african arts

Spring 2013 • Volume 46 • Number 1

Soulful Stitching

Patchwork Quilts by Africans (Siddis) of India

Henry John Drewal

There are many African communities with rich artistic traditions scattered across this planet. We may be familiar with the history and artistry of African peoples and their descendants in the Americas, but we know little or nothing about Africans in other parts of the world, especially those in South Asia (Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka) known today variously as Makranis, Sheedis, Kafiris, Habshis, Chaush, or Siddis/Sidis (Fig. 1).[1]

Africans, probably from the Horn of Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Kenya, and Sudan), traveled to South Asia early in the first millennium CE as merchants and sailors (Map 1). Later (c. fourteenth century) they went as professional soldiers, sailors, and administrators for the Arabs and Mughals. These early immigrants settled in northwestern (Gujarat), northern, and southern (Deccan) India and are mostly Muslim (Map 2). Some rose through the ranks to become rulers, prime ministers, admirals, generals, and religious leaders.

The earliest evidence of Africans in India dates to about the second or third centuries CE (Chauhan 1995:2) when they came as merchants and sailors. Centuries later they came "enslaved," first from the regions of northeastern Africa and then southeastern Africa. But we must understand the sociohistorical meaning of the term "slave" in the medieval Islamic Indian Ocean world, for it is very different from the institution of "chattel slavery" created and refined by Europeans in later centuries in the Atlantic world. As Amitav Ghosh (1992:259–60) so eloquently explains, "the arrangement was probably more that of patron and client than master and slave, as that relationship is now understood. If this seems curious, it is largely because the medieval idea of slavery tends to confound contemporary conceptions of both servitude and its mirrored counter-image, individual freedom."

In the Middle Ages institutions of servitude took many forms, and they all differed from "slavery" as it came to be practiced after the European colonial expansion of the sixteenth century. In the Middle East and northern India, for instance, slavery was the principal means for recruitment into some of the most privileged sectors of the army and the bureaucracy. For those who made their way up through that route, "slavery" was thus often a kind of career opening, a way of gaining entry into the highest levels of government.

It was precisely by such means that many Siddis rose to positions of great trust, power, and authority in the military and governmental ranks of various rulers in India between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries and celebrated in paintings (see Robbins and McLeod 2006).

Europeans—first the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, British, and French—arrived in the Indian Ocean and South Asia in the late fifteenth century. Beginning in the sixteenth century, they enslaved Africans and carried them to India and other regions of the world. Those brought by the Portuguese to Goa on the western coast of India served primarily in domestic households of the rich. Over generations they escaped bondage, moving inland and southward into the remote and generally inaccessible Western Ghats mountains of northern Karnataka in order to create free, independent African Diaspora communities, much like the *quilombos* of Brazil, *palenques* of Colombia, the *cimarrones* of Panama and Mexico, or the Maroons of Jamaica, Surinam, and Guyana. Others left the service of Muslim and Hindu rulers and migrated into the Karnataka region from various directions at different times (Map 3).

Today the Siddis of Karnataka live scattered in the thick forests and high plains south of Goa and number about 20,000. Those who fled Portuguese Goa are generally Catholics. Most speak a

1 Fatima Adikese examines the back of her quilt.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004

(opposite, top–bottom, l–r)
Map 1 The Indian Ocean World

Map 2 India, showing Gujarat, Goa, Deccan.

Map 3 Karantaka, India

(this page)
2 Siddi performing arts are strong, especially the song, dance, drumming tradition known as *goma* (from Swahili *ngoma*), or *dhammal/damam*. Here the quilter Flora Introse dances.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004

3 A fine example of a Karnataka Siddis patchwork quilt (family size) known as *kawand*. Note the celebration of hand-created artistry.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004

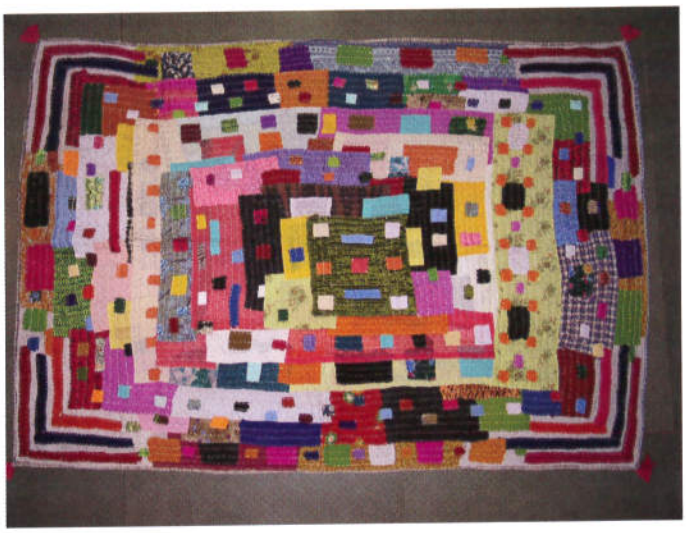
dialect called Siddi-Konkanni, but the younger generation now also speaks Kannada or English. Their African origins are probably in the region of Mozambique and eastern Africa, but precise places of origin are yet to be researched and determined. Another segment of the population, which may have come from Hyderabad or the Deccan, is Muslim and speaks Urdu or other local Indian languages. A small percentage of Karnataka Siddis is Hindu and speaks Hindi. Most Siddis marry other Siddis, but there has been some intermarriage between Siddis and other Indian ethnicities/cultural groups. Despite the fact that Africans have lived in India for more than 800 years, they are often still considered "outsiders" or "aliens" and stand apart from the prevailing caste system (Prasad 1980, Prasad and Angenot 2008). Most Indians do not even know of their existence.

While they have adopted, adapted, and integrated many cultural aspects of the Indian peoples with whom they have lived for generations, Siddis have also retained, adapted, and transformed certain cultural and artistic traditions from Africa (Obeng 2007a). The performing arts are strong, especially certain music (drumming and song) and dance traditions known as *goma* (from Swahili *ngoma*), or *dhammal/damam* (Fig. 2) (Shroff this issue, Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Alpers 2004).[2] In the visual arts of the Karnataka Siddis, one tradition stands out—the art of patchwork quilts known as *kawandi* (Fig. 3).

5 a–c Women of the Siddi Women's Quilting Cooperative in 2006. They come from (clockwise from top left) Mainalli, Kendalgiri, and Gunjavati.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2006.

(below, l–r)
6 At home, a quilter begins work sitting on a shaded verandah, a bundle of used fabric nearby.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004.

7 Sometimes several women (friends or relatives) will work together to create a large family quilt. Here Dumgi Thomas, Flora Introse, and Mary Mariani quilt together.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004.



(l–r, top–bottom)
10 One quilter, Sushila Ruzai, favors "step patterns" of small squares that descend diagonally across a field of large, multicolored rectangles.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004.

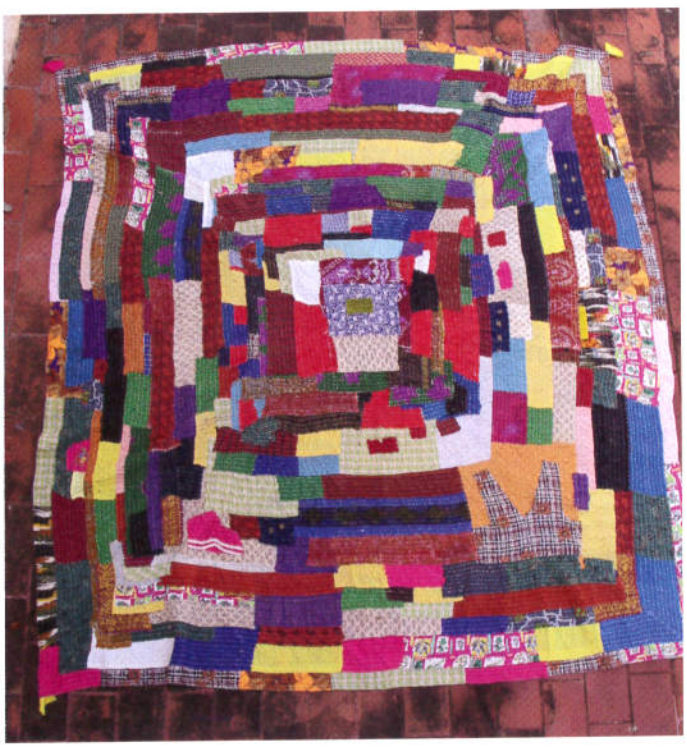
11 A series of parallel L-shaped chevrons at the corners, sometimes punctuated by small detached squares, is a design said to be favored by some Muslim Siddi quilters. This is a quilt by Fatima Adikese.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2006

12 Some quilters, like Clara Christos, may leave the original shape of a blouse or shirt and simply integrate it into the quilt (lower right corner).
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2004

One seemingly mandatory decoration is the sewing at each corner of the quilt one or more square patches folded twice to form a multilayered triangle called *phula* ("flower"). These serve an aesthetic rather than a practical function for they are essential to a properly finished or "dressed" Siddi quilt and are a distinctive style element. As one Siddi quilter explained to me, "they must be there, if not, the quilt would be naked!"[4]

AESTHETICS

Siddi quilts are highly individualistic, yet quilters share many clear and precise opinions about quality and beauty, and the need to "finish properly" a quilt with *phulas*/flowers at the corners. The size and shape of the quilts and their patches vary significantly from quilter to quilter. Sizes generally fall into several categories and are measured by a "hand"—the length between the elbow and fingertips of the quilter, which can thus vary. The size categories are: large/family (6 x 6 hands); double (5 x 6 hands); single (3 x 5 hands); and baby/crib (2 x 3 hands). Some quilts are quite regular and orderly, others are more varied, dynamic, and "unruly" in terms of colors, patterns, and scale (Figs. 15a–b). Some have no or few small patches scattered over the surface, others are bejeweled with lots of small, colorful patches (*tikeli*), and these quilts elicit much praise for their painstaking artistry. Quilters unanimously admire work with straight lines of small, regular, closely spaced and carefully rendered running stitches, and the rhythms created by the patterns of stitches and patches. In terms of color, Siddis prefer bright and light colors and patterns, which makes sense given their interior domestic contexts—dark sleeping rooms in homes with small, shuttered windows, only recently supplied with electricity. They especially prize baby quilts filled with brightly colored *tikeli* in a variety of shapes and sizes that they explained would "stimulate and entertain" the child wrapped in it (Fig. 9).



When not in use or folded in piles in a room, *kawandi* are displayed outside, hanging from roofs, clotheslines, or fences in order to air out and dry in the sun. Their bright colors and vibrant patterns contrast sharply with the brownish red earth and tiled roofs. The beauty and artistry of the finest quilts sometimes prompts

fashions and fortunes. A quilt documents the well-worn, discarded clothes of family members over the previous years. But more than this, patches sewn together give new life to worn fabric and create a bed/cover that is stronger than a single piece. When things fall apart, we say we "patch things up." A quilt of many patches, made by and for a family, keeps it strong. Mixing together a vibrant array of patterns, colors, and textures from all kinds of fabrics, *kawandi* summarize the style history of family members as they embody the artistic sensibilities of their makers—the women of Siddi communities.

POSTSCRIPT

HISTORY OF THE SIDDI QUILT PROJECT

In February 2004, while documenting Siddi expressive culture (performing and visual arts) and living with a Siddi family in northern Karnataka, I noticed the beautiful quilt I was given to sleep on. Then, as I visited Siddi communities, I began to see them hanging out in the sun to dry, and women sitting on shaded porches beside bundles of old clothes, sewing them into marvelous creations. I learned that my Siddi "mother" Dumgi was a well-known quilter and I asked her to make one for me.

14 Some quilts by Catholic Siddi women include a cross as in this example by Shashi Kala Doming.
PHOTO: HENRY JOHN DREWAL, 2005

museums, galleries, and art centers. In addition to portraits of the quilters and photographs of their homes and environment, the exhibition is accompanied by a twenty-minute film entitled *Scenes of Siddi Life* by the author and edited by Aaron Granat. Anyone interested in supporting this nonprofit project or in obtaining more information about the sale of Siddi quilts or the traveling exhibition "Soulful Stitching" can go to: www.henry-drewal.com/sales/exhibitions, or contact me at: hjdrewal@wisc.edu or Department of Art History, Chazen Museum of Art, UW-Madison, 800 University Avenue, Madison, WI 53706.

Henry John Drewal is Evjue-Bascom Professor of African and African Diaspora Arts at University of Wisconsin-Madison. hjdrewal@wisc.edu

Notes

I want to thank all those who have contributed to this work since 2001: the University of Wisconsin-Madison for financial support and the American Institute of Indian Studies both financial and logistical assistance; in the US, C. Daniel Dawson, Bill Dewey, Polly and Allen Roberts for sharing leads on the African diaspora in South Asia, Pashington Obeng for his enthusiastic collaboration at various stages of this project, and Sarah Khan for encouraging me to pursue this research; in India, Kiran Kamal Prasad, Father Francis Guntipilly, The Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross, Loyola Vikas Kendra, Bani Singh, my adopted Siddi family—Dumgi, Mary, George, Violet, and Sunil—and especially the marvelous quilters of the Cooperative for their beautiful and soulful stitching.

1 Variants of "Siddi" in European literatures are: Sidi, Siddie, Siddee, Siddy, Sidy, Sedee, Scidee, Scidy, Sceedy, Scydee, Sciddee, Sciddie. The word is thought to come from the Arabic word *sayeed* for "mister" or "sir"—a term of respect throughout the Arab and Islamic world of northern Africa and the Middle East. Another interpretation suggests that it refers to a particular sailor's rank. In the Portuguese literature, they are often referred to as Mulattos, Kafre or Kaphris (Caffree, Coffree, Kafra), and Kapir, from the Arabic term *kafir*, "unbeliever/pagan" (see Prasad 1980:71–3). An alternative term used in some places is Habshi, derived from the Arabic term for Abyssinia/Ethiopia (Al Habish) and thus Habshi meaning a person from the land of the Blacks or Habash. In Marathi documents, they are referred to as *shamal* or "black faced" (Chauhan 1995:1). Chaush are Afro-Indians living in Hyderabad, where their forebears served as bodyguards to Muslim rulers. The term is thought to derive from an Ottoman military designation for "subaltern," and due to the discrimination they suffer, they are, according to Allen Roberts, "subaltern subalterns" (see Roberts 2000:8).

2 Amy Catlin and Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy have done extensive research on Siddi performing arts, especially in Gujarat. See also the work of Beheroze Shroff, who has published articles and made films of the Sidis at the shrine of Bava Gor in Gujarat as well as in Mumbai (Bombay), as well as her article in this issue. Those studying communities of African descent in South Asia and adjacent regions are indebted to the pioneering work of the historian Joseph Harris (1971). See also the extensive bibliography following.

3 As suggested by Allen Roberts (personal communication, email, June 19, 2012), such gridlike patterns in quilts created by Muslim women may relate to *khatim* (sometimes *khatem*)—mystical squares that serve as protective devices for those who wrap themselves in the quilts at night.

4 In addition to their aesthetic purpose, *phula* may also have a protective one, like *khatim* grids, suggests Allen Roberts (personal communication, email, June 19, 2012). He notes that "A motif at the four corners accentuates the pattern, and is a common device in, say, Ethiopian paintings when the Archangels may inhabit the corners to focus attention on the center of the work; such visual work further echoes mystical devices like *khatim* grids." He goes on to suggest, "It would be very interesting to investigate notions of 'the hidden side' of overt presentation, that Muslims would call *batin* after the key Arabic term undoubtedly borrowed into Urdu and other languages used in Muslim communities."

5 Since the creation of the SWQC, Sarah Khan and I have been working with an Indian colleague, Bani Singh, a design graduate of National Institute of Art, Ahmedabad, and now senior faculty at Srishti School of Art, Design and Technology, Bangalore. She has been instrumental in encouraging high-quality craftsmanship of the quilts by holding discussions with the quilters about their aesthetic criteria—what makes a quilt beautiful, rather than what makes a quilt sell. Based on those conversations, she selects quilts for export. In addition, she has had discussions with Indian crafts industry promoters to develop a local market for Siddi quilts and other craft products created using Siddi quilting techniques. For this Indian market, we have been advised that the quilters must use new cloth, whether for the patchwork or the cotton sari backing. This is very different from the export part of the project, where what tends to be valued by buyers/art collectors (in the US and Europe) are "authentic," that is, quilts with older, used fabric in good condition. Sustaining the quilting tradition may also be a challenge. Young Siddi women seem less interested in learning quilting as they begin to go to school and leave their village communities for larger, commercial centers or for seasonal, tourist work in Goa.

India Bibliography

complied by Henry John Drewal, Beheroze Shroff, and Alicia Cannizzo

Abranches García, José Ignacio de. 1872. *Archivo da Relação de Goa: contendo varios documentos dos seculos XVII, XVIII e XIX até a organisação da nova relação pelo decreto de 7 dezembro de 1836*. Nova Goa: Na Impr. Nacional.

Albinia, Alice. 2010. *Empires of the Indus*. London: W.W. Norton.

Alpers, E. 2003. "The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean: A Comparative Perspective." In *The African Diaspora in The Indian Ocean*, ed. Shihan de Silva Jayasuria and Richard Pankhurst, pp. 19–65. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press.

Alpers, E. 2000. "Recollecting Africa: Diasporic Memory in the Indian Ocean World." *African Studies Review* 43 (1):83–99.

_____. 1997. "The African Diaspora in the Northwestern Indian Ocean: Reconsideration of an Old Problem, New Directions for Research." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17 (2):62–81.

_____. 1976. "Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa, c.1500-1800." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9 (1):22–44.

_____. 1967. *The East African Slave Trade*. Historical Association of Tanzania, paper no. 3. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Anderson, Philip. 1854. *The English in Western India*. London: Smith and Taylor.

Ansari, Ashgar Ali. 1971. The Relations between South Arabia and the Deccan from the 17th Century to the 20th Century. Unpublished PhD thesis. Hyderabad: Usmania University.

Apte, B. K. 1973. *A History of the Maratha Navy and Merchantships*. Bombay: State Board for Literature and Culture.

Austin, Ralph A. 1988. "The 19th Century Islamic Slave Trade from East Africa (Swahili and Red Sea Coasts): A Tentative Census." *Slavery and Abolition* 9 (3):21–44.

Badalkhan, Sabir, 2006. "On the Presence of African Musical Culture in Coastal Balochistan." In *Journeys and Dwellings: Indian Ocean Themes in South Asia*, ed. Helene Basu. Bombay: Longman.

Banaji, D.R. 1932. *Bombay and the Sidis*. London: MacMillan.

_____. 1933. *Slavery in British India*. 2nd rev. ed. Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons.

Baptiste, Fitzroy A. 1998. "The African Presence in India—I and II." *African Quarterly* 38 (2):76–90, 91–126.

Barbosa, Duarte, Fernão de Magalhães, and Mansel Longworth Dames. 1918. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants*. London: Hakluyt Society.

Barendse, Rene J. 2002. *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*. Armonk NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Basu, Helene. 2008a. "A Gendered Indian Ocean Site: Mai Mishra, African Spirit Possession and the Sidi Women in Gujarat." In *Journeys and Dwellings: Indian Ocean Themes in South Asia*, ed. Helene Basu, pp. 227–56. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

_____. 2008b. "Music and the Formation of Sidi Identity in Western India." *History Workshop Journal*, 161–78.

_____. 2007. "Drumming and Praying: Sidi at the Interface of Spirit Possession and Islam." In *Struggling with History: Islam and Cosmopolitanism in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. E Simpson and K. Kresse, pp. 291–323. London: Hurst.

_____. 2006. *Cultural Practices of Indian Sidis Through the Prism of Indian Ocean Maritime Connections*. Ninth Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Lecture. Mumbai: Vasanth J. Sheth Memorial Foundation.

_____. 2005. "Politics of Travelling in the Postcolonial Indian Ocean World: Sidi Abdula bin Mubarak's 'My Journey to East Africa.'" *ZIFF Journal* 2:46–64.

_____. 2004a. "Redefining Boundaries: Twenty Years at the Shrine of Ghori Pir." In *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians*, ed. Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward A. Alpers, pp. 62–85. New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers.

_____. 2004b. "Ritual Communication: The Case of the Sidi in Gujarat." In *Lived Islam in South Asia: Adaptation, Accomodation and Conflict*, ed. I. Ahmad and H. Reifeld, pp. 233–53. Delhi: Social Science Press.

_____. 2003. "Slave, Soldier, Trader, Faqir: Fragments of African Histories in Western India." In *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*, ed. Shihan de Silva Jayasuria and Richard Pankhurst, pp. 223–51. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press.

_____. 2002. "Afro-indische Besessenheitskulte im Vergleich (Sidi-Goma in Indien; Zar in Ostafrika; Candomblé in Brasilien)." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 127:41–55.

_____. 2001. "Africans in India-Past and Present." *Internationales Asienforum/International Quarterly for Asian Studies* 32:253–74.

_____. 2000."Theatre of Memory: Performances of Ritual Kinship of the African Diaspora in Sind/Pakistan." In *Culture, Creation and Procreation in South Asia*, ed. A. Rao and M. Boeck, pp. 243–70. Oxford: Berghahn.

_____. 1999. "Going for Visits with a Woman-fakir: the African Diaspora in Gujarat." *ISIM Newsletter* 3 (99):39.

_____. 1998. "Hierarchy and Emotion: Love, Joy, and Sorrow in a Cult of Black Saints in Gujarat, India." In *Embodying Charisma: Modernity, Locality, and the Performance of Emotion in Sufi Cults*, ed. Pnina Werbner and Helene Basu, pp. 117–39. New York: Routledge.

_____. 1996. "Muslimische Lachkultur in Gujarat/Indien." In *Kulturen und Innovationen: Festschrift für Wolfgang Rudolph*, ed. G. Elwert, J. Jensen, and I.R. Kortt, pp. 161–71. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot.

_____. 1995a. *Habshi-Sklaven, Sidi Fakire: Muslimische Heiligenverehrung im westlichen Indien*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch.

_____. 1995b. "Muslim Shrines as Boundary Markers of a Cult Region: The Network of Sidi Saints in Western India." In *Pilgrimage: Concepts, Themes, Issues, and Methodology*, ed. J Makhan, pp. 157–72. New Delhi: South Asia Books.

_____. 1994. "Die Heilige und das Weibliche. Geschlechter-Konstruktionen im indo-muslimischen Sufismus." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 119:215–27.

_____. 1993. "The Sidi and the Cult of Bava Gor in Gujarat." *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society* 28:289–300.

_____. 1992. *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, Vol. III, *South Asia*, ed. P Hockings, pp. 260–61. Boston: G.K. Hall.

Basu, Helene, Kerrin von Schwerin, and Ababu Minda. 2008. "Daff Music of Yemeni-Habshi in Hyderabad (Deccan)." In *Journeys and Dwellings: Indian Ocean Themes in South Asia*, ed. H. Basu, pp. 288–303. London: Orient Longman.

Bayley, E. Clive. 1886. *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarat*. London: W.H. Allen.

Behnaz, A. Mirzai, and Ali Ghelichi. 2008. *Afro-Iranian Lives*. DVD. 46 minutes. Ontario: Behnaz, A. Mirzai.

Benjamin, N. 1998. "Trading Activities of Indians in East Africa (with Special Reference to Slavery) in the Nineteenth Century." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 35 (4):405–19.

Bhandary, M.J., K.R. Chandrashekar, and K.M. Kaveriappa. 1995. "Medical Ethnobotany of the Siddis of Uttara Kannada District, Karnataka, India." *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 47 (3):149–58.

Bhattacharya, D.K. 1970. "Indians of African Origins." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 10 (40):579–82.

Boxer, C.R. 1969. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Burgess, James. 1905. *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad, AD 1412–1520*. London: W. Griggs & Sons.

Burton, R. 1851. *Goa and the Blue Mountains: Or, Six Months of Sick Leave*. London: Richard Bentley.

Campbell, A. Claude. 1898. *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions*. London: C.B. Burrows.

Campbell, Gwyn, ed. 2004. *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia*. London: Frank Cass.

Catlin-Jairazbhoy, Amy, and Edward A. Alpers, eds. 2004. *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians*. New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers.

Catlin-Jairazbhoy, A., and N. Ali Jairazbhoy. 2002. *Sidi Sufis: African Indian Mystics of Gujarat*. CD. 79 minutes. Van Nuys, CA: Aspara Media for Intercultural Education.

_____. 2004. *The Sidi Malunga: Rejuvinating the African Musical Bow in India*. DVD. 42 minutes. Van Nuys CA: Apsara Media for Intercultural Education.

_____. 2006. *From Africa—to India: Sidi Music in the Indian Ocean Diaspora*. DVD. 74 minutes. Van Nuys, CA: Apsara Media for Intercultural Education.

Chakraborty, J., and S.B. Nandi. 1984. "The Siddis of Junagadh: Some Aspects of their Religious Life." *Human Science* 32 (2):130–37.

Chatterjee, Indrani, and Richard M. Eaton, eds. 2006. *Slavery and South Asian History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Chauhan, R.R.S. 1995. *Africans in India: From Slavery to Royalty*. New Delhi: Asian Publication Services.

Chitnis, Sharad. 2005. *Janjira Sansthancha Itihaas* [History of Janjira State]. Bombay: Itihaas Sanshodhan Mandal (Historical Research Institute).

_____. 2003. *Murud Janjira: A Tourist Guide*. Mumbai: Insta Print Private Limited.

Chitnis, Sharad, N.F.B. Jasdanwalla, and N.A.B. Khan. 1999. *Guide to Janjira Fort*. Mumbai: Goregaon.

Clarence-Smith, William. 2006. *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press.

_____, ed. 1989. *Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Frank Cass.

Collinet, George, and Sheila Walker. 2010. *Slave Routes: A Global Vision*. DVD. 57 minutes. Ouidah, Benin: UNESCO Slave Route Project.

Collins, Robert O. 2006. "The African Slave Trade to Asia and the Indian Ocean Islands." *African and Asian Studies* 5 (3–4):325–47.

Commissariat, M.S. 1938. *History of Gujarat*. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Copland, J. 1819. "Account of the Cornelian Mines in the Neighbourhood of Baroach." *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* 1:313–20.

Courtney, Andrew, and Emily Perry. 2005. *African Palestinian: Ali Jiddah*. DVD. 25 minutes. http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africansindianocean/multimedia.php.

Daljeet, Dr. 1999. *Mughal and Deccani Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum*. Delhi: Prakash Books.

David, M.D. 1973. *History of Bombay, 1661–1708*. Bombay: University of Bombay.

de C.M. Saunders A. 1982. "The Depiction of Trade as War as a Reflection of Portuguese Ideology and Diplomatic Strategy in West Africa, 1441–1556." *Canadian Journal Of History* 17 (2):219–34.

Desai, Ramesh. 1987. *Shivaji, the Last Great Fort Architect*. Bombay: Maharashtra Information Centre, Directorate-General of Information and Public Relations, Govt. of Maharashtra.

Dewey, William J. 2003. *Africans in India: The Tombs of Baba Gohr*. VHS. 20 minutes. New York: distributed by filmmaker.

Douglas, J. 1893. *Bombay and Western India*. London: S. Low, Marston, and Company.

Drewal, H.J. 2011. *Scenes of Siddi Life*. DVD. 22 minutes. Madison, WI: distributed by filmmaker.

_____. 2008. "Arts and Agency: Patchwork Quilts and Quilting Cooperative of Siddis of Northern Karnataka, India." In *TADIA: The African Diaspora in Asia*, ed. Kiran Kamal Prasad and Jean-Pierre Angenot, pp. 269–76. Bangalore: Jana Jagrati Prakashana.

_____. 2005. *Stitching History: Patchwork Quilts by Africans (Siddis) in India*. Exhibition brochure. Design Gallery, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

_____. 2004. "Aliens and Homelands: Identity, Agency, and the Arts among the Siddis of Uttara Kannada." In *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians*, ed. Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward Alpers, pp. 140–58. New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers.

Duff, James Grant. 1826. *History of the Marathas*. 3 Vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green.

Eaton, Richard M. 2006. "The Rise and Fall of Military Slavery in the Deccan, 1450–1650." In *Slavery and South Asian History*, ed. Indrani Chatterjee and Richard M. Eaton, pp. 115–35. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

_____. 2005. *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1978. *Sufis of Bijapur, 1300–1700*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Edlefsen, John B., Khalida Shah, and Farooq Mohsin. 1960. "Makranis, the Negroes of West Pakistan." *Phylon* 21 (2):124–30.

Edwardes, Stephan M. 1902. *The Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect*. Bombay: Times of India Press.

Enthoven, R.E. 1922. *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay Presidency*. Vol III. Bombay: Asian Educational Services.

Ewald, Janet. 2000. "Crossers of the Sea: Slaves and Migrants in the Western Indian Ocean, c. 1800-1900." *The American Historical Review* 105 (1):69–91.

Fass, Virginia. 1986. *The Forts of India*. London: Collins.

Fergusson, J. 1876. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London: John Murray.

Francis, Peter Jr. 1982. *Indian Agate Beads*. Lake Placid NY: Lapis Route Books.

Freeman-Grenville, G.S.P. 1971. "The Sidi and Swahili." *Bulletin of the British Association of Orientalists* 6:3–18.

Frishkopf, Michael. 2006. "Music of Makran: Traditional Fusion from Coastal Balochistan." *Asian Music* 37 (2):164–71, 178.

Fourshey, Catherine Cymone. 2009. "India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42 (2):299–302.

Ghosh, Amitav. 1992. *In an Antique Land*. New York: Random House.

Gokhale, B.G. 1973. "Slavery in South and Southeastern Asia in the XVth Century." *Journal of the Asian Society of Bombay* 47–8:108–17.

Goswamy, B.N., and A.L. Dallapiccola. 1978. "Painting in Kutch." *Artibus Asiae* 40:62–74.

Gupta, Anirudha. 1991. *Minorities on India's West Coast: History and Society*. Delhi: Kalinga.

Hamilton, Ruth Simms. 2007. *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora*. E. Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Harris, J.E. 1996. "The Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora." In *The African Diaspora*, ed. Jalloh Alusine and Stephen E. Maizlish, pp. 7–21. College Station: Texas A&M Press.

_____. 1971. *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade*. Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press.

Hawley, John C., ed. 2008. *India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Horton, Mark. 2004. "Artisans, Communities, and Commodities: Medieval Exchanges between Northwestern India and East Africa." *Ars Orientalis* (34):62–80.

Hromnik, Cyril A. 1981. *Indo-Africa*. Cape Town, SA: Juta and Co.

Jairazbhoy, N., and A. Catlin. 1999. *Sidi (African-Indian) Music and Dance of Gujarat and Karnata*. Unpublished video. 45 minutes.

Janzen, John M. 1992. *Ngoma: Discourses of Healing in Central and Southern Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jasdanwalla, Faaeza. 2011. "African Settlers on the West Coast of India: The Sidi Elite of Janjira." *African and Asian Studies* 10 (1):41–58.

Jayasuriya, Shihan de Silva. 2010. *The African Diaspora in Asian Trade Routes and Cultural Memories*. Lewiston ME: The Edwin Mellen Press.

_____. 2009. *African Identity in Asia: Cultural Effects of Forced Migration*. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener.

_____. 2008. "Crossing Boundaries: Africans in South Asia." *Africa Spectrum* 43 (3):429–38.

_____. 2007. "Invisible Africans: Hidden Communities in Asia." *African & Asian Studies* 6 (3):223–345.

Jayasuriya, Shihan de Silva, and Jean-Pierre Angenot, eds. 2008. *Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia*. Leiden: Brill.

Jayasuriya, Shihan de Silva, and Richard Pankhurst. 2003. *The African Diaspora in the Indian Ocean*. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press.

Jervis, T.B. 1840. *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Konkun: The Revenue and Land Tenures of the Western Part of India, Considered with Reference to their Institution and Present Working*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

Keay, John. 2010. *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company*. London: HarperCollins.

Kamalapur, J.N. 1961. *The Deccan Forts*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot.

Kamerkar, Mani, and Soonu Dhunjisha. 2002. *From*

Ross, E. Denison, ed. 1910/1921. *Arabic History of Gujarat*. Vols. I (1910) and II (1921). London: Murray.

Sadiq Ali, Shanti. 1996. *The African Dispersal in the Deccan: From Medieval to Modern Times*. Delhi: Orient Longman.

Sakar, I.N. 1984. *Art of War in Medieval India*. Delhi: Manoharial.

_____. 1948. *The History of Bengal*. Vol 2. Dacca: University of Dacca.

Samant, Suneeta. 1988. Physical Development of Murud Shrivarchan and Mhasala Talukas (Collectively Referred to as Janjira Sub Region). Vol. 1, part 1. Master's Thesis, University of Bombay. Sir J.J. College of Architecture, Bombay.

Sardesai, G.S. 1971. *New History of the Marathas*. Vol. 1–3. Bombay: Phoenix Publications.

Sayed, Akbarali. 2007. "The Diamond of Gir: Hirbaiben Lobi." In *Garvi Gujarat Na Gauravvanta Muslimo*, Part II, pp. 163–73. Rajkot: Akbarali Syed.

Segal, Ronald. 2001. *Islam's Black Slaves: The Other Black Diaspora*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Sheriff, Abdul. 2010. *Dhow Cultures of the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce and Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Sherwani, H.K., and P.M. Joshi, eds. 1973. *History of Medieval Deccan (1295–1724)*, Vol. I. Hyderabad: Government Printers.

Shirodkar, P.P. 1998a. *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*. 2 vols. Jaipur: Publication Scheme.

_____. 1998b. "Bund of Siddi Bastian in North Canara." In *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History*, Vol. 2, pp. 205–20. Jaipur: Publication Scheme.

Shroff, Beheroze. 2011a. *Voices of the Sidis: The Tradition of Fakirs*. Video. 26 minutes. Mumbai: distributed by filmmaker.

_____. 2011b. "Sidis of Gujarat—A Building Community: Their Role in Indian History into Contemporary Times." In *Frontiers of Embedded Muslim Communities in India*, ed. Vinod Jairath, pp. 65–89. New Delhi: Routledge.

_____. 2011c. *Sidis of Gujarat: Maintaining Tradition, Building Community*. Video. 53 minutes. Mumbai: distributed by filmmaker.

_____. 2008a. "Spiritual Journeys: Parsis and Sidi Saints." In *Journeys and Dwellings: Indian Ocean Themes in South Asia*, ed. Helene Basu, pp. 256–75. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

_____. 2009. "Indians of African Descent: History and Contemporary Experience." In *New Social Movements in the African Diaspora: Challenging Global Apartheid*, ed. Leith Mullings, pp. 157–70. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

_____. 2007. "Sidis in Mumbai: Negotiating Identities between Mumbai and Gujarat." *African and Asian Studies* 6 (3):305–19.

_____. 2005. *Voices of the Sidis: Ancestral Links*. Video. 26 minutes. Mumbai: distributed by filmmaker.

_____. 2004a. "Sidis and Parsis: A Filmmaker's Notes." In *Sidis and Scholars: Essays on African Indians*, ed. Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Edward A. Alpers, pp. 159–77. New Delhi: Rainbow Publishers.

_____. 2004b. *"We're Indian and African": Voices of the Sidis*. Video. 22 minutes. Mumbai: distributed by filmmaker.

_____. 1990. *Sidis of Ratanpur*. Video. 20 minutes. Mumbai: distributed by filmmaker.

Shyam, Radhey. 1968. *Life and Times of Malik Ambar*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Sinha, N.K. 1994. "Siddi." In *People of India—Daman and Diu*, Vol. XIX, ed. Kumar Singh Suresh, B.R. Solanki, N.K. Sinha, and Jaime F. Pereira, pp. 168–73. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.

Thornton, E. 1858. *Gazeteer of the Territories under the Government of the East-India Company*. London: Wm. H. Allen and Co.

Tod, James. 1920. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. Ed. William Crook. London: Oxford University Press. Work originally published 1829.

Troll, Christian W. 2004. *Muslim Shrines of India: Their Character, History, and Significance*. London: Oxford University Press.

Varadarajan, L. 1981. *India in the Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 1, pt. 1. Delhi: Manihar.

Vijayakumar, M., and Malhotra, K.C. 1983. "Inbreeding and Matrimonial Distances Among the Siddis of Karnataka." *Current Anthropology* 24 (2):228–29.

Vijaya T.P. 1992. "Aspects of Slavery in Coorg in the Nineteenth Century." *India* 29 (2):107–22.

Wink, Andre. 1997. *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Yimene, Ababu Minda. 2007. "Dynamics of Ethnic Identity Among the Siddis of Hyderabad." *African & Asian Studies* 6 (3):321–45.

_____. 2004. *African Indian Community in Hyderabad: Siddi Identity, Its Maintenance and Change*. Goettingen: Cuvillier Verlag.

Zebrowski, Mark. 1983. *Deccani Painting*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe. 2010. "African Diasporas: Toward a Global History." *African Studies Review* 53 (1):1–19.