

Sidis and the Agate Bead Industry of Western India

J. Mark Kenoyer and Kuldeep K. Bhan

Introduction

The role of Gori Pir and the Sidi community in the history of Gujarat and western India is a long neglected topic. In this paper, historical records about the Sidis and their own oral traditions will be critically examined to gain new perspectives on their complex history, beginning with their origins in Africa and with a special focus on their role in the agate bead industry. On the basis of current evidence it is clear that the Sidi communities of Gujarat and adjacent regions have made significant contributions to the larger sphere of South Asian culture. These contributions include agate mining and bead manufacture, as well as local trade and long distance trade networks that connected the Indian subcontinent to the furthest reaches of the Islamic world in Africa, Southeast Asia and West Asia.

Who are the Sidi and Where did They Come From?

These two questions can only be answered conclusively through careful archaeological and DNA studies, but it is possible to make some sense out of the situation based on written documents and oral traditions. Some early anthropological studies of different racial groups in South Asia have shown that there are some Negrito groups among indigenous populations of hunter-gatherers living in parts of the Western Ghats (Kadar and Irular of the Kerala Hills), and in the Raj Mahal Hills of Bihar and Bengal. However, except for the well known Negrito populations on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, there is

no conclusive evidence for indigenous Negrito populations on the mainland (Majumdar 1961: 52–53). The Sidi communities do not appear to derive from the Andaman or Nicobar populations and are thought to be derived from original African populations. It is important to note, however, that there is a wide range of variation in skin colour, hair types and physical features of people collectively referred to as ‘Saiyidi’ or ‘Sidi’ (Figure 1). This suggests that there is no simple answer about where they came from or even when they may have begun living in the region of South Asia.

Most historians have assumed that the Sidi are descendants of black slaves or mercenaries who accompanied early Muslim traders and later armies that came to pillage and eventually conquer Sindh, Gujarat and parts of South India. While this may be correct for some communities, there is some evidence (see below) to suggest that African traders and merchants may have been present along the coastal regions long before the advent of Islam. Furthermore, Africans who did accompany the ‘Arab’ armies were made up of many different ethnic groups derived from populations throughout North Africa with additional mixture involving other Near Eastern communities, especially Arabs.

Figure 1



Sidis of Patanpur

According to early Arab geographers and later historians, two distinct groups of Africans can be identified, the *ahabish* (singular Habshi) who are from Abyssinia or Ethiopia, and the *zunuj* (singular *zanj*) who are from eastern or central Africa (Wink 1990: 32). Generally speaking the Zanj were described as being dark black with frizzy hair, while the true Abyssinians had ‘long hair and were of yellow, reddish or brown color and had “no slavish appearance”.’ (Wink 1990: 32). Few, if any of the Sidis in Gujarat or Makran would fit closely with either of these descriptions and therefore we must assume that the people referred to as Sidi in these regions are the result of many hundreds of years of intermarriage between different communities of African origin, as well as with Arab groups and other local communities in Sindh, Makran and Gujarat (Majumdar 1961: 57).

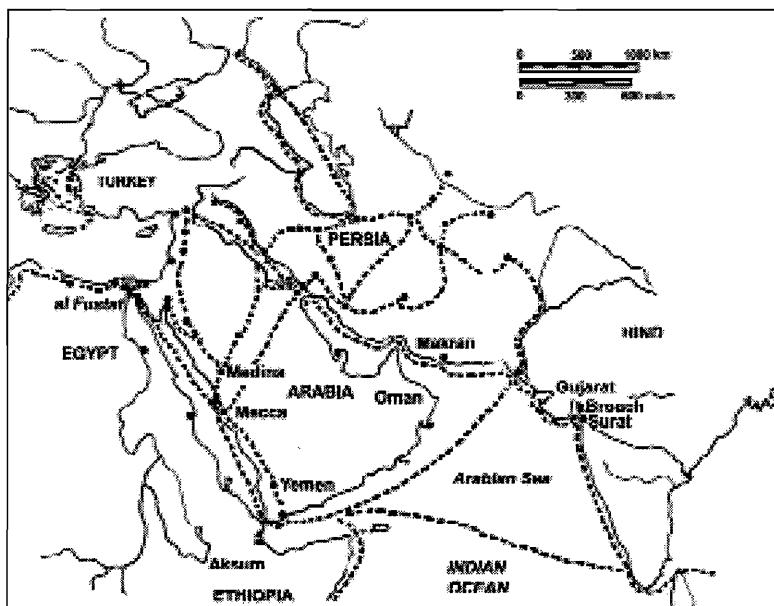
The Sidi communities in different parts of the subcontinent are therefore the result of many different historical events and should not be grouped together as a single community without careful qualification. In the following sections we will focus primarily on the Sidi communities living in Gujarat and participating in the agate industry and trade.

When did the Sidis Enter the Subcontinent?

This question is also quite difficult to answer because it appears that people of African origin have been traveling back and forth across the Arabian Sea for quite some time. Archaeological excavations at the site of Rojdi in central Gujarat have revealed the presence of domesticated grains that had their origins in Africa. These include finger millet (*Eleusine coracana*) dating to around 2500–2300 BC and sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*) from around 2000 BC (Weber 1991). These grains probably came to Gujarat with traders moving between Harappan and Omani settlements on either side of the Arabian Sea. The movement of these grains into the Arabian Peninsula can be dated slightly earlier, indicating a gradual spread from Africa to the subcontinent. We do not know if people from Africa were also spreading out along the Arabian trade routes, but it would not be surprising to find evidence for this as new research is undertaken.

The earliest literary evidence for the presence of Africans in the subcontinent dates to around 77 AD in the accounts of Pliny. He states

Figure 2



Map of Arabian Sea and Trade Routes

that the town of Barygaza, (modern Bharuch (Broach) in Gujarat) was considered to be an 'Ethiopian' town (Wink 1990) (Figure 2 and 3). One might assume that this meant the presence of significant Ethiopian merchants, traders, and administrators and that the administration of the city was dominated by Ethiopians. Unfortunately there is no South Asian evidence to support this claim. Based on coins and inscriptions found in Western India, this was a period of time during which Bharuch was under the rule of Nahapan of the Saka-Kshatrapas (Rajyagor 1982: 69). Nevertheless, there was considerable trade with western regions during the period between 20 BC to 217 AD and during the Kshatrapa period many sites in Gujarat and Sindh show evidence of Greek and Roman artifacts. Since we have considerable evidence of Roman and Byzantine sea contact with Africa, especially Ethiopia, it is not unlikely that Ethiopians and other black Africans were involved in the trade and also reached the shores of South Asia. With careful excavations in the city of Broach and its environs, it might be possible to determine if Ethiopian individuals actually lived there during the early centuries AD.

Figure 3



Gujarat and Major Towns

A later reference in the second century records the presence of an established slave trade of black Africans who were sold into slavery by local rulers to traders along the Arabian peninsula and then sold throughout the coastal communities of the Arabian Sea (Wink 1990). By this time, it is not unlikely that some Africans were present in the region, either as traders, mercenaries or slaves. We know that Ethiopian traders, mercenaries and slaves were common in towns of the Arabian peninsula, such as Mecca. These communities appear to have played an important role in the commerce and everyday activities of the region and the Prophet Muhammad declared that no 'holy war' was to be carried out against them. At this time, most of the Ethiopians in Arabia and adjacent regions were probably Christian, and associated with the Aksumite kingdom that converted to Christianity in the fourth century (Wink 1990: 47). However, we also know

that one of the first converts to Islam was a black slave named Bilal, and that subsequently many black slaves were converted and in some cases freed. It is assumed that the black slaves in Arabia included individuals of Ethiopian origin, as well as people from the interior and eastern Africa.

Once a person living in Arabia had been converted to Islam, they often became identified to outsiders as Arab even if they were ethnically quite distinct from the natives of the Arabian peninsula. Consequently, when we read that the trade dominance of Ethiopians (i.e. Ethiopian Christians) was eclipsed by Arab traders (Wink 1990: 28), it is not clear if these Arab traders are actually individuals ethnically related to Arab nomad communities or if some of them were Muslims of Ethiopian origin living in Arabia. This situation makes it very difficult to use written texts to determine when African traders or merchant communities arrived in the subcontinent since they may have been referred to as Arabs rather than as Habshi or Zanj. Archaeological excavations, however, might provide one way to identify early African communities in India.

Another way to investigate this question is through the study of oral traditions. If you were to ask any Sidi in Gujarat where they came from, they would probably say that they originally came from Africa, either directly or via Arabia. In the current information age, with the widespread availability of modern literature, films, and TV, most Sidi communities along the coasts of India and Pakistan have developed strong associations with Africa. In fact, many Sidis say that they are African, but most individuals are unable to provide details about where in Africa they originally came from or how they ended up in the subcontinent.

There are however, a few elders who have provided us with a more detailed history of their movement from Ethiopia or Abyssinia, through Arabia, and eventually to the Makran, and then Gujarat or South India. One of our main informants was the late Sidi Kamar Badshah, an outspoken leader of the Sidi community, who lived near the famous hill called Gori Pir, in Broach district. Many aspects of Kamar Badshah's accounts match well with what earlier scholars had recorded from interviews with his ancestors, but we were also able to obtain some interesting new insights.

Gori Pir and the Agate Industry

According to interviews with Kamar Badshah taken over the past ten years, one of the first Sidis to arrive in agate mining regions near Rajpipla was Gori Pir, who came with his twelve brothers. He did not know if there were any Africans in the region prior to the arrival of Gori Pir, but was able to confirm that Gori Pir originally came from Ethiopia, which would have included a wider region than that of the modern nation and may have included modern Yemen. Gori Pir travelled to Mecca where he stayed for some time before moving on to the Makran coast near modern Karachi. After arriving on the subcontinent he spent many years wandering as a religious mendicant and bead trader. He stayed in eleven different localities and Sidi communities in these different regions still have festivals in his memory. He travelled in the Makran and Sindh, and stayed at the shrine of Mungho Pir near modern day Karachi, where even today there is a large Sidi community who gather for the Urs of Mungho Pir. He eventually travelled throughout Saurashtra, north Gujarat and finally settled in Nadod, which is the modern town of Rajpipla. Here he established

Figure 4



Gori Pir Hill

an agate bead workshop and then expanded his business to other major towns such as Limbodara and ports such as Khambhat. Some of his brothers, one of whom was not a Sidi (Bava Savan), assisted him in the bead industry which produced various types of agate beads for export to Africa and the Near East, as well as to regions in East and South East Asia. The Tomb of Bava Savan is located at the edge of Khambhat town.

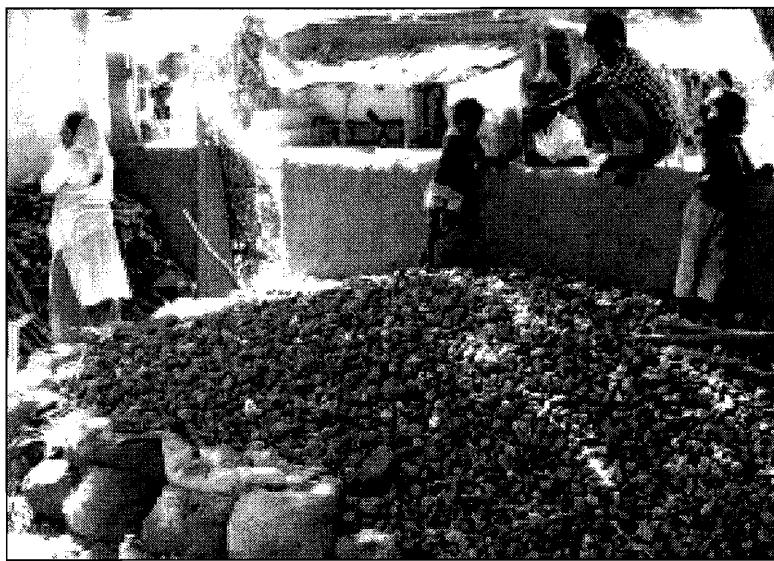
An older story provides a bit more detail on the motivation for coming to Gujarat and setting up a bead factory (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Native States* 1877: 168). In this account there was a temple on the top of the hill that is now called Gori Pir (Figure 4). The goddess Makhan Devi (Butter Goddess) lived on the hill and near her a lamp, fed by fifty pounds of butter, burned continuously. The light of the lamp was so strong that it was visible as far away as Mecca. According to the legend, the Prophet Muhammad of Mecca noticed the light and asked Shaikh Gori Sidi (Gori Pir) to investigate its source. As Gori Pir approached the hill, the goddess Makhan Devi sank into the ground and Gori Pir set up his residence and a workshop. If this tradition is true, then Gori Pir would have arrived in Gujarat sometime during the life of the Prophet Muhammad (circa 570 AD to 632 AD), almost a century before the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs in 711 AD. While this tradition does not seem to be supported by other historical and oral traditions, the association of Gori Pir with the Prophet Muhammad probably reflects a legitimisation of their Islamic heritage and mission.

According to Sidi Kamar Badshah, when Makhan Devi sunk into the ground her long braid was left sticking out, but Gori Pir was unable to destroy the goddess because he was a man and could not touch her. He sent for help from his sister Mai Mishra. Because she was a woman, it was possible for her to attack the goddess, which she did by taking her shoe and beating on the braid until it was swallowed up in the ground. Other traditions say that after twelve years Gori Pir's sister Mai Mishra and his younger brother Bava Habash came looking for him and then stayed to live with him and help him with his business. When Mai Mishra died she was buried in a tomb located at the southwest corner of the modern platform holding the tomb of Gori Pir. Bava Habash is buried to the southeast on a low hill.

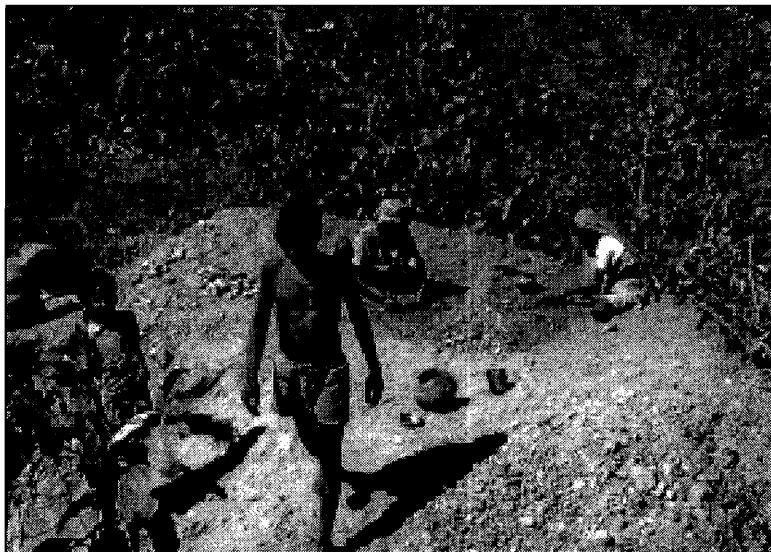
Sidi Agate Working Communities

At present Sidi communities are spread throughout the regions of Gujarat, Sindh and Makran, but only those living in the Gori Pir and Khambhat areas are involved in the agate trade. When Gori Pir set up his first workshop in Rajpipla he undoubtedly had important contacts with mining communities in the area around Gori Pir Hill and that is probably when the Sidi community first became established in its vicinity. At present there is a village of Sidis (Figure 5) along with a community of Bhils who are involved in the actual mining of agates (Figure 6). No surveys of the region have been done to determine if there were larger settlements of Sidis in the areas around the Gori Pir Hill, but it is assumed that only small settlements were located in this area since most people would have lived in the larger towns of Jagadia, Limbodra, and Rajpipla. Up until the 19th century, the teak jungles around Gori Pir Hill were probably quite dangerous to live in, because of the many tigers and leopards. In fact, some of the legends refer to Gori Pir as someone whom the tigers obeyed, and if anyone was attacked by a tiger they only needed to call on the

Figure 5



Sidi Village with Agate Stockpile, near Gori Pir Hill

Figure 6

Bhil miners near Gori Pir Hill

saint and the tiger would stop eating them (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Native States* 1877: 168).

Later, Gori Pir set up a workshop at Limbodara which is nearer to Gori Pir Hill than Rajpipla. The main market city and port for trading agate beads was Bharuch, which had sea trade with the ports on the Red Sea, in East Africa and throughout the Persian Gulf regions. But as the bay at Bharuch gradually silted up, the main port shifted to Khambhat. This shift began to impact the agate bead industry around 1500, when several European travellers make mention of agate workshops in Khambhat (Janaki 1980: 27). We know that one of the brothers of Gori Pir was sent to Khambhat to set up business there, and one would assume that it was around this time. Nevertheless, Limbodara continued to be an important craft center and agate nodules were being processed there until the 1850s. We can only assume that the Sidis were actively involved in this trade since in 1832 a colony of Sidis was reported at Limbodara by Captain Fulljames (1838/1839). Today agate working debris litters the site, but no one practices the trade. A large ruined mosque testifies to the presence of a substantial Muslim community at Limbodara and

an extensive Muslim cemetery is found on one of the old city mounds. No Sidi community lives on the site today, but they still come there from nearby settlements to bury their dead and pay respects to their ancestors.

The major workshops of agate bead making were shifted from Limbodara and Bharuch to Khambhat in the 14th century when Bharuch lost its prominence as a port city. Many Sidis appear to have also shifted to Khambhat, but here they were in the minority, as the city was filled with many competing workshops run by various communities (Muslim, Jain and Hindu). The Sidis who remained in the Limbodara and Gori Pir Hill area appear to have been able to maintain their traditional role as craftsmen and middlemen up until quite recently. Today, however, due to the shift in mining areas and restrictions by the forest department, the Sidi community is no longer in an economically important location for selection and stockpiling of agates. They do still continue to sell beads at the tomb of Gori Pir, but these beads are now made in Khambhat, often by other communities.

Gori Pir Hill

The authors have made numerous trips to Gori Pir Hill and documented significant archaeological remains that help to reconstruct the history of this important site. These observations can provide some context for the oral traditions of Kamar Badshah as well as other early Sidi informants. As to the presence of a temple on top of the hill, there is in fact evidence for several structures that may represent a fairly substantial temple complex. Up until the 1990s the pathway up to the tombs was made up of large white stone steps. Upon closer examination, these blocks turned out to be blocks from earlier temples with elaborate carvings and some fragmentary images. The style of carving suggests that the temples date to around 1100 AD.

The location of the tomb of Gori Pir is at the base of a much higher peak on which the foundations of a stone temple were found. The size of the bricks (36 x 24 x 6 cm) suggests that they may date to the Saka-Kshatrapa period around 78–399 AD. The combination of stone and brick construction will require more detailed analysis and eventually excavation, but it probably reflects the rebuilding of an older brick temple with a stone temple. The carved marble facings

may have been added to the exterior of this or another temple. A brick rubble wall of later construction was found at the east end of the temple foundation. Further down the slope to the south is a flat area that may have been the location of another large building or courtyard. To the west along the ridge are several stone wall fragments and the remains of a large stone tank that even today collects rain water. At the westernmost promontory of the ridge is a modern plinth or boundary marker made from old bricks that can also be dated to the Saka-Kshatrapa period (Figure 7). One of the bricks has an inscribed motif of a circle with a line through it. On the ground next to this plinth was a large stone channel from a stone *yoni-lingam* that would have been in a temple to Shiva. The Kshatrapa rulers generally adopted Shaivism as their main state religion and this would fit well with the presence of a Shiva temple and a temple to the Goddess. Additional monumental stone columns and blocks are found scattered along the southern slope of the hill and a large stone lined well is found in the low area leading to the tomb of Bava Habash that is located to the southeast of Gori Pir's tomb (Figure 8).

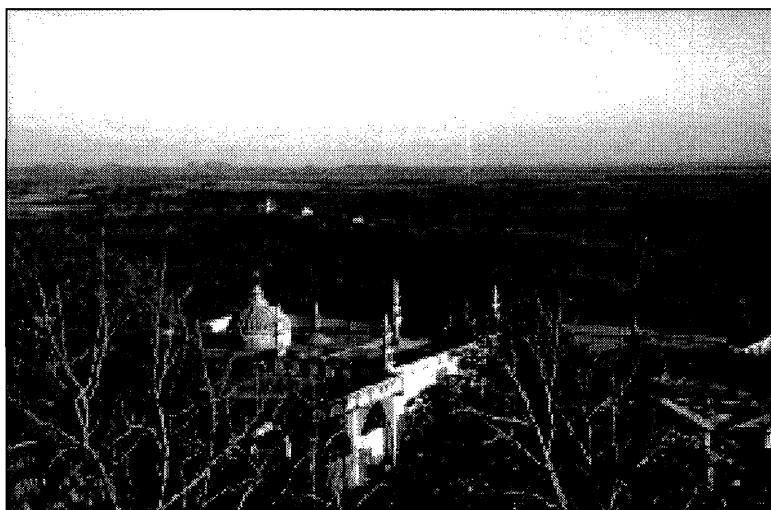
Since the tomb of Gori Pir is not built on top of the earlier temple and no mosque has ever been constructed using the ruined tem-

Figure 7



Kshatrapa bricks in plinth

Figure 8



View to the tomb of Baba Habas

ples, it would suggest that perhaps the temples were still in use or only recently abandoned when his tomb was established on the hill. Eventually with the vagaries of conquest and warfare, the earlier Hindu and possibly Jain temples were abandoned and dismantled while the Muslim tomb and associated Sidi rituals such as the *goma* dance continued. It is important to note that many local Hindus visit the tomb of Gori Pir and members of all communities come to the tomb for trials by ordeal that are conducted by the Sidi caretakers. One of the trials is to have chains placed around the ankles and then the accused is required to run rapidly up the steps shouting the name of Gori Pir. If they are innocent the chains will fall off, but if they are guilty the chains will not come undone. We have observed ordeals where the chains did come off and ones where they did not come off.

Given the fact that the hill of Gori Pir had a well established temple complex that dated from as early as 78–399 AD to around 1100–1300 AD, it is not unlikely that there was quite a substantial community of miners, bead craftsmen and traders who frequented the area. In view of the long history of trade from Bharuch to the Arabian Peninsula and beyond, it is also not unlikely that traders, mercenaries, and slaves of African origin would have been present

in this region. However, the production of agate beads and the control of the industry would have been firmly in the hands of Jain and Hindu merchants with little or no opportunities for Muslim traders.

We know from the historical records that the region was dominated by Hindu and Jain rulers with only intermittent raids by Muslims until 1298 AD when Gujarat came under the dominance of the Khalaji and Tughluq Sultans of Delhi (1298–1573AD) (Rajyagor 1982: 141–142). With the change in political control it would have been possible for Muslim traders and merchants to establish their own workshops and develop their own new trading contacts. The expanding trade with Africa, Arabia, and Southeast Asia clearly contributed to the growth and development of ports and cities along the west coast of India during this time. Most scholars agree that Gori Pir arrived in the region sometime during the 15th century, when the region around Gori Pir emerged as a major center of the agate trade (*Gazetteer of India, Gujarat State: Kheda District* 1977: 805). During this period of reorganisation, Gori Pir was able to set up competitive workshops that catered to newly emerging markets in Africa and Arabia that were previously untapped by the Hindu and Jain merchants. It is in this context of growth and development that the Sidi community made its initial contributions to the agate bead industry. In later periods, when the region was controlled by the Mughals (1573 to 1758) (Rajyagor 1982), we see the further expansion of trade and eventual interaction with the European markets. In the following section we will outline the various ways in which Sidi communities continued to play an important role in the bead trade throughout the Mughal, colonial and modern period.

Agate Bead Making

In the regions where Sidi communities are present we have evidence for stone bead manufacture going back to the third millennium BC. Based on the discussion above, the historical figure Gori Pir does not appear on the scene until quite late in the history of this technology. So one could ask how he was able to make a place for himself in an industry that had such a long and established history. The answer lies in his ability to develop new, more efficient techniques for processing raw materials, for producing new styles of beads and in finding markets that were not being exploited by earlier merchants.

In order to follow the different ways in which the Sidi communities have influenced the bead industry we must look at the entire process, from mining to shaping and marketing the beads.

Mining

The first stage of production is the mining and selection of agate nodules that will eventually be processed into specific types of beads. In Gujarat the major mining area is located approximately 80 to 100 kilometers from Khambhat in Bharuch district. The mining activities have concentrated in the relatively accessible agate bearing gravels exposed in tilted beds at the foot of Gori Pir Hill (Trivedi 1964: 7–11). Although most of the miners are local Bhil tribals, we were informed by some of the local Sidis near Gori Pir Hill that when necessary, they also get involved in the actual mining. Today, the more common role for Sidis, however, is in the selection and sorting of nodules mined by the Bhils. As miners or middlemen, Gori Pir and early Sidis selected varieties of stone that were of desirable colour and quality for the markets in Africa and Arabia. This clearly provided them with a key role in the newly expanding bead industry.

Drying and Heating

Once the nodules have been mined, the next stage of production is drying to remove as much moisture as possible prior to firing. The period of drying varies depending on the market pressure for finished goods, but generally speaking, the longer they dry in the sun, the less chance for cracking in the heating process (Kenoyer, Vidale and Bhan 1991). Drying is often begun by the middlemen in the mining areas, and as mentioned above the initial heating used to be carried out by Sidis in Limbodara. It is not unlikely that one of the important contributions of Gori Pir was in developing a more precise method for determining which agates should be heated and how much to heat them. This may be why some of the agates were referred to as *bavagor*. One of the most highly desired form of agate are the deep blood-red carnelians that must be heated slowly and repeatedly to avoid breakage. Prayer beads and pendants made from this type of carnelian were in great demand in the Islamic world and were among the major products of the workshops in Limbodara. When the authors

visited the site they found large areas covered with deep red carnelian flakes that were discarded during the manufacturing process.

Red carnelian was being produced as early as the Harappan period (2500 BC) and is relatively common throughout the early Buddhist period, and the process of heating certain agates to enhance their colour was not a new discovery. However, the mass production of red carnelian beads for large scale trade would have required a very different approach from that practised by the earlier workshops. It is in the scale of production that Gori Pir may have excelled and thereby gained fame in the agate industry. Many of the heating techniques currently used in Khambat may have had their origins in the techniques perfected by Gori Pir and the Sidis (Figure 9).

Bead Styles and Shapes

During the past several hundred years, many different types of agate beads and pendants were traded with Africa and the Arabian Gulf region. As mentioned above, one variety of agate that seems to have been very popular was actually referred to as *bavagor* after the man who first processed it and made it available. Although we know the

Figure 9



Mass production heating techniques

name of this agate there is some confusion as to the precise nature of the *bavagor* stone. Today, Sidi bead merchants refer to red carnelian beads as 'bavagor' but it is not unlikely that the term may have been used for various types of beads produced from the workshops of Gori Pir.

While there are no Sidi workshops available for study today, it is possible to get an idea of the types of beads that were produced for trade to Africa and the Islamic world based on beads from archaeological excavations and those still produced in various workshops in Khamhat today. Some of the oldest forms are carnelian bicones and barrel-shaped beads as well as short to long-faceted beads. Large white agate barrel beads called *dudhia* (i.e. milky) were also in high demand among some communities in East and Central Africa (Figure 10). White banded agate is not available in Khamhat, and the raw materials had to be obtained further inland in Central and South India. Long rectangular carnelian beads called *modan* were produced particularly for trade to Nigeria in West Africa. Specific types of dagger-shaped pendants were also being produced for trade to Sudan and eventually to West Africa. In addition to the African trade there were numerous bead types that fetched a good price in Arabia. These include spherical carnelian and rock crystal used to make prayer beads, as well as the special shapes for handles and counters. Many

Figure 10



Dudhia (Milky) agate beads for Africa trade

different styles of flower pendants were also produced using carnelian. Another style of bead that was popular in the Arab world was flat amulets that could be carved with verses from the Koran.

In addition to numerous bead and pendant types, the agate workers of Limbodara and later of Khambhat produced a wide variety of other commodities that were in great demand throughout the sub-continent and beyond. These included agate handles for swords, agate mortar and pestles for making fine medicines, stud buttons for shirts, entire signet rings as well as polished ring settings that could also be carved with a name or sacred verse. The veritable explosion of agate commodities during the 15th century does not need to be entirely attributed to Gori Pir, but there is little doubt that he and his family played a significant role in selecting the types of objects that would sell well in distant Africa and Arabia. The importance of Gori Pir to the agate industry and as a spiritual leader for the general public is reflected in the fact that even today, more than five hundred years after his death, he is revered by both Muslim and Hindu craftsmen who travel to his tomb at Gori Pir or leave offerings at his cenotaph in Khambhat.

Trade

Once Gori Pir had set up his workshops, it is known that many other Muslim and Hindu merchants quickly followed his lead, resulting in a highly competitive and vibrant economy (Janaki 1980:27). Based on recent trade networks and interviews with Hindu and Jain merchants, it is clear that they dominated the trade of agate and other processed stones that were being shipped to the inland towns and distant communities within the subcontinent. In contrast, although some Hindu and Jain traders were present in East Africa, the Muslim/Arab traders, including Sidis, clearly dominated the sea trade and would have been the major players in the trade of agate beads and pendants to Africa and Arabia (Janaki 1969:11) .

Conclusion

In trying to understand the history and role of the Sidi community in the agate bead industry, we have been seriously handicapped by the lack of explicit historical documents. However, when the few writ-

ten sources are combined with oral traditions and archaeology, it is possible to bring important new perspectives to the long and varied history of the Sidi community. Today the Sidi families who used to be involved in the agate bead trade have gradually adapted to changing economic conditions and followed new opportunities. However, even though they no longer play a significant role in agate mining, agate bead making or agate bead trade, it is important to recognise the important contributions that they made to this industry. In fact, many of the styles first produced in the 15th century are still being made and marketed throughout the world. From China to Arabia, and even in the Americas, carnelian beads, *bavagor*, continue to be used for prayer, adornment and decoration.

Acknowledgements

Our research on the agate bead industry and the role of Sidi communities is an ongoing project that has been supported by many different funding agencies. Initial support was through a grant from the Smithsonian Foreign Currency Programme to J. Mark Kenoyer. Subsequent funding has been provided by our respective universities, M.S. University Baroda (K.K. Bhan) and University of Wisconsin, Madison (J. Mark Kenoyer). We would especially like to thank the Sidi community at Gori Pir Hill for their friendship and information, and hope that this short contribution will serve to honor the memory of the late Sidi Kamar Badshah. We also wish to thank Amy Catlin and Ned Alpers for their patience as we prepared this article.

References

- Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*. 1877. Native States, Bombay, Kathiawar. Bombay: Governmental Central Press.
- Gazetteer of India, Gujarat State: Kheda District*. 1977. Ahmedabad.
- Janaki, V.A. 1969. *Gujarat as the Arabs Knew It: A study in Historical Geography*. Baroda: MS University.
- . 1980. *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the Nineteenth Century*. Baroda: MS University.
- Kenoyer, J.M., M. Vidale and K.K. Bhan. 1991. 'Contemporary Stone Bead Making in Khambhat India: Patterns of Craft Specialisation and Organisation of production as Reflected in the Archaeological Record,' *World Archaeology* 23(1): 44-63.

- Majumdar, D.N. 1961. *Races and Cultures of India*. London: Asia Publishing House.
- Rajyagor, S.B. 1982. *History of Gujarat*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Co.
- Fulljames, George Lieutenant. 1838/1839. ‘A Visit, in December 1832, to the Carnelian Mines, situated in the Rajpepla Hills, to the Eastward of Broach,’ *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, 2: 74–78.
- Trivedi, R.K. 1964. *Agate Industry of Cambay*. Delhi: Government of India.
- Weber, S.A. 1991. *Plants and Harappan Subsistence: An Example of Stability and Change from Rojdi*. New Delhi: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co.
- Wink, A. 1990. *Al Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*. Vol. 1. Delhi: Oxford University Press.