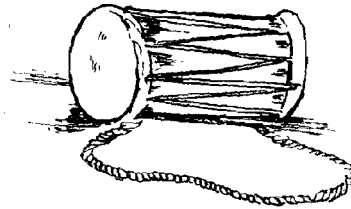


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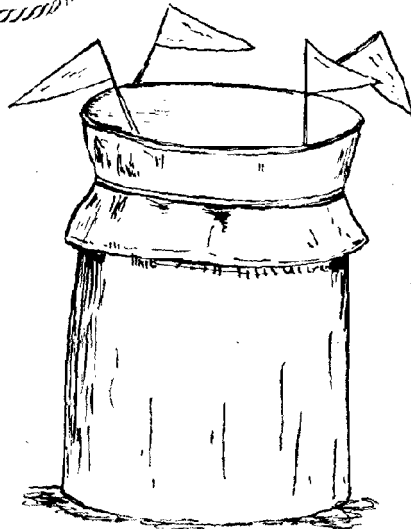
MASHIDO



DHAMAMA



MUGARMAN



NAFIR



NAFIR

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS USED IN DHAMAL DANCE

celebrate with more enthusiasm, joy and merriment. On these occasions, they take an early bath, put on new clothes and proceed to a mosque to offer *namaz*. They also distribute sweets among friends and relatives and cook delicious food particularly, mutton. Most of them, however, do not have any clear idea as to why these festivals are celebrated and what are the associated myths and legends.

Some of the Muslim Siddis also observe *roza* (religious fast) in the month of Ramzan. They also observe Moharrum. On the occasion of Moharrum, they prepare *tazia* with bamboo sticks and coloured papers, and place Koran Sharrif inside the *tazia*. The *tazia* is then taken in a procession round the Siddi Mohalla in the evening. On the next day, at about 7 to 8 a. m., it is taken to the river Karkari where it is immersed.

URS-SHARRIF OF BABA GHOR

The Siddis of Jambur and some other areas, particularly, Bhavnagar, Gondal and Junagadh, celebrate *Urs-sharrif* of Baba Ghor with a lot of pomp and show, on the 16th day of Rajab of Muslim calendar.

On this occasion a fairly big fair is held at Jambur. It is estimated that the size of the congregation goes up to as many as five to six thousand persons. Visitors come from far off cities such as Bombay, Agra, etc., to offer their homage to Nagarsha of Jambur. On this occasion, poets recite Urdu poetry in the honour of the *pirs* and *kawwals* sing *gazals*, *kawalis* and other songs throughout the day and night. Other sort of amusements, such as games and *garbas* (folk-dances) are also arranged by the organising committee. The arrangements for boarding and lodging of the visitors are also made by the organising committee, comprising of local leaders and the expenses incurred are met by defraying from the presents and money offered by pilgrims and visitors as well as from the contributions of the local population. The former Nawab of Junagadh had donated 20 to 25 bighas of agricultural land as community land and the income from the same is also utilized for holding the *urs*.

On the occasion of *urs* there is an interesting spectacle. Many Siddis, young and old, receive a glass of enchanted water from their religious priests which is supposed to give them

superhuman power. A pit of 40' x 20' length and breadth, and 2' in depth is dug in the ground and filled with burning charcoal. After drinking a glass of enchanted water, the Siddis merrily walk over the fire, bare footed, from one end to another, without feeling any effect of burns.

DHAMAL DANCE

On the occasion of the *urs* as well as other religious occasions, the Siddis perform a very interesting dance, known as *dhamal*, which is characteristic of their own community. This is a very engrossing performance, which is also performed on the Thursday of every week and on the 1st and 11th days of every Muslim month. In the olden days, Rajas and Nawabs specially used to invite Siddis for a special performance of *dhamal*, which can be arranged even now by contributing a small sum of about Rs.10 to their religious fund.

Dhamal has won applause and praise even in the present times. It was once performed in Delhi during the Republic Day Celebrations and was highly appreciated. The Siddis of the aristocratic families do not perform such dance, but the *Kafras* of Diu are very fond of it. Their *dhamal* is similar to that performed by the Siddis of Saurashtra. This, perhaps, indicates their common social links.

The instruments used during *dhamal* are peculiar to the Siddis and are believed to have been given to them by their Abyssinian saint, Baba Ghor. They hold their musical instruments in great veneration, never touching them unless ceremonially required. If a Siddi carelessly touches the instruments after sexual intercourse without taking bath, Mother Mai Mishra or Baba Ghor is sure to punish the offender. The instruments include a number of drums. These include *mugaram*, which is the biggest drum, standing above 3½ feet high, and the *mushiro* which is slung from the shoulder. *Selani* is a fiddle-like instrument with a dried gourd having a stiff catgut string and a bunch of peacock feathers mounted on one end and shells as charms to ward off evil. It is played with a stick held with a coconut shell in which loose pebbles rattle. The latter is wrapped up in silken cloth, and is also known as *jhunjhuna* or *mai misra* after their goddess and can be played as a solo instrument also.

In *dhamal* both males and females, young and old participate. Though accompanied by songs and sometimes by the playing of *selani*, drums and shouts dominate the performance, as the rhythm, rather than the tune, sets the pace of the dance. This is a vigorous dance, a fascinating and exciting performance, demanding considerable stamina and vigour. A typical evening performance of *dhamal* opens with an invocation incorporating the first *kalma* of Koran, led by their religious preacher, and sung by all the people sitting in a circle in the centre of which incense is burnt. Water is sprinkled for purification on the persons who are to take part in the dance and on the ground where the dance is performed. Most of the persons have some instrument or the other in their hands; the males having preference for drums and females for *mai mishra*. Conch-shells and horns are also used. An experienced person standing outside the circle, plays upon the biggest drum, the *mugaram*, which is also adorned in green silk and with two small green flags and a garland of flowers. Other drums such as *mushiro* and *dhamama* are also played upon. When the invocation is complete, the incense is taken round, whereafter the regular *dhamal* begins. All the participants start moving round, singing one *jikar* (songs sung during *dhamal*). Suddenly a man from the group jumps inside the circle, starts doing different types of steps, whirls for a couple of minutes, playing upon his drum and carrying it lightly and swiftly with him and sometimes revolving in a kneeling posture. Sometimes, two persons may jump in, gesturing and grimacing at each other, to the accompaniment of shouts and screams. The gestures may symbolise the theme of the hunter and the hunted. One of the two persons, and sometimes both, may also be adorned in peacock feathers on the head and round the

waist. In such case, they take steps during the dance which resemble the dance of the peacock. Sometimes, again one of the men with the feathers may act as the peacock while the other acts as the serpent. Sometimes, even young boys and women jump inside the circle of dancers, treading steps of their own, though somewhat less vigorously. As these movements go on, the tempo rises, the beat on the drums becomes fierce, the whole atmosphere vibrates with the intensity of the rhythm. The dancers get excited, some of them appear to be almost hysterical and are calmed only by a glass of holy water. Verses in honour of their *pirs* are incanted off and on, which later on, give place to a slogan in praise of their own tribe. "The Siddi child is like a lion." It rends the air again and again. On special occasions, the climax comes after an elderly person makes a small heap of burning charcoal in the middle. The dance is resumed and an expert jumps on the heap, scattering the charcoal around. After that, each of the dancers would merrily dance away on the same spot. The performance at this stage becomes almost frenzied. It is claimed by Siddis that they do not get injured by the charcoal, because of the blessings of the *pir*. After the climactic, the clamour dies down and the whole assembly resumes earlier position of a circle and silently recites a *fatiha*.

The *dhamal* performed in honour of their gods and *pirs* has themes based on the hunter and the hunted, the peacock and the serpent, and the gestures depict what they saw and found around them in the forests, where they lived and subsequently settled.

The *dhamal* dances are performed to the accompaniment of songs known as *jikar*, which are composed in the honour of their *pirs*. A few lines are given below.

मामईने तेडावो माडी हो, नगारची खेलता आवे रे मा ।
 दरियाई जाग्या रे मा, माडीजीमा मा सलवारे ।
 पगुमां झांझरीआ रे मा, हाथुमां बंगडीआ रे ।
 भूते घेर्या रे मा ।
 खेलता आवे रे मा, दरियाई जाग्या रे मा ।
 दरियामां रहेवासी मा भूते घेर्या रे मा ।
 माडी तारां काम पड्यां हे मा ।

There is another song sung with the *dhamal* which follows another theme, throbbing with the rhythm of saluting refrain, blending in and enriching the rhythm of music and dance, and

is somewhat different from ordinary songs the Siddis have imitated from their neighbours. The same is reproduced below.

बादशाह निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 दादा मेरे पीर निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 हबशी दुला निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 आखर मर जाना निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 घोरी बादशाह निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 नगारची दुला निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 सीदी मुक्ता गाजी निवाजींगे होयाले दोमशाले
 माई साहब माडी निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 घोरी बादशाह निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 सीदी शहीददादा निवाजींगे होयाले दोमशाले
 इटालेवाली मा निवाजींगे होयाले दोमशाले
 घोरी बादशाह निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 मदद बादशाह निवाजो होयाले दोमशाले
 मुशाले दादा मुशाले होयाले दोमशाले
 अल्ला नबी कसेंबा मनागंबो होयाले दोमशाले

Welcome to Badshah Ghor !
 Greetings and salutation ! (Refrain)
 Welcome to my great Pir !
 Welcome to Hubsji Dula.
 In the end one has to die !
 Welcome to Badshah Ghor !
 Welcome to Nagarchi Dula !
 Welcome to the Protector Siddi Mukta !
 Welcome to Siddi mother goddess !
 We shall welcome the great Siddi martyr (Baba Ghor) !
 Welcome to the mother from Itala (a village in Kutch) !
 Welcome the help of Badshah Ghor !
 Salutation to the great Pir, salute !
 Salutation to God and the prophet !
 Welcome with playing of drums !

NOTE: The last line of the song gives the clue to change the direction of movement in the dance.

The following are some of the other verses which are sung at the time of *dhamal*, and

repeated over and over again after substituting the names of different *pirs*.

धमामा पर सलामा ओ धमामा पर सलामा ।
घोरी बादशाह या हो या हो याले ।
धमामा पर सलामा ।

Salutations with the beating of drums !
O Badshah Ghor !
Accept our salutations !

(This couplet is sung at the end of *dhamal*, assuming a different position, in readiness to finish the dance and disperse).

ना मिले, ना मिले, सीदीका बच्चा शेर बराबर ।
लाइलाहा जेल्लल्ला, कलंदर, सारो मेलो ।
ए हिल्लो, हिल्लो, हिल्लो, कलंदर, सारो मेलो ।

He is not easily met—a Siddi child is like a lion !
La Ilaha Illillah ! O Sage ! A nice fair (the assembly on *Urs*) !
Hillo ! Hillo ! Hillo ! etc.

झूलो झूलो माडी झूलेंगे हजुरमें ।
घोरी बादशाहने बाग बनाया ।
झूलेंगे हजुरमें ।
झूलो झूलो माडी झूलेंगे हजुरमें ।
हब्सा दुलाने बाग बनाया ।
झूलेंगे हजुरमें ।

Dance O Mother! we shall dance in your
esteemed presence! (Refrain)
Badshah Ghor has planted a garden, where we
shall dance in his presence.
Habs Dula has planted a garden, where we
shall dance, etc.

Thus, while *dhamal* dance, its music and instruments are peculiar to their own community, the verses which go with the dance are

composed mostly in Gujarati language as spoken in Saurashtra region.

LEISURE, RECREATION AND CHILD PLAY

The Siddis are considered to be a people of a happy-go-lucky disposition. They do not care for the morrow. During leisure hours, Siddi men can be seen flocking around tea-shops, taking tea or smoking *bidis* and gossiping. In Jambur, one can see groups of Siddis relaxing at the *dargah* of Nagarsha Pir. Some of them also take intoxicants, such as liquor or even *ganja* or *bhang* for recreation.

They are also fond of singing and dancing. The *dhamal*, apart from being a ceremonial and religious dance performance, is also an entertainment of high value and escape from the humdrums of the day-to-day life. The dances, their theme and accompanying songs have already been discussed.

There are, however, hardly any organised sports or games worth mentioning. It is only during the *urs* fair at Jambur, that an attempt is made by the Organising Committee for the celebration of *urs* to hold some sort of games and sports, such as races and wrestling bouts. During their leisure hours, the adult males play cards or *chopat* (a type of chess) which they play with dices or cowries. The children generally play the game of *ambata* (game of hide and seek) or the game of catching the thief; one boy goes running after others and tries to catch any of those playing, and he who is caught has to catch others, who are running or hiding at various places. Generally, as a prelude to *ambata*, they play *nargolio* (game of pebbles). They collect seven pebbles and heap them one over the other. All the boys, turn by turn, try their hand at aiming a mark at the pebbles with a stone kept in the hand. He who is not successful in dismantling the seven pebbles, has to be the first to catch the others in the game of hide and seek, or he is the thief in the game of thieves and constables.

RELATIONS AMONG DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned elsewhere, the Siddis of Jambur, Talala and other adjoining villages recognize territorial divisions among their community. Those living in the 13 villages around Jambur are the *Simali*, the others living in Gujarat are the *Tai* and those settled in Diu (the former

Portuguese enclave) and adjoining areas are the Swahilis. The *Simali* Siddis of Jambur deny any social intercourse with the Swahilis. They, however, interdine and now also intermarry to some extent with the *Tais* living in other areas of Gujarat. It is said that previously the Siddis of *Simali* used to marry only among themselves. They are, however, not so rigid now in this matter; a few cases of marriage between *Tai* and *Simali* Siddis were recorded during the present study. The Hindu, Muslim and Christian Siddis, however, form separate endogamous groups. They also do not have any social relations with each other and do not interdine, though they admit that formerly all of them came from a common stock. According to Sorley (Census of India, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 378) Muslim Siddis would freely take sides with their co-religionists against either Hindu or Christian Siddis. However, in Rajkot Division of Gujarat, except very few (22) they are all Muslims and, therefore, the social relationship between Hindu Siddis and Muslim Siddis could not be examined.

In Siddi society, the women have no voice in social and political matters concerning the community. The young married women have to observe *pardah*. They, however, equally participate along with the males in economic pursuits like forest and agricultural labour. Sometimes they even go to the near-by places for selling their merchandise.

The Siddi Patel or headman as well as the *mujawar* (Siddi religious priest) are held in high esteem by the community and are recognized as very important personalities.

INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

The Siddis being mainly Muslims, their caste ranking is not determined in the local Hindu caste hierarchy. However, about Maratha (Hindu) Siddis, Enthoven mentions that they rank next to Areas, Kunbis and fishermen, above Mahars and other impure classes (Enthoven, Vol. III, p. 336, 1922). At Jambur and Talala, they live almost segregated, and are not having much ritual interaction with other communities of the region. The hamlet Jambur is exclusively inhabited by Siddis. However, the villagers living at Madhupur somehow have a

poor opinion of the Siddis and look upon them with suspicion and distrust. It is said that at least in the past they were very much prone to criminal activities. Even now, sometime they are blamed for minor thefts and pilferages, etc. They, however, receive traditional services from the *hajam* or barber belonging to other Muslim communities. Similarly, a non-Siddi *maulvi* or *kazi* from Patan town solemnize their marriages. The Haddis which are considered to be a low menial Hindu caste of the region, serve them during their marriages, etc., by playing on musical instruments. The Dheds, another Hindu caste at the lower rung of caste hierarchy, participate in their social and other ceremonial occasions. The caste Hindus, however, do not keep any social relations with Siddis. In fact, the other Muslim communities, except Momins and Mirs consider them to be low, filthy and quarrelsome and do not interdine or have any social intercourse with them. The Momins as well as Mirs, however, participate in their marriage and other social functions. The caste Hindus living at Madhupur do not permit Siddis to use their drinking water-wells, etc. At Jambur, there is a community well from which they fetch water for drinking purposes. It is, however, interesting to note that during illness, particularly in case of smallpox, they visit the Hindu temple of Sitla Mata at Parbhas Patan and are permitted to have a glimpse of the goddess and also are allowed to make offerings; they are, however, debarred from touching the idol.

STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The Siddis, originally comprising different ethnic strains, migrated to Gujarat from Africa in batches and settled in different social and culture settings. They have imbibed, in varying degrees, the influences of the different cultures amidst which they have been living for generations. They now do not appear to have any strong cultural moorings of their own. There is hardly anything exclusively traditional for them in the normative sense. It seems that a state of anomie prevails in the community. The carefree disposition of the individuals and endless factionalism and mutual bickerings within the community, can be taken as the manifestations of this anomie. But notwithstanding the

manifestations of the anomie, there is considerable solidarity among the Siddis, mainly as a result of the negative orientation of their neighbours towards themselves. As mentioned earlier, the negative orientation seems to be related to the historical image of the community, as that of slaves and also to their racial traits. There is, however, another device in the social organisation of the Siddis which seems to have contributed towards internal stability. They have a system of preferential cross-cousin marriage. This results in strengthening the bilateral kinship ties, and helps in absorbing the shocks of normlessness in matters, cultural.

In every village inhabited by the Siddis, there is a traditional council called *Siddi Jamat*. The *Jamat* is headed by a Patel who presides over its meetings. At the territorial level, the social control of the community is in the hands of a *darbar* who commands implicit obedience and backing of the Siddis inhabiting the 13 odd villages around Jambur. This coincides with the social and territorial division, earlier referred to as *Simali*. However, no evidence could be gathered about the existence of any apex organisation, covering the whole Siddi community. Theoretically, the office of the *darbar* is not hereditary. He is selected from the 13 villages comprising of *Simali* Siddis; but in actual practice he continues to hold office as long as he does not completely lose the confidence of the community and is not found dishonest or negligent in his duties to protect the interest of the community. The fact that the *darbar* must belong to a particular clan, namely Bhaliya clan, shows that the political organisation of the community is based on segmental domination. Previously, the *darbar* used to appoint the Patels for each village, after considering the recommendations of three or four elderly and influential members of the community, in the village concerned. The important considerations for the appointment of the Patel is the capacity for service to the community, integrity, efficiency in solving problems and regard for the general interest of the community.

The *Jamat* is fairly effective organisation for the Siddis in day-to-day matter at village level. It is a socio-religious institution, comprising of four influential or respected persons from the community and headed by the Patel. In addition

to the Patel or the headman, there is a Kotwal, an errand runner, who informs the people about the meetings of the *Jamat*. The tenure of the office for the office bearers is not fixed. They may remain in the saddle as long as they have the backing of the community. No election or selection is now made for installing them in the office. They hold the office as a matter of custom or by way of tacit approval. The *Jamat* generally works for the welfare of the community. It also organises fairs and festivals and looks after the places of worship. Petty disputes including those relating to matrimonial matters among the Siddis are referred to the *Jamat*. Criminal cases of thefts and beatings, are also dealt with by it. Normally, the Siddis avoid going to the court of law and try to settle all disputes within the community, through the good offices of the *Siddi Jamat*, whose verdict is generally taken as final and obeyed by all the members.

The complainant pays an amount of Rs. 2.25, if he wishes to raise an issue before the *Jamat*. The amount is spent on *hooka pani* and *bidis* for the *Jamat* members. The panchayat, even hands out punitive punishment in cases, such as thefts, adultery, etc. In cases of adultery or criminal assault, the culprit may also be tied around the trunk of a *pipal* tree and flogged by the headman. In case of thefts the victim is given compensation. In other cases of disputes, the *Jamat* tries to effect a compromise between the parties to avoid litigation in a court of law.

Besides the members of the *Jamat*, there are a few other persons who exercise considerable influence over the affairs of the community. Among them, the most important is *mujavar* or the Siddi priest looking after the *dargah* of Baba Ghor. Others include the non-Siddi religious functionaries, such as the *kazi*, *moulvi* and *saiyed*. Their influence is particularly felt in the matters connected with religion. It may not be out of place to point out here, that the *kazi*, *moulvi*, etc., also try to persuade the Siddis to give up the worship of Hanuman as a measure of religious reform.

In Jambur village, the *Jamat* has run into difficulties since last four or five years and the Patel is losing his hold over the community. There are two factions now. One is against the old Patel, whose leadership is being challenged

by another person, who is backed by the dissident section of the Siddis in the village. The dissident do not recognise the leadership of the old Patel and have installed the other person as their Patel. It is said that this situation has come about as a result of a murder that occurred recently within the community. However, the new leadership is not different from the traditional one in its outlook. It is not progressive, reformist or forward looking and is made of the same stuff as the old. It more reflects clash of personalities than clash of social outlook.

In addition to the traditional council of the Siddis of Jambur, there is a statutory panchayat at Madhupur, which includes Jambur as a hamlet. The panchayat collects land revenue and issues permits for cutting trees. The *Up-sarpanch* is a Siddi from Jambur. The Siddi members who take some interest in the statutory panchayat have, however, little influence in their own community. Some Siddis even go to the extent of describing them as upstarts who have nothing else to do and hence are whiling away their time, by dabbling into the affairs of the panchayat. It appears that there is a feeling among some section of the Siddis, that the Siddis who associate themselves with the statutory panchayat are renegades, who are anxious to enjoy power any how and who do not have any consideration for the interest of the community. This feeling is indicative of social alienation of the community, vis-a-vis their neighbours. It, however, seems likely that the alienation is confined to the local level only, as the community has little inter-action beyond the local level; even alienation may not have any relevance at higher than that level. The alienation at the local level may be the result of long continued rivalry between the people of Jambur hamlet and those of other parts of Madhupur. The Siddis of Jambur complain that even during the ex-princes' regime, they did not get their due. Though they constitute one-fifth of the population of Madhupur as a whole, they do not get proportionate benefit or attention from the statutory panchayat. They, therefore, want to have a separate statutory panchayat of their own. Till such a panchayat has been constituted they would look upon the panchayat at Madhupur as an imposition and would not feel much enthusiasm to cooperate with it.

SOCIAL REFORM AND WELFARE

By and large, ignorant and self-complacent, the Siddis exhibit a lack of awareness even about matters which concern their daily lives, like the various self-governing institutions and administrative units which have jurisdiction over their village. Most of them at Jambur do not know the name of the 'Taluka' in which Jambur is situated and, curiously enough, only a few know the name of the river flowing by their hamlet. The *Siddi Jamat* looks after the social and religious matters concerning the community. It is conservative and orthodox in its outlook. In keeping with its character it has not initiated any social reforms. However, recently an attempt has been made, with partial success, to fix the amount of bride price as well as the amount of *mehar* for the bride.

The Siddis have set up organisations like Siddi Yuvak Mandal and Mahila Mandal at Bhavnagar, Gondal and Rajkot; a Samaj Kalyan Kendra was established at Jambur in 1954 by the Social Welfare Board. It is running a pre-primary education centre, where about 50 children took advantage in 1961-62. But its attendance is rather poor, the average attendance being 29. At Jambur, the Kendra has engaged two teachers, of whom one is a member of a Scheduled Caste and the other is a caste Hindu. It possesses toys, musical instruments and sports goods, as well as a library. The activities include story-telling, prayers, elementary teaching of simple arithmetic, games, gardening and spinning. Jambur is covered by a Development Block of pre-extension stage. The Block has erected a Siddichara (community centre) for the Siddis.

The Siddis are also running a cooperative society at Jambur known as, "Shri Pachhat Janjati Jambur Multipurpose Cooperative

Society". It was started in 1955 with a membership of 25 which had risen to 40 in 1961. The qualifications for membership of the society are residence or ownership of land at Jambur, good conduct or absence of any kind of Government debt. It is interesting that it has enrolled three non-Siddis, one Kunbi and two Ahirs from Madhupur as members. The society advanced loans amounting to about rupees twenty thousand, of which, rupees twelve thousand only was recovered by the end of 1961-62. The society also supplies chemical fertilisers, improved implements and provides funds for land reclamation. The society, however, is running in a very tardy manner and has had hardly any impact on the community. It is understood that Siddis residing at Gondal have another cooperative society, namely 'Gondal Taluka Udyogic Cooperative Society' for effecting economic improvement.

The Siddis are receiving funds and other assistance from the State Social Welfare Department for their welfare. These include digging of wells, irrigation facilities and loans for agriculture and poultry development. The loans are advanced for the purpose of oil-engines and poultry cages from the Land Mortgage Bank. Three oil-engines and some poultry cages have been acquired with the help of the bank and through the help of the Social Welfare Department. At Jambur, about Rs. 22,000 were borrowed for various agricultural operations and about Rs. 2,000 given on loans by the Credit Cooperative Society for building farms, houses, for digging wells and for the purchase of improved varieties of seeds during 1961. The Land Mortgage Bank also provides cheap credit by advancing money for fencing, bunding, levelling of fields and other such operations, and also for the purchase of agricultural implements and bullocks by the cultivators.

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ANNEXURE I

Framework for Ethnographic Study

I NAME, IDENTITY, ORIGIN AND HISTORY

1. Name; synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and as in other published sources such as Census reports, monographs, etc., grouping with other castes and tribes during various censuses; affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.
2. Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) itself.
3. Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.
4. Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II DISTRIBUTION AND POPULATION TREND

1. Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.
2. Numerical strength in 1961 and population variations during 1901-1961; sex ratio; age groups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

III PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Racial stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV FAMILY, CLAN, KINSHIP AND OTHER ANALOGOUS DIVISIONS

1. Family; size (observed and published); types; residence after marriage; descent; lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.
2. Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names; etymological meaning; clustering of

clans; belief and mythology about origin; status among clans; clan and regulation of marriage (Preference and prohibition); occupation and clan; clan and rituals; clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions, etc.)

3. Others; phratry; duel organisation, like moieties, etc., as in 2 above.

V DWELLING, DRESS, FOOD, ORNAMENTS AND OTHER MATERIAL OBJECTS DISTINCTIVE OF THE COMMUNITY

1. Settlement; village site; location; settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped, etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.
2. Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion; castes (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes, etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.
3. Dwelling unit; compound; entrance; source of water; the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle-shed, isolation huts, etc.); shape (square, round, irregular, etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing, thatching, ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.
4. Dress including headgear and footwear—used ordinarily; on ceremonial occasions and special occasions; sex-wise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers; variations.
5. Ornaments; use; material used; from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.

6. Personal decoration; tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair-cutting; how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age.
7. Food and drink; materials (staple and other); prescriptions and prohibitions; fuel; utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food and rituals, if any.
8. Equipments connected with economic pursuits; religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction, manipulation and purpose.
9. Other household equipments. As above.
10. Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use. As above.

VI ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION, HYGIENIC HABITS, DISEASES AND TREATMENT

1. Environmental sanitation; settlement; disposal of night-soil, garbage, etc.
2. Hygienic habit; cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils, etc.
3. Diseases; incidence; local names; interpretation of the causes; symptoms; diagnosis and cure—persons and methods involved.
4. Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

1. Ancestral language; classification according to Grierson; persistence of ancestral language and literature.
2. Mother tongue; classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multilingualism; regional language.
3. Information collected during 1961 Census on language and literature.
4. Education and literacy; traditional and modern attitude; information collected during 1961 Census; literacy and levels of education.

VIII ECONOMIC LIFE

1. Economic resources; land; community land; individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilised.

2. Forest wealth; flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest; forest utilization.
3. Fishery; livestock and others.
4. Working force; sexwise; urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.
5. Non-workers.
6. Industrial classifications; details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 Census figures; traditional occupation and changes in the pattern; main and subsidiary occupations.
7. Forced labour; bonded labour; patron-client relationship (*jajmani*); mode of payment.
8. Seasonal migration connected with occupation; recruitment; formation of working groups.
9. Nomadic movement; cycle and occupational pattern.
10. Shifting cultivation; method, implements and equipments; produce; participation; cycle of rotation; measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
11. Terrace cultivation. As above.
12. Income and expenditure; sources of income; extent; expenditure on food; clothing; house; education; social functions and others.
13. Other aspects of economic life.

IX LIFE CYCLE

A—Birth

1. Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
2. Pre-natal and natal practices; residence, diet, work, taboos, etc.; delivery place, assistance, equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
3. Post-natal practices; confinement and segregation; ceremonial pollution; diet for mother and child; rituals.
4. Protection and care of child and training.

5. Attitude towards birth of child; preference about sex; preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

B—Initiation

1. Initiation ceremony; descriptions.
2. Pre-marital sex relations within the community; outside the community; sanctions and taboos.

C—Marriage

1. Age at marriage for both sex; prohibited degrees of relationship; preferences; widow remarriage (preferences and taboos).
2. Civil status and social status.
3. Types of marriage; monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and polygyny).
4. Selection of spouse; qualities valued (for bride and groom); mode of selection; procedure.
5. Modes of acquiring mate; by negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
6. Terms of settlement; payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.
7. Ceremonies connected with marriage; details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
8. Statistical data as per 1961 Census.
9. Divorce; reasons and procedure.

D—Death

1. Concept about death; measures to ensure future well-being of the soul; measures to avert harm by the spirits.
2. Methods of disposal; burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.
3. Preparations for disposal of dead; informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit, etc., for disposal; how carried, who carry, who accompany; place of disposal, methods of disposal; norms and taboos.
4. Ceremonies connected with disposal.
5. Death rites; details.
6. Monuments; tombs, megaliths, etc.
7. Pollution; duration, restrictions in

- work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life, etc.; removal of pollution.
8. Mourning; mourners and duration.

X RELIGION

1. Deities; supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras, etc.
2. Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
3. Rituals and concepts associated with the pantheon.
4. Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
5. Religious functionaries.
6. Calendar of festivals and their observance.
7. Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, transmigration of soul, etc.
8. Sects and denominations; name, distribution, beliefs and practices, etc.
9. Statistical information.

XI LEISURE, RECREATION AND CHILD PLAY

1. Use of leisure time; for male, female, children and adult; seasonal variation in leisure time.
2. Recreations; their mode and extent for males, females and children.
3. Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

XII RELATION AMONG DIFFERENT SEGMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY

Recognised segments; name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social prestige, religion, sect, education, age, etc.); inter-relationship among various segments; status of the segment; status of women.

XIII INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

1. Ceremonial relationship; service by Brahmins; traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen, etc.
2. Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus; use of well; admission to temple.

3. Secular relationship; model for other communities; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.
4. Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL, PRESTIGE AND LEADERSHIP

1. Social control; levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries, etc.; social control by other agencies.
2. *Mode of acquiring offices.*
3. Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders; functionaries of statutory bodies of the region; powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.
4. Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.
5. Leadership; for social change; for

technological change; for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.

6. Social prestige; method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association, etc.); symbols of social prestige.

XV SOCIAL REFORM AND WELFARE

1. Social reform movements; intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.); history and import of the movements.
2. Social welfare; agency, religious organisation, community as a whole, Govt. official and non-official; role of the social welfare measures and impact.

XVI REFERENCES CITED AND OTHER BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANNEXURE II

Glossary of some important terms used by Siddis

A

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>Ajan or bang</i> | . A prayer call |
| <i>Akik</i> | . Agate |
| <i>Akiko</i> | . Tonsorial ceremony performed among Siddis when a child attains the age of seven |
| <i>Ambavada</i> | . A game of hide and seek |
| <i>Ankh uthvi</i> | . An eye disease |

B

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Bajri</i> | . Millet |
| <i>Bandi</i> | . A sleeveless vest |
| <i>Baret</i> | . Dry crop land |
| <i>Bham ijardar</i> | . A licence-holder for skinning dead animals |
| <i>Bhang</i> | . Hemp |
| <i>Biddis</i> | . Country cigarettes |
| <i>Bulakh</i> | . Nose-pin worn between nostrils |

C

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>Charpai</i> | . Wooden cot |
| <i>Chhatthi</i> | . A ceremony performed on the sixth day of the birth of a child |
| <i>Choli</i> | . Blouse |
| <i>Chopat</i> | . A game played with dices or cowries |
| <i>Chorani</i> | . Tight trousers |
| <i>Chudis</i> | . Bracelets |
| <i>Chundadi</i> | . A tied and dyed <i>sari</i> |
| <i>Chungis</i> | . Earthen smoking pipes |

D

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Dai</i> | . Midwife |
| <i>Dal</i> | . Pulse |
| <i>Damachia</i> | . A wooden bed rack |
| <i>Darbar</i> | . Siddi headman |
| <i>Dargah</i> | . A tomb of Muslim saint |
| <i>Darshan</i> | . Glimpse |
| <i>Des</i> | . Bride price |
| <i>Diwabatti</i> | . Burning of incense and lighting of lamp |
| <i>Dhadhar</i> | . Ring worm |
| <i>Dhamal</i> | . Name of a Siddi dance or a drum used in the dance |
| <i>Dhamama</i> | . Small drum played at Dhamal dance |
| <i>Dhuna</i> | . A fireplace |

F

| | |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Fatiha</i> | . First Chapter of the Koran |
|---------------|------------------------------|

G

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>Ganja</i> | . Hemp flowers |
| <i>Garmala sing</i> | . <i>Cassia fistula</i> fruit |
| <i>Ghadamachi</i> | . A low wooden stool for keeping water-pots on |
| <i>Ghee</i> | . Clarified butter |
| <i>Goramati</i> | . Black brown soil |
| <i>Gothis</i> | . Hosts or followers of the same deity |
| <i>Gur</i> | . Jaggery |

I

| | |
|-------------|------------|
| <i>Ijar</i> | . Trousers |
|-------------|------------|

J

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Jamat</i> | . Communal panch |
| <i>Jambuda or Jambu</i> | . A rose apple (<i>Eugenia jambolana</i>) |
| <i>Jan</i> | . A bridegroom's party |
| <i>Janaja</i> | . Bier |
| <i>Janivas</i> | . The place where bridegroom's party is lodged |
| <i>Jarat</i> | . A ceremony performed 40 days after the death |
| <i>Jhabha</i> | . An upper garment resembling a shirt |
| <i>Jhina Kanta</i> | . A species of small fish |
| <i>Jhunjhuna</i> or <i>Zanjira</i> | . A cocoanut shell covered with silken cloth and containing pebbles played during Dhamal dance |
| <i>Jikar</i> | . Songs sung during Dhamal dance |
| <i>Jowar</i> | . <i>Sorghum vulgare</i> grain |

K

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>Kadhi</i> | . Curry |
| <i>Kabmas</i> | . Stanzas of Koran |
| <i>Kapdu</i> | . Blouse |
| <i>Karamda</i> | . Corinda fruits |
| <i>Kariyavar</i> | . Dowry |
| <i>Kathrot</i> | . A trencher, a large and flat circular metal dish of brass, copper and aluminium |
| <i>Kawtoals</i> | . Singers of Urdu poems and songs |
| <i>Kazi</i> | . Muslim judge |
| <i>Khandi</i> | . A local weight of 20 <i>kutch</i> maunds |
| <i>Khas</i> | . Itches |
| <i>Khatedars</i> | . Land-holders |
| <i>Khetarva</i> | . A distance of about 4 furlongs |
| <i>Khichadi</i> | . Mixture of rice and <i>mung dal</i> ; a hotchpotch |
| <i>Khir</i> | . Milk pudding |

K-contd.

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>Kholo bharavo</i> | . A ceremony performed after the first conception |
| <i>Kos</i> | . . . Leather bag |
| <i>Kothla</i> | . . . Mud receptacles for storing food |
| <i>Kotwal</i> | . . . A messenger |
| <i>Kurta</i> | . . . A shirt-like upper garment |
| <i>Kutchra</i> | . . . Raw, makeshift |

L

| | |
|---------------|---|
| <i>Laga</i> | . . . Fees or compulsory contributions |
| <i>Lapsi</i> | . . . A sweet preparation of wheat flour, <i>ghee</i> , <i>gur</i> or sugar |
| <i>Lelan</i> | . . . A species of a bird |
| <i>Loongi</i> | . . . A piece of cloth wrapped round the body |
| <i>Lotas</i> | . . . Jugs |
| <i>Loti</i> | . . . A tiny jug |
| <i>Lunari</i> | . . . A young girl rattling a tiny jug containing some <i>mung</i> grains sealed with a cloth tied over its mouth behind bridegroom |

M

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| <i>Malido</i> | . . . Sweet preparation of wheat flour, <i>ghee</i> , <i>gur</i> or sugar |
| <i>Mandap</i> | . . . A marriage pandal |
| <i>Midhol</i> | . . . An emetic nut (<i>Bushy gardenia</i>) |
| <i>Mindla</i> | . . . A hair style |
| <i>Mugaram</i> | . . . 3½ feet high drum played in Dhamal dance |
| <i>Mujavar</i> | . . . A care-taker of a tomb |
| <i>Mung</i> | . . . Green gram (<i>Phaseolus mungo</i>) |
| <i>Mung dal</i> | . . . Green gram pulse |
| <i>Mushiro</i> | . . . A drum used in Dhamal dance |

N

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Namaz</i> | . . . Prayer |
| <i>Nargolio</i> | . . . A game of pebbles |
| <i>Nikah</i> | . . . Muslim system of marriage |

O

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Odhani</i> | . . . A two and a half yards <i>sari</i> |
| <i>Okhai joda</i> | . . . Country shoes |
| <i>Oliyas</i> or <i>pirs</i> | . . . Muslim saints |

P

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>Pachhedi</i> | . . . A long cloth measuring 40" x 90" |
| <i>Patara</i> | . . . Wooden marquetry box, large wooden chest |
| <i>Patel</i> | . . . Headman |
| <i>Patla</i> | . . . Wooden seats |
| <i>Pithi</i> | . . . A turmeric and oil paste |

R

| | |
|---------------|---|
| <i>Ramnan</i> | . . . A variety of rose apple (<i>Eugenia jambos</i>) |
| <i>Ratad</i> | . . . <i>Bajri</i> stems |
| <i>Rajah</i> | . . . Fast kept by Muslims in the month of Ramzan |
| <i>Roz</i> | . . . Blue bull |

S

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>Samaiya</i> | . . . A reception of the bridegroom's party on arrival at the bride's place |
| <i>Selani</i> | . . . A musical instrument prepared from bamboo pole, stiff catgut and a gourd and ornamented with peacock feathers |
| <i>Shediya</i> | . . . A species of small fish |
| <i>Sisam</i> | . . . <i>Dalbergia sissoo</i> tree |
| <i>Sughri</i> | . . . A female bird |

T

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Tajiya</i> | . . . Structure representing the <i>dargah</i> or tomb of Hussein at Karbala usually made of bamboo and tinsel carried in a procession during Moharrum for final immersion in water |
| <i>Tapelas</i> | . . . Metal pans |
| <i>Timru</i> | . . . <i>Diospyros melanoxylon</i> fruits |
| <i>Toda</i> | . . . Silver anklets |
| <i>Tubraka</i> or <i>prasad</i> | Offering to deity later on distributed among the worshippers |

U

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Undri</i> | . . . Ring worm on head |
|--------------|-------------------------|

Z

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Zabla</i> | . . . Frock |
|--------------|-------------|

**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, 3719, 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, Charkhawan (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 Vidyalya 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)
 Aquarium 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
 C. 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 Krishna-
 murthipuram (R)

News Paper House, Lansdowne Building (R)

Indian Mercantile Corporation, Toy Palace Ramvilas (R)

NADIAD—

R. S. Desai 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, Chhparwala 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 Idc
 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)

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

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

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

List of Agents-concl'd.

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. 11243, 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
Saubha (P. B. 271) Bangalore